1

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Unit Structure:

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1.0   OBJECTIVES :

By the end of this unit you should be able to understand :

- The scientific nature of Social Psychology.
- Causes of social behaviour and thought.
- Understand current trends in the study of Social Psychology such as role of cognition, social neuroscience, social diversity, etc.

1.1   SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY : AN INTRODUCTION :

Human beings are essentially social beings. We stay with other and our actions, thoughts, and feelings are affected by the presence of others. At the same time we influence the behaviour of other individuals. This consists of large amount of human behaviour. Social psychology is a discipline that tries to understand the human social behaviour. As is the case with psychology, even social psychology has a past which is less than 100 years. This course will help you to learn and answer many questions. You will learn theoretical perspectives in various areas of social psychology. You will understand that the scope of social psychology is wide and it is ever widening. Social cognition, social perceptions, attitudes, self, stereotype, prejudice and discrimination, interpersonal

attraction, close relations, social influence, pro-social behaviour, aggression, group and individuals, applications of social psychology, and many more are the topics of social psychology. Most of the important topics are covered in this course. This course will equip you to understand social behaviour and will also motivate you to work in the area of social psychology and to become social psychologist.

1.2   SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY : A DEFINITION :

Defining any field is a very difficult task. So is the case with social psychology. Here are some examples:

According to **Gordon Allport** (1954) social psychology is best defined as the discipline that uses scientific methods in "an attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of other human beings".

Myers and Spencer (2006) define social psychology as the "scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another".

Barron and Byrne (2007) defined social psychology as "the scientific field that seeks to understand the nature and cause of individual behaviour and thought in social situations".

1.2.1   Social Psychology: It's Scientific Nature :

For many students, the word science means physics, chemistry biology, genetics, etc. They and many others would wonder whether social psychology is science. To understand the scientific nature of social psychology, we need to understand what we mean by science. In reality science is not a label for certain fields of advanced studies in natural sciences. It has set of values and methodology. Accuracy, objectivity, scepticism, and open-mindedness are the values of science. The data collection, analysis and inferences are drawn in most error-free manner. The collection of data and interpretation is as free as possible from the human biases. Only those scientific conclusions are accepted that have been proved time and again. The views are open to change, no matter how strong they are. The principles that are determinants of science are Empiricism; Objectivity; Parsimony; and Converging evidence. Empiricism means human experience, so the scientific enquiry should be human experience and not beyond and without it. Parsimony means simple explanations are preferred over complex (also known as Occam's Rezor). Considering all these parameters, science differs from the non science.

1.2.2 Social Psychology: Focus on individual Behaviour :

The social thoughts and actions are taken by individuals. They might be influenced by the society. But the thought and actions are of the individuals, and not groups. The social psychology has a very strong focus on individuals, and tries to understand the behaviour of individuals. It also tries to understand various environmental influences on social thought and actions, viz., Culture, social norms, etc. Still the focus of the social psychology enquiry is individual.

1.2.3 Understand Causes of Social Behaviour and Thought :

Human social behaviour and thoughts are caused by many things. Social psychology would try to understand them. Let's see some of the important ones:

Actions and Characteristics of Other Persons :

We are affected by various actions of others. For example, you are standing in the queue for a local train ticket and somebody tries to break the queue. In no time, you would get upset with the person and shout at him. This and many other instances would help you to understand that your behaviour is affected by the actions of other individuals. Similarly, certain characteristics of people also change your behaviour. For example, you are waiting at bus-stop, and you realize that a blind man wants to cross a road. You would quickly move ahead and help him. These and many other physical psychological and social characteristics of people are responsible for our actions.

- **Cognitive Process :**
  Our thinking determines what we do in social circumstances. This is studied in the area of social cognitions. Cognition is our thinking process. Our behaviour is determined by what we think. That is one reason why two people do not respond to the same situation identically. Since two different people think differently about the situations and social realities, they respond differently.

- **Environment :**
  The physical world around us to a great extend determines our behaviour. Researchers have shown that the temperature is negatively related with individual aggression and irritability. Similar types of questions are also asked in social psychology.

- **Cultural Context :**
  The culture in which we stay or are born and brought up determines our behaviour. Culture is sum of values, beliefs, practices, art, language, etc. Every culture has a different belief

and value system. For example, our decisions would depend on whether we belong to individualistic culture or collectivistic culture. For instance, marriage would be decided by individual in individualistic cultures and they are decided by a process of mutual agreement among the family members in collectivistic cultures.

- **Biological Factors :**
  The biological factors influence our social behaviour. They can be understood as physiological factors and neurological factors, genetic factors, and evolutionary factors.

  The physiological factors contain hormones, functions of various glands, immune system, motor system, etc. The neurological factors include the brain structures, the neural cells (neurons), the neurotransmitters, etc. The genetic factor would contain the study of influence of genes on human behaviour. The evolutionary psychology focuses on explaining the social behaviour as a function of process of evolution.

- **Physiological and Neurological Factors :**
  These factors focus on the physiological and neural substrates of social psychological processes of mind. Typically, it studies the impact of brain and biology on social behaviour. Brain waves (electroencephalography, EEG), fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging), measures of skin conductance (galvanic skin response, GSR), cardiovascular measures (heart rate, HR; BPM; HRV; vasomotor activity), muscle activity (electomyography, EMG), changes in pupil diameter with thought and emotion (pupillometry) and eye movements, etc., are commonly used methods of measurement in this area. The details of neuroscience are provided in the next section.

- **Behaviour Genetics :**
  Behaviour genetics approach is used in social psychology to understand variation in social behaviour of human beings as a function of two components: genetic and environmental. The research methods used are family studies, twin studies, and adoption studies. **Family studies** are based on the idea that children share 50 percent of their genes with each parent. If genes have to influence social behaviour, the trait in question must run in families. **Twin Studies :** Monozygotic twins share 100% genetic information, whereas dizygotic share 50% (similar to non-twin siblings). Similarities and differences between them indicate the genetic and environmental influence. **Adoption Studies :** The sibling reared in the same family should show similar social behaviour similar to the behaviour of siblings reared apart (because of adoptions most of the times), such a behaviour indicates the influence of environment.

- **Evolutionary Social Psychology :**
  When we think of evolution, we tend to think of biological evolution. The same process would hold true for psychological processes. In last one decade, the evolutionary psychology has grown up as a discipline. David Buss is one of the pioneer psychologists in this field. Evolutionary psychology tries to explain the traits and social behaviours as a function of evolutionary process. The evolutionary process is based on key process known as natural selection (sexual selection). In addition to natural selection, kin selection and parental involvement are important components of evolutionary social psychology. If certain trait has evolutionary benefits, then that social trait will become part of human psyche. Buss has stated three important conditions of evolution of social behaviour. They are variation, inheritance and selection. *Variation* refers to the fact that members of specific species vary (are different) on various traits. For example, Intelligence, everybody has different intelligence. At least, part of this variation in the specific trait is inherited i.e., *inheritance*. For example, some part of intelligence is contributed by genes. If this trait gives an advantage in reproductive success, then this trait is *selected* and it develops as a process of evolution. For example, intelligent people are more likely to be resourceful; hence the reproductive success would be high for intelligent people.

  Our ancestors, some thousand years back, have gone through the same process and so we have the set of traits and social behaviours and preferences. For example, evolutionary psychology has a principle of sexual selection. One of the prediction is the sex that invests more in parenting is more choosy in mate selection. Several studies all over the world have provided evidence to this hypothesis. These studies have shown that males prefer more partners than women, over any period of time (For example, Schmitt, 2004).

  In this section we have learned that the social psychology is the science. It qualifies for the definition of science. It focuses on individual behaviour. The social psychology seeks to understand the causes of human social behaviour. These causes are characteristics and actions of others, cognitive processes, environmental variables, culture, and biological causes.

1.2.4 Brief History of Social Psychology :

Social psychology has an interesting history. It can be traced back to 1895 when Le Bon theorized crowd behaviour. Triplett's (1897) experiment on "social facilitation" effects, Ross and McDougall's (1908) first textbook of social psychology, were the early events. Social psychology started as "Experimental" science.

Sherif (1936) studies on development of norms, Lewin's field theory (1935), and Lewin, Lippitt, and White's (1939) three leadership styles test were early important studies. Lewin trained many famous social psychologists, like, Festinger, Schachter, Deutsch, Kelley, Thibault, etc. Three Influential Gestalt Psychologists are Kurt Lewin, Solomon Asch, Fritz Heider.

The World War II was a major event in the history of social psychology. Many social psychologists fled Europe and went to USA. They have started working in the auspicious funding atmosphere. The topics they chose were related to American problems, e.g., to combat moral warfare strategies during the time of war. Then studies by Milgram on obedience, Festinger studies on cognitive dissonance and social comparisons, Heider's work on balance theory and attribution theory dominated 1940's and late 1950's. In the decade of 1960's Stereotyping and Prejudice, School Desegregation, Aggression, Altrusim, Bystander Intervention, Interpersonal Relations, Attraction, became topics of modern research. The decade of 1970's saw the emergence of Kahneman-Tversky model of heuristics, models of schemas and increasing cognitive trends.

There are many other disciplines that have emerged in the social psychology. Evolutionary social psychology, neuroscience perspective in social psychology, studies on implicit processes, cross-cultural research, are the new methods that lead to the development of modern social psychology.

The history of social psychology also teaches us interesting lessons. Because of the World War II, most of the social psychology initially developed in USA. Most of the social psychologists at the time were white, men, upper-middle class, Americans dealing with the problems of America. So the field initially was subservient to American social problems. In last three decades the picture is changing. Social constructivism, and feminism have also made a mark in changing this picture. Similarly, in India, social psychologist, partly, have studied phenomenon that cannot be considered as science because of their political, religious preferences. Indeed, science and religion are two different epistemological views, and both can't be done together. On the positive note, Indian psychologist have also studied issues of poverty, discrimination, deprivation, religious tensions, gender issues, etc.

1.3   SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY ON CUTTING EDGE :

Social psychology is ever developing science. Various journals of social psychology publish research done in this area: some of them are Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Journal of Applied Social Psychology, are some examples. In this section, we would discuss current trends, the cutting edge of Social Psychology.

1.3.1 Cognition and Behaviour :

Couple of decades back, cognition and behaviourism were considered as two different kinds of things in psychology. But it no longer exists. Cognition and behaviour are currently considered as intimately linked and related approaches. Present research findings are clearly indicating that the cognition and behaviour need to be considered as strongly linked with each other.

1.3.2 Social Neuroscience :

Social neuroscience is merging of two different fields: social psychology and neuroscience. In fact, now specialist journals are being published in this area, eg, Social Neuroscience. This interdisciplinary field is devoted to understanding how biological systems execute social processes and behaviour. It uses concepts and methods from biological sciences to understand and purify theories of social thought, behaviour and processes. The MRI (Magnetic Resonance Imagery), fMRI (Functional MRI), PET (Positron Emission Temography) are commonly used techniques in this science. Typically, when people engage in social activities, their biological parameters are measured.

For example, Ito and Urland (2003) asked white students to indicate ethnicity (black / white) and gender (Male / Female) of the photograph shown while measuring their *event related brain potential*. Results shown that initially attention was paid to ethnicity and then to gender. Other social factors (presence of other members) activated brain later. This indicates that people consider ethnicity and gender as important factors and paid attention first.

1.3.3 Role of Implicit Process :

The implicit processes are nonconscious processes. The process that occur in the mind but we are not aware of them. We are not aware of many factors that influence our behaviour. Pelham, Mirenberg, and Jones (2002) have shown that if something is closer to our self concept then we tend to like it more. For example, they found that significantly more number of people stay in the city that resembles their own name (more than chance number of people with the name Louse stay in the city St. Louse). They have called it *implicit egotism*.

1.3.4 Social Diversity :

If you look at India, you will realize that it is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, multi-religious country. It has 18 languages and more than 3000 dialects. Every part of the world shows the diversity that exists. Cross-cultural research focuses on this diversity. Recently, multiculturalism has been promoted as a position to understand this diversity. Multiculturalism means the acceptance or promotion of multiple ethnic cultures, for practical reasons and for the sake of accepting and celebrating diversity. It is useful in many demographic setups. e.g., schools, businesses, neighborhoods, cities, etc. It promote the idea of equitable status to all religious, ethnic groups without encouraging any specific values as central. This has been used in various psychological practices, for example, multicultural counselling.

1.4   LET US SUM UP :

This unit has provided an introduction to various aspects of social psychology. We studied the definition of Social Psychology. While doing so we have understood the scientific nature of social psychology. We know that focus of social psychology is on individual behaviour. We have also learned the various causes of social behaviour and thought. While discussing the current trends in social psychology we have discussed issues like cognition and behaviour, social neuroscience, role of implicit process, and social diversity. This will help you understand the rest of the chapters in social psychology.

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2

RESEARCH AS THE ROUTE TO INCREASED KNOWLEDGE

Unit Structure:

2.0   OBJECTIVES :

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- Explain basic research methods in social psychology.
- Understand the role of theory in social psychology.
- Discuss ethics of research in social psychology.

2.1   INTRODUCTION :

Research is the back bone of any scientific information. Social psychology has good backup of research studies conducted in diverse field. To understand the subject matter in social psychology, insight in to the research methods is of considerable help. Though there are many research methods of investigation, social psychology employs some of them more frequently. These methods include careful observations in natural settings, correlational research methods and most importantly experimental methods. Theory plays an important role in any given subject. The major role of theory is to guide research. However, the quest for knowledge should consider the rights of individuals in all research endeavours.

2.2   UNDERSTANDING RESEARCH METHODS :

In social psychology we study human behaviour in social context. Information based on the research covers major part of any text on social psychology. To be scientific in understanding, it is essential to know how the information is gathered. This picture becomes clear when we have some basic understanding of research. It is important to know what was the method used in any research. We often come across research regarding attitude of people towards certain product, what is the opinion of people regarding a political party, political leaders, etc. To rely on this information the way research was conducted needs to be explored. This helps us to develop insight in to the issue. Following are some basic methods employed in social psychological research:

2.2.1   Systematic observation :

This is a widely used and appreciated research method. In this method there is a systematic observation and recording of behaviour. It is a careful observation of behaviour as compared to our routine observation. It is also called as naturalistic observation-observation of behaviour as it occurs. Here a great effort is laid on the observer to avoid any interference or influence on the person who is being observed.

Another method is survey method. In this method a large number of people are asked about their responses regarding their attitudes or opinions on different issues. There can be a verbal inquiry or written questions in the form of semi-structured interview schedules, scales, questionnaires and inventories can be used. However, certain aspects needs to be taken care. One is the sampling and another is the wording of the questions. In sampling it is important to see that the sample is representative of the entire population in question. For example, if you are investigating the attitude of the people towards compulsory (mandatory) voting in the country, than it is not sufficient to take sample only from one state of the country. It will not represent the opinion or attitude of the entire country. Similarly, wording is also as important as sampling. For example, if you worded your question as person who murdered someone should be hanged, possibly you will get an answer as 'yes', but if you frame your question as "is death penalty necessary" or "are you in favour of death penalty", you may get both type of answers. Wording is important because it can have different impact on different people.

2.2.2 Correlation :

Research question often ask, "are two factors related?" For example, does rain fall in particular region is related to the type of crops cultivated? Or how study habits are related to better performance in exams? Such questions helps us in finding the correlation among two factors. Research refers to these factors as variables. Correlation method is scientific and systematic observation of whether a change in one variable is accompanied by changes in the other variable. This method helps in investigating or establishing relationships among the variables. Correlation can range from zero to -1.00 or +1.00. More the departure from the zero indicates stronger relationship. These relationships can be either positive, negative or no correlation. However, it is necessary to explore that correlations focuses only on relation and not causation. For example, low self-esteem eventually leads to depression indicates relation but not the cause of depression; as depression could be a result of some life event. Though there are limitations to this method, it is a regularly used and trusted method in social psychology.

2.2.3   The experimental method :

As correlation speaks about the relationships among the two variables, experimental method gives explanation for the relationship. In short experimental method answers the 'why' of the relationship. The strategy experimental method follows is like; a systematic change in the one variable produces measurable changes in the other variable. In this way it tries to establish cause-effect relationship which helps in prediction.

In experimental it is assumed that (a) changes in one factor may produce change in another variable, (b) that the change can be measured. The variable that is systematically changed is called as independent variable and the variable that is measured for change is called as dependent variable. To illustrate this we will consider one example, thirty students were participant of the experiment where it was to investigate that does amount of food increases the levels of concentration in the classroom. For this experiment the ten students were given no food at all, next ten received only half the lunch than required and another group received complete meal as required. This is called as systematically making variations in independent variable. All thirty students were exposed to a lecture for one hour. Later rating scale was given to them on which all students have to report how much was their concentration, concentration was the dependent variable, where changes could be measured in the three groups according to the amount of food they received. This was a simple illustration. In an experiment there could be many independent and dependent

variables. However, this is not all about an experiment, there are other factors that need to be taken care for a good experiment.

There are two very important influences on an experimental research, (i) one is that all the participants in the experiment needs to be randomly assigned to the systematic changes made in the variables in the experiment. In short every participant should have equal chance for all conditions. This procedure removes errors from results like effect due to chance rather than experimental manipulation. (ii) Second is the question of external validity. For example, like our earlier experiment of amount of food and concentration, if the class happens to be close to a busy street which is very noisy then the effect of food amount gets confounded by noise on concentration rather than only amount of food. The point is that every research must have the ability to generalise the findings and it is indicated by the external validity of the research.

2.2.4   Interpreting research results : the role of statistics :

Once the research has been conceptualised and conducted the major treatment to be given is statistical analysis. In the beginning of any research we can think of possible statistical analysis, however, it is only after collection of the data one can decide which statistical test can be conducted on the basis on the tendency of the data. For example, if you have collected a data which do not meet the assumptions of the normal distribution then, you will have to go for non-parametric statistical tests rather than parametric tests. It is also important to see that what is your research question, whether you want to check the relation, the difference among the variables or predict a variable on the basis of other variables is a deciding factor for statistical treatment. Further, it is essential to know that the findings of the study are not by chance. To determine this test of significance of the statistical values can help us, which will state whether the findings are by chance or not.

In any stream of social sciences it is less likely that a finding will be accepted without the replication of the study in variety of situations and by different authors. Replications of the study with similar findings help to establish the theory. It is observed that there are studies conducted on similar concepts, but there are differences in the measurement tools or the parameters used. These types of problems are dealt by conducting Meta analysis. Meta analysis is a statistical technique for combining data from various studies to determine that specific variables have significant effects across studies.

2.3 THE ROLE OF THEORY IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY :

There are many ways through which the topics for research projects are formulated. Some are formulated by informal, day-to-day observations of the social world, events around us. Social psychologists observe and take note of these incidents and plan research to increase their understanding of that aspects/events. However, sometimes ideas or topics for research is suggested by the earlier studies. Earlier research indicated need to further explore some of the facts. Successful experiments not only answer questions posed but also raise new questions. Therefore, the research work based on such ideas are valuable in the field.

Even though these are the various ways through which the ideas for research are generated, the most important basis for research ideas in social psychology is formal theories.

Theories are defined as the efforts by scientists in any field to answer the question **Why?** Theories involve attempts to understand why certain events or processes occur as they do. Where other type of research tries to observe and describe the various social behaviours, the research based on theories tries to explain and attempt to understand the principles behind it.

Regardless of how they are expressed, theories consist of two main parts: (1) several basic concepts and (2) statements concerning relationships among these concepts.

Formulation of a theory is just the first step in a continuing process, however. Only theories that have been carefully tested and confirmed are useful. After a theory is proposed, several steps are undertaken: (i) Predictions are listed from the theory. (ii) These predictions are listed in accordance with basic principles involved in that theory. These predictions are known as hypotheses. For example, if people have more tolerance of frustrations than they exhibit less aggressive behaviour. (iii) These hypotheses are tested in actual research. (iv) If they are confirmed, confidence in the accuracy of the theory is increased. If they are disconfirmed, however, confidence in the theory is reduced. (v) Then the theory is revised to generate new predictions. Having evidence obtained thorough research is an important feature of useful theories. Theories considered useful by scientist have several features. First, it will explain why people high on frustration tolerance show less aggressive behaviour. Second, successful theory can be expanded so that it will explain a wide range of phenomena.

It must be remembered that theories are open to test and are accepted with more or less confidence depending on the weight of available evidence. In addition, research is never undertaken to prove or verify theory.

2.4 THE QUEST FOR KNOWLEDGE AND THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS : SEEKING AN APPROPRIATE BALANCE :

There is similarity between social psychologist and researchers from many other fields. They use similar types of experimentation and systematic observation methods, and in their emphasis on theory construction. However, there is one technique which is unique in social psychology, which is **deception**. This technique involves efforts by researchers to withhold information about experimental conditions; it is because many social psychologists believe that if participants know the true purpose of an investigation then their behaviour will be changed by that knowledge.

However, the use of deception raises important ethical issues, which are worth considering.

First, Deception may result in some kind of harm to the persons/participants participated in it. Participants may be upset/ disappointed with the procedure used, or by their own reaction, which they have given during experimental procedure. The procedures in which deception is involved had powerful psychological effects on research participants, and raise important ethical issues. This is serious lacuna of this technique.

Second, there is possibility that participants will resent being "fooled" during a study, and they may develop negative attitude about these experimental activities and towards the field of social psychology as a whole.

Because of these issues, the use of deception poses something of a dilemma to social psychologist. Dilemma that the use of deception technique may yield genuine responses which are useful for the phenomenon under study but at the same time, use of it raises several problems.

There are two opinions on it. First, deception is inappropriate, no matter how useful it is. Second, majority believes that temporary deception is acceptable if certain safeguards are adopted like **informed consent** procedure i.e., receiving as much information as possible about the procedure to be followed before making their decision to take part in a study and at the end of a

study, participants should be provided with full **debriefing** i.e., they should receive a full explanation of all the study, including its true goals, plus an explanation of the need for temporary deception.

Considerable research has been carried out to get an idea about what participants think about it. The results also reveal that both informed consent and debriefing significantly reduce the potential dangers of deception. For example, most participants report that they view temporary deception as acceptable provided potential benefits are in great proportion than the potential costs and if there is no other means of obtaining the information sought then the use of deception technique is tolerable.

We can summarize this topic by stating that deception has its significance in revealing genuine responses by participants but it has ethical issues too. Large majority of research reveal that participants do not react negatively to temporary deception. Therefore, the use of temporary deception technique is understandable.

Some important guiding principles for use of deception are as follows :

(1) Use deception only when it is essential to do so-when no other means for conducting a study exist;

(2) Always proceed with great caution; and

(3) Make certain that every possible precaution is taken to protect the rights, safety, and welfare of research participants.

2.5   LET US SUM UP :

In this chapter we have tried to focus on the very important aspects of understanding social psychology. First we considered the importance of research methods in understanding the research studies in psychology. Second, the importance of theory in psychology and thirdly the ethical issues one must be cautious while conducting the research.

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SOCIAL COGNITION

The following two units of this chapter on Social cognition, will deal with social cognition. It contains discussion on five major points. They are as follows:

1. Schemas: Mental Framework for Organizing and Using Social Information.

2. Heuristics: How We Reduce Our Efforts in Social Cognition.

3. Automatic and Controlled Processing: Two Basic Models of Social Thought.

4. Potential Sources of Errors in Social Cognition.

5. Affect and Cognition: How Feelings Shape Thought and Thought Shape Feelings.

Out of these five points, the unit titled 'Social Cognition-I' presents a discussion on 1. Schemas: Mental Framework for Organizing and using social information and 2. Heuristics: How we reduce our efforts in social cognition. Whereas unit titled 'Social Cognition-II' presents a discussion on 1. Automatic and Controlled Processing: Two basic models of Social thought; 2. Potential Sources of errors in social cognition; and 3. Affect and Cognition: how feelings shape thought and thought shape feelings.

SOCIAL COGNITION - I

Unit Structure:

3.0   OBJECTIVES :

By the end of this unit you should –
- Understand what are schemes and how they influence us.
- Know the concept of priming.
- Acquire knowledge about heuristics, its types and ways in which they influence us.

3.1   INTRODUCTION :

Social cognition refers to the ways in which individuals interpret, analyze, remember, and use information about social world. Social cognition studies the ways in which social information is processed by people, particularly encoding, storage, retrieval, and application to social situations. It means application of knowledge and methods of cognitive psychology and information processing theory to the field of social psychology. For example, if we want to buy a new mobile in a buy-back offer, then we neither meticulously mathematically calculate the exact price of the old and new mobile nor we do any probability calculations to maximizing our profits. We simply have a rough estimate of the prices and accept bargains more or less around that price. We can understand few interesting things about our mind from this example. (a) One, we have frameworks developed from the past experience (often called as 'schema') regarding selling and buying and we propose a lower price to buy and higher price to sell than our expectations. (b) Two, the mental processes we carry out are faster, automatic and very quick. (c) Third, at the same time these mental frameworks are prone to systematic errors and biases in decisions

we make. In this chapter we shall discuss some of these aspects of social information processing.

Social cognition refers to the ways in which individuals interpret, analyze, remember, and use information about social world.

3.2 SCHEMAS : MENTAL FRAMEWORK FOR ORGANIZING AND USING SOCIAL INFORMATION :

Schemas are mental frameworks centering on specific theme that help us to organize social information. There are various types of schemas. "Self schema" is for organizing knowledge about our-self knowledge. Schemas for other individuals are "person schema". Schema for social roles are called "role schemas" and Schemas for events or situations are called "event schema" (event script).

Schemas are mental frameworks centering on specific theme that help us to organize social information.

While discussing the social schema we would study three aspects of schema: (i) Effect of schema on social cognition; (ii) effect of priming; and (iii) schema persistence.

3.2.1 The Impact of Schemas on Social Cognition: Attention, Encoding, and Retrieval :

Schemas influence social cognition by acting upon three basic cognitive processes. They are **attention, encoding and retrieval**. Attention is cognitive process of focusing on specific information while ignoring other things. Encoding is storing this information in memory. Retrieval refers to the processes of recalling the information stored in memory and using it.

Attention : Schemas work as mechanism that helps individuals to focus attention on specific aspects of environment. The stimulus that is coherent with schemas is more easily noticed than the stimulus that is not fitting with the schemas one hold (unless the information has high strength of attracting information). E.g., while watching a cricket match we quickly notice happenings on the ground as compared to the noise in the stadium.

Encoding : Information that is consistent with schemas is more likely to be saved in the long-term memory than the one that is less relevant. We remember easily the instances when people have agreed with us than when they have disagreed. In contrast, we also

remember some instances, which do not at all fit in the schemas. For example, if you go to the government office and your work is done in five minutes, most probably you will not forget the instance, because it was contradictory to your expectations.

Retrieval : The relationship between schemas and retrieval is a complex issue. Some researchers have shown that information that is consistent with schemas is better retrieved. Others have shown that the information inconsistent with the schemas are more easily stored and retrieved.
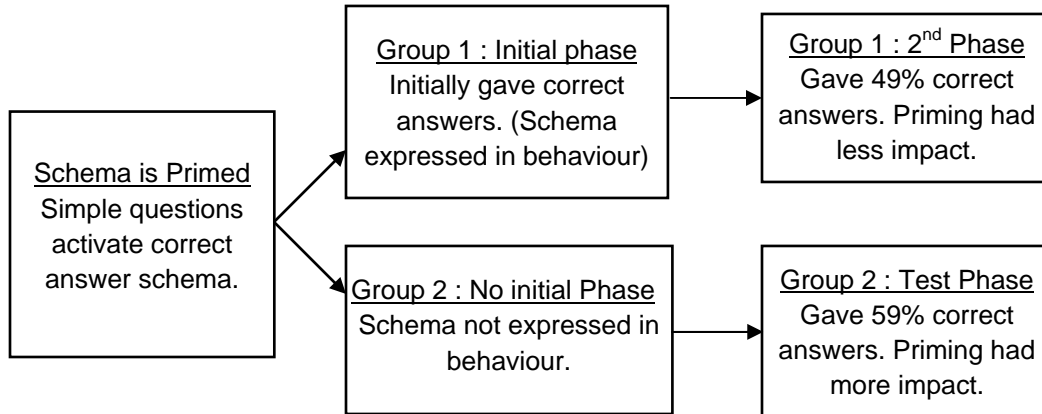
3.2.2 Priming :

We have large number of schemas. Out of them specific schema is used for interpreting social information. Priming is one of the mechanisms that influence the selection of schema. Priming refers to the events or stimulus that increases the availability of the specific type of information in the memory or consciousness as compared to other type of information. Usually stronger schemas are used for processing. But priming can also have an impact on the activation of certain schemas. For example, you had fight with your boss when you came out of the office. While walking on road, somebody bangs you, and before he says anything you get extremely angry with him. This is because you have schema of aggressively interpreting social information that is activated. Studies on the *effectiveness of priming* have suggested that the effect of priming last for years together.

Priming : Events or stimulus that increases the availability of the specific type of information in the memory or consciousness.

The effects of priming can decrease. This is called as **unpriming**. If the priming is expressed in thinking process or in social action (behaviour), then effect of priming decreases. This is unpriming. If priming is not expressed, then it does not lose its effect.

Figure1 : Unpriming of Schemas in Sparrow and Wagner's experiment. Experimental study carried out by Sparrow and Wagner (2006) supported this hypothesis. They had two groups of subjects. The task was to *incorrectly* answer very simple questions. Group 1 did this task twice, first they were asked to answer correctly, and on the second occasion, they were required to answer *incorrectly*. The Group 2 had to answer incorrectly on their first trial.

Schema is Primed Simple questions activate correct answer schema.	**Group 1 : Initial phase** Initially gave correct answers. (Schema expressed in behaviour)	**Group 1 : 2nd Phase** Gave 49% correct answers. Priming had less impact.
	Group 2 : No initial Phase Schema not expressed in behaviour.	**Group 2 : Test Phase** Gave 59% correct answers. Priming had more impact.

This means that the schema for correct answers was activated for both groups. The Group 1 expressed their schema by giving correct answers on first trial. So the unpriming happened on the second trial. Group 2 did not express their schema and so no unpriming happened for them (Figure 1 explains the same). The result showed that Group 1 gave 59% correct answers, and Group 2 gave 49% correct answers. This clearly demonstrates the impact of unpriming on group 1, because of which they could give *incorrect* answers.

3.3 HEURISTICS : REDUCING EFFORTS IN SOCIAL COGNITION :

Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman have carried out series of experiments to demonstrate that human beings use mental short-cuts to make sense of the world under conditions of uncertainty. They proved that individuals do not think rationally while making judgments. They make systematic errors and biases in their inferences. They argued that human beings use heuristics because they cannot manage information. This is known as information overload. Human cognitive system can process limited amount of information at a given point of time. When the information is more than it could be processed, we fail to process all information. This is called as information overload.

Information Overload is a situation when the information for processing is more than the ability of our cognitive system.

We use smart tactics under conditions of information overload and manage this information. These tactics are known as heuristics. Heuristics are simple rules of thumb or mental shortcuts that help us to make complex decisions and drawing inferences in speedy and efficient way. They reduces our mental efforts. Tversky and Kahneman have demonstrated the use of three heuristics.

They are :

1. Representativeness Heuristics,
2. Availability Heuristics, and
3. Anchoring and Adjustment Heuristics.

Heuristics may help us in making correct judgments. But Tversky and Kahneman have viewed them as potential sources of errors in our thinking. Kahneman was awarded Nobel Prize in Economics in 1992 for this work (Tversky died on 2 June, 1996 and Nobel is not given posthumously). Now we will discuss each of these heuristics.

Heuristics are rules of thumb or mental shortcuts that people use to make decisions and draw inferences rapidly and with reduced efforts when the cognitive system is overloaded with information.

3.3.1 Representativeness Heuristics :

Have a look at following example give by Tversky and Kahneman: Linda is 31 yrs, single, outspoken, and very bright. She majored in philosophy in college. As a student, she was deeply concerned with discrimination and other social issues, and participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations. Which statement is more likely?
    a. Linda is a bank teller.
    b. Linda is a bank teller and active in the feminist movement.

Most of you would answer 'B', that is 'Linda is a bank teller and active in the feminist movement.' In reality, 'A' is more likely than 'B'. Because 'B' (bank tellers who are feminist activist) is a subset of set 'A' (bank tellers). We know that probability of subset is always less than (or at the most equal to) the probability of set.

Why did we make this error? It happened because we used something called as 'representativeness heuristics'. When likelihood of an event is judged on the basis of the extent that it represents the essential features of the parent population or of its generating process is called as representativeness heuristics. When an individual is similar to a typical member of a given group, then he/she is judged to be more likely a member of that group. The heuristic is useful in inductive reasoning.

Representativeness heuristics is a strategy for making judgments and decisions on the basis of the extent to which current stimulus or event resembles to other stimuli or category.

The use of this heuristic can systematically lead to make errors in judgements. One such example is '**base rate fallacy**'. In an experiment by Tversky and Kahneman, subjects were told that a

profile of Jack is picked up from 100 profiles in which 30 are engineers and 70 are lawyers. Jack is 30 yr old man. He is married and had no children. He is man of high ability and high motivation and promises to be quite successful in his field. He is liked by his colleagues. What is more likely occupation of Jack? Many responded Engineer. While doing so they ignored very important information regarding base rate. The base rate of engineers is 30% and so the probability of Jack being an engineer can not be more than .30. This is called as base rate fallacy. Subjects ignored base rates because they focused on representativeness. Hence, representativeness heuristics can also lead to errors.

3.3.2 Availability Heuristics :

The availability heuristic is a phenomenon in which people predict the frequency of an event, or a proportion within a population, based on how easily an example can be brought to mind. There are situations in which people assess the frequency of a class or the probability of an event by the ease with which instances or occurrences can be brought to mind. E.g., one may assess the risk of heart attack among middle-aged people by recalling such occurrences among one's acquaintances. Availability is a useful clue for assessing frequency or probability. Kahneman and Tversy asked participants to judge whether letter 'K' would appear more frequently at 1st place or 3rd place in all English language words. Many answered 1st place. This simply happened because you can think of many words that begin with letter 'K' than that have letter 'K' in the third position (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974).

Availability Heuristics refers to the strategy of making judgements or assess the frequency of a class or the probability of an event on the basis of how easily specific type of information can be easily brought to mind.

Availability heuristics may lead to errors in decisions and judgments. A person argues that cigarette smoking is not unhealthy because he knows somebody who smoked three packs of cigarettes a day and lived 100 years. That case could simply be an unusual case that does not represents health of smokers in general.

3.3.3 Anchoring and Adjustment Heuristics :

Anchoring and adjustment is a heuristic that influences the way people intuitively assess probabilities. While assessing the probability of an event, people start with an implicitly suggested reference point (anchor) and make adjustments to it to reach their estimate. A person begins with a first approximation (anchor) and

then make adjustments to that number based on additional information.

For example, in one of the experiments, Kahneman and Tversky asked students to guess the percentage of African nations which are members of the United Nations. One group of students were first asked "Was it more or less than 45%?" whereas other group of students were asked "Was it more or less than 65%?" The first group of students guessed lower values than the second group. This is because of the use of Anchoring and Adjustment heuristics. The initial question set the high (65%) or low (45%) as an anchor. Then individuals made adjustment around that anchor and gave answers around anchor. So individuals under high anchor condition judged the percentage of African nations much higher than those who are in low anchor condition. Similar pattern of answers have been found for other kinds of estimates. Typically impact of adjustments are not sufficient to overcome the effect of anchor.

This may be evident in selling and buying of goods. Suppose you go for buying in the markets where bargaining is possible. You want to buy a 'Jeans', then what is the process you follow. The shopkeeper tells you a price and you bargain around that price and settle for something lower than that. Your bargain is adjusted around the anchor (initial price told by shopkeeper).

Anchoring and Adjustment Heuristics refers to the tendency to use some value as a initial point and then adjust the final judgment.

So far we have discussed various kinds of heuristics explained by Tversky and Kahneman. Availability, Representativeness and Anchoring-Adjustment heuristics are important biases in judgments and decision making. The recent research has shown that there are many other forms of heuristics that are used by human beings. They are Affect Heuristics, Fast and Frugal Heuristics, etc.

3.4 LET US SUM UP :

This chapter has discussed some of the issues related to social cognition. Initially we have discussed Social Schemas and their impact of social thought. We have also discussed various other aspects of social schemas. Then we have discussed heuristics and biases in social cognition. We have studied the three heuristics that influence our social judgments and decision making.

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4

SOCIAL COGNITION - II

Unit Structure:

4.0   Objectives
4.1   Introduction
4.2   Automatic and Controlled Processing: Two Basic Models of Social Thought :
 4.2.1 Automatic Processing and Automatic Social Behavior
 4.2.2 Benefits of Automatic Processing: Beyond Mere Efficiency
4.3   Potential Sources of Errors in Social Cognition :
 4.3.1 Negativity Bias.
 4.3.2 Optimistic bias
 4.3.3 Counterfactual Thinking
 4.3.4 Thought Suppression
 4.3.5 Magical Thinking
4.4   Affect and Cognition :
 4.4.1 Influence of Affect on Cognition
 4.4.2 Influence of Cognition on Affect
 4.4.3 Affect and Cognition: Social Neuroscience
4.5   Let us sum up
4.6   References

4.0   OBJECTIVES :

- To understand automatic and controlled processing as two basic models of social thought.
- To learn about the mechanism of Automatic Processing that influences automatic social behavior and to learn the benefits of automatic processing.
- To know potential sources of errors in social cognition: Counterfactual Thinking, Thought Suppression, and Magical Thinking.
- Understand the positive aspects and limitations of human cognitive systems.
- To understand the relationship between affect and cognition.
- To study how affect influences cognition and cognition influences affect.
- To understand social neuroscience of affect and cognition.

4.1 INTRODUCTION :

In the previous unit we have discussed the effects of social schema and heuristics on social cognition. It enlightened us as to how we think about the social reality. We understood that the thinking about the social mind of individuals is affected by the limitations of the structural and processing abilities of our own minds. In this part we are going to discuss various other aspects of our thought. They are concerned with models of social thought, errors in social thinking, and complex relationship between affect and cognition. These three aspects of social thinking would help us in understanding social thought clearly. Now, let us move to the discussions of these issues.

4.2 AUTOMATIC AND CONTROLLED PROCESSING: TWO BASIC MODELS OF SOCIAL THOUGHT :

The distinction between automatic and controlled processing has been well-established. According to this idea, social thoughts are processed in two distinct ways: (a) Automatic Processing, and (b) Controlled Processing. **Controlled Processing** refers to the processing of social information in careful, systematic, logical, rational, and effortful way. In this kind of processing, individuals think systematically and logically to reach to a conclusion. E.g., when you want to make a travel plan for your holidays, you find out most of the information, carefully choose the destinations and then systematically make the travel plans. Automatic Processing refers to fast, relatively effortless, and intuitive kind of processing of social information. This not necessarily means that these processing are entirely independent of each other. Some studies have shown that they work together.

Automatic Processing refers to fast, relatively effortless, intuitive, automatic and non-conscious processing of information due to sufficient experience of the cognitive task or social information.

Good amount of correlational as well as experimental research has supported this distinction. In addition, neurological research has also indicated the support to this distinction. It was found that there are two kinds of neural systems that process social information; one for automatic and the other for controlled. The automatic processing of thought is primarily associated with *amygdala*, whereas controlled processing primarily occurs in prefrontal cortex. Now, we shall discuss the effect of automatic processing on automatic social behavior.
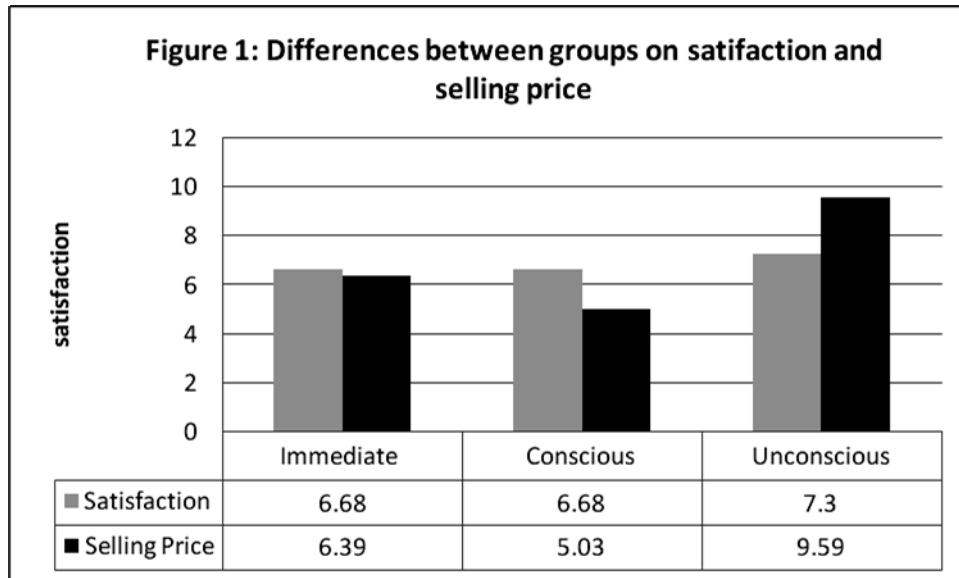
4.2.1 Automatic Processing and Automatic Social Behavior :

We have already learned about the schemas. In order to demonstrate the effect of automatic processing on automatic social behavior, Bargh, Chen, and Burrows (1996) conducted some experiments. In one of the experiments, they wanted to find the impact of rude and polite schema on subject's behavior. These schemas were activated by giving scrambled sentences containing words relevant schema. There were three groups of subjects. The group one had received scrambled sentences containing words related to rudeness, group two received words related to politeness and group three received unrelated words. After this task, they were suppose to report to the experimenter and ask for the next task. The experimenter was talking to another person (confederate). Experimenter ignored the subjects. Whether subject interrupted this conversation or not was the dependent variable. It was found that group 1 subjects interrupted the conversation more than anybody, confirming the hypothesis that the behavior has occurred in automatic manner. Further, it was found that it had no relation with subject's ratings of experimenter's politeness. In another study, they found that when the schema for 'old age' is activated, the subjects walked slowly than when it was not activated. Obviously confirming that the stereotypes, which are one type of schemas, have an impact on automatic behavior. In other studies, they have found that automatic processing have general effects than specific ones. They concluded that once automatic processing is activated, people automatically get ready for the interactions with the people for whom the schema is activated.

4.2.2 Benefits of Automatic Processing :

It is well known that the automatic processing is comparatively effortless, fast and efficient. In addition, whether it is beneficial than the systematic controlled processing is an interesting question to answer. Dijksterhuis and van Olden (2006) conducted an experiment showing the benefits of automatic processing. They investigated effects of immediate, conscious (controlled, systematic), and unconscious (uncontrolled, automatic) processing on satisfaction with the decision. They had three groups of subjects. The looked at posters and indicated their liking. Group 1 (immediate condition) has seen all the posters simultaneously and had to make decision immediately. Group 2 (Conscious condition) saw each poster for 90 seconds, listed their thoughts and evaluation systematically. Group 3 (Unconscious condition) worked on anagram problem after seeing the pictures, giving them no time to think. Later on they indicated their preferences. Subjects were gifted the posters of their choice. After five week, they were asked about their satisfaction with the poster and the money that they would want to sell it off. The figure 1 below clearly shows the

results obtained by these researchers. These finding clearly indicate that the group that processed the information systematically was most dissatisfied group whereas the one that processed information automatically was most satisfied group.

Figure 1: Differences between groups on satifaction and selling price

	Immediate	Conscious	Unconscious
■ Satisfaction	6.68	6.68	7.3
■ Selling Price	6.39	5.03	9.59

This may be due to the different capacity of the two processing style to process the information, automatic superseding. This and similar studies indicates that automatic processing is not only effortless but can be useful too.

4.3 POTENTIAL SOURCES OF ERRORS IN SOCIAL COGNITION :

Human beings reason thoughtfully on most of the social occasions, does not guarantee us rationality of thinking. This means that though we try to be correct in our thought process, we are likely to make errors in our social judgments. We shall explore some errors in cognition.

4.3.1 Negativity Bias :

Take following example: Niranjan is bright, helpful, social, jealous, and friendly person. Which adjective has attracted your attention the most. Perhaps, jealous…right…! This happens because of our tendency called as negativity bias. The tendency of Human beings to pay more attention to negative information than positive information is called as negativity bias. Social psychologists have recognized this tendency of human beings for a long time.

Negativity bias refers to the tendency to show greater sensitivity to negative information than positive information.

We pay more attention to any negative event, characteristics, etc., of social situation. This is seen in variety of social situations.

Such a tendency has a strong evolutionary relevance. Negative information reflects potentially dangerous aspects of the situation which may cause threat to the survival of the individual. Hence, one need to be sensitive to such an information. Human beings detect negative emotions very quickly than positive emotions. This does not mean that we are always negative in our attention. Indeed we also pay attention to positive information, and negativity bias gets eliminated under positive priming conditions.

4.3.2 The Optimistic Bias :

We also have an exactly opposite bias called as 'optimistic bias'. The optimistic bias refers to the tendency to expect the overall outcomes as positive. Generally, most people believe that they are more likely to experience positive events than others.

> The optimistic bias refers to the tendency to expect the overall outcomes as positive.

The effect of optimistic bias is seen on many of our actions and behaviors. Two examples are overconfidence barrier and planning fallacy.

> Overconfidence barrier refers to tendency to be more confident about the accuracy of our judgments than sensible.

We believe that we are more likely to be successful in studies, relations, marriage, jobs, and live longer life than what seems reasonable. This bias is called as overconfidence barrier.

Another result of the optimism is planning fallacy. Planning fallacy is a tendency to make optimistic bias regarding the time estimations for a given task. We tend to believe that we will finish a task much earlier than what it would actually take. Think of your time-tables for examination studies. We typically never finish our studies in the planned time. Because we tend to be unrealistically optimistic in our estimations of time.

> Planning fallacy is a tendency to believe that we can do more work in given period of time than actually or realistically is possible.

The planning fallacy occurs because we tend to ignore how much time a particular task has taken in past. We tent to focus on future and make a narrative account. Even when we focus on past

we believe that we took more time because of the external factors outside our control which may not affect us now. So if we pay careful attention to potential obstacles, then we can correctly estimate the time required and avoid the planning fallacy.

4.3.3 Counterfactual Thinking :

Suppose your friend applies for a specific college and fail to get admission because of less merit. You quickly think that 'he should have studied more'. If you know that somebody met with an accident and you think 'what if he wouldn't have started at that time. This is typically known as counterfactual thinking. Counterfactual thinking is thinking about a past that did not happen. It is tendency to imagine other outcomes in the situation than the once that have occurred. Counterfactual thinking is not just limited to the negative events. It is wide range of automatic thinking that influences our social cognition.

> Counterfactual thinking is thinking about a past that did not happen. It is tendency to imagine other outcomes in the situation than the one's that have occurred.

Counterfactual literally means 'contrary to the facts'. The term counterfactual thinking refers to a set of cognitions involving the simulation of alternatives to past or present factual events or circumstances. Suppose, two of your friends failed in unit test because they did not study well. Since the outcome is similar, you should feel similar sympathy for them. Now, imagine that A otherwise studies regularly, and B rarely studies. Now for whom you will have more sympathy..? You think of alternatives for the behavior of A than B and feel more sympathetic for him.

Counterfactual thinking is a very strong bias in thinking. In order to get rid of counterfactual thinking one need to suppress counterfactual thoughts or discount them.

Counterfactual thinking can be beneficial or costly for the user depending on how it is used. Suppose you have missed a top position in your class by one point. You think that 'you could have done better' or 'least you retained second position in class', you are engaging in two different types of counterfactual thoughts: upward and downward. This is one useful classification of counterfactuals is based on their direction of comparison (Roese, 1994). Counterfactuals may result in alternative circumstances that are evaluatively better than actual (i.e., upward counterfactuals) or evaluatively worse than actual (i.e., downward counterfactuals).

Often, regret can be confused with counterfactual thinking. Regret is an emotion whereas counterfactual thinking is thought.

4.3.4 Thought Suppression :

Human beings can manage to keep some thought out of their consciousness. This is called as thought suppression. If certain thoughts are disturbing, we can stay mentally healthy by keeping them out of mind. Thought suppression can be achieved in two stages: (i) Monitoring Process: this is an automatic monitoring process, which identifies an unwanted interrupting thought. (ii) Operating Process: this is an effortful, controlled process to find other important thought to distract from the disturbing thought. Individuals engage in thought suppression by influencing their feeling or behaviors.

4.3.5 Magical Thinking :

Suppose your friend offers you chocolates that have shape of insect, or cockroach. Will you eat that chocolate..? Most probably no. if you think rationally, the shape of the chocolate does not decide the contents. But still you will not, this is because of magical thinking. Magical thinking involves assumption that does not hold under rational scrutiny, but still individuals believe in them. One of the examples of it is, if two things resemble in external appearance, then they share similar fundamental properties. The plastic or rubber model of snakes or lizard can also create panic among the people.

> Magical thinking involves assumption that does not hold under rational scrutiny

Positive view of Social Cognition :

From the earlier discussion it appears that we are making only errors in thinking. Look at various kinds of heuristics that human beings use and various kinds of errors we make in social thinking. This provides a vey grim view of social cognition. As if we are making all judgments and decision irrationally. But in reality, we are processing huge amount of social information. And still, most of the time, in our social interactions, we are making useful and efficient judgments. It is also true that we are cognitive misers, and lazy about using rationality, but these rules of thumb often give us useful judgments. So we need not feel that this is making our life worse. It is certainly bringing some limitation to human thinking, and hence we are not becoming machines that process information, computers. This is what gives humanness to human thinking.

4.4 AFFECT AND COGNITION :

In this section we shall discuss the complex relationship between affect and cognition. Cognition involves thinking, decision

making, etc., whereas affect is expression of mood, a feeling state. Thought these two are independent systems of mind, their interplay has been a matter of extensive research. Affect influences cognition and cognition also influences affect. We shall discuss both in detail.

4.4.1 Influence of Affect on Cognition :

Our mood influences perceptions of the world around. When we are in sad mood, everything just looks gloomy to us, whereas when we are in cheerful mood, everything seems to be brighter than usual. Mood influences our memory, judgments, perceptions and many other aspects of cognition. Researchers have found that even experienced interviewers are influenced by their mood while evaluating the candidates. Mood in general is seen as a mediatory mechanism that influences cognition.

The impact of mood on memory is very well researched. There are two important effects that have been found in this connection. They are **mood congruent memory** and **mood dependent memory.** Mood dependent memory refers to the idea that the material can be better recalled in the mood in which the material is learned. (Earlier it was also known as state dependent hypothesis). If we learn (i.e., store in memory) something in positive mood, then we are more likely to recall it in positive mood (Figure 2). The mood in which the material was stored serves as a tag and the current mood serves as a retrieval cue. This is called as a mood dependent memory.

The **mood congruent memory** refers to the phenomenon that the present mood determines what would be recalled (Figure 3). If you are in positive mood then the positive information would be entered in the memory and recalled form the memory. If you are in the negative mood then the negative information will be easily recalled. So the information consistent (congruent) with the present mood is recalled. Here mood serves as a filter.

| Mood in which information is learned: Positive. E.g., Happy | → | Mood is positive: Happy | → | Information learned in positive mood is recalled |

| Mood in which information is learned: Negative. E.g., Sad | → | Mood is Negative: Sad | → | Information learned in negative mood is recalled |

Figure 2 : Mood Dependent Memory

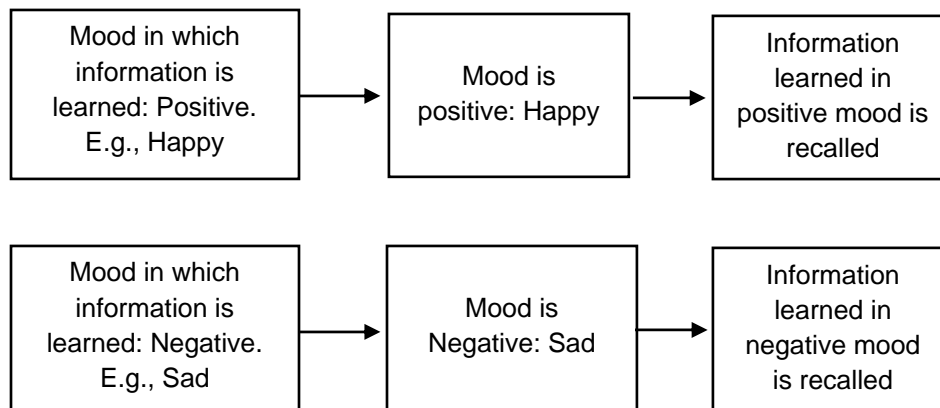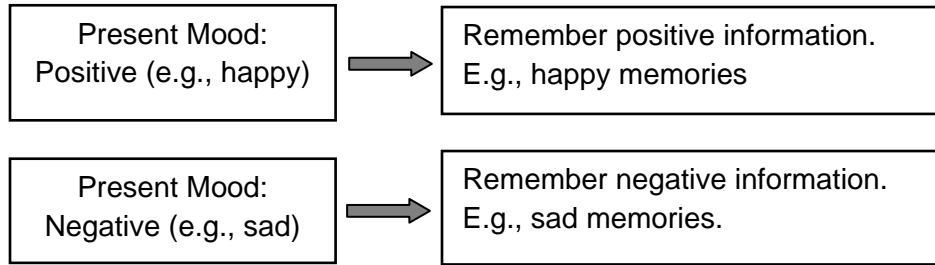| Present Mood: Positive (e.g., happy) | → | Remember positive information. E.g., happy memories |
| Present Mood: Negative (e.g., sad) | → | Remember negative information. E.g., sad memories. |

Figure 3 : Mood Congruent Memory

Among these two effects, the mood dependent is comparatively inconsistent in research literature. The findings regarding the mood congruent memory are more consistent. In addition, an *asymmetry* has also been reported in mood congruent memory. Mood congruent memory for positive mood is far more common than for negative mood. This can be attributed to the motivational mechanism to maintain the mood.

Mood also influences other cognitive functions than memory. Several research studies on **creativity** indicate that positive mood influences creativity positively. Mood helps in creating new associations that are required in creativity.

We have discussed heuristics in previous section. People who are in positive mood are more likely to use **heuristics** as compared to those who are in negative mood. This may be beneficial for tasks with experience. But it may not be similarly beneficial for novel tasks wherein systematic problem solving is required.

Mood also influences the way we **attribute motives** to people's behavior. When we are in positive mood we tend to attribute positive motives to people's behavior than when we are in negative mood.

4.4.2 The Influence of Cognition on Affect :

As affect influences cognition, cognition can also influences mood. One of the sources to understand this influence is to understand **Schachter's Two-Stage** model of emotions. This theory suggests that initial physiological arousal is general and people look out for cues to attribute that arousal. Depending on the cue they find out, they label the emotion. This process of identifying the cue and attribution is cognitive in nature. The second source is through the **activation of schemas**. If the schema contains affective information, and if that schema gets activated, then the related affect is also experienced.

Cognition and Regulation of Affective States :

We need to control our emotional reactions in almost all social circumstances. We also need to manage our own negative feelings in order to function effectively. We employ various techniques to do so. One of them is that we engage in behaviors that give pleasure but are potentially unhealthy. We deliberately **give in to our temptations** in order to lift our mood. Tice and others (2000) have conducted an experiment where they put the participants in good and bad mood. They were provided 15 minutes break to prepare for IQ test. The bad mood subjects procrastinated and their mood has got lifted because of that. Another strategy people use to cope with negative events is **'not to generate counterfactual thoughts'**. So, one thinks that the negative outcome was completely unavoidable. This reduces the negativity of the emotional reaction.

4.4.3 Affect and Cognition: Social Neuroscience Evidence :

It was stated earlier that there is an interplay of affect and cognition, essentially they are two separate systems. Several factor analytic studies have clearly demonstrated that cognition and mood are independent dimensions. In addition, the neuroscience research has also confirmed the view that there exist two distinct systems in the brain for these two dimensions. The brain region that is associated with cognition is prefrontal cortex whereas the limbic system is associated with emotions. Some experimental research on game theory highlight this fact. One of the games is **'ultimatum game'**. In this first subject is provided with some money. He had to offer some part of it to other individual, if the other individual agrees, the money is shared, and if the other individual doesn't agree then no one gets anything. Classic economics theory would predict that the other person would accept any non-zero amount, whereas in reality the offers below 40% are rejected. The MRI studies indicated that when people make such judgments, both, the prefrontal cortex and limbic system were active. In addition, the research on **delayed and immediate gratification** through rewards also supports this distinction. Increased activity is observed in limbic system for immediate reward than for delayed reward.

4.5   LET US SUM UP :

In this chapter we have seen that two basic processing mechanisms are involved in the processing of social information. They are automatic processing and controlled processing. In addition, we have also learned that various potential sources of errors can lead to mistakes in social judgments and decision making. Hence, we need to guard ourselves against those. Though,

heuristics and various other errors in cognition increases vulnerability to make errors in thinking, most of the times they turn out to be useful. We also learned that the mood and cognitions are two distinct systems and both of them affect each other.

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5

SOCIAL PERCEPTION

Unit Structure

5.0   OBJECTIVES :

Dear students! In the previous units you have studied about the field of social psychology and the process of social cognition. Just to refresh your memory social psychology incorporates the study of attitudes and perceptions, persuasion, and typical behaviors of people in their relationships with others. Social cognition is a mental process by which we attend to, store, remember, and use information about other people and the social world. In this unit you will be studying about the mental process called social perception which is one aspect of social cognition.

After the completion of this unit you will be able to:

1.   Define social perception.

2.   Identify the different channels of nonverbal communication.

3.   Explain Darwin's theory of universal facial expressions of emotion.

4.   Identify the focus of attribution theory.

5.   Discuss the two-step process involved in making attributions

6.   Describe the covariation model of Kelley and the process it attempts to describe.

7.   Identify self-serving attributions for success and for failure.

8.   Discuss the motives underlying defensive attributions.

5.1   INTRODUCTION :

It is a well documented fact that human beings are social animals whose survival is contingent on their ability to interact with others.Naturally, human beings are predisposed to knowing about others' personalities which enables them to deal with them amicably. Social psychology is the discipline that deals with a scientific analysis of human behavior. It tries to explain how the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of individuals are influenced by presence of others. It examines how our experience is understood in terms of the social influences and relationships vis-a-vis the cultural groups to which we belong.

When humans meander through the social mileu,they are constantly bombarded with variety of information through the various senses. **Social perception** is, that part of perception that allows us to understand the individuals and groups of our social world, and thus is an element of social cognition.

5.2   DEFINITION OF SOCIAL PERCEPTION :

Social perception and cognition are mental   processes that help us to collect and remember information about others, and to make inferences and judgments based on that information

Social perception is defined as the study of how we form impressions of and make inferences about other people. In order to know about other people, we depend on information gained from their physical appearance, and verbal and nonverbal communication. Missing informations are filled in by using an implicit personality theory: If a person is observed to have one particular trait, we assume that he or she has other traits related to this observed one. These assumptions help us to categorize people and then infer additional facts and predict behavior.

An **implicit personality theory** is a type of schema people use to group various kinds of personality traits together. Like other schemas, using these theories help us form well-developed impressions of other people quickly**.**

Social perceptions are also interlinked with self-perceptions. Both are influenced by self-motives. Society has the desire to achieve beneficial outcomes for the self and to maintain a positive self-image. Just as you prejudge the people you come across in society, you are being judged by them. As it is natural for humans to want to make a good impression on people, your self-perceptions almost mirror other's social perceptions.

According to David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield there are two major determinants of perception, structural factors and functional factors

By structural factors we mean those factors driving solely from the nature of the physical stimuli and the natural effects they evoke in the nervous system of the individual. Thus, for the Gestalt psychologist, perceptual organizations are determined primarily by the psychological events occurring in the nervous system of the individual in direct reaction to the stimulation by the physical objects. Sensory factors are independent of the perceiving individual's needs and personality.

The functional factors of perceptual organization are those, which derive primarily from the needs, moods, past experience and memory of the individual. All functional factors in perception are social in the usual sense of the term.

Social perception is one important component of social competence and successful social life. Being competent in social perception includes three domains of competence: (1) knowing that other people have thoughts, beliefs, emotions, intentions, desires, and the like, (2) being able to "read" other people's inner states based on their words, behavior, facial expression and the like, and (3) adjusting one's actions based on those "readings". That is, a socially competent person can make note of other people's facial expressions, tone of voice, posture, gestures, words, and the like, and on the basis of these clues, make reasonably accurate judgments about that person's state of mind, emotions, and intentions. Socially competent people then use these inferences about other people's inner states to make good decisions about how to behave socially.

Thus socially competent people must have knowledge of social rules, roles, routines, and scripts in their social lives. Furthermore, they must make use of this knowledge and of these scripts in their decision making and acting. They also have a concern for other people and make it a habit to adjust their behavior based on the needs of others. Finally, they have the confidence needed to interact socially and accept the vulnerability associated with potential rejection.

Researchers have confirmed the fact that first impressions are important. Studies show that first impressions are easily formed, difficult to change, and have a long-lasting influence. Rather than absorbing each piece of new information about an individual in a vacuum, it is common for people to invoke a preexisting prototype or schema based on some aspect of the person, modifying it with specific information about the particular

individual to arrive at an overall first impression. One term for this process is schema-plus-correction. It can be dangerous because it allows people to infer many things from a very limited amount of information, which partially explains why first impressions are often wrong.

If there is no special reason to think negatively about a person, one's first impression of that person will normally be positive, as people tend to give others the benefit of doubt. However, people are especially attentive to negative factors, and if these are present, they will outweigh the positive ones in generating impressions. One reason first impressions are so indelible is that people have a tendency to interpret new information about a person in a light that will reinforce their first impression. They also tend to remember the first impression, or overall schema, better than any subsequent corrections. Thus if a person whom one thinks of as competent makes a mistake, it will tend to be overlooked and eventually forgotten, and the original impression is the one that will prevail. Conversely, one will tend to forget or undervalue good work performed by someone initially judged to be incompetent. In addition, people often treat each other in ways that tend to elicit behavior that conforms to their impressions of each other.

Stereotypes :

Stereotypes are beliefs about people based on their membership in a particular group. Stereotypes can be positive, negative, or neutral. Stereotypes based on gender, ethnicity, or occupation are common in many societies.

Stereotypes have several important functions:

1. They allow people to quickly process new information about an event or person.
2. They organize people's past experiences.
3. They help people to meaningfully assess differences between individuals and groups.
4. They help people to make predictions about other people's behavior.

Nevertheless stereotypes can lead to distortions of reality for several reasons:

a. They cause people to exaggerate differences among groups.
b. They lead people to focus selectively on information that agrees with the stereotype and ignore information that disagrees with it.

c. They tend to make people see other groups as overly homogenous, even though people can easily see that the groups they belong to are heterogeneous.

One way to simplify things is to organize people into groups. For each group, we have a stereotype, a fixed set of characteristics we tend to attribute to all group members. Stereotypes enable us to make quick judgments, but these are often wrong.

Gender stereotypes : Males are considered more independent, dominant, aggressive, scientific, and stable in handling crises. Females are seen as more emotional, sensitive, gentle, helpful, and patient.

Evolutionary psychologists have speculated that humans evolved the tendency to stereotype because it gave their ancestors an adaptive advantage. Being able to decide quickly which group a person belonged to may have had survival value, since this enabled people to distinguish between friends and enemies.

Some evolutionary psychologists believe that xenophobia, the fear of strangers or people different from oneself, has genetic roots. They argue that humans are to some extent programmed by their genes to respond positively to genetically similar people and negatively to genetically different people.

Now communication is a vital part of human life. It is what allows us to share thoughts, feelings, wonderings, and knowledge with others and also shapes our social perceptions to a great extent. Though we use both verbal and nonverbal communication, the vast majority of communication we do is through nonverbal channels. The next section deals with nonverbal communication in detail.

5.3 DIFFERENT CHANNELS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION :

Nonverbal communication is one of the many interesting topics studied by social psychology. Social psychologists view it as an essential element of social perception. Although there are many other forms of nonverbal communication, the term usually means conveying thoughts and/or feelings without words using body language or sounds as the medium. Nonverbal communication can be defined as the way in which people communicate, intentionally or unintentionally, without words. The main channels of nonverbal communication are facial expressions, eye contact, body movements, posture and touching.

Nonverbal communication takes place in every social setting, though often it is not recognized for what it is or for what it means. It makes up a substantial portion of our communicative experience. Much research has been undertaken in recent years to analyze different kinds of nonverbal communication, and much of this research has addressed issues of interpersonal and inter-gender communication, addressing questions of interpersonal attraction, flirting, interactions in business situations, comparisons of male versus female interpretations of nonverbal behavior, and so on.

Many of us associate facial expression and gestures with nonverbal communication, but these are not the only two types involved. There are, in fact, eight different types of nonverbal communication

1) **Facial Expression** This makes up the largest proportion of nonverbal communication. Large amounts of information can be conveyed through a smile or frown. The facial expressions for happiness, sadness, anger, and fear are similar across cultures throughout the world.

2) **Gestures** Common gestures include pointing, waving, and using fingers, etc. You can tell a person's attitude by the way they walk or by the way they stand. Same goes for gestures.

3) **Paralinguistics** This includes factors such as tone of voice, loudness, inflection, and pitch. Tone of voice can be powerful. The same sentence said in different tones can convey different messages. A strong tone of voice may indicate approval or enthusiasm, whereas the same sentence said with a hesitant tone of voice may convey disapproval or lack of interest. Vocal Behaviors such as pitch, inflection, volume, rate, filler words, pronunication, articulation, accent, and silence, often reveal considerable information about others.

4) **Body Language and Posture** A person's posture and movement can also convey a great deal of information. Arm crossing or leg-crossing conveys different meanings depending on the context and the person interpreting them. Body language is very subtle, and may not be very definitive.

5) **Proxemics** This refers to personal space. The amount of space a person requires depends on each individual's preference, but also depends on the situation and other people involved in the situation. -The Use of Space- The only time you really notice this one is when we particularly need the space. For instance, being in a crowded elvator or being in a overly crowded house

party. A lot of times when a person is upset they just need their space to calm down.

6) **Eye Gaze** Looking, staring, and blinking are all considered types of eye gaze. Looking at another person can indicate a range of emotions including hostility, interest, or attraction. - Eye behaviors- plays a role in several important types of relational interaction.

7) **Haptics** This refers to communicating through touch. Haptics is especially important in infancy and early childhood. -Touch is one of our five senses, but, every touch has a different kind of meaning to it and when nonverbally communicating - its something you need to know. Five major areas of touching is : affectionate touch, caregiving touch, power and control touch, aggressive touch, ritualistic touch.

8) **Appearance** Our choice of color, clothing, hairstyles, and other factors affecting our appearance are considered a means of nonverbal communication.

Even Chronemics which implies the way we use time or the way we give time to others makes for a nonverbal behavior. It is indicative of two important relational messages, one concerning value and the other concerning power.

Culture and the Channels of Nonverbal Communication
Paul Ekman and his colleagues have studied the influence of culture on the facial display of emotions. They have concluded that display rules are particular to each culture and dictate what kinds of emotional expressions people are supposed to show. Eye contact and gaze are also powerful nonverbal cues. The use of personal space is a nonverbal behavior with wide cultural variations. **Emblems** are nonverbal gestures of the hands and arms that have well-understood definitions within a given culture.

Multichannel Nonverbal Communication :

In everyday life, we usually receive information from multiple channels simultaneously. The Social Interpretation Task (SIT), which uses videotaped naturally occurring interactions as stimuli, reveals that people are able to interpret such cues fairly accurately by making use of multiple cues. Research with the SIT indicates that extroverts may be better decoders than introverts.

Gender and Nonverbal Communication :

Women are better than men at both decoding and encoding nonverbal behavior, with respect to whether people are telling the

truth. Men, however, are better at detecting lies. This finding can be explained by **social-role theory**, which claims that sex differences in social behavior are due to society's division of labor between the sexes. Supportive evidence for this interpretation is provided by Hall (1979), who found that women's "nonverbal politeness" or attending to nonverbal cues that convey what people want others to see and ignoring nonverbal cues that leak people's true feelings. It has also been found that decoding is correlated with the degree of oppression of women in the culture.

Thus, it is seen that nonverbal behavior is used to express emotion, convey attitudes, communicate personality traits, and facilitate or modify verbal communication. Among the various channels of nonverbal communication much research has been done on facial expressions. In the following section we will discuss Darwin;s theory of universal facial expressions of emotion.

Check Your Progress : I

1. Fill in the blanks :
   a. The study of how we form impressions of and make inferences about other people is called as --------------.

   b. The way in which people communicate, intentionally or unintentionally, without words is known as -------------.

2.   List the various channels of nonverbal communication.

5.4   DARWIN'S THEORY OF UNIVERSAL FACIAL EXPRESSIONS OF EMOTION :

How do we convey our emotions to others? One obvious way we have of doing this is by making specific facial expressions. We smile when we are happy, we frown when angry, and we may appear tearful when sad. It is remarkable that relatively small movements of the facial musculature can alter dramatically the emotion which we display to others. Our ability to both make and recognise different facial expressions is an indication of an extremely vital social skill. Investigators from a number of fields of psychology have been interested in facial expressions of emotion. Social psychologists studying person perception have often focused on the face. Recent research is examining the relative weight given to the face as compared to other sources of information, the relationship between encoding and decoding, and individual differences.

Charles Darwin was the first to suggest that the main facial expressions are universal. In "The Expression of the Emotions in

Man and Animals" (1872), he examined the facial behaviour of nonhuman primates in order to find out about the origins of expressions in man. He chose this comparison with primates for they were the closest relatives to the ancestors of man and had to be therefore similar to them. According to his belief in the principles of evolution, they could therefore give a clue about the origins and development of facial movements. His findings were based on his own observations as well as on the observations of zookeepers. The result was that some facial expressions of nonhuman primates are similar to those of man including the expressions of anger, happiness and sadness. Although they share these expressions, they do not always have the same function in primate and man. For example, is the expression of happiness in man a development of the grimace that monkeys have used to signalise fear.

It interesting to note that he not only described the various different emotional expressions in man and animals in detail, but also attempted to explain the reason for the association of a particular expression with a specific emotion, for example why we blush when we are embarrassed, or why we make a characteristic mouth movement when disgusted. He provided evidence that facial expressions of emotion are universal, i.e., that facial expressions for specific emotions are similar in many different cultures and that human emotional expressions are universal -- that all humans encode and decode expressions in the same way. Modern research suggests that Darwin was right for the six major emotional expressions: anger, happiness, surprise, fear, disgust, and sadness.

- Face—reveals current moods/feelings.

- Eye contact—reveals friendliness, shyness, aggression.

- Body language (position, posture, movement) — reveals emotional states, status, cultural emblems.

- Touching—reveals affection, interest, dominance, caring, threat and aggression.

Further, he investigated the functions of facial expressions. He concluded that facial expressions in nonhuman primates represent, like in man, feelings. Mimic, as a means of communication is essential for a species in order to regulate the social interaction within the group. By facial expressions and sounds, animals indicate if they feel attracted to each other or if they feel hostility toward each other. Additionally, Darwin investigated the determinants of facial expressions and defined them along certain universal principles. The first is the principle of serviceable associated habits meaning that behaviour performed consciously in order to survive becomes unconscious with a certain state of mind. Behaviour like fleeing from an enemy is then

associated with fear. Unconscious performance develops by habit when fear or anger arouse. The second principle is the principle of antithesis meaning that when certain states of mind produce habitual, serviceable actions, the opposite state of mind leads to a strong tendency to produce opposite action although they are not of use.

Although facial expressions are a prime source of nonverbal communication, they may sometimes be hard to interpret accurately because people may display **affect blends**, facial expressions where one part of the face registers one emotion and another part registers a different emotion.

The fact that people sometimes try to appear less emotional than they are also makes decoding difficult. Culture also influences emotional expression; display rules that are unique to each culture dictate when different nonverbal behaviors are appropriate to display.

As Darwin observed, all humans, regardless of race, use the same muscle contractions and facial movements for simple and complex emotions. These observations lend themselves to the theory that individuals who were better able to communicate through expression were more likely to reproduce and pass on their genes.

Darwin further explored the facial expressions of primates and other mammals to prove the evolutionary connections between the species. Most notable are the similarities between humans and primates like the similarities between the expression of simple emotions in human and chimpanzee infants. It is now known through more in-depth evolutionary analysis that chimpanzees are the most closely related species to humans.

Over the past two decades, emotion researchers have uncovered convincing data to support Darwin's contention that there are facial expressions with "universal" meanings. Studies have found that human facial structure results in the most telling facial expressions of any species. The presence of eyebrows, more visible white in the eyes, more pronounced lips and additional muscles in the faces has expanded the repertoire of expressions humans can make to articulate more complex emotions, such as love and disappointment. On the other hand, other species can only communicate simple emotions and often must use other body parts to fully express themselves. Therefore, the use of emotional expression was crucial to the development of the more complex communication that is characteristic of Homo sapiens.

Although nonverbal behavior and implicit personality theories provide a guide to understanding others, there is still substantial ambiguity about why people act the way they do. Attribution theory describes the way in which people explain the causes of their own and other people's behavior.

Check Your Progress : II

1. Which according to Darwin are the common expressions of emotion?

2. List some factors that influence the facial expression of emotions.

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5.5 ATTRIBUTION, THEORIES OF ATTRIBUTION AND ATTRIBUTION BIAS :

Attribution refers to the the thought processes we employ in explaining the behavior of other people and our own as well. Attribution implies an explanation for the cause of an event or behavior. Attribution theory explains how individuals pinpoint the causes of their own behavior or that of others. We are preoccupied with seeking, constructing and testing explanations of our experiences and to render it orderly, meaningful and predictable for adaptive action.

Fritz Heider is considered the father of attribution theory. He believed that people are like amateur scientists, trying to understand other people's behavior by piecing together information until they arrive at a reasonable cause.

He proposed a simple dichotomy for people's explanations: internal attributions, in which people infer that a person is behaving a certain way because of something about that person (e.g., a trait or attitude) versus external attributions, in which people infer that a person is behaving in a certain way because of the situation that he or she is in. Heider also noted that people seem to prefer internal attributions

The Two-Step Process of Making Attributions

There are two steps involved in the process of attribution.

First step : Here people analyze another's behavior, they typically make an internal attribution automatically.

Second step : Here they think about possible situational reasons for the behavior. After engaging in the second step, they may adjust their original internal attribution to take account of situational factors.

Because this second step is more conscious and effortful, people may not get to it if they are distracted or preoccupied. People will be more likely to engage in the second step of attributional processing when they consciously think carefully before making a judgment, when they are motivated to be as accurate as possible, or if they are suspicious about the motives of the target.

Research has demonstrated that spouses in happy marriages make internal attributions for their partner's positive behaviors and external attributions for their partner's negative behaviors, while spouses in distressed marriages display the opposite pattern.

Internal and external attributions can have dramatic consequences on everyday interactions. How you react to a person's anger may be dependent on whether you believe that they are having a bad day or that they dislike something about you - the ripples flow into the future and influence how you treat that person henceforth.

Jones and Davis's (1965) correspondent inference theory explains how people infer that a person's behaviour corresponds to an underlying disposition or personality trait. Dispositional (internal) cause is preferred as it is stable and renders people's behaviour more predictable and increases sense of control.

Theory of Causal Attribution :

According to this theory in the case of Single-Instance Observation the following principles are used in making attributions.

Discounting principle works on the idea that we should assign reduced weight to a particular cause of behavior if there are other plausible causes that might have produced it.

Augmentation principle works on the idea that we should assign greater weight to a particular cause of behavior if there are other causes present that normally would produce the opposite outcome.

In the case of multiple observations the co variation principle centering on the idea that we should attribute behavior to potential causes that co-occur with the behavior is used. People act as scientists and assign causes of behaviour to the factor that co varies most closely with the behaviour.

The Covariation Model :

The Co-variation Theory assumes that people make causal attributions in a rational, logical fashion, like detectives, drawing inferences from clues and observed behaviours. By discovering co-variation in people's behaviour you are able to reach a judgment about what caused their behaviour.

The covariation model of Kelley (1967) focuses on how people decide whether to make an internal or an external attribution and on instances where there are multiple observations of behavior. It explains the attribution process as a search for information about what a particular behavior is correlated (covaries) with: When behaviour is correlated with the Situation it is called external attribution. When behavior is correlated with the person it amounts to internal attribution The theory views people as naive scientists who analyze the world in a rational manner.

According to Kelly,in order to form an attribution about what caused a person's behavior, we note the pattern between the presence (or absence) of possible causal factors and whether or not the behavior occurs. The most fundamental observation we make about a person's behavior is whether it is due to internal or external causes (Is the behavior determined by the person's own characteristics or by the situation in which it occurs?). The possible causal factors we focus on are (1) consensus information, or information about the extent to which other people behave the same way towards the same stimulus as the actor does; (2) distinctiveness information, or information about the extent to which one particular actor behaves in the same way to different stimuli i.e., is concerned with whether the behavior occurs in other, similar situations; and (3) consistency refers to whether the behavior occurs repeatedly;. When these three sources of information combine into one of distinct patterns, a clear attribution can be made.

1. *Low Consensus, Low Distinctiveness and High Consistency* leads people to make an internal attribution of the actor.

2. *High Consensus, High Distinctiveness, and High Consistency* lead people to make an external attribution. It is something about the situation or target.

3. Finally when *Consistency is Low* we cannot make a clear internal or external attribution, and so resort to a special kind of external or situational attribution.

A) So when there is a *Low Consensus*, and *High Distinctiveness*, it is due to an actor and situation interaction that uniquely causes the outcome.

B) When there is *High Consensus*, and *Low Distinctiveness*, it is either an actor attribution or a situation attribution. You basically don't know in this situation.

Several studies have shown that people often make attributions the way Kelley's model say they should with one exception. In research studies, people don't use consensus information as much as Kelley's theory predicted; they rely more on consistency and distinctiveness information when forming attributions.

People are most likely to make an internal attribution when consensus and distinctiveness are low but consistency is high; they are most likely to make an external attribution when consensus, distinctiveness, and consistency are all high. When these dimensions are coupled with the internal and external labels a powerful tool comes into place to make judgments that influences decisions. For example, high consistency can be associated with both internal and external attributes, while high distinctiveness aligns with external attributes, and high consensus with internal attributes.

The covariation model assumes that people make causal attributions in a rational, logical fashion. Several studies generally confirm that people can indeed make attributions in the way that these models predict, with the exception that consensus information is not used as much as Kelley's model predicts. Also, people do not always have the relevant information they need on all three dimensions.

Covariation is not causation . Making co-variation judgments requires multiple observations, often this information   is not available. We need to be aware that attributes are only inferences. The initial causes of behaviour may never be known, what we are doing is guessing.

Attribution Theory in Education :

Also, known as the Attribution Theory of Motivation, this theory describes how a person's reasons, alibis and vindications about self or others influence motivation. One of the most prominent psychologists who focused on The Attribution Theory of

Education was Bernard Weiner. Mr. Weiner said that all the factors influencing achievement or motivation can be classified as effort, ability, luck and level of task difficulty. These factors mainly provide details of the things which are under or beyond our control; effort, an unstable factor on which we exercise a great deal of control; ability, a stable factor on which we do not have much control; luck, an unstable factor over which we exercise little control and level of difficulty, a stable factor which is beyond our control.

Attribution Biases :

In psychology, an **attribution bias** is a cognitive bias that affects the way we determine who or what was responsible for an event or action (*attribution*). It is natural for us to interpret events and results as the consequences of the purposeful actions of some person or agent. This is a deep-seated bias in human perception which has been present throughout human history. Our ancestors invariably attributed natural events like earthquakes, volcanoes, or droughts to the angry retaliation of gods. Attribution biases are triggered when people evaluate the dispositions or qualities of others based on incomplete evidence.

Attribution biases typically take the form of *actor/observer differences*: people involved in an action (*actors*) view things differently from people not involved (*observers*). These discrepancies are often caused by asymmetries in availability (frequently called "salience" in this context). For example, the behavior of an actor is easier to remember (and therefore more available for later consideration) than the setting in which he found himself; and a person's own inner turmoil is more available to himself than it is to someone else. As a result, our judgments of attribution are often distorted along those lines.

The attribution bias causes us to under-estimate the importance of inanimate, situational factors over animate, human factors. For instance, we might talk to a person from another country who mentions they only venture outside the house for outdoor recreation only once a week, and assume this means that they are a person who loves the indoors. However, we may be unaware that they live in a cold location where it is freezing outside for most of the season.

The **fundamental attribution error** (also known as **correspondence bias**) describes the tendency to over-value dispositional or personality-based explanations for the observed behaviors of others while under-valuing situational explanations for those behaviors. It is most visible when people explain the behavior of others. It does not explain interpretations of one's own behavior - where situational factors are often taken into consideration. This

discrepancy is called the **actor-observer bias**. Fundamental Attribution Error refers to the tendency to make attributions to internal causes when focusing on someone else's behavior. When looking at the behavior of others, we tend to underestimate the impact of situational forces and overestimate the impact of dispositional forces. Most people ignore the impact of role pressures and other situational constraints on others and see behavior as caused by people's intentions, motives, and attitudes.

Self-Serving Attributions :

Self-serving attributions are explanations for one's successes that credit internal, dispositional factors and explanations for one's failures that blame external, situational factors. Self-serving bias is a tendency to attribute one's own success to internal causes and one's failures to external causes. This pattern is observed in the attributions that professional athletes make for their performances. It has been found that less-experienced athletes, more highly skilled athletes, and athletes in solo sports are more likely to make self-serving attributions.

One reason people make self-serving attributions is to maintain their self-esteem. A second reason is self-presentation, to maintain the perceptions others have of one self. A third reason is because people have information about their behavior in other situations, which may lead to positive outcomes being expected and negative outcomes being unexpected (and thus attributed to the situation). People often blame themselves for their own misfortune. Because otherwise, they would have to admit that misfortune was beyond their control, and they would be unable to avoid it in the future.

Defensive attributions are explanations for behavior or outcomes (e.g., tragic events) that avoid feelings of vulnerability and mortality. One way we deal with tragic information about others is to make it seem like it could never happen to us. We do so through the **belief in a just world**, a form of defensive attribution wherein people assume that bad things happen to bad people and that good things happen to good people. Because most of us see ourselves as good, this reassures us that bad things will not happen to us. The belief in a just world can lead to blaming the victim for his or her misfortunes.

Culture also influences attributional bias. With regard to the belief in a just world, in cultures where the belief is dominant, social and economic injustices are considered fair (the poor and disadvantaged have less because they deserve less). The just world belief is more predominant in cultures where there are greater extremes of wealth and poverty.

Our attributions may not be always accurate under many circumstances. First impressions, for example, are not very accurate. However, the better we get to know someone, the more accurate we will be about them .

One reason our impressions are wrong is because of the mental shortcuts we use in forming social judgments.. Another reason our impressions can be wrong concerns our use of schemas, such as relying on implicit theories of personality to judge others. Attribution errors are the most pervasive and ultimately the most destructive of the cognitive deficits. Avoiding the attribution bias can be difficult. One strategy is to simply give other people the benefit of the doubt. Another would be to inquire into the background behind the circumstances of a situation, to clarify whether a dispositional explanation is really most plausible. Yet another would be to ask oneself how one would behave in a similar situation. Eliminating the attribution bias completely seems impossible, as it is built into human nature. However, through reflective thinking, it appears possible to minimize its effects. To improve accuracy of your attributions and impressions, remember that the correspondence bias, the actor/observer difference, and defensive attributions exist and try to counteract these biases.

5.6 APPLICATIONS OF ATTRIBUTION THEORY :

Attribution theory helps us to understand why people have depression and prejudices.

Attribution and Depression :

Depressives have a different attributional style than non-depressives. They are often more realistic in their attributions, which may be why they are depressed! Depressed persons often show a self-defeating pattern of attributions, which is the opposite of the self-serving bias. They attribute negative outcomes to stable, internal causes and positive outcomes to temporary external causes They are characterized by a particular attributional style - specifically, they tend to make internal-stable attributions for bad events (e.g., I can never do well in mathematics). These are the most punishing of all possible attributions. They undermine the person's self-esteem and make him/her have a dismal outlook about future performances. Depressives may have an unrealistically dark view of life.

Attribution and prejudice :

A **prejudice** is a negative belief or feeling about a particular group of individuals. Prejudices are often passed on from one generation to the next.

Prejudice is a destructive phenomenon, and it is pervasive because it serves many psychological, social, and economic functions. It allows people to avoid doubt and fear. It gives people scapegoats to blame in times of trouble and can boost self-esteem. Evolutionary psychologists suggest that prejudice allows people to bond with their own group by contrasting their own groups to outsider groups. For example most religious and ethnic groups maintain some prejudices against other groups, which help to make their own group seem more special. Prejudice legitimizes discrimination because it apparently justifies one group's dominance over another.

People's social identities depend on the groups they belong to. From a person's perspective, any group he belongs to is an **ingroup**, and any group he doesn't belong to is an **outgroup**. People generally have a lower opinion of outgroup members and a higher opinion of members of their own group. People who identify strongly with a particular group are more likely to be prejudiced against people in competing outgroups.

Prejudices in workplaces affect how people perceive sexual harassment. Men are more likely than women to attribute blame to the victim. Changing men's attributions regarding sexual harassment may help to prevent it. The theory also helps in criminal law to understand the psychology of criminals. In today's world, with the increase in crime and global terrorism understanding criminal psychology has become essential.

Check Your Progress : III

1. What is meant by attribution?

2. Name the model which assumes that people make causal attributions in a rational and logical manner.

3. When does fundamental attribution error occur?

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5.7   LET US SUM UP :

Social perception refers to the processes through which we use available information to form impressions of other people, to assess what they are like. Social perceptions can obviously be

flawed - even skilled observers can misperceive, misjudge, and reach the wrong conclusions. Once we form wrong impressions, they are likely to persist.

Just as we form impressions about others, they also form impressions about us. At some point, most of us try to influence the impressions others hold of us. We use self-presentation and impression management tactics. We often try to simplify the complex flow of incoming information by putting people into useful categories. We pay attention to some stimuli while ignoring others. These classifications help to specify how various objects or events are related or similar to each other.

Nonverbal communication refers to the communication and interpretation of information by any means other than language. Nonverbal communication includes communication through any behavioral or expressive channel of communication such as facial expression, bodily movements, vocal tone and pitch, and many other channels. Nonverbal communication involves cues related to the communication (also referred to as the encoding or sending) of information as well as the interpretation (or the decoding or receiving) of information. The communication and interpretation of nonverbal behavior draws on tacit, implicit knowledge that all human beings possess. Such communication is often subtle, uncontrollable, and spontaneous, rapidly and unconsciously communicated and interpreted, and provides a great deal of information regarding affective states.

In The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, first published in 1872, Darwin argued that emotional expressions are adaptive responses; they communicate internal states, send out signals that enemies are present and have a powerful survival value for many species. Darwin's primary interest was in describing facial expressions and demonstrating that they are linked to the same emotions in all human cultures.

Attribution is a very special percept about assigning cause to people or events**.**

People are naive psychologists trying to understand the causes of their own and other's behaviour. People take account of consensus, consistency and distinctiveness when deciding between internal and external attributions.
Our attributions have a profound impact on our emotions, self-concept, and relationships.

A special attribution is the correspondent inference in which we link behaviors directly to personal traits in an actor. But they can be biased in many ways. As observers, we tend to locate the

causes of behavior in actors (as actors, however, we attribute cause to the environment)--this is called the fundamental attribution error.

Attributions of people as group members are ethnocentric and based on stereotypes.

Attribution theory also helps in understanding depression and prejudice.

5.8   QUESTIONS :

1. What is meant by social perception?

2. What evidence supports the existence of a person bias in attributions, and why is the bias often called the "fundamental attribution error"?

3. Explain, according to Kelley's model, how external and internal causal attributions are formulated.

4. What is the difference between fundamental attribution bias and the self-serving bias?

5. Discuss some implications of social perception in day to day life.

Web links :

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_perception

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Attributional_bias

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6

IMPRESSION FORMATION AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

Unit Structure:

Impression formation and impression management are two important topics within social perception. They are concerned with ways in which we influence others and help them to form impressions about ourselves. We also behave in ways so as to alter other's perception, generally in more positive ways towards ourselves.

6.0   OBJECTIVES :

After studying this unit you should be in a position to:

- Understand the process of impression formation.

- Comprehend the classic studies of Solomon Asch on impression formation.

- Know as to how quickly our first impressions are formed.

- Understand the cognitive approach to impression formation.

- Know the various tactics of impression management.

- Develop an understanding of the impression management by marginalized persons in India.

6.1   INTRODUCTION :

Impression formation and impression management are interrelated topics having considerable practical significance in our everyday life. We very quickly form impression of people whom we meet. We also make attempts to create favourable impression on others, so as to gain considerable advantage from them, such as an interview, assignment, getting our work done, etc. We also attempt to influence how others would perceive us and form impressions about us. In this unit we will discuss how impressions are formed and how we influence other's impression about us.

6.2   IMPRESSION FORMATION AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT DEFINED :

Impression Formation: Impression formation deals with the processes involved in the formation of impression about others. Impression Formation is the process through which we develop our beliefs and evaluations of other people. It refers to the process through which we combine diverse information about other persons into a united impression of them. Forming impressions about others is an elaborate cognitive process. The initial or first impressions about others are very important. It is rightly said that the "First impression is the last impression". The initial impressions we make on others will generally shape the course of our future relations with them in important ways. Once an impression is formed, it is generally resistant to change. Thus, it is necessary to be careful on first dates, interviews and other situations in which we will meet others for the first time. Large number of research studies have shown that first impression do seem to exert a lasting effect on both, social thought and social behaviour (Anderson 1981, Wyer et al, 1994).

Impression Management: It is also called as self-presentation. It deals with the various methods and efforts that individuals use to produce a favorable impression about himself/herself on others. We often attempt to influence others by projecting ourselves in ways which will present us in a favorable light. We often behave, act, dress and express ourselves in ways that produce favorable impressions on others. Impression Management is a skillful activity. Research on impression management has shown that people who can perform impression management successfully are often successful in many situations as they help others to form positive and good impressions about themselves.

6.3 RESEARCH BY SOLOMON ASH ON CENTRAL AND PERIPHERAL TRAITS IN IMPRESSION FORMATION :

Solomon Asch (1946) did pioneering studies in the areas of Impression formation. He was heavily influenced by the work of Gestalt Psychologists, who believed that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" . Like Gestalt Psychologists, Solomon Asch held the view that we do not form impression simply by adding together all of the traits we observe in other persons. Rather, we perceive these traits in relation to one another, so that the traits cease to exist individually and become, instead, part of an integrated, dynamic whole. Asch studied impression formation by using a simple method. He gave individuals lists of traits supposedly possessed by a stranger, and then asked them to indicate their impression of this person by checking the traits on a long list that they felt fit with their impression of the stranger.

In one of his study participants were given the following two lists.

- Intelligent - skilful – industrious - **warm** – determined – practical - cautious.

- Intelligent – skilful - industrious - **cold -** determined – practical - cautious.

The above lists differed only with respect to two words: warm and cold. Thus, if people form impressions merely by adding together individual traits, the impression formed by persons exposed to these lists would not differ very much. The results of his study revealed that persons who read the list containing "warm" were much more likely to view the stranger as generous, happy, good natured, sociable, popular, and altruistic than were people who read the list containing "cold."

According to Asch, the words "warm" and "cold" described central traits -- ones that strongly shaped overall impressions of the stranger and coloured the other adjectives in the lists. Asch obtained additional support for this view by substituting the words "polite" and "blunt" for "warm" and "cold." When he did this, the effects on participant's impressions of the stranger were far weaker; "polite" and "blunt", it appeared, were not central words with a strong impact on first impressions. Thus, Central traits have a stronger impact on our impressions than Peripheral Traits.

In further studies, Asch varied not the content but the order of adjectives of each list. For example

- One group read the following list. "Intelligent - industrious – impulsive critical- stubborn - envious".

- Another – group read: "Envious - stubborn - critical – impulsive - industrious - intelligent."

In the above list the only difference was in the order of the words on the two lists. Yet, again, there were larger differences in the impression formed by participants. For example, while 32 per cent of those who read the first list described the stranger as happy, only 5 per cent of those who read the second list did so. Similarly, while 52 per cent of those who read the first list described him as humorous, only 21 per cent of those who read the second list used this adjective.

Harold Kelly (1950) replicated the studies of Solomon Ash, and found that central traits affect not only our ratings of others, but also influences our behavior. On the basis of many studies such as these, Asch and other researchers concluded that:

i) Forming impressions of others involve more than simply adding together individual traits.

ii) Our perceptions of others are more than the sum of information (Traits) we know about others.

iii) Individual Traits are evaluated in relation to other known Traits, and develop an overall picture where all the traits fit together consistently.

iv) Impression formation is a coherent, unified and integrated process in which we take a wholistic and a global view of the various traits possessed by an individual.

6.4 HOW QUICKLY ARE FIRST IMPRESSIONS FORMED? AND THE ROLE OF SCHEMAS IN SHAPING FIRST IMPRESSIONS :

We have a general tendency to quickly form first impressions about others. These first impressions, about others, are formed quickly and without any mental effort. Recent research on impression formation has revealed that we not only form first impressions of others quickly, but also that these impressions play a strong role in our overt actions, including the important behaviour of choosing between candidates for political office. Research studies by Willis and Todorov (2006) have revealed that when shown faces of strangers (male and female) individuals form first impressions of these people rapidly. In fact even exposure times of one-tenth of a second are sufficient, and increasing exposure times do not change the first impressions significantly. Thus, we form

impressions of others very quickly and often on the basis of limited amounts of information (e.g. their facial appearance). This has considerable practical significance in our interpersonal relationships, business meeting and other professional relationships.

Implicit Personality Theories: Schemas that Shape First Impressions: Implicit personality theories are beliefs about what traits or characteristics are assumed to go together. For example, if some one describes a person as "helpful" and "kind" we would also assume him/her to be sincere. Similarly, if our friend describes a stranger as "practical" and "intelligent" person, we would also assume him/her to be ambitious. This is largely due to the schema we hold about people and or events. For e.g., in many societies, it is assumed that "what is beautiful is good" – that people who are attractive also possess other positive traits, such as good social skills and interest in enjoying good times and good things in life. Large number of research studies, especially those related to birth order and personality reveal that our impressions of others are often strongly shaped by our beliefs about what traits or characteristics go together. These beliefs are often so strong that we will sometimes bend our perceptions of other people to be consistent with them. We often form impressions of others that reflect our implicit beliefs more than their actual traits.

6.5 COGNITIVE APPROACH TO IMPRESSION FORMATION :

The term cognitive means perception, thinking, reasoning and other related mental processes. Impression formation is a cognitive process in which we combine available information about others into a weighted average in which each piece of information about another person is weighted in terms of its relative importance. The various factors that influence the relative weight age are as follows.

1. **The Sources of Input:** The information from sources we trust or admire is weighted more heavily than information from sources we distrust (Rosenbaum and Levin, 1969).

2. **Positive and Negative Nature of Information:** We tend to weight negative information about others more heavily than positive information.

3. **Unusual or Extreme Behaviour:** The information that describes behaviour or traits that are unusual or extreme are more valued and weighted.

4. **Primacy Effect:** Information received first tends to be weighted more heavily than information received later.

Modern investigators have attempted to understand impression formation in terms of the basic knowledge of Social Cognition i.e., the ways in which we notice, store, remember and integrate social information. According to cognitive view our basic ideas about how impressions are formed and changed is influenced by two factors: Exemplars of the trait and mental summaries that are abstracted from repeated observations of other's behaviours. We would discuss each of these briefly.

- **Exemplars:** It refers to concrete examples of behaviour other have performed that are consistent with a given traits. According to this view when we make judgements about others, we recall examples of their behaviour and base our judgement (and our impressions) on these. For e.g., we may recall that during our first meeting with person, how he/she was rude, made criticism about others, and did not co-operate with sick person who was with us. We will recall all these pieces of information and conclude that this person posses the trait of "inconsideration."

- **Abstractions**: It refers to mental summaries that are abstracted from repeated observations of other's behaviour. According to this view when we make judgement about others we simply bring our previously formed abstractions to mind, and then use these as the basis for our impressions and our decisions. If we have previously judged a person to be unfriendly, pessimistic, etc., we will combine these traits into an impression of this individual.

A large number of research evidence (Klein and Loftus, 1993, Klein et al., 1992) supports the view that concrete examples of behaviour and mental abstractions play a role in impression formation. The nature of impressions considerably shifts as we gain increasing experience with others.

Research studies by Sherman and Klein (1994) have explained how our impressions of others develop. According to them our initial impression of others consists primarily of examples of behaviour they have shown that are indicative of various traits. After we have had more experience with people, however, our impressions shift towards consisting mainly of abstractions ----- mental summaries of their behaviour on many occasions.

In sum, existing evidence indicates that information does not occur in a cognitive vacuum. On the contrary, mental framework representing our previous experience in many social situations, and

basic cognitive processes relating to the storage, recall, and integrating of social information, play a role in it.

6.6   IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT :

Impression Management is also called as self-presentation. It can be defined as our efforts to produce favorable impressions on others. Impression Management is a skillful activity. Research studies (Schlenker 1980, Wayne and Liden, 1995) have demonstrated that people who can perform impression management successfully often gain important advantages in many situations such as getting their work done, job promotions, increased popularity ratings, etc.

Impression Management: Some Basic Tactics: The two broad tactics of impression management are as follows:

a)   Self-enhancement: It can be defined as efforts to boost our own self-image. There are many tactics of self-enhancement. One important tactic of self-enhancement is to improve our appearance. This can done in following ways:

- Changes in dress.

- Personal grooming (use of cosmetic, hairstyle, use of perfume).

- Use of various props (such as eye glasses).

- Judicious use of nonverbal cues.

Some additional tactics of self-enhancement includes:

i) Efforts to describe one in positive terms,

ii) Explaining how they overcame difficult obstacles, and

iii) How they faced certain challenges, which are not common, etc.

Research studies indicate that all the above techniques work under some or other conditions. Brief summaries of some research studies using self-enhancement as an impression management technique are as follows:

- Women who dress in a professional manner (business suit or dress, subdued jewellry) are often evaluated more favorable for management positions than women who dress in a more traditionally feminine manner (Forsythe, Drake, and Cox, 1985).

- It has also been found that eyeglasses encourage impression of intelligence, while long hair for women or beards for men tend to reduce such impression (Terry and Krantz, 1993).

- Wearing perfume or cologne can enhance first impression provided this particular grooming aid is not overdone (Baron, 1983).

Most of these efforts to improve personal appearance are not potentially dangerous to the persons who use them. However, one types of effort to enhance personal appearance ---- developing a suntan ---- is potentially harmful (Broadstok Borland and Gason, 1991). Other tactics of self-enhancement pose different kinds of risks. For instance, recent research by Sharp and Getz (1996) indicates that one reason why at least some young people consume alcohol is that it gives them the right "image." In other words, they engage in such behaviour partly for purpose of impression management. Research finding (Sharp and Getz, 1996) offer support for the view that some people do drink alcohol as a tactic of impression management to help look good in the eyes of others.

b) *Other – enhancement:* It refers to efforts on our part to make the target person feel good in our presence. There are many ways in which we can enhance other's self esteem. Some of these are as follows:

- Flattery – heaping praise on target person even if they don't deserve it.

- Expressing agreement with their views.

- Showing a high degree of interest in them.

- Doing small favours for them.

- Expressing liking for them, either verbally or non verbally (Wayne and Ferris, 1990).

A large body of research evidence suggests that efforts to engage in impression management are highly useful. It has been found that impression management can influence important judgments based on impression of others.

Research studies by Wayne and Linden (1995) have demonstrated that impression management is a useful tactic during the first six weeks on the job. They found that the greater the extent to which the new employees engaged in other-enhancement (supervisor-focused) tactics of impression management, the more their supervisors viewed them as similar to themselves. Further, the more the employees engaged in self-enhancement tactic, the more their supervisors liked them. Most important, increased liking and

feeling of similarity were strong predictors of performance ratings; the more supervisors liked their subordinates and felt similar to them, the higher they rated their performance.

These finding and those of many other studies (e.g., Wayne and Kacmar, 1991; Paulhus, Bruce, and Trapnell, 1995) indicate that impression management tactics often do succeed in enhancing the appeal of persons who use them.

6.7 IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT BY MARGINALIZED PERSONS : THE CASE OF HIJRAS IN INDIA :

Many marginalized individuals especially hijras and gays have received considerable media attention in India in recent years. They have also raised many issues highlighting their identity and problems. Some have projected them in a favorable light. Many Hijras have contested elections and have defeated prominent Congress and BJP candidates. Research studies have revealed that marginalized persons can face conservative backlash if they reach positions of power through successful impression management. The plight of these marginalized groups, especially hijras and gays have received considerable media attention and some award winning movies have also been made. One such movie is "welcome to Sajjanpur" in which is depicted as to how a character Munnibai contests and wins elections.

Gay individuals, through legal process as well as through media representations has highlighted their plights from time to time and have achieved considerable privileges in terms of increased sympathy, legal protection from courts, increased support from the general public.

6.8 QUESTIONS :

1. Discuss the process of impression formation and management with reference to research studies?

2. Write short notes on the following:
    a) Impression Formation
    b) Impression Management
    c) Impression Management by Marginalized Persons

3. Discuss the research studies of Solomon Asch on Impression Formation.

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7

ATTITUDES

Unit Structure:

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you should –

- Understand how attitudes are formed and the process of development of attitude.
- Know when and why attitudes influence behavior.
- Techniques of changing attitudes such as persuasion and cognitive dissonance.

7.1   INTRODUCTION :

Attitudes are dynamic phenomena that interact with all other elements of an organism. The concept of attitude originated in the United States. Allport described it as probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American Social Psychology. In their study of the Polish Peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki used the term attitude extensively. Often the term attitude is identified with prejudices, biases, states of readiness, beliefs or ideas with an emotional tinge.

Attitudes exercise a great influence on the life and behaviour. Attitudes indicate the direction and intensity of response of the person to stimuli. They reveal the drives which lead to some

form of behaviour. It is a clear fact that every individual has a vast array of attitudes: e.g., Attitudes towards health, children, food, clothes, God, pets, etc.

Definition :

Attitudes refer to a mental and neural set of readiness, organized through experience exerting a directing or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. .... Gordon Allport.

An attitude is a readiness to respond in such a way that behaviour is given a certain direction. According to Allport attitudes are three types :
1. Social Attitudes
2. Attitudes towards specific persons.
3. Attitudes towards specific groups.

7.2 ATTITUDE FORMATION : HOW ATTITUDES DEVELOP :

Attitudes are a result of beliefs. Beliefs about the object, feelings towards the object, behavioural intensions regarding the object and actual behaviour thus shown are all steps towards attitude formation. For example, if employees believe that their current job will provide them with experience and training a positive attitude is developed in them towards the job. There are four process in attitude formation. It is similar to how beliefs are formed. They include:-

1. **Past experience:** People develop attitude on the basis of their past experience.

2. **Available Information:** A piece of information that is happy will influence the beliefs. This will consequently affect the attitude formation. For eg: If an employee hear about the promotion of many people in an industry his attitude changes.

3. **Generalization :** Generalization comes from similar situations or events. Eg: No one in a job is promoted. This will give a general feeling that there is no promotion.

The most important thing to remember about attitude formation is that it is learned. Family, friends, experiences co-workers, are involved in attitude formation.

7.3   ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT :

In early development stage (infant) attitudes exist in their most primitive form, as simple pleasant or unpleasant states of the infant. Some of these feelings are results of satisfied or unsatisfied biological needs. Others are produced by pleasurable or unpleasurable responses from mother, father or siblings. An infant gains pleasure from being helped and protected. But a child in the early period of walking is likely to resent and reject the helping hand. Developmental changes produce changes in child attitude with objects and situations.

Child's attitude towards authority figure is an important element of socialization. It determines his behaviour in school. A rebellious attitude towards authority (teacher, principal, peer group) can bring conflicts. Teacher can influence the attitude of a child considerably.

Attitudes of Children have their origins in the family relationships at home. The parental attitude of 'acceptance – democratic' seemed to facilitate growth and development more than others.

Attitudes developed during the preschool years are associated with the general culture. Day to day experiences and the child's perception of them have a strong influence on the development of attitude. Attitude develops moment by moment. Some of them are formed without direction. Others are a result of careful planning by a person or persons who desires to encourage the development of attitudes. Much of citizenship training is a matter of attitude formation. Emotional attitude play great role in one's life. Children should gain unbiased attitude through content mastery. School becomes a very important factor in the development of existing attitude and to create new ones. Teachers play a great role in this respect.

An individual's attitude is determined by various developmental factors. They are as follows :-

1. **Physical growth and development:** This is responsible for poor emotional and social adjustment. Social adjustment has important effects on the formation of attitude.

2. **Intellectual development:** The components of intelligence like memory, understanding, thinking and reasoning play a significant part in attitude formation. This is because they help in gaining perceptual experience.

3. **Emotional Development:** Emotions play dominant role in converting behaviour in to attitudes.

4. **Social Development:** Social interaction is a key to attitude formation at any age of human development. Social attitudes can be picked up from respective group.

5. **Ethical and Moral Development:** Individuals enhancing his feelings of self-esteem tries to develop those attitudes that increases his values and ideals.

In attitude formation, both home and family environment plays a leading role. Attitude offer great possibilities for successful achievement as well as failure in life. They are an important motivator of behaviour and influence all human values.

7.4 WHEN AND WHY DO ATTITUDES INFLUENCE BEHAVIOUR :

How attitudes are formed and how to get it changed? They are an important determinant of behaviour. The link between attitudes and behaviour is quite weak. Therefore, knowing some one's attitude was not very useful in predicting their behaviour. There is a gap between one's attitude and behaviour on many occasions. Attitudes often do exert important effects on our behaviour. Research findings show the possibility of predicting people's behaviour from their attitudes. Social psychologists made progress in understanding the link between attitude and behaviour.

Attitude – Behaviour Link :

Lapiere (1934) conducted a study to understand the attitude behaviour link. During those days, social psychologists generally defined attitudes in terms of behaviour. Allport (1924) defined attitude as tendencies to behave in certain ways in social situations.

Lapiere studied the relation of attitude and behaviour by travelling with a young Chinese couple. His results indicated a sizable gap between attitudes and behaviour between what people say and what they actually do. Attitude do not strongly influence overt behaviour. Accordingly to some social psychologists researches shows that under certain conditions, attitudes do indeed influence behaviour.

There are several factors that affect the strength of the relationship between attitude and behaviour. These factors determine the extent to which attitudes influence overt behaviour. Attitudes influence behaviour (1) When situational constraints moderate the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (2) when situational pressure shape the extent to which attitudes can be expressed. (3) when attitudes are powerful and strong.

The term attitude is used in describing people, and in explaining their behaviour. eg: "He has a poor attitude", "I Like her attitude", etc. Attitudes are complex cognitive process, that influence life. Attitude and behaviour has a relationship. In gaining a clear understanding of the relationship between attitude and behaviour both the causes and effects of attitude need to be examined. Fishbein and Ajzen, have done a study in this respect. Accordingly, the beliefs about the object provides the attitude. The behavioral intentions describes what the person is inclined to do. The actual behaviour is a function of attitudes and other many factors.

| Beliefs of Object | → | Attitude | → | Behaviour |

7.4.1 How do attitudes guide behaviour :

In late 1960s, social psychology was experiencing serious crisis. Many studies concluded the fact that the link between attitudes and behaviour is actually quite weak. This means knowing someones attitude was not very useful in predicting their overt behaviour. Later studies support the fact that our attitudes often do exert important effects on our behaviour Research findings in this respect supported the possibility, of predicting people's behaviour from their attitudes.

The attitude behaviour link : Study was conducted by Lapiere (1934). His study results indicated that there is a sizable gap between attitudes and behaviour. That is between what people say and what they actually do. Later studies indicated that attitudes do indeed influence behaviour. It is the type of attitude that matters in behaviour. Ambivalent attitudes are weaker predictors of behaviour. Recent research in this area, concluded that when attitudes are not ambivalent, that is, when attitudes have no positive and negative feelings–attitudes do indeed predict behaviour. Situational constraints moderate relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

There are several aspects of attitudes that guide behaviour :

(1)   Attitude origin – Evidence indicates that attitudes on basis of direct experience have stronger effects on behaviour.

(2)   Attitude strength. The stronger the attitudes are, the greater their impact on behaviour.

(3)   Attitude specificity. This is the extent to which attitudes are focused on specific objects. Attitude behaviour link is stronger when attitudes and behaviours are measured at same level of specificity.

Attitudes seem to influence behaviour through two different mechanisms. When we can give careful thought to our attitudes, intentions derived from our attitudes strongly predict behaviour. In situations, where we cannot engage in deliberate thought, attitudes influence behaviour.

Check Your Progress :

1. Define attitude?

2. How are attitudes formed?

3. How have your attitudes been affected during the past week?

4. Explain attitude - behaviour link ?

5. Give examples to show attitude development.

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7.5 THE FINE ART OF PERSUASION: HOW ATTITUDES ARE CHANGED :

Persuasion is the effort to change our attitudes through the use of various kinds of messages. It is a part of daily life. Studies of social psychologists yielded insights into the cognitive process that play a role in persuasion. For attitude change persuasive communication plays a vital role. Persuasive communication is such a skill which is employed by a person to persuade other person or persons. The skill may be based on reason. In persuasive behaviour communication is vital. It can be through dialogue, written ideas, television or film Through these media, the messages sent might bring changes in our view point. Some persuasive appeal do not succeed in attitude change.

Example : Some advertisements fail to sell the goods advertised; while others are successful. The various ingredients of persuasion are:The communicator, communication, process of communication, these four elements include, 'What means', and to 'whom'.

There are two routes to persuasion. They are :-

(1) The central route to persuasion. Persuasion that occurs when interested people focus on the arguments. e.g: Advertisement of computer.

(2) Peripheral Route to persuasion. Persuasion that occurs when people are influenced by incidental cues. e.g: Attractiveness of the speaker.

The Early Approach to Persuasion :

It is found that source credibility is an important factor in persuasion. Following are some interesting findings of early research on persuasion.

- Communicators who are credible are more persuassive. Experts with respect to the topics are more persuasive than non-experts.

- Communicators who are attractive in some way. E.g. physically attractive.

- People are more susceptible to persuasion.

- When audience attitude is contrary to that of the persuader.

- People who speak rapidly are often more persuasive than persons who speak more slowly.

- Persuasion can be enhanced by messages that arouse strong emotions (especially fear) in the audience.

7.6 RESISTING PERSUASION ATTEMPTS :

We are highly resistant to persuasive messages. If we are not, our attitudes would be in a constant state of change. Several factors contribute to such resistance to persuasion.

1. *Reactance:* It is negative reactions to efforts by others to limit our personal freedom. In other words we tend to protect our personal freedom.

2. *Forewarning:* It is the prior knowledge of persuasive intent. It is the knowledge that someone is trying to change our attitudes.

3. *Selective Avoidance:* It is a tendency to direct our attention away from information that challenges our existing attitudes.

4. *Counter arguing against competing views:* When exposed to persuasive messages we actively counterargue against the information they contain. This also increases our resistance to persuasion.

5. ***Biased assimilation and attitude polarization:*** These are two additional processes that play a role in resistance to persuasion. Biased assimilation is the tendency to evaluate information that disconfirms our existing views as less convincing than that confirms these views. Attitude polarization is the tendency to evaluate information in such a way that it strengthens our initial views.

7.7 COGNITIVE DISSONANCE. WHAT IT IS AND HOW WE MANAGE IT ?

Congnitive dissonance is an unpleasant internal state that results when individuals notice inconsistency between two or more of their attitudes. It can also be an unpleasant state between attitudes and behaviour. It is a frequent occurrence in everyday life. It can sometimes lead us to change our attitudes.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory proposed by Leon Festinger in 1957 begins with the idea that people do not like inconsistency and are uncomfortable when it occurs. Dissonance can be reduced through direct as well as indirect techniques.

Direct Approaches:

1. Change of our attitude or behaviour so that these are more consistent.

2. Reduce cognitive dissonance by acquiring new information to support our attitude.

3. Trivialization. A technique for reducing dissonance in which the importance of attitudes and behaviours that are inconsistent with each other is cognitively reduced.

Direct approach focus on attitude behaviour discrepancies that are causing dissonance.

Indirect Approaches:

Research by Steele (1988) and his colleagues indicate that :

1. Positive self evaluations by focusing on their positive self attributes reduce dissonance.

2. Engaging in distracting activities that takes one's mind off the dissonance (Zanna and Aziza 1976).

Scientific evidence relate the fact that dissonance is unpleasant. Also dissonance is indeed a universal aspect of human thought. But the conditions under which it occurs and the tactics

individuals choose to reduce it appear to be influenced by cultural factors.

7.8   QUESTIONS :

1.   What is persuasion?

2.   How can you change attitudes?

3.   State the findings of early research on persuasion?

4.   What are the factors contributing resistance to persuasion?

5.   What is cognitive dissonance?

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8

STEREOTYPING, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Unit Structure:

8.0   Objectives
8.1   Introduction
8.2   How members of different groups perceive inequality?
8.3   Nature and origins of stereotyping.

- **Stereotypes**: *Beliefs* about members of a specific group.
- **Prejudice**: Negative *feelings* towards members of a specific group.
- **Discrimination**: Negative *behaviours / actions* directed at members of a specific group.

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to :

- Define terms like stereotype, prejudice and discrimination.
- Explain the relationship between the three terms.
- Cite examples of different kinds of prejudice.
- List the ill effects of prejudice in any society.
- Explain the nature and origins of stereotyping.
- Pupils will be able to describe ways to counter prejudice.

8.1   INTRODUCTION :

What is a Stereotype?

Stereotype - A conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image. A partiality that prevents objective consideration of an issue or situation. A preconceived opinion; bias; sentence passed before proper examination of the circumstances

Stereotypes can be either positive ("black men are good at basketball") or negative ("women are bad drivers"). But most stereotypes tend to make us feel superior in some way to the person or group being stereotyped. Stereotypes ignore the

uniqueness of individuals by painting all members of a group with the same brush.

Prejudice – A prejudice evolves from a stereotype. Prejudices can be positive as well as negative. Positive stereotypes can also lead to discrimination but largely not as harmful as negative. Based on our stereotypes if we start forming hostile or negative opinions of others or when a person dislikes another for no good reason, or has formed a hostile opinion of someone before even getting to know them it is prejudice. It is in other words a negative judgment or opinion formed about an individual or group without knowledge of the facts.

Discrimination -- Treating people in a less favorable way because they are members of a particular group. Discrimination is prejudice in action. Let us take a concrete example

For instance you perceive '**A'** community as violent because of stereotyping. You might not show your hatred with words, but your prejudice is there and when you take a negative action you discriminate. For instance you are the boss of a company and a person from that **A c**ommunity applies for a job you already have a prejudice against them and so you might not select the candidate even if he/she is meritorious. This is discrimination. So you see how the three terms described above are interrelated.

Thus there is a relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

STEREOTYPES ⟶ PREJUDICE DISCRIMINATION

ATTITUDES / BELIEFS	ACTIONS / BEHAVIORS
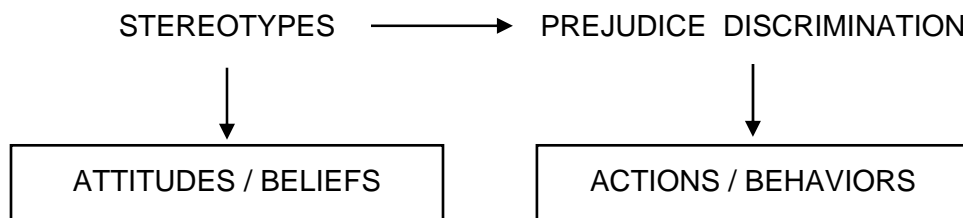
Prejudice and discrimination occur with respect to differences in race, ethnicity, gender, language and a variety of other social categories.

Thus, stereotypes and prejudice is a widespread phenomenon, present in all societies of the world. Our society often innocently creates and perpetuates stereotypes, but these stereotypes often lead to unfair discrimination and persecution when the stereotype is unfavorable. **Social perception** involves the development of an attitude towards another person or group of persons.

A stereotype is an attitude towards a person or group on the basis of some physical characteristic or physical fact. A "stereotype" is a generalization about a person or group of persons. We develop stereotypes when we are unable or unwilling to obtain all of the information we would need to make fair judgments about people or situations. In the absence of the "total picture," stereotypes in many cases allow us to "fill in the blanks." For example, if we are walking through a dark lane at night and encounter three senior citizens wearing kurtas and having walking sticks, we may not feel as threatened as if we were met by three college-aged boys wearing jeans and leather jackets. Why is this so? We have made a generalization in each case. These generalizations have their roots in experiences we have had in the past, read about in books and magazines, seen in movies or television, or have had narrated to us by friends and family. In many cases, these stereotypical generalizations are reasonably accurate. Yet, in virtually every case, we are resorting to prejudice by ascribing characteristics about a person based on a stereotype, without knowledge of the total facts. For instance we may assume that a person from 'A' community will be illiterate or backward. Sometimes we may have positive over generalizations or stereotypes like all Tamilians are good in Mathematics.

Television, books, comic strips, and movies are all abundant sources of stereotyped characters. For example the Sardar jokes in movies and joke books depicting them to be foolish, Afro-Americans portrayed as being unintelligent, lazy, or violence-prone. As a result of viewing these stereotyped pictures or news items, we encourage prejudice. So generally a prejudice would emerge from a stereotype.

Social psychologists define a stereotype as the **cognitive component** of the prejudiced attitude. It is defined as a generalization about a group whereby identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members, regardless of actual variation among the members. Prejudice is defined as the **affective component** - hostile or negative attitude toward a distinguishable group of people based solely on their group membership and discrimination **is the behavioral component** of the prejudiced attitude - an unjustified negative or harmful action toward members of a group based on their membership.

Possible prejudicial effects of stereotypes are:

- Justification of ill-founded prejudices or ignorance.
- Unwillingness to rethink one's attitudes and behavior towards stereotyped group.

- Negative attitudes towards different social groups resulting in hatred, alienation.
- Preventing some people of stereotyped groups from entering or succeeding in activities or fields.

In simple words stereotypes distort our perceptions. Once a stereotype is activated, these traits come easily to the mind and will affect the way we perceive things. Another important ill effect is we will tend to attend more to stereotype–consistent information and reject information that does not confirm to the stereotype we have. Thus, stereotypes obviously influence social judgments we make about the other group, they influence how much we like or dislike a person or a given group.

8.2 HOW MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS PERCEIVE INEQUALITY?

People's perceptions always have to be analyzed carefully and critically and there can be several reasons why the society may be considered unequal. First of all, the inequality may be structurally reproduced. This means that the existing system in a society does not guarantee people justice principles that are promised by the state and expected by the people. It means that people's basic needs in a society are not satisfied, equal liberties are not guaranteed, there is discrimination, no equal opportunity to get ahead in life and the input of people is not fairly rewarded. If structural inequality exists then everybody should notice that. Empirically it means that all or at least the majority of people in a society should perceive high inequality – independent of their own socio-economic position.

The perceived inequality is often influenced by personal experiences. People who have a higher socio-economic position usually think they have achieved their status in a fair competition. On the other hand, people in a lower position in a society tend to think that the reasons for them to be unsuccessful are restrictions created by the society and the structural system. Generally it can be seen that people from the lower socio-economic status perceive more inequality and vice versa. So an assumption can be made that perceived inequality depends on the individual's position in a society.

There are many types of inequality that leads one group to perceive the other group as less equal. E.g. Racial inequality. Racial group – a category of people who have been singled out, by others or themselves, as inferior or superior, on the basis of subjectively selected physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture and eye shape. E.g. White or non-white. Racism is a

set of attitudes, beliefs and practices used to justify the superior treatment of one racial or ethnic group and the inferior treatment of another racial or ethnic group. Another very old and strong inequality that exists is gender inequality. Gender inequality leads to gender prejudice called sexism. It is a term coined in the mid-20th century, refers to the belief or attitude that one gender or sex is inferior to, less competent, or less valuable than the other. Gender Prejudice is a universal phenomenon though more rampant in less advanced countries. India is a good example of rampant gender prejudice. In addition, today we have perceived regional and caste inequalities, religion, etc., all reasons for perceived inequalities to come into play. We see people from other religions as different and begin to associate negative characteristics with them.

Some of the different forms of prejudice arising from perceived inequality is given in the table below.

Prejudice	Inequality felt on the basis of differences in	Example
Racism / anti Semitism	Skin, color , Race Religion Culture, Dress Country/origin	White, black, yellow Caucasian, Asian, Arab etc. Moslem, Hindu, Christian Asian, American, oriental etc. Sari, headscarf, burkha, Country developed/developing
Classism	Economic class Intellectual class Social class	Poor or rich College degree, Blue-collar, White collar etc Social group, interests, activities, sport, etc.
Sexism	sex and gender Sexual or gender orientation	Male, female, girls, boys, men, heterosexual, homosexual.
Lookism	Appearance and looks	Attractive, unattractive, facial, body features, etc
Ableism	Physical and Mental Ability	Differently abled, strengths, weaknesses, intelligence, etc.
Ageism	Age	Adults, youths, elderly, etc.

8.3   NATURE AND ORIGINS OF STEREOTYPING :

From where does stereotype and prejudice emerge? Why do they exist? Why do people even today carry stereotypes leading to prejudice and discrimination?   There are many possible sources from where this stems.

1. **Direct inter-group conflict (competition as a source of Prejudice) :** It is sad but true that people want and value most good jobs, nice homes, high status, which is always in short supply. This fact serves as the oldest explanation for stereotypes and prejudice. This is the realistic conflict theory, the view that prejudice stems form direct competition between various social groups over valued commodities and opportunities.

2. **The social learning view :** A second explanation for the origins of stereotype and prejudice is straightforward. It suggests that prejudice is learned and that it develops in the same manner and through the same basic mechanisms as other attitudes towards social groups because we hear such views expressed by parents, teachers and others and because they are directly rewarded for adopting such views.   Another reason is also conformity with social norms or with groups to which they belong. The development of stereotype and prejudice comes form this tendency. "If the members of my group dislike them, then so should I."

3. **Social categorization:Us versus–Them Effect :** A third perspective on the origins of stereotyping and prejudice begins with this basic fact that people generally divide the social world into two distinct categories Us and Them–social categorization **Ingroup** is **us** and the **Outgroup** is **them.** Persons in the Ingroup are perceived favorably while those in the latter are perceived more negatively. This tendency to make more favoruable and flattering attributions about members of one's group than members about the other group is known as the ultimate attribution error. Research evidence shows that individuals seek to enhance their self-esteem by identifying with some special groups. And so the final result is inevitable, each group seeks to view itself better than the rivals. Thus, one of the important source of stereotyping and prejudice is to divide our world into two opposing camps.

> *   Ingroup - group you belong to or identify with.
> *   Outgroup - groups you don't belong to or identify with.
> *   "Us" versus "them.

4. **Outgroup Homogeneity Effect:** Tendency for social perceivers to assume there is greater similarity among members of outgroups than among members of ingroups. Sometimes we come across statements like you know what they are like? "They are all the same if you have met one you have met all" this means members of out group are more similar than the ingroup.

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9

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Unit Structure:

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Prejudice and discrimination: feelings and actions towards social groups

9.3 Is prejudice inevitable? Techniques to counter Prejudice and its effects

9.4 Questions

9.5 References

9.0 OBJECTIVES :

After studying this unit you should :

- Know why stereotypes leading to prejudice and discrimination persist.
- Understand different techniques for overcoming prejudice and its effect.

9.1 INTRODUCTION :

Prejudice are belief about certain specific groups which may not be expressed in behaviour. When prejudice is expressed in behaviour it is called discrimination. There are many different techniques for countering prejudice and its effects, which are discussed in this unit.

9.2 PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION : FEELINGS AND ACTIONS TOWARDS SOCIAL GROUPS :

You have now understood the different terms like in-group out-group and the Us versus Them attitude. So it is now important to understand how our perception of inequality leads to forming outgroups.

Beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and members of these groups are known social stereotypes. And prejudice is the unjustifiable attitude towards out groups. This could

sometimes include negative feelings like hatred, anger, fear, dislike, disgust, etc., Example, You may be denied housing or a job because you belong to a particular group or category. Stereotypes are pre-learned from parents, adults, peers, media. Ruscher's research (2001) shows that even four year olds stereotype about appropriate activities for boys and girls.

Children acquire negative attitudes toward various social groups through direct and vicarious learning experiences. Parents, teachers, friends, the mass media all play roles in the development of prejudice. Consider how minority groups or the two genders have been portrayed in the media. Some even argue that we are "born" with a bias to perceive dark stimuli as more fearful than lighter stimuli or fair color.

A prejudice is an extreme stereotype. The cognitive component is the stereotype; the affective component is a feeling of liking or disliking; the behavioural component is the various types of discriminatory action. Feelings and actions towards the social groups can progress, according to Allport, in five stages:

(1) *Anti-locution* comprising such things as malicious gossips, verbal putdowns and nasty jokes; (2) *avoidance*; (3) *discrimination*– when the object of the stereotype is excluded from certain rights; (4) *physical attack*; (5) *extermination*. Allport's definition (1954) of prejudice is, "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization directed towards a group as a whole or towards an individual because he is a member of that group. It may be felt or expressed."

Feelings and actions towards different social groups are fairly stable over time, which means that once you have a prejudice then you, will keep it. Many research studies demonstrate that people often recall those facts that support their stereotype. Thus, a filtering process reinforces and sustains the prejudice.

Why Do Stereotypes leading to Prejudice and discrimination persist?

Confirmation bias :
- People look for confirming evidence to support the stereotype they hold

Ethnocentrism :
- The belief that one's own ethnic group, nation, or religion, region or language is superior to all others and a corresponding disdain for all other groups.

- Aids survival by making people feel attached to their own group and willing to work on their group's behalf.

Intergroup conflict :

- People favour ingroups over outgroups in order to enhance their self-esteem

- Our self-esteem has 2 components: 1) personal identity 2) social identities (based on the groups we belong to)

- People belittle "them" in order to feel secure about "us".

9.3 IS PREJUDICE INEVITABLE? TECHNIQUES TO COUNTER PREJUDICE AND ITS EFFECTS :

Given that prejudice is common in all human societies and exerts damaging effects both on the victims and on those who hold such views, the important question to address is 'Is it possible to remove prejudice? What steps can be taken to do this?

Considering the growing prejudice among people over religion, region, language, race, it seems almost like prejudice is inevitable. But stereotyping and prejudice can be definitely reduced to a large extent by becoming aware and educating ourselves. And with concentrated multi-pronged approach we can do many things to counter prejudice.

1. **Teaching children Acceptance Instead of Bigotry (narrow-mindedness) :** Homes and schools are places where children learn to get their generalizations leading to stereotypes. It is the responsibility of parents, teachers to bring their children up with acceptance and positive attitudes towards other groups and be role models. Because often the attitudes and prejudiced notions are not necessarily taught but 'caught' from adults and the environment the children operate in. There is sufficient evidence, today that teachers can be victims of bias and prejudice and can reflect in their classrooms.

2. **Teaching children from an early age to respect all groups :** We must teach children, including ones very different from their own - prejudice can be nipped in the bud or at least curbed. Valuing Diversity is very important. Ethnocentrism should be discouraged. The education of young children should promote respect for a multicultural society and tolerance and acceptance virtures that need to be developed quite consciously.

3. **Increased Intergroup Contact :** This is based on the **Contact hypothesis**: the theory that direct contact between hostile groups will reduce prejudice. Recent findings indicate that if people merely know that friendly contacts between members of

their own group and members of various **out groups (**groups in which we do not belong) is possible, their prejudice towards these groups can be sharply reduced. E.g., The various Mohalla committees that operate in different areas after the 1992 communal riots in Mumbai are based on this reasoning that increased inter-group contact can remove prejudice and hatred. However, there are some conditions like the groups interacting must be roughly equal in status, the contact situation must involve cooperation and not competition. They should work towards shared goals and the setting should help them understand each other better. In short, direct inter-group contact can be an effective tool to combat cross-group prejudice.

4. **Recategorization: redrawing the boundary between 'Us and Them':** Once individuals mentally include people, they once excluded from their **ingroup** (groups in which we belong) within it, prejudice toward them may disappear. Reminding people that they are part of large groups - for instance, that they are all Indians, Americans Canadians or even human beings - can help accomplish this kind of recategorization.

5. **Undermining-Stereotypes:** Stereotypes suggest that all persons belonging to specific social groups alike - they share the same characteristics. Such beliefs can be weakened if people are encouraged to think about others as individuals not simply as members of social groups. Also, some evidence suggests that affirmative action programs in schools and colleges, offices may actually encourage positive perceptions and the persons who benefit from them will look at people and events more objectively. This will serve to counter prejudice by undermining(deflating) stereotypes. There must be an effort to look down upon people with prejudiced attitudes.

6. **Reducing Prejudice through Cognitive interventions: Weakening stereotypes**: Stereotypes involve **category-driven** processing -- thinking about others in terms of their membership in social categories or groups. Stereotypes can be reduced if persons can be made to engage in **attribute-driven** processing -- thinking about the unique characteristics of individuals and objective judgment.

7. **Cooperative activities:** Cooperative activities such as team building exercises, workshops involving games that help to remove bias and prejudice should be carried out in schools, colleges, work places, etc. It is a good way to reduce animosity and bitterness that stems from low self esteem and stereotyped attitudes. Thus, non-competitive contact between in and out groups on terms of equal status and the pursuit of common,

superordinate goals which are attainable by cooperation is the way forward.

8. **Media responsibility :** Instead of perpetuating stereotypes the media should take responsibility to remove prejudices and negative attitudes. It is the responsibility of every individual to be aware of the stereotypes and take care so as to not to discriminate and create a more equitable society.

9. **Role of educational institutions:** Educational inequality leads to bias and discrimination. High standards of educational experience, should be available to every student. In addition schools and colleges have to deal with so many other situations that cause prejudice and hatred. Efforts to address bias, prejudice and discrimination should be comprehensive in nature.

Conclusion :

There is no single correct way to eliminate stereotypes. And indeed it is not possible to eliminate all stereotypes. In fact sometimes stereotypes help to add humor in our lives. It is only when the stereotypes result in harmful, negative attitudes that leads to hatred and discrimination and takes away the ability to see reason then the stereotype becomes detrimental to society.

> *No one is born prejudiced!*
> *Prejudice is learned and can be unlearned.*

9.4 QUESTIONS :

1. Explain the terms, stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. Illustrate your answer with an example for each.

2. Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination are interrelated. Justify the given statement.

3. What are the ill-effects of Stereotypes and Prejudice?

4. How do members of different groups perceive inequality?

5. Give three reasons why stereotypes persist?

6. Describe ways to counter the prejudice and its effects.

7. 'Prejudice seems inevitable in today's world? Write your arguments for or against.

8. Say True or false.

   a) Prejudice stems from Stereotypes.

   b) Discrimination is the cognitive component of prejudiced attitude.

   c) Discrimination based on male female differences is racism.

   d) Stereotypes and prejudice are learned behaviors.

   e) The belief that 'my language or my religion' is the best is an example of ethnocentrism.

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10

INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

Unit Structure :

10.0 Objectives
10.1 Introduction
10.2 Internal determinants of attraction: the need to affiliate and the basic role of affect.
    10.2.1 The importance of affiliation for human existence.
    10.2.2 Affect as a basic response system.
    10.2.3 Affect and attraction.
    10.2.4 Additional implication of the affect-attraction relationship.
10.3 External determinants of attraction: proximity and other observable characteristics.
    10.3.1 The power of proximity: unplanned contacts.
    10.3.2 Observable characteristics: instant evaluations.
10.4 Factors based on interacting with others: similarity and mutual liking.
    10.4.1 Similarity.
    10.4.2 Mutual liking.
10.5 Close relationships: family and friends.
    10.5.1 Family: where relationships and attachment styles begins.
    10.5.2 Beyond the family: friendships.
10.6 Let's sum up
10.7 References

10.0 OBJECTIVES :

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- State what is interpersonal attraction?
- Explain internal, external and other factors responsible for interpersonal attraction.
- Discuss family and friends as close relationships.

10.1 INTRODUCTION :

In society it can be observed that individuals either get attracted towards each other or do not get attracted. Interpersonal attraction leads to further communication among two or more people. Interpersonal attraction can be determined by some internal as well as external factors. As a social being we have a need for affiliation. Coupled with the need to be affiliated emotional response plays a significant role in interpersonal attraction. A positive emotional state leads to a smother interpersonal attraction and a negative emotional state can lead in repulsion of some one.

There are external determinants in interpersonal attraction like similarity among individuals, physical proximity and the mutual responding. Further, interpersonal attraction leads to formation of relationships.

Generally close relations can be categorised in to members in the family and the friends from our social milieu. Family is the place where relationship builds. These relationships or attachment styles are different for every individual. The attachment styles formed during the interactions with the family can get generalised to the relationships outside the family i.e., spouse, friends and others.

10.2 INTERNAL DETERMINANTS OF ATTRACTION: THE NEED TO AFFILIATE AND THE BASIC ROLE OF AFFECT :

10.2.1 The importance of affiliation for human existence :

Human being have the basic need to be part of a group, be affiliated and accepted by someone. There are certain internal factors that drive this behaviour. This behaviour has a survival value of being protected, reproduction and health interdependence. Need for affiliation is the basic motive to seek and maintain interpersonal relationships.

It is observed that there are individual differences in expression of need for affiliation. It is like a personality trait which reflects person's preferences for need for affiliation. Some may like to affiliate at some time and in particular context and some may not. People with high need for affiliation will be more sociable and will desire to interact with others. This appears to be a conscious expression of affiliation. However, some may have implicit need for affiliation and would like to be primarily interested in limited two-person interaction situations.

It is very unpleasant experience to be excluded and ignored. It gives a left-out and neglected feeling as reaction to be excluded. This kind of behaviour in society generates adverse effect on the individual or group that is excluded. This kind of deprivation results in sensitivity to interpersonal information and cognitive functioning.

There are certain situation and contexts where need for affiliation is clearly evident. During natural disasters it can be seen that people help each other. This behaviour is seen because it provides an opportunity for social comparison. An opportunity to communicate what they feel and think further, generating an experience comfort.

10.2.2 Affect as a basic response system :

Affect refers emotional state of a person, his positive and negative feelings and moods. It is understood that emotional state of a person influences his cognition and emotion as well as the interpersonal attraction. Affect has two basic characteristics one is the intensity of the affect, indicating its strength and second is the direction of the emotion, regarding the positive or negative emotion.

Affect is considered as a basic aspect of human behaviour because it has survival value from the evolutionary perspective. It helps us in avoiding the negative experiences as well as reinforcing positive experiences. The ability to discriminate between positive and negative affect serves an important purpose to understand hostility and attraction in social situations. Hence, affect stands as an important internal determinant of interpersonal attraction.

10.2.3 Affect and attraction :

The role of affect in interpersonal attraction suggests that the positive affect will lead to positive evaluation of other people and negative affect will lead to negative evaluation of other person. In this manner a direct effect of emotion on attraction is observed. However, a more interesting phenomenon is referred to as associated effect, this effect occurs when another person is simply present in that situation when your emotional state is aroused by some situation or by some person. For example when you are emotionally in positive state you will evaluate a person positively, even though he is a stranger and will negatively evaluate a friend in a negative state. This can be understood as a form of classical conditioning where a neutral stimulus paired with positive stimulus elicits a positive response and vice versa.

10.2.4 Additional implication of the affect-attraction relationship :

Some applications or implicit relationship between affect and attraction can be observed in daily life situations. Laughter leads to

a positive evaluation among individuals in a first interaction. Because something humorous happening make the affect positive and further distracts from the discomfort of the situation and gives new perspective to the situation. It is also seen that this understanding leads to manipulating affect to influence behaviour. For example, arousing positive affects and associating it with some product in an advertisement is very much evident. A political leader can be more humorous and arouses a positive emotional state further leading to attracting the voters.

10.3 EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS OF ATTRACTION: PROXIMITY AND OTHER OBSERVABLE CHARACTERISTICS :

10.3.1 The power of proximity: unplanned contacts :

One of the important external determinants of interpersonal attraction is physical closeness. Interpersonal attraction increases as a result of physical proximity and is referred as mere repeated exposure effect. For example in a classroom students sitting beside each other are more likely to making positive evaluations just because of repeated exposure. Another example would be of people working in same office, where mere physical exposure leads to attraction. The mechanism underlying is that with repeated exposure uncertainty reduces and increases the familiarity in the absence of any harmful consequences resulting in to feelings of being safe.

Repeated exposure leads to stronger positive evaluation even when the person is not aware of the exposure. The positive affect generated due to repeated exposure can get generalised to other new stimulus. It is also understood that initial negative reaction to the stimulus leads to negative evaluation and repeated exposure leads to adding in to the continuous negative evaluation of the stimulus.

Application of the knowledge regarding the effect of proximity can help us in variety of life situations. If you are in class and prefer to have fiends or prefers isolation than you can chose the place to sit in the classroom accordingly. We can also make out that how interpersonal attraction gets affected by the structure of the residential complex we live.

10.3.2 Observable characteristics : instant evaluations :

Instant likes and dislikes are seen to be arousing a strong affect suggesting a phenomenon that goes against the repeated proximity effect. It is possible because something about the person is responsible to elicit a positive or negative affect. Affect is

considered to be based on the past experiences, stereotypes and our attributions. These aspects of a person could be incorrect or irrelevant. However, it is seen that these aspects influences an individual's instant evaluations of other person or situation.

The other observable characteristics like physical attractiveness and appearance play an important role. Physical attractiveness is a phenomenon that ranges from being evaluated as beautiful or handsome to one extreme and unattractive at the other extreme. It is observed that people do respond positively to a person who is physically attractive and negatively to the person who is physically unattractive. Hence, physical attractiveness is considered as an initial factor that influences positive or negative evaluations.

Appearance anxiety is the apprehension of one's own appearance and possible negative evaluation by other people. One's own negative evaluation can lead to negative self-image and decreased self-esteem. However, stereotypes based on appearance are not necessarily correct. For example, it is generally accepted but not necessary that a physically attractive person will be social and have a high self-esteem and a physically unattractive person will be asocial.

The question arises that physical attractiveness is exactly constituted of what? It is understood that child like features and mature features are seen as characteristics of attractiveness.

10.4 FACTORS BASED ON INTERACTING WITH OTHERS: SIMILARITY AND MUTUAL LIKING :

The above discussion clearly indicates that interpersonal attraction or beginning of any relationship is influenced by the need for affiliation, positive affect (positive emotional state), physical proximity and the positive evaluation or reaction to the observable characteristic of the other person. These are the internal and external salient features of the attraction phenomenon. However, the verbal communication that takes place among the two individuals is equally very important. There are two aspects of this communication one the similarity which the interacting individuals found among each other and the mutual liking expressed in the interaction.

10.4.1 Similarity :

It is a well accepted fact that people like to be with persons who are more similar to them. Similarity can be of attitudes, beliefs, values and many more things. The tendency to respond positively

to indications that another person is similar to them and negatively to indications that another person is dissimilar from them is referred as ***similarity-dissimilarity effect***. The similarity effect also makes one to judge the similar person having positive traits. More the proportion of similarity among two people more possibility of attraction can be expected. A idea that was proposed as an alternative to similarity-dissimilarity hypothesis is that rather than people getting attracted on the basis of similarity it is opposite of that, people repulse about dissimilarity. This is referred as ***repulsion hypothesis***. This hypothesis could not stand on empirical ground but it is believed that not only similarity but the dissimilarity among two people generates negative affect and hence influences interpersonal attraction.

Research literature provides three theoretical explanations for the phenomenon that similarity generates positive affect and dissimilarity produces negative affect.

First is the balance theory which states that people has a tendency to organise their likes and dislikes in symmetrical way. When people like each other and find similarity among each other, this generates a balance and elicits positive emotional state which is pleasant state of mind. When people like each other and find dissimilarity between them, this generates imbalance which is an unpleasant emotional state. This situation drives the individual to restore balance by either change in one of them for similarity or misperceive the dissimilarity or decide to dislike each other. The non-balance occurs whenever two people dislikes each other, this does not necessarily generates pleasant or unpleasant state. Each person can be just indifferent to each other's similarity and dissimilarity.

Second is the social comparison theory. It states that you compare your attitude, views and beliefs with other person as this is the only way to evaluate that other people agree with you or not. Through this process you keep on evaluating that you are not exceptionally different from other people. This is referred as obtaining consensual validation by turning to others.

The third approach is to explain this phenomenon by adaptive response to potential danger. This is an evolutionary explanation, which states that we are primed to respond like our ancestors as they use to respond to the individual from other group by moving towards him-for friendship, moving away from him because of some threat and moving against him-being aggressive towards him. This indicates that these behaviours have survival value.

Till now our discussion is centred on the fact that affect is central to the interpersonal attraction, especially similarity as it elicits positive emotional state and fosters attraction. However, along with affective state the cognitive evaluation is also said to be equally important. Though we follow affect centred understanding for interpersonal attraction the role of cognitive factors like stereotypes, beliefs and the factual knowledge needs to be considered.

10.4.2 Mutual liking :

It will not give us a complete understanding if we ignore a very important process which mediates initial attraction and the established interpersonal relationship. The intention is to refer the reciprocating cues of liking. The exchange of communicating the likings that leads to generation of positive emotional state. The next in the process is the clear communication of mutual liking which further strengthens mutual liking.

10.5 CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS: FAMILY AND FRIENDS :

10.5.1 Family : where relationships and attachment styles begins :

Family is the immediate social unit of an individual in a given society. This is the first experience of interaction. However, there may be relatively quantitative and qualitative difference between the individual and his or her family members. First interaction begins with the care giver especially mother. These interaction shapes individual's world. It has a lasting impact on individual's future interpersonal behavior.

The degree of security an individual feels in interpersonal relationships is called as attachment style. It is understood that an infant develops two basic attitudes as a result of these early interpersonal interactions with adults. These are self-esteem, which is an attitude towards self and second is interpersonal trust, which is an attitude towards others. Development of self-esteem is dependent on the reactions of the care giver of being important, valued, and loved or the other extreme of being unimportant, unloved, etc. Interpersonal trust is dependent upon being trustworthy, dependable and reliable or the other extreme of this. On the basis of these two basic attitudes and they being high or low can be placed in four types of interpersonal styles as given below:

   a. Secure attachment style
   b. Fearful- avoidant attachment style
   c. Preoccupied attachment style
   d. Dismissing attachment style

Secure attachment style :

A secure attachment style is a characteristic of an individual who is high on both, self-esteem and interpersonal trust. Person with this type of attachment style is found to be good at relationships, self-confidence, high on need for achievement and has less fear of failure are other characteristics of secure attachment style.

Fearful- avoidant attachment style :

This type of attachment style is a result of low self-esteem and interpersonal trust. A person with fearful-avoidant attachment style is poor at interpersonal relationships and also avoids close relationships.

Preoccupied attachment style :

A negative attitude towards oneself and a high interpersonal trust results in preoccupied attachment style. These types of people are ready to get in to interpersonal relationships but are often found to be pessimistic about their relationships.

Dismissing attachment style :

This type of attachment style is an outcome of high self-esteem and low interpersonal trust. Individuals with this attachment style avoid genuine close relationship. They feel insecure due to the belief that they deserve a close relationship but are frustrated because of the mistrust towards others.

The above mentioned are the four basic attachment styles as result of the variations in the attitude towards self and others. These attachment styles are assumed to be formed in infancy and continue in the adult life, however, certain life experiences can influence and change the attachment style of an individual.

It's not only the mother who influences the child. In a given family the presence of others and interaction with them definitely have an impact on the child. Every member in the family has different experiences, different personality and attitude. Every interaction of each member of the family with the child is likely to have positive or negative effect. The point is that it is not only the immediate care taker but the interactions with the entire family can influence the child.

Interaction among siblings is also a significant factor. There can be variety of situations like; single child, two siblings-either both male and female or a combination. These variations can result in

different experiences with people outside the home. However, it is observed that relationships among sibling are also dependent upon the interpersonal relation among parents and their marital satisfaction.

10.5.2 Beyond the family : friendships :

Family where relationships begin and attachment styles develop generally have close relationships among themselves. However, close relationships extend beyond family. A close friendship is a relationship where people spend great deal of time together, interact in variety of situations, are self-disclosing and provide mutual and emotional support. Having friends or not has become a social qualification and a loner is described as person having no friends. Friends are an integral part of our life. It is seen as a source of practical and emotional support. Generally it can be understood that the individuals who elicits positive effect can become close friends.

Gender difference is seen in friendships. We will find two females discussing more on the topics of their interests than males. It is observed that male gets attracted towards females thinking that eventually their relationship will result in sexual interactions, if not then males eventually end the relationship. In contrast females look for protective role from males and eventually ends up the relationship if she finds nothing as expected in the relationship.

10.6 LET US SUM UP :

In this topic we have emphasised on the interpersonal attraction specifically the factors responsible for attraction. We have come across some internal factors like affect-emotional state and external factors like proximity and similarity among individuals responsible for attraction. However, we have also discussed that mutual responses can also play a significant role in attraction. Close relationships begins in the family right from the infancy as a result of interaction with the family members where mother, father, grand parents and siblings influence such relationship significantly.

10.7 REFERENCES :

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11

SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Unit Structure:

11.0 OBJECTIVES :

- Understanding the social influence phenomenon.
- Studying factors affecting conformity.
- Understanding why we conform and why sometimes we resist.
- Understanding the compliance.
- Understanding tactics used to achieve compliance from others.
- Understanding Obedience behaviour.

Social influence occurs when an individual's thoughts or actions are affected by other people. **Social Influence** can be defined as efforts by one or more individuals to change the attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, or behaviours of one or more others. For example, the colleagues have strong influence on one's work, while the friends have strong influence on one's daily life.

11.1 CONFORMITY: GROUP INFLUENCE IN ACTION :

Conformity :

A type of social influence in which individuals change their attitude or behaviour in order to adhere or to stick to the existing social norms.

Factors affecting Conformity: Cohesiveness, Group Size, and Type of Social Norms :

Cohesiveness and Conformity :

We are going to discuss how cohesiveness has impact on conformity. With respect to conformity, cohesiveness can be defined as the degree of attraction felt by an individual toward an influencing group.

Groups with similar attitudes are more cohesive than groups with dissimilar attitudes, successful groups are more cohesive than unsuccessful groups, and groups with clear paths to goals are more cohesive than groups lacking clear paths.

A classic finding of social psychology is that when cohesiveness (attraction) is high, pressures toward conformity are magnified. This is a basic reason why most persons are more willing to accept social influence from friends or persons they admire than from others.

E.g., if we join a new college and we have been put in a group of students for project work. Over the period, you realize that they have conservative views about educational policies.

It is interesting to think whether our own views change as a function of working together with these new friends. There is strong possibility that we may find ourselves agreeing with them more and more as time passes. It may happen because of cohesiveness i.e., Degree of attraction with the group of friends working on same project.

Conformity and Group Size :

Group size has the important effects on the tendency to conform i.e., the size of the influencing group. We are likely to conform to the opinion held by the group if the number of group members holding the same opinion is large i.e., group size is large.

However, there is interesting finding which says that conformity increases with group size up to about three members, but then seems to level off. The possibility for this may be that subject conclude that group members are not expressing individual views but are actually working together to influence them. When too many people agree, therefore, this may be perceived as a signal and tendency to be cautious while conforming.

Descriptive and Injunctive Norms :

Descriptive norms are ones indicating what most people do in a given situation. They influence behaviour by informing us about what is generally seen as effective or adaptive behaviour in that situation. e.g., witnessing somebody blow out the cigarette before entering in to bus.

In contrast, injunctive norms specify what ought to be done-what is approved or disapproved behaviour in a given situation. e.g., a instruction displayed in the bus "Smoking is prohibited in the public places".

The Bases of Conformity: Why We Often Choose to "Go Along'-and What Happens after We Do :

One of the basic question concerning group is as to what makes people to choose to go along with social rules or expectations instead of resisting them? The answer is primarily types of two needs possessed by all human being-the desire to be liked or accepted by others and the desire to be right and also the cognitive processes that lead us to view conformity as fully justified after it has occurred. Here are some of the tactics to make people conform to our opinions, decisions.

The Desire to Be Liked : Normative Social Influence :

One of the most successful tactics is that we can make conscious efforts to appear to be as similar to others as possible. From childhood, we learn that agreeing with the persons around us, and behaving as they do, causes them to like us. One important reason we conform is simple: we learn that doing so can generate the approval and acceptance we expect. This source of social influence-and especially of conformity-is known as **normative social influence**, since it involves making other alter their behaviour to meet our expectations.

The Desire to Be Right; Informational Social Influence :

There are many matters or topics on which we have strong desire to be correct or appropriate e.g., about questions like which colour of dress suits you best? Whether your political or social views are correct or not? or Which hair style suits you? However, there is difficulty in finding a system through which we can accurately get answer to these things? But the solution to these questions is obvious: to answer these questions, there is necessity of approaching other people. We use their opinion and their actions as guides for our own. The verbal and non-verbal feedback given by them helps us to satisfy question mentioned earlier to major extent. Obviously, such reliance on others can be another source of conformity, for in an important sense, other people's actions and opinions define social reality for us. This source of social influence is known as informational social influence, since it is based on our tendency to depend upon others as a source of information about many aspects of the social world. Therefore, we conform to other people's feedback because there is no availability of alternate system to get answers to some typical questions or topics discussed earlier.

Justifying Conformity : The Cognitive Consequences of Going Along with the Group :

Asch reported that some people who conform do so without any much thinking. They conclude that they are wrong and the others are right. For these people, conforming to others poses only a temporary dilemma, at most.

However, for many persons, the decision to yield to group pressure and do what others are doing is not so straight but it is more complex. Such persons feel that their own judgement is correct, but at the same time, they do not want to be different from their group; so they behave in ways that are inconsistent with their private beliefs i.e., they follow behaviour or opinion followed by group to which they belong. This process can be interpreted as

defence mechanism adapted by a person to overcome his anxiety of not following his own opinion.

Recent findings suggest that one may involve a tendency to alter their perceptions of the situation so that conformity appears or rather to be justified for his decision to follow group's or others' decision or opinion.

Several studies suggest that the decision to conform may be followed by changes in perceptions of the facts that make justification available for conformity.

The Need for Individuality and the Need for Control: Why, Sometimes, We Choose Not to Go Along :

It becomes important to understand the underlying process or reasons for the ability of an individual to resist even powerful pressures toward conformity. Research findings point to two key factors underlying this process.

First, most of us have desire to maintain our uniqueness or individuality. Even though, we have tendency to be like others still not to the extent that we lose our personal identity. Most of us possess a desire for individuation-for being distinguished from others in some respects.

Second, many individuals have desire to maintain control over the events in their lives. The conforming behaviour develops a feeling of driven away by the external factors, which threatens the desire to be control life events. Therefore, they choose to resist group pressures. Most persons want to believe that they can determine what happens to them, and yielding to social pressure sometimes runs counter to this desire.

Minority Influence: Does the Majority Always Rule?

We have often noted that minorities do influence majority on many occassions. It will be interesting to know the process, which make them successful. Research findings suggest that they are most likely to succeed under certain conditions, which are discussed below:

First, the members of such minority groups must be consistent in their opposition to majority opinions. If they show sign of yielding to the majority view, their impact is reduced.

Second, the members of the minority must avoid appearing to be rigid and dogmatic. A minority that merely repeats the same position over and over again is less persuasive than one that demonstrates degree of flexibility.

Third, the general social context in which a minority operates is important. If a minority argues for a position that is consistent with current social trends (e.g., conservative views at a time of growing conservatism), its chances of influencing the majority are greater than if it argues for a position that is out of step with such trend.

Symbolic Social Influence: How we are Influenced by others even when they are not there :

Other people can influence us when they are present and trying to do so is not that surprising but growing evidence suggest that others can influence us even when they are not present and not trying to change our behaviour or thoughts, a process that can be described as **symbolic social influence.**

Symbolic Social Influence can be defined as social influence resulting from the mental representations of others or of our relationships with them.

It will be interesting to know how the psychological presence of others in our mental representations of others or of relationship with them influence our behaviour and thought. Some of the explanations are given below:

First, we have relational schemas i.e., mental representations of people with whom we have relationships, when these relational schemas are triggered, in turn, goals relevant to them may be activated. These goals, in turn, can affect our behaviour, our thoughts about ourselves, and our evaluations of others. e.g., if we think of our professor in university, the goal of respecting and following the instructions given by him/her is activated. Then we become more inclined toward giving respect to other faculty members in the department.

Second, the psychological presence of others may trigger goals with which those persons are associated-goals they want us to achieve. For instance, if we have thoughts of our friend, we know that he wants to start a student's movement in college, and our commitment to this goal may be increased and we may put efforts to attain it, especially if we feel very close to him.

Therefore, it is to the extent that others are psychologically present in out thoughts, the nature of our relationships with them, goals we keep in these relationships and goals these people themselves want us to achieve can all be stimulated or triggered, and these ideas strongly affect our decisions to behave in particular ways.

11.2 COMPLIANCE : TO ASK-SOMETIMES-IS TO RECEIVE :

In a situation when you wanted someone to do something for you, you start thinking about the tricks which you can use to get your things done. Social psychologists have put efforts to understand this process, the most frequent form of social influence. A well-known social psychologist (Robert Cialdini) termed Compliance Professionals- people whose success (financial or otherwise) depends on their ability to get others to say "yes". These people include salespeople, advertisers, political lobbyists, fund-raisers, etc.

Basic Principles underlie many techniques professional use for gaining compliance :

1. **Friendship/Liking**: We are more willing to comply with requests from friends or from people we like than with requests from strangers or people we do not like.

2. **Commitment/Consistency**: Once we commit our self to a position or an action, we are more willing to say or do things that fit with committed position in various ways. e.g., if in past, we express our opinion to some specific issue in a official meeting, then we are more inclined to think and act in favour of the opinion expressed in meeting.

3. **Scarcity:** It is tendency to value, to feel worthy about and to secure, opportunities that are scarce or decreasing.

4. **Reciprocity**: We are generally more willing to comply with a request from someone who has previously provided a favour or concession to us than to someone who has not.

5. **Social Validation**: A tendency to comply with a request for some action if this action is consistent with what we believe persons similar to ourselves are doing (or thinking). We want to be correct, and one way to do so is to act and think like others.

6. **Authority:** We are usually more willing to comply with requests from someone who authority or simply looks like one.

Techniques professionals use for gaining Compliance :

A]   Tactics Based on Friendship or Liking : Ingratiation :

There are several techniques for increasing compliance through getting others to like us. This is called as impression management. These impression management techniques are often used for purposes of ingratiation i.e., getting others to like us so that they will be more willing to agree to our requests.

There are many self-enhancing tactics of impression management such as improving one's appearance, emitting positive nonverbal cues (e.g., smiling, a high level of eye contact), and associating oneself with positive events or people the target person already likes. In contrast, other-enhancing tactics include flattery, agreeing with target persons, showing interest in them, and providing them small gifts or favours. Research findings indicate that all of these tactics can be successful, at least to a degree, in increasing others liking for us.

B] Tactics Based on Commitment or Consistency :

The Foot in the Door :

A procedure for gaining compliance in which requesters begin with a small request and then, when this is granted, escalate to a larger one (the one they actually desired to be agreed). Once the target person says yes to the small request, it is more difficult for that person to say no to a larger request, because if they don't agree it would be inconsistent with the first response.

The Lowball :

It has been seen that auto dealers sometimes use the lowball technique. This involves offering an attractive deal to customers but then, after they accept, changing that offer in some way.

Rationally, customers should refuse: but in fact, they often accept less attractive deal because they feel committed to the decision of buying the car. To explain it futher, in this technique, a very good deal is offered to a customer. After the customer accepts, however, something is manipulated to show that it necessary for the salesperson to change the deal and make it less advantageous for the customer-for example, an "error" in price calculations is found, or the sales manger rejects the deal. The totally rational reaction for customers, of course, is to walk away. Yet often they agree to the changes and accept the less desirable arrangement.

Bait-and-switch tactic :

A technique for gaining compliance in which once the customers enters the shop; items offered for sale are showed as unavailable or presented of very low quality. This leads customers to buy a more expensive item that is available. It happens because for customers point of view, changing one's mind and reversing an initial commitment requires hard work, and many people, it appears, would rather pay a higher price than change their minds.

C]   Tactics Based on Reciprocity :

The Door in the Face :

A procedure for gaining compliance in which requesters begin with a large request and then, when this is refused, retreat to a smaller one (the one they actually desired to be agreed). This is exactly opposite of the foot-in-the-door technique: instead of beginning with a small request and then presenting a larger one, persons seeking compliance sometimes start with a very large request and then, after this is rejected, shift to a smaller request-the one they wanted all along.

The Foot in the Mouth :

When people feel that they are in a relationship with another person-no matter how trivial or unimportant-they often feel that they are obliged to help or considerate to that person simply because the relationship exists.

For example, friends help friends when they need assistance, and persons who perceive themselves as similar in some manner may feel that they should help one another when the need arises.

A clear demonstration of the power of this tactic is provided by research conducted by Aune and Basil (1994) as stated in Baron, R. A., Byrne, D., and Branscombe, N. R. (2006). These researchers had female accomplices stop students on a university campus and ask them to contribute to well-known charitable organization. In a control condition, they simply made this request without providing additional information. In another condition (which used the foot-in-the-mouth technique), they asked passerby if they were students, and they commented, "Oh, that's great, so am I." Then they made their request for funds. Results indicated that a much larger percentage of the persons approached made a donation in the foot-in-the-mouth condition (25.5 percent) than in the control group (9.8 percent). These finding, and those of a follow-up study by the same authors, suggest that the reciprocity principle can be stretched even to such tenuous relationships as "We are both students, right? And students help students, right? So how about a donation?"

That's-not-all technique :

An initial request is followed, before the target person can make up or his/her his mind to say yes or no, a small incentive is offered by the person who is using this tactic sweetens the deal. For example, auto dealers sometimes decide to throw in a small additional option to the car for e.g., free full tank fill, offer of seat

cover, etc., in the hope that this will help them close the deal; and often, it really helps! Persons on the receiving end of the that's-not-all technique view this small extra as a concession on the part of the other person, and so feel obligated to make a concession themselves.

D] Tactics Based on Scarcity :

Playing Hard to Get :

This technique involves the efforts to increase compliance by suggesting that a person or object is scarce, rare and hard to obtain.

A study carried out by Williams and her Colleagues (1993) as quoted in Baron, R. A., Byrne, D., and Branscombe, N. R. (2006) explains this phenomenon. Professional recruiters were arranged who were interviewing students at large universities to review information about potential job candidates. This information, which was presented in folders, indicated either that the job candidate already had two job offers (a hard-to-get candidate) or no other job offers (easy-to-get candidate), and was either highly qualified (very high grades) or less well-qualified (low average grades). After reviewing this information, the interviewers then rated the candidates in terms of their qualifications and desirability, the company's likelihood of inviting them to interview, and the likelihood of considering them for a job. Results clearly indicated that the hard-to-get candidate was rated more favourably than the easy-to-get candidates regardless of their grades. However, the hard-to-get candidate who was also highly qualified received by far the highest ratings of all. Since it is persons who receive high ratings that usually get the interviews-and the jobs-these findings, indicate that creating the impression of being a scarce and valuable resource (being hard to get) can be another effective means for gaining compliance.

Deadline Technique :

This is a technique for increasing compliance in which target persons are told that they have only limited time to take advantage of some offer or to obtain some item.

Advertisements using this deadline techniques state a specific time limit during which an item can be purchased for a specific price. After the deadline runs out, the ads suggest, the price will go up. Of course, in many cases, the sale is not a real one, and the time limit is bogus. Yet many persons reading such ads believe them and hurry down to the store in order to avoid missing a great opportunity.

E] **Other Tactics for Gaining Compliance: Complaining and putting others in a Good Mood :**

Complaining :

In the context of compliance, expressing discontent, dissatisfaction, resentment, or regret as a means of exerting social influence on others. Complaining involves expressions of discontent or dissatisfaction with one self or some aspect of the external world, and often such statements are simple expressions of personal states ("I feel lousy!") or comments on the external world ("Wow, is it cold today!"). Sometimes, however, complaining is used as a tactic of social influence:" Why didn't you take out the garbage like you, promised?" "We always see the movie you want; it's not fair," Statements such as these directed toward the goal of getting the recipient to change his or her attitudes or behaviours in some manner.

Putting Others in Good Mood : People's moods often exert a strong effect on their behaviour. And, it seems, this principle also holds with respect to compliance. When individuals are in a good mood, they tend to be more willing to say "Yes" to various request than when they are in a neutral or negative mood.

11.3 OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY :

Obedience occurs when people obey commands or orders from others to do something. Obedience is less frequent than conformity or compliance, because even persons who possess authority and power generally prefer to exert it through the velvet glove-through requests rather than direct orders. Business executives sometimes issue orders to their subordinates; military officers shout commands that they expect to be followed without questions; and parents, police officers, and sports coaches, to name a few, seek to influence others in the same manner.

Destructive Obedience: Its Social Psychological Basis :

Why does such destructive obedience occur? Why were subjects in various experiments- and many persons in tragic situations outside the laboratory-so willing to this powerful form of social influence? Following factors play role in it-

1. In many life situations, Transfer of responsibility is the underlying phenomenon. "I was only carrying out orders" is the defense mechanism many offer after obeying harsh or cruel directions. In view of this fact, it is not surprising that many tended to obey; after all, they are not held responsible for their actions.

2. Persons in authority often possesses visible badges or signs of their status. These consist of special uniforms, insignia, titles, and similar symbols. Faced with such obvious reminders of who is in charge, most people find it difficult to resist.

3. If there is anticipation that targets of influence might resist, then there is gradual intensification of the authority figure's orders. Initially command or request is made for comparatively mild action but later it is increased in scope and dangerous or objectionable behaviours are expected. For example, police are first ordered to question, threaten, or arrest potential victims. Gradually, demands are increased to the point where these personnel are commanded to even kill unarmed civilians.

4. Events in many situations involving destructive obedience move very quickly: demonstrations turn into riots, or arrests turn into mass beatings-or murders-suddenly. The fast pace of such events gives participants little time for reflection: people are ordered to obey and–almost automatically, they do so.

Destructive Obedience: Resisting Its Effects :

How can this type of social influence be resisted? Several strategies seem to help to reduce tendencies to obey.

1. Individual can be reminded that you will be responsible for the harm produced by following commands and not the authority. This will develop a sense of responsibility for individual's behaviour even for taking decision to follow commands given by authority. Under these conditions, sharp reductions in the tendency to obey have been observed.

2. Individuals can be provided with a clear indication that beyond some point, unquestioning submission to destructive commands is inappropriate. One procedure that is highly effective in this regard involves exposing individuals to the actions of disobedient models- persons who refuse to obey an authority figure's commands. Research findings indicate that such models can greatly reduce unquestioning obedience.

3. Individuals may find it easier to resist influence from authority figures if they question the expertise and motives of these figures. Questions such, as are authority figures really in a better position to judge what is appropriate and what is not? What motives lie behind their commands-socially beneficial goals or selfish gains? By asking such questions, persons who might otherwise obey may find support for independence rather than submission.

4. Simply knowing about the power of authority figures to command blind obedience may be helpful in itself.

5. Also, some research findings suggest that when individuals learn about the results of social psychological research, they sometimes change their behaviour to take account of this new knowledge There is hope that knowing about this process can enhance individual's ability to resist.

11.4 SUMMARY :

Human being is constantly involved in social interactions. In this process, he/she affects or gets affected by social situations. Conformity is one of such phenomenon. Conformity occurs when individuals change their attitudes or behaviour to comply with social norms-rules or expectations about how they should behave in various situations. Conformity is affected by many factors like cohesiveness, group size and type of social norms. Two distinct types of social norms exist; descriptive norms, which describe how most people behave in a given situation and injunctive norms, which indicate which behaviours are approved or disapproved in a given situation. We conform because of two social motives: the need to be liked and the need to be right. Even, there are strong tendencies to conform; individuals often resist social pressure because there is wish to maintain individuality.

Compliance involves efforts by one or more individuals to change the behaviour of others. Mainly there are six principles to gain compliance: friendship/liking, commitment/consistency, scarcity, reciprocity, social validation, and authority. There are many techniques to gain conformity like door in the face, the foot in the mouth, and that's not all, playing hard to get and the fast approaching deadline technique, complaining and the pique technique.

The most visible form of social influence is obedience-following direct orders from another person. This obedience occurs because of factors as authority figures gradually escalate the scope of their orders, they have visible signs of power, and there is little time for target persons to consider their actions in details.

11.5 REFERENCE :

* Baron, R. A., Byrne, D., and Branscombe, N. R. (2006). Social Psychology. (11th edition, Indian print).

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PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR: MOTIVES AND RESPONDING TO AN EMERGENCY

Unit Structure:

12.0   Objectives
12.1   Introduction
12.2   Motives behind Prosocial Behavior
12.3   Personality variables associated with Prosocial Behavior
12.4   Responding to an emergency
12.5   Crucial steps determine helping and non-helping
12.6   Summary
12.7   Questions

12.0 OBJECTIVE :

This unit will explain:

- Why people help or do not help at the time of emergency.
- What are factors determining Bystander's response during emergency.
- Factors influencing helping behaviour.
- Long term commitment to Prosocial Acts.

12.1 INTRODUCTION :

Hope you remember, the day of 26th July when Mumbai city faced deluge. Number of residential areas and roads were under water due to heavy rains. That was the time when so many unnamed people volunteered to help those who were stuck up in the heavy down pour. Remember a policeman and several others who lost their life while saving others.

These are the actions that are described as prosocial behaviour. It refers to actions by individual that help others with no immediate benefit to helper; such actions are very common in our social life. People who engage in such behaviours do not gain anything in return.

In this chapter we will try to understand the reasons as to why people help each other. What are the motives behind such behaviours and in which situations they are more likely to help. When do they help? When are conditions under which such helping behaviour occurs? Why some people are more helpful in comparison to others?

In this unit we will understand: why people help? And Motives behind prosocial behaviour.

12.2 WHY PEOPLE HELP – MOTIVES BEHIND PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR :

The following are the different views that explain helping behaviour.

12.2.1 Empathy – Altruism :

It refers to putting oneself in other's shoes. Understanding the situation from other's perspective. According to this perspective we help others because we experience empathy towards them; we want their plight to end. Batson, Duncan Ackerman Buckley and Birch (1981) gave the Empathy Altruism Hypotheses to explain prosocial behaviour. They suggested that at least some prosocial acts are motivated only by the desire to help someone in need. If such motivation is strong, the helper is willing to engage even in dangerous and life threatening activity (Batson & Batson et al 1995). Batson and his colleagues devised an experimental procedure to test this view of helping behaviour. The participants were divided into two groups. One group of participants was told that victim is similar to themselves. The other groups were hold that a victim is not similar to themselves.

The participants were presented with an opportunity to help victims.

They were given a role of observer who watched fellow student on T.V. monitor as she performed a task while receiving electric shock (victim was actually a research assistant recorded on videotape)

As a task was underway research assistant confided that she was in pain and in childhood had traumatic experience with electricity. But she said if it was required she would continue the experiment.

Now experimenter asked participants if they were willing to exchange the victims place in the experiment. The result showed

that when participants were dissimilar (low empathy) they preferred to end the experience rather than engaging in painful prosocial act.

Similar participant who had high empathy, were more likely take to victims place and receive shocks.

It is difficult to experience empathy when there are many victims who are in the need of help. This is the reason why many charitable institutions mention the existence of large number of people in the need of help; they feature the photo of single child who is in the need. This allows individual for selective altruism, where helping one child may involve ignoring several others (Batson Ahmed et al 1999).

12.2.2 Negative State Relief Model :(Cialdini, Baumann & Kenrick 1981)

According to this model we help either because our actions allow us to reduce our own negative feelings. These negative feelings are not necessarily aroused by emergency situation. We engage in prosocial act as a way to improve our own negative mood. In such cases unhappiness leads to prosocial behaviour. In such situations empathy may be there or not.

12.2.3 Empathic Joy :

Helping behaviour has been explained by Empathic Joy Hypothesis (Smith, Kealing & Stotland 1989). This theory suggests that helper responds and helps victims not because of empathy but because he wants to accomplish something and doing so is rewarding. The argument goes like this if we help people only for empathy, then they would not be concerned about feedback.

To test this hypothesis Smith Keating and Stotland performed an experiment. In this experiment female student said that she might drop out of college because she felt isolated and distressed. She was described as similar to one group and dissimilar to other group. After watching the videotape the participants were asked to give helpful advice. Some were told that they would be given a feedback of effectiveness of their advice others were told that they would not come to know what student decided to do.

Results showed that participants were helpful only if there was high empathy and feedback about the advice.

12.2.4 Competitive Altruism :

According to this view people help others because in doing so their status and reputation is enhanced. Thus, the benefits incurred are larger than the cost of the prosocial behaviour.

Those people who help others get higher status because society will always prefer to have people who engage in prosocial behaviour. If helping person has higher status then such a person may be well compensated for engaging in prosocial action. They are not only treated as a star but they may have entire buildings named after them. The best example is dead diction centre at Poone, Yerwada, named after P.L. Deshpande, the famous Marathi author.

Hardy and Van Vugt performed an interesting study (2006). In this study participant engaged in a public good dilemma. It was a game in which players could earn money for themselves or entire group.

At the start participants were given 100 Pence and they were told that they could contribute any amount to a private fund, which they could keep as individuals, and any amount they wished to group fund. This could be divided equally among three group members. In one condition the participants were informed how other members contributed to public and private fund. In one condition the participants received information on other's contribution to the public and private fund and were told that information about their contributions would be also provided to other participants. This was a reputation condition where by donating to group would bring enhanced reputation and status to donors.

In other conditions participants did not receive any information regarding the player's choices. Those acting in prosocial behaviour would not receive any information regarding other player's choices and thus it would not necessarily boost, the donor's reputation When later were asked to rate each member's status, the results offered clear support for Altruism Hypothesis.

In reputation condition when prosocial actions were known to others the players donated more generously. The more one donated, higher was the status.

Hardy and Van Vugt (2006) found that the greater, the cost involved in behaving in prosocial manner, greater the gains in status to people who behave in this way. Additional studies also suggest that people engage in prosocial behaviour as a way of boosting their social status.

In general, helping others is a signal to others that doing so would enhance their status. The benefits that are received are substantially more than the costs incurred.

12.2.5 Kin Selection Theory :

Helping ourselves by helping people who share our genes. The Kin Selection Theory (as given by Cialdini Brown Lewis luck & Neuberg (Pinker 1997).

From the evolutionary perspective the main goal of all the organism is passing our genes to next generation. Therefore, we are more likely to help others to whom we are closely related rather than those to whom we are not related.

Crandall and Kitayama conducted series of studies in 1994. These studies showed that participants in the study preferred to help their close relatives in an emergency situation. Participants also preferred to help younger relatives rather than the older relatives; Kin selection theory suggests that this is done because they had more chances of passing on their genes to the next generation. But it is not always true, many a times we help people who may not be even distantly related to us.

This is explained by reciprocal altruism theory which suggests that we help people, who are unrelated to us because helping is usually reciprocal. Helping others will ultimately benefit us as that increases, our chances of survival.

12.3 PERSONALITY VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR :

Empathy and altruistic motivation are related to other positive characteristic such as sense of well being, achievement motivation, sociability and emotional state that is consistently positive.

Empathy is found lower in people who are higher in aggressiveness. Similarly, people who score high on Machiavellianism tend to be distrustful, cynical, egocentric manipulative and controlling. People ranking high on this characteristic are less likely to show prosocial behaviour (Mctloskey 1999),

People having altruistic personality are more likely to show prosocial behaviour. Altruistic personality refers to a combination of dispositional variable associated with prosocial behaviour.

The components of altruistic personality are as follows :

1) Empathy,
2) Belief in just world,
3) Acceptance of social responsibility,
4) Having internal locus of control,
5) They are not egocentric.

1) Empathy: - Most people who are higher on empathy are more likely to show more prosocial behaviour.

2) Belief in just world: - Those people who help others, belive in just, fair and predictable world. They feel that the good behaviour is rewarded and bad behaviour is punished

3) Social responsibility: - Those people who help others, belive that each person is responsible for doing her or his best to help anyone who wants to help.

4) Internal locus of control: - This is the belief that people can choose to behave in ways that maximize good outcome, minimize bad outcome. People belive that they have the power to shape their destiny.

People who do not help are more guided by external locus of control, belive that life is influenced by fate, luck whatever may be done, may not benefit others.

5) They are not egocentric: - Altruistic people do not tend to be self absorbed and competitive.

1) Can you list the various explanations for helping behaviour?

Match the columns :

	A		B
1)	Empathy	1)	Helping in order to reduce our own negative feelings.
2)	Negative State Relief Model	2)	Understanding the situation from other perspective.
3)	Competitive Altruism	3)	Helping other in order to have feeling of accomplishment.
4)	Empathic Joy	4)	Helping others in order to enhance one's status.
5)	Kin Selection Theory	5)	Helping ourselves by helping people who share our genes.

12.4 RESPONDING TO AN EMERGENCY – WILL BYSTANDER HELP? HELPING IN EMERGENCIES – APATHY STEPS DETERMINING HELPING VS. NON-HELPING BEHAVIOUR :

Do you remember the incident that look place some years at the Gateway of India. Two young girls sitting at the Gateway of India, were attacked by an unknown person, one girl almost collapsed other was saved by a young man who ran towards them amidst the mob who was only a spectator to the event.

This is a situation, in which witnesses towards emergency stood around and did nothing except the young man. The question is why such difference in behaviour is found?

12.4.1 When stranger is Distressed :

The world heroism is often used to describe anyone who completes difficult job or task.

Beeker and Eagly (2004) suggested that heroism actually refers to actions that involve courageous risk taking to obtain socially valued goal. Someone who engages in risky behaviour for the sake of fun is also not heroic deed. Someone who chooses prosocial occupation like nursing is not heroic act.

The brave acts performed by ordinary citizen for saving or attempting to save life of other are an example of bravery. On Republic day bravery awards are given to policeman and army personals who have lost their lives while saving others. How can one forget the heroic act of Mr. Tukarem Ombale, a policeman? Who caught hold of Kasab, who emptied his entire gun in Ombale's body?

Terrorist attack of 26th Nov will remain a permanent mark in the history of Mumbai when several members of anti terrorist squad lost their lives while trying to save the lives of others.

Beeker & Eagly (2004) also apply the term here to individuals who take risks in less dangerous and dramatic ways. Such as donating someone kidney, who is need of the transplant. Helping people affected by natural disasters such as Tsunami. Those individuals who are willing to help others are really Prosocial and unselfish by nature.

There are instances, when people still behave in an unresponsive manner that shows selfishness, unconcern and

apathy. These are the situations when victims are left to fend for themselves. We generally feel that more bystanders are present in any situation, more likely a victim to receive help from people. But reality is different.

The famous murder in New York City during mid 1960's made psychologist to really, think about the prosocial behaviour. In this tragic crime, a young woman Catherine (kitty) Genovese was assaulted by a man in a location where many people could see and hear what was going on. She screamed for help many people overlooked the scene. Despite this, attacker continued to stab the victim for many minutes and even left and returned to continue to assault her. But not every single person reported the crime to policeman or tried to stop the attacker.

Investigators found that this forty five minute attack was witnessed by residents of the area but not even one called the police.

After this incidence there was much speculation about selfishness and indifference of people in general from cities.

Darley and Latane developed several possible explanations for such behaviour. These explanations were tested through research. This research has become classic in the area of social psychology.

12.5 CRUCIAL STEPS DETERMINE HELPING AND NON-HELPING :

Latane and Darley (1970) proposed that likelihood of a person engaging in prosocial is determined by series of decisions that must be made quickly by those who witness an emergency. When we are suddenly and unexpectedly faced with an emergency situation that is difficult to interpret, before acting we must first figure out what if anything is going on and what we should do about it. This requires series of decisions that will determine whether we will help a person.

The following factors determine the helping behaviour during emergency.

1. **Noticing or failing to notice that something unusual in happening.** In our day to day life we are thinking about something and concentrating on something else. For example when you are traveling by a local train, you hear a noise and hear that someone in having a problem of breathlessness. We may not notice, maybe we are in sleep

or deeply engrossed in some thinking, concentrating on something else. Here we may fail to notice that something unusual is happening. In everyday life we ignore many sights and sounds that are not relevant to us, and may not notice the emergency situation.

Darley and Latane performed a simple experiment on the students who were trained to become priest, those who are more likely to help. These priests were given a task of walking near by the campus and giving a talk.

One group was told that they had plenty of extra time to reach the campus. The second group were hold that they were right on schedule with just enough time to get there, and third group was hold that they are late for speaking assignment and they needed to hurry.

Along the route to campus an emergency situation was staged. A stranger, actually stumped in the way coughing and groaning. The question was, would students notice an emergency?

The group that was least preoccupied (who had sufficient time) 63% of the participants provided help.

The group that was on schedule, moderately preoccupied group, (The group that was on schedule) 45 percent helped. In the preoccupied condition, i.e. The Third group, only 9 percent responded to stranger. Many of the preoccupied students paid less or no attention to a stranger.

This study clearly indicates that when a person is too busy to pay attention to his surroundings, he fails to notice obvious emergency.

2) **Correctly interpreting an event as an emergency** – Even those who pay attention to an emergency situation have incomplete information about what is happening? Most of the time whatever is noticed may not be always an emergency. Whenever potential helpers are not aware of what is happening, they are likely to hold back and wait for further information. It may be that when Genovese was murdered, people around could not understand what was happening, when they heard the screams it was felt that man and a woman were possibly having a fight. The situation itself was quite ambiguous for those who were possibly having a fight. The situation itself was quite ambiguous for those who were witnessing it. In such situations people tend to accept the interpretation that is most comfortable to them.

It is observed that when three are many witness for a given incident. The help may not be given because of diffusion of responsibility, like when there are so many people who can help why me? Help is generally not given in such a situation with the fear of being misinterpreted by people generally, when we are uncertain about the situation and our actions we land up doing nothing.

In the presence of others, we generally engage in a social comparison, we look at others as to how they are reacting and if others do not react we may feel foolish to react. It is always safe to follow majority. This situation is described as "pluralistic ignorance". It refers to the fact that because none of the witness responds to an emergency, no one knows for sure what is happening and each depends on others for interpretation of the situation.

Latane and Darley (1968) performed an experiment to demonstrate how far people will go to avoid making possibly inappropriate response to a situation that may be or may not be an emergency situation.

The investigators placed students alone or with two other students and asked them to fill out a questionnaire. After several minutes had passed, experimenter's secretly pumped smoke in the room through a vent. When participants were working alone (75%) they stopped and left the room to report the problem. When three people were there in the room, only 38% reacted to the smoke. Even after smoke became so thick that it was difficult to work, only 62% percent continued to work on the questionnaire and failed to make any response to smoke filled room. This study showed that the presence of others inhibited a response even when it meant risking their life.

The inhibiting effect is less, especially, when group consists of friends because friends are more likely to communicate about what is happening, (Rutkowski, Ciruder & Romer 1983). The inhibiting effect is less if people are from small town, when they are more likely to know each other. Similarly, this inhibiting effect in still lesser under the influence of alcohol because anxiety about reactions of other and fear of doing wrong is reduced under the effect of alcohol, as a consequence, helping behaviour is more likely to be seen (Nitchlow & Liu 1985).

3) **Deciding that it is your responsibility to provide help :**
Building catches a fine, cards collide, in this situation

responsibilities are clearly indicated. Fireman, policeman, etc., take the lead. But when the responsibility is not clear, people assume that someone must take responsibility. But when no one is present, the lone bystander has to take the responsibility.

4) **Deciding that you have the necessary knowledge and skills to act :** Prosocial behaviour cannot occur unless a person knows how to become helpful. Some emergencies are sufficiently simple; almost everyone knows how to become helpful. But when emergencies require a special help only some of the bystander can be of help. e.g. Good swimmer can help a person, who is drowning or a doctor can help patient with heart problem.

5) **Making final decision to help :** During emergency situation keep is given to a person, only when a bystander makes a decision to help. Many times helping behaviour may be inhibited by potential negative consequences of the behaviour. Fritzsch and others held that helper engages himself in cognitive algebra where he weighs positive and negative consequences of it. In Mumbai, if any accident victim asks for help, the first consideration that a bystander has is what will be the consequences? Will he be questioned by the policeman for helping a person after the accident?

To summarize, deciding whether to help or not to help is not a simple process. It requires series of decisions to be taken by the helper.

12.6 SUMMARY : WHY PEOPLE HELP?

People help during emergency situations because.

1) We feel sympathetic towards them. Empathy altruism hypothesis suggests that some prosocial acts are solely motivated by the desire to help someone in need.

2) The negative state relief model suggests that we help because such actions help us in reducing our own negative and unpleasant emotions.

3) The competitive altruism view suggests that people help other during emergency because it boosts their own status and reputation. The benefits received are more than the costs incurred.

4) The empathic joy hypotheses suggests that people respond to the needs of victim because, he wants to accomplish something and doing so is rewarding in itself.

Responding to Emergency – Steps in deciding to help –

In an emergency situation the bystander may or may not respond in prosocial manner. The response may range from heroism to total apathy.

Helping arises only when person or bystander must notice something unusual in happening.

When many bystanders are present, there is likely to be diffusion of responsibility. According to this principle, greater the number of witnesses, the less likely are the victims to receive help. The greater are the number of potential helpers, the less responsible any one individual will feel. In such a situation it is more likely that an individual will assume that someone else will do it.

Similarly, when many people are around, we depend on social comparisons to test our interpretations. In a situation of pluralistic ignorance, many when none of the bystander respond to an emergency, no one knows for sure, what in happening and each depends on other for interpretation.

5) The Kin selection theory suggests that people help because the main goal of all organisms is passing our genes in the next generation. In order to preserve our genes, we are more likely to help, those who are closely related to us.

6) Bystander must assume responsibility to provide help.

7) Person engaging in prosocial behaviour must decide that he/she has knowledge or skill to act.

8) The bystander must finally decide to act.

12.7 QUESTIONS :

1. What is prosocial behaviour? Discuss the different views that explain prosocial behaviour.

2. What is bystander effect? Explain the steps in determining helping or non-helping behaviour.

3. Write a note on personality and helping behaviours.

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EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL INFLUENCES ON HELPING BEHAVIOUR AND VOLUNTEERING AS PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

This unit explains the internal and external factors that influence helping behaviour – The situational factors that enhance or inhibit helping.

Research by social psychologists has revealed that following are the factors that might influence helping behaviour.

a) People are more likely to help whom they know, but the situation is more complex, when strangers are in the need of help.

b) Research done by Hayden, Jackson and Guydish (1984), has shown that we are more likely to help people whom we like, they may be our family members or friends.

c) Any characteristics that affect attraction, rather that leads to increase in attraction leads to prosocial behaviour. Physically attractive people are more likely to get help than those who are unattractive (Benson, Karabrinks and Leener 1976).

d) Men are more likely to help women rather than men, not because of gender differences but because women are more likely than men to ask for help.

e) If victims happen to share similar values he is more likely to be helped. Generally, we are more likely to help those people who evoke positive feelings in us.

Helping those who mimic us –

Mimicry is the automatic tendency to imitate behaviour of those with whom we interact. Human beings are more likely to mimic accent, tone of voice, and rate of speech of people around them. The postures, mannerisms and moods of people around are also mimicked. This is an innate tendency; it has a positive impact on the persons being mimicked. Mimicry increases empathy and social attraction and one of the important effects of mimicry is that it increases prosocial behaviour. (Van Bawen et at 2003).

The following experiment is an example of deliberate mimicry.

The research participants interacted for six minutes either with an experimenter, who copied their posture, body orientation or position of arms and legs or with the experimenter who was not copying. Afterwards experimenter accidently dropped several pens on the floor. All the research participants who had been mimicked helped the experimenter by picking up pens as compared with those who were not mimicked.

In another experiment additional experimental conditions were investigated and in each condition it was observed that those who were mimicked were likely to be helped that those who were not mimicked.

This research confirmed that mimicry increases the chances of indulging in prosocial behaviour.

Some investigators feel that mimicry has such an effect on prosocial behaviour that it plays an important role in survival and reproductive success because it enhances cohesion and safety among animals in a group (Dijksterhuis Bargh and Miedema, 2000). When one person mimics another person there is a message that we are similar.

Helping those who are not responsible for their problem – We generally help people or victims, those who are not responsible for their plight. Example, when building collapses, bystanders do make an effort to help the victims. On the contrary when a person is seen lying on the road with a bottle, he is less likely to be helped by people. In general, we are less likely to help victim, if we belive that he is to be blamed for his/her actions.

Exposure to prosocial model increases prosocial behaviour – you are out for some work, you see students or representatives of charity collecting money for some cause. You decide to contribute only when you see someone else also doing so. Number of shops have donation box with money in it. This is done to encourage you to donate as well. Seeing money makes you belive that others have also donated for a cause, may be you also can do so.

In the situations of emergency, presence of helpful bystander provides a strong social model for helping. The following experiment provides the best example of such model.

In this field experiment in which young women (a research assistant with a punctured tyre parked her car just off the road.

Motorists were more likely to help this woman if they passed a staged scene in which another woman with a punctured tyre was being helped.

The prosocial model depicted in media also creates a social norm for helping behaviour. Example, many a times the game winners of the reality show often donate a amount of price for a certain cause of charity.

Sprafkin, Liebert and Poulous (1975) – Carried out an investigation to study the power of T.V. in creating prosocial responsiveness. Children were divided in three groups. One group of children was shown Lassie, in when there was a rescue scene. The second group of children watched another episode of same serial, but did not focus on prosocial behaviour. A third group watched a show with numerous content, but did not have any prosocial model.

After this children played the games and prizes were given to winners. Each group was made to encounter a group of hungry and shining pepper. At a point there was a chance that child had a chance that if could wail and help pip and loose the prize.

The results showed that the group that watched the rescue episode stopped and spent more time in comforting animals as compared with other two groups.

All the television shows do not necessarily encourage the prosocial behaviour. Eg. Children who watch violent video games show a decrease in the prosocial behaviour. (Anderson and Bushman 2001).

Emotions and prosocial behaviour –

Our emotional state or moods are influenced by both external and internal conditions. On any day we may experience rapid mood changes. These contrasting feelings have their impact or the prosocial behaviour. There is a general assumption suggesting that we are more likely to help if we are in a good mood as compared with when we are in a bad mood. Research done in this area suggests that there is no such simple relationship in the prosocial behaviour and our moods.

Prosocial behaviour and Positive emotions –

Every child quickly learns that it is better to request something, when parents are in a good mood. This extended to the prosocial acts also. Research suggest that people are more willing to help when they are in a good mood, may be when they are for

some nice outings, or when they have watched some comedy film. (Cunningham 1997).

This may not be always the case. A bystander, who is in the positive mood, may not be willing to help, because that may interfere with their good mood. Helping may require them to perform actions that are difficult and unpleasant.

Negative Emotions and Prosocial behaviour –

It is generally belived that when a person is in the bad mood he is less likely to help. But if such helping act generates positive feelings, people in the bad mood are more likely to help as compared with people in neutral or positive mood. (Ciadini Kenrick and Bauman 1982). This is explained by the negative state relief model of prosocial behaviour.

Empathy – There are individual differences, with regard to helping behaviour. Some people are move likely to help as compared to others. These differences are produced by both biological factors and personal experiences of an individual.

Genetic difference in empathy were studied by Davis Lace, and Kraus. They examined more than 800 identical twins and no identical twins. They found that empathy, sympathetic concern for other is influenced by hereditary factors whereas cognitive empathy (taking perspective of other person) is not influenced by hereditary factors. The external factors are responsible for the development of cognitive empathy.

Psychologist Janet Strayer (Azar 1997) suggests that we are all born with the biological and cognitive capacities but our personal experiences determine whether this empathy will be blocked or repressed. Schools play an important role in the development of empathy. In our primary school, the school programmes encourage children to be honest, help and respect others. The prosocial model depicted in media also encourages empathy. Psychologist Robert Coles (1997) emphasized the importance of mothers and fathers in shaping such behaviours in his book titled as "Moral Intelligence of children", he suggests that it is necessary to teach children to be good or kind and to think about other people rather than just about themselves. This study was performed on two groups of male students. One belonging to German cultural background and other group belonging to Muslim cultural background. They performed a task in which they learned about a serious problem faced by a person (he had no money, and had to find a place in a new city). The person was described either belonging to their own group or other group. After this the participants were required to indicate

their empathy for person on a test and a like hood of helping this person. The researchers predicted that empathy would be stronger for the member of own group rather than for a member of other social group.

The results also showed that participants helped the person, who is perceived to be similar to themselves. The findings are very much similar to kinship selection theory of prosocial behaviour that suggests that we help people who share similar genes, may be belonging to same culture or same ethnic group.

Development of empathy –

There are individual differences when helping during emotional distress. Some may help others at the cost of their own life, whereas some may enjoy the paid and sufferings of others. Good children are the children who are not self centered but those who respond to needs of others. Children acquire moral values by observing behaviour of parents what they do in their day to day life. Cole believes that primary school years are important during which child develops or fails to develop conscience. Research studies have provided the examples of how mother's warmth, and clear and forceful messages from parents explaining how others are affected by hurtful behaviour play an important role in the development of empathy. Child must learn to distinguish between justified guilt and unjustified guilt. Justified guilt is experienced after causing harm to other person. Unjustified guilt is experienced for the bad events for which one is not to be blamed. Child's sense of empathy is enhanced when parents are able to discuss emotions.

There are wide variations in the experience of empathy, but generally children who come from family environments that are warm and supportive, tend to be highly sympathetic.

Women generally express higher empathy than men (Trobst, Collins and Embree 1994). There are studies of non Jewish Germans, who helped rescue Jews from Nazis in this World War II. By a ratio of two to one women out numbered men in this brave prosocial activity (Anderson 1993). A special instance of such empathy is the response of people catastrophes like earthquake, bombing, and long lasting draught experienced by total strangers. Most people respond with empathy and sometimes with material assistance. The greatest concern is shown when victim resembles oneself. Those who have experienced hurricane are especially responsive to hurricane victims (Sattler, Adams and Watts 1995). Those who have experienced flood are more responsive to flood victims.

A very special Catastrope –

Terrorist attack on Mumbai on 26th Nov. 2008, many ordinary people came forward to help, when the extent of horror was known. People shed tears, stood in long lines to donate blood. The cowardly attack on innocent persons was condemned by entire nation.

Studies have shown that secure attachment style facilitates the empathic response to other's needs. (Mikulincer et al 2001).

Prolonged exposure to prosocial T.V. model also leads to development of empathy. During childhood and adolescence, children acquire appropriate experiences and models to develop empathy.

Empathy is more likely to develop if child's mother is a warm person and if both parents emphasize that how other people are affected by rude behaviour and if family is able to discuss emotions in supportive atmosphere. Those parents, who use anger as a way of dealing with children, inhibit the development of empathy among children.

Social Exclusion – Social Exclusion refers to conditions in which individuals feel that they have been excluded from some social group. Social exclusion leads to feelings of being distanced from others and it reduces the helping behaviour. The feeling of being excluded is a very painful experience and it leaves individuals with very few emotional sources. Such individuals are busy with their own feelings of rejection and abandonment and they have less emotion left for experiencing concern for others (Twenge, Baumeister, Dewall, Ciarocco and Barlels 2007).

Twenge and others conducted series of studies in which they found that those people who experience social exclusion adopt a cautious attitude toward social relations. They want to have good relationship with others but because they have recently been rejected, they are less willing to expose themselves because of fear of further exclusion as a results they are less likely to experience empathy towards others and less likely to use prosocial actions as a way of winning ne friends or support.

Thus, social exclusion has lasting effects and prevents people from building the social relationships. Thus, social exclusion is far more damaging in the group and even societies as it prevents people from building relationships.

Being a target of discrimination is one factor that leads to experiences of social exclusion.

Summary :

Situational factors that enhance or inhibit helping.

Helping people we like – We generally help those who are similar to us in terms age nationality or religion. People holding similar values are also helped more than others. We help those who are not responsible for their problems. A hopelessly drunk person lying on the footpath is rarely helped, as compared with the well dressed person with cut on his forehead.

Exposure to prosocial models – The helpful models in the real world or the models projected by media encourage the prosocial behaviour. Eg. Spiderman helping people in distress.

Emotions and prosocial behaviour – Good mood of the bystander increases the change of being helped. It may not be always true, under certain conditions; good mood may actually interfere with prosocial behaviour.

Negative emotions are more likely to increase prosocial behaviour if negative feelings are not intense and situation is not ambiguous.

Empathy – Empathy is being able take the perspective of other people. It is an important determinant of prosocial behaviour. People tend to experience more empathy for people belonging to their own group.

Studies have shown that empathy is influenced by genetic factors.

Prosocial T. V. models and warm and accepting parents encourage the development of empathy among children. Women generally express higher levels of empathy than men.

Social Exclusion – It is condition is which people feel that they are being left out. Studies done by Twenge suggest that when people experience social exclusion they adopt a very cautious attitude in their social relations. Social exclusion is harmful for both individual and society because people experiencing of do not develop new relationships.

Personality and prosocial behaviour – Researchers proposed five important dimensions of altruistic personality.

1) Empathy

2) Belief is just world

3) Social responsibility

4) Internal Locus of control and

5) Low egocentrism.

How does one feel to receive help –

When someone comes to provide you help the expectation is that the victim must react positively with feelings of gratitude. But this may not happen in every instance, a person who receives help may experience discomfort and feel resentful towards a person who is providing help Elderly adults to require help from others due to physical impairment but they feel depressed that they have to depend on others for helping.

Receiving help lowers the self esteem of the person, if a person who helps is similar in education, age and many other characteristics (Depaulo et al 1981). When self esteem is threatened, it creates a feeling of dislike towards a person who offers help. Similarly, when a member of a stigmatized group (eg. black) gets unasked help from non stigmatized group then it is perceived as patronizing insult (Schneider 1996).

Help from younger sibling is also unpleasant (Searcy and Eisenberg 1992). Help from non sibling or non similar person is seen more positively. Generally, if someone who is similar to you helps you, it indirectly raises the question about competitiveness. When person responds negatively to being helped there is one positive aspect that accompanies it is that the person is motivated for self help in future (Fisher, Nadler and Whilche Algana 1982). Such motivation can reduce the dependence on others, eg., when a family receives a financial help from family, friends and neighbors it creates a feeling of inadequacy and resentment. This may motivate a person to work hard and avoid such problems in the future. But when help comes from government agencies, the positive self image is retained and very little efforts are made to avoid future crisis.

Long term commitment to Prosocial acts –

The prosocial behaviour may take different forms like helping someone in need of money, protecting an animal or bird that is in trouble. Sometimes prosocial act may take the form of volunteering one's life for a worthy cause, this requires a long period of time. The efforts done by great personalities like Mother Teresa, Baba Amte and Medha Patkar. All forms of prosocial behaviour involve a moral issue like making a choice to act or not to act; this is where an individual is required to balance his self interest and moral integrity. The following section discusses all the related issues.

Volunteering – Certain problems like poverty, AIDS affected patients and their children have chronic and continuing problems. Such problems require help over prolonged period. To provide help one must commit his efforts over weeks, months and may be even longer than that. For example after tsunami struck South Asia in 2004, thousands of volunteers went to these locations to help the victims to rebuild and to deal with number of medical and legal problems. The government agencies tried to cope up with the calamity but volunteers did great work. We can easily assume that around the world reasonable numbers of people are engaged in the voluntary work.

The five steps that are required to respond to emergency are also required when decision of volunteering is made.

1) In order to help the homeless children, one must become aware of the problem 2) Interpreting the problem accurately so that some arrangement can be made that can provide shelter to homeless children on the street. 3) Assume a personal responsibility to help. 4) Decide a course of action that can be taken, may be find out the organizations those who help such children. 5) Start actually working with such organizations.

Individuals are motivated to give up a portion of their private life because they are convinced about the need of the hour. There are many more causes that really require attention and help but it is not possible to help all the needy.

When individuals volunteer with time and money, they are identified by ethnic race and group so that different cultures become apparent. People with different background are motivated by specific concerns of the group.

Volunteering Motivation for Long Term Help –

Anyone who volunteers to help at the time of emergencies must commit his or her time special skills and money over extended period of time.

Patients with AIDS provide an example of a problem of continuing help and that require a commitment of volunteers. Till today there is no effective way of immunizing against HIV infections. In India the problem is still more serious as the number of children born to HIV parents continually requires emotional and financial support. People can do efforts on acceptance of this children, or can become activist in the cause of awareness and preventive behaviour.

Many a times help is not given to HIV affected persons, because the tendency is to blame the person for his own plight. But children of HIV parents are considered to be innocent victims. The potential volunteers find the cost of working with them to be very high, and the possibility of contracting disease by maintaining the inter actions with them is very high. There is also reactance to stigma by association. Why would anyone spend a part of his/her life when there are many more other things do in life?

Given these considerations a person must have powerful motivation for help. Clary and Snyder (1999) have identified six basic functions that are served by working as a volunteer for AIDS. These functions are summarized in the following table.

Motives for Volunteering – People volunteer for many reasons some of the most important are shown here (Adopted from Baron and Branscombe).

Function Served	Definition
Values	To express or act on important values such as humanitarianism.
Understanding	To learn more about the world or exercise skills that are often not used.
Enhancement	To grow and develop psychologically through volunteer activities.
Career	To gain career related experiences.
Social	To strengthen social relationships.
Protective	To reduce negative feelings such as guilt or to address personal problems.

Branscombe

The decision to volunteer can be based on personal values, the need to understand more about the disease, the desire to enhance one's own development, the chance to gain career related experience, the need to improve one's own personal relationships, the desire to reduce negative feelings, such as guilt or escape from personal problems.

Volunteering because it Mandates Altruism or Generativity –

One way of encouraging volunteerism is to mandate it as when high schools and colleges require students to spend specified amount of time in volunteer work. Example, Scout Guides in Schools and N.S.S. programmes of the college encourage

volunteering in the younger students. This practice may not really encourage large number of volunteers. Such forceful approach may actually decrease the tendency to volunteer (Stukas, Snyder and Clarry 1999).

People who engage in volunteering seem to belive in internal locus of control, and they are more empathetic (Guagnano 1995, Penner and Finkelstein 1998). Some researchers have proposed that, volunteers display Generativity. They defined Generativity as adult's interest in commitment by becoming parents, by teaching young people and by engaging in acts that will have positive effects beyond lifetime. The following are the characteristics of people having Generativity.

- They believe that people need to care for one another.

- They have enduring moral values that give purpose and meaning to life.

- They perceive bad events as an event for producing good outcomes.

- They make an effort for progressive development of society.

Self Interest, Moral Integrity, and Moral Hypocracy :

Many people consciously ignore the victims of the emergency situation for various reasons.

Batson and Thompson (2001) suggested that it is the moral dilemma whether to help or not that decides whether victim will get help or not. He suggested that this moral dilemma is related to three important motives. They are;
- Self interest (egoism)
- Moral integrity
- Moral Hypocracy

1) **Self Interest –** Most of us are motivated by self interest. Generally we see if behaviour is rewarding to us or not. We seek rewards and try to avoid punishment. Those people whose main motive is self interest are not concerned with what's fair or unfair, what is right or wrong, they do what suits them.

2) **Moral Integrity –** Those people who are motivated by moral integrity are concerned about fairness or unfairness. They accept self-sacrifice for doing something that is right. During the emergency situation, such individuals are motivated by moral concerns.

Sometimes such individuals face a conflict between moral concerns and self interest and if they are unable to help victim, then they are more likely to experience guilt feelings.

3) **Moral Hypocracy –** Individuals belonging to this category want to appear moral while avoiding the cost of being moral. These people are more concerned with self interest at the same time they want to appear moral. They try to create an impression that they are highly moral, when they are persuing their self interests.

Questions :

1. Explain the external and internal factors influencing prosocial behaviour.

2. Write short notes on

   1) Empathy and prosocial behaviour

   2) Long term commitment is prosocial acts.

Reference :

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14

PERSPECTIVES AND CAUSES OF AGGRESSION

Unit structure :

14.0   Objectives
14.1   Definition of Aggression
14.2   Perspectives on Aggression
      14.2.1 The Role of Biological Factors
      14.2.2 Drive Theories
      14.2.3 Modern Theories of Aggression
14.3   Causes of Human Aggression: Social, Cultural, Personal, and Situational
      14.3.1 Social causes of Aggression
      14.3.2 Cultural causes of Aggression
      14.3.3 Personal Causes of Aggression
      14.3.4 Situational Causes of Aggression
14.4   Questions

Aggression is one of the most potential dangers to mankind. It is a greatest stumbling block for one's self development and growth. Aggression and violence have been experienced by almost all societies and times. The two world wars, terrorist attacks, racial conflicts, communal clashes, etc., have gradually increased over the years. Whether aggression is manifested by individuals or groups (including nations), it is the most destructive force in social relations and consequently an important social issue. A major concern in either individual or group aggression is its origin.

14.0 OBJECTIVES :

After studying this unit you will be able to:

- Understand the various perspectives of aggression
- Appreciate the various causes of Aggression including the various social and personal causes of Aggression.

14.1 DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION :

Aggression is behavior, verbal or physical, intended to physically hurt or harm in some other way another person or thing. Two important definitions of aggression are as follows :

a) According to Dollard et al., aggression can be defined as "a behaviour whose goal is the injury of the person towards whom it is directed". Supposedly this includes physical and verbal aggression.

b) Baron and Bryne has defined aggression in the following words "aggression is any form of behaviour directed towards the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment".

Aggression is defined as behavior aimed at causing harm or pain, psychological harm, or personal injury or physical distraction. An important aspect of aggressive behavior is the intention underlying the actor's behavior. Not all behaviors resulting in harm are considered aggression. For example, a doctor who makes an injection that harms people, but who did so with the intent of preventing the further spread of illness, is not considered to have committed an aggressive act.

Aggression can be direct or indirect, active or passive, and physical or verbal.

14.2 PERSPECTIVES ON AGGRESSION :

The term Perspective means viewpoint. Perspectives on Aggression mean different viewpoints on aggression or theories of aggression. It deals with the views of different researches as to the reasons concerning why human beings aggress against others. There are many different perspectives on aggression. The three most common perspectives are as follows:

- The Role of Biological Factors : From Instincts to Evolutionary Perspective.
- Drive Theories: The Motive to Harm Others.
- Modern Theories of Aggression: The Social Learning Perspective and The General Aggression Model.

14.2.1 The Role of Biological Factors :

From Instincts to Evolutionary Perspective : One of the important debatable issues has been what role do instincts or genetic factors play in aggression. One view holds that human beings are genetically programmed for aggression and violence.

Views of Sigmund Freud : One of the earliest instinct theories was given by Sigmund Freud which held the view that human violence stems from built-in (i.e., inherited) tendencies to aggress against others. He held the view that human aggression is

instinctive. Freud believed that the individual has two basic instinctive drives:

- Eros (or libido or life instinct) and
- Thanatos or death instinct.

He called the instinct to live and obtain pleasure libido or eros and gave the name Thanatos to the death drive. When thanatos dominates, the result is self-punishment and suicide.

According to this viewpoint aggression springs mainly from a built in fighting, instinct that humans share with many other species. Presumably, this instinct developed during the course of evolution because it yielded many benefits. For example fighting serves to disperse populations over a wide area, thus, ensuring maximum use of available resources. And since it is often closely related to mating, such behaviour often helps to strengthen the genetic make up of a species by assuring that only the strongest and most vigorous individuals manage to reproduce.

Konrad Lorenz on Aggression : Konrad Lorenz held the view that instinct to aggress is common to many animal species. Lorenz, however, differs from Freud, since he states that aggressive behaviour will not occur unless it is triggered by external cues.

Instinct view Rejected by Social Psychologists : Most Social Psychologists rejected the instinctive theories of aggression. According to them it is difficult to give a genetic explanation of human aggression because aggression in human beings is expressed in many different forms, how can such a huge variation be caused by genetic factors. Secondly, the genetic theory of aggression is weak because all societies are not equally aggressive. The frequency of aggressive actions varies tremendously across human societies, so that it is much more likely to occur in some than in others. Do biologically inherited tendencies toward aggression actually exist among human beings? Most social psychologists doubt that they do, primarily for two important reasons:

(i) First, they note that instinctive view such as the one proposed by Freud and Lorenz is somewhat circular in nature. These views begin by observing that aggression is a common form of behaviour. On the basis of this they then reason that such behaviour must stem from universal built-in urges or tendencies. Finally, they use the high incidence of aggression as support for the presence of such instances and impulses.

(ii) Second, and perhaps more important - several findings argue against the existence of universal, innate human tendencies toward aggression. Comparisons among various societies indicate that the level of at least some forms of aggression

varies greatly. For example, more murders are committed each year in each city in the United States than in entire nations (with ten times their population) in Europe and the Orient. Similarly, the incidence of aggression seems to change over time in different societies. If aggression is indeed a universal human tendency based largely on genetic factors, such differences and shifts would not occur.

The present day Social Psychologists generally conclude that genetic and biological factors play little if any role in human aggression.

Evolutionary Perspective : Evolutionary perspective to a great extent believes that human aggression is adaptive in nature and that aggressive acts help individuals to preserve their genetic material. Studies of mate selection among human beings as well as aggression among animals have revealed that aggression confers many evolutionary advantages among individuals of a given species and help them to successfully survive and adapt to their environment.

14.2.2 Drive Theories :

The Motive to Harm Others : Drive theories suggest that aggression originates from external conditions that give rise to the motive to harm or injure others. In other words drive theories suggest that various external conditions (frustration, physical pain, loss of face) serve to arouse a strong motive to engage in harm-producing behaviour and such aggressive drive, in turn then leads to the performance of overt assaults against others. One important drive theories of aggression was presented by Dollard et al., called as Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis.

Frustration Aggression Hypothesis : This hypothesis was proposed by Dollard et. al., (1939), at Yale University. They stated that aggression is always a consequence of frustration and that frustration always leads to some kind of aggression. In short, it held that frustrated people always engage in some type of aggression and that all acts of aggression result from some type of frustration. Critics have objected to both the portions of the frustration aggression hypothesis.

- First, it is now clear that frustrated individuals do not always respond to thwarting with aggressive thoughts, words or deed. Rather, they may actually show a wide variety of reactions, ranging from resignation and despair on the one hand to attempts to overcome the source of their frustration on the other. In many cases, it appears that, the most likely reaction to powerful frustration is depression not overt acts of aggression (Bandura 1973).

- Second, all aggression does not result from frustration. People aggress for many different reasons and in response to many different factors. For example boxers hit and sometimes injure their opponents because it is a part of their job to do so, not because they are frustrated. Soldiers often attack and kill others out of a sense of patriotism or simply because it is their duty. Public executioners as well as hired assassin regularly kill individuals they do not know simply because they are being paid to carry out these actions. Thus, all aggression is not a result of frustration.

Social Psychologists have largely rejected this theory.

14.2.3 Modern Theories of Aggression :

The Social Learning Perspective and The General Aggression Model : The two most well know modern theories of aggression are the social learning perspective and The General Aggression Model. We would discuss each of these briefly.

i.   The Social Learning Perspective : This is one of the most popular theories of aggression. According to it aggression, like other complex forms of social behaviour, is largely learned. The theoretical position that aggression is learned social behaviour has been presented in the writings of Bandura (1973), Baron (1977) and Zillmann (1979). The social learning theories have basically attempted to see how social models lead to aggression. They have studied the effect of viewing violence, especially televised violence. The social learning view of aggression also states that through direct and vicarious experience we also learn.

- How to attack others (For, e.g., through guns, blows, sticks, etc.).
- Which persons or groups are appropriate targets for aggression?
- What actions by other either justify or actually require aggression retaliation and.
- What situations or contexts are ones in which aggression is appropriate or inappropriate.

Social learning perspective suggests that whether a specific person will aggress in a given situation depends on many factors, including an individual's past experience, the current rewards associated with past or present aggression and attitudes and values that shape an individual's thoughts concerning the appropriateness and potential effects of such behaviour.

ii.   The General Aggression Model: The general model of aggression was presented by a group of researchers, chief among

them is Anderson (1997, 2002). According to this model aggression is a result of combination of two factors: (a) situational factors and (b) personal factors. We would discuss each of these briefly:

a) **Factors relating to the current situation (situational factors):**
   - Frustration.
   - Some kind of provocation from another person (e.g., insult),
   - Exposure to other people behaving aggressively (aggressive models – real or those shown in the media),
   - Any thing that causes individuals to experience discomfort – such as high temperature, dentist injection / drill, extremely boring lecture.

b) **Factors relating to the people involved (personal factors):** These factors include individual differences of different types which we find among people. Some of the personal factors that can cause aggression in us are as follows:
   - Traits that predispose some individuals towards aggression (such as high irritability, antisocial personality, impulsivity, etc.).
   - Attitudes and belief about violence (e.g., believing that it is acceptable and appropriate).
   - A tendency to perceive hostile intentions in other's behaviour and
   - Specific skills related to aggression (e.g., knowing how to fight or how to use various weapons.

   According to the General Aggression Model, these situational and individual (personal factors) variables lead to overt aggression through their impact on three basic processes:
   - *i) Arousal :* They may increase physical arousal or excitement.
   - *ii) Affective States :* They can arouse hostile feelings and outwards signs of these (e.g., angry facial expressions) and
   - *iii) Cognitions :* They can induce individuals to think hostile thoughts or can bring beliefs and attitudes about aggression to mind.

14.3 CAUSES OF HUMAN AGGRESSION : SOCIAL, CULTURAL, PERSONAL, AND SITUATIONAL :

Human aggression is a result of many causes acting in combination. The four most important causes of human aggression are as follows :

1. Social causes of Aggression
2. Cultural causes of Aggression

3. Personal causes of Aggression and

4. Situational causes of Aggression

We would discuss each of these briefly.

14.3.1 Social causes of Aggression :

The following are the important social causes of aggression.

i.   Frustration : Frustration is one important and powerful cause of aggression. Frustration can arise due to many factors such as environmental or natural calamities, accidents, personal limitations, lack of aptitude, others ill intentions, etc. In the preceding pages we have seen frustration-aggression hypothesis which stated that a) Frustration always lead to some form of aggression; and b) Aggression always stems from frustration. Recently Berkowitz (1989) has proposed a revised version of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. According to this view, frustration is an aversive, unpleasant experience, and frustration leads to aggression because of this fact. The frustration aggression viewpoint also helps to explain why unexpected frustration and frustration that is viewed as illegitimate or unjustified produce stronger aggression than frustration that is expected or legitimate. For e.g., an employee who has been abruptly terminated from service without a reasonable and proper explanation will feel that his termination is illegitimate and unjustified. Such an individual will develop hostile thoughts, experience intense anger and seek revenge against the perceived source of frustration (in this case the employer). This is due to the fact that unexpected or illegitimate frustration generates greater amount of negative affect than frustration that is expected or viewed as legitimate.

ii.   Provocation : This is another major cause of aggression. Direct provocation leads to anger. Research studies suggest that direct provocation from others, either physical or verbal, often play a powerful role in eliciting overt aggression.

Not every body reacts to provocation with aggression, whether we would react to provocation with aggression is influenced by many factors. One such factor is our attributions concerning provocation. For e.g., when we conclude that provocation from another person was intended, i.e., purposely performed, we become angry and engage in strenuous efforts to reciprocate. However, on the other hand if we conclude that provocation was unintended i.e., due to the result of accident or factors beyond other's control, we are much less likely to loose our temper and behave aggressively. Thus, attributions concerning the causes behind the provocative actions of others play an important role in determining how aggressively we would react.

Kinds of Provocation : Three important types of provocation that leads to aggression are as follows:

a) **Condescension :** Expression of arrogance or disdain on the part of others

b) **Harsh and Unjustified Criticism :** Harsh and Unjustified Criticism, Especially criticism that attacks us rather than our behaviour.

c) **Teasing :** Provoking statements that points to an individual's flaws and imperfections. Teasing can range from mild, humorous remarks and humorous nicknames to comments that are designed to hurt and insult others. Research findings indicate that the more individuals attribute teasing to hostile motives – a desire to embrass or annoy them – the more likely they are to respond aggressively.

Gender differences in Provocation : Two important gender differences in provocation are as follows:

♦ Females were found to become much angrier as compared to males with respect to condescending actions—one's in which the other person showed arrogance or suggested that he/she was superior in some manner.

♦ Females were also found to become angrier in situations where someone hurt someone else and in situation where one was insensitive to others.

iii. Heightened Arousal : The results of a number of experimental studies show that heightened physiological arousal, irrespective of its source, may often serve to facilitate overt aggression. Heightened arousal created by such sources as loud and unpleasant noises, competitive activities and even vigorous exercise has been found to facilitate aggression under "certain" conditions.

Excitation Transfer Theory : One of the theories that explain the relationship between heightened arousal and aggression is called as Excitation Transfer Theory introduced by Zillmann (1983). Briefly Excitation Transfer Theory refers to the fact that often physiological arousal dissipates slowly overtime. As a result some portion of such arousal may persist as an individual moves from one situation to another. This residual excitement, in turn, can then transfer to the new context, and intensify any emotional experiences occurring in it. According to Zilimann, arousal occurring in one situation can persist and intensify, emotional reactions occurring in later, unrelated situations. For e.g., the arousal generated by a near miss in traffic can intensify feelings of annoyance or frustration produced, by later delays at an airport security gate.

Emotion, Cognition and Aggression : Zillmann (199) has revised his excitation transfer theory to explain the interaction of emotion and cognition in causing aggression. According to him our thoughts can lead us to reappraise various emotion provoking events as a result of which we would reinterpret the situation and this cognitive activity in turn, may well influence your emotional reactions leading to aggression. For e.g., Zillman (1994) found that if subjects are told in advance that some one with whom they will soon interact is very upset, they experience less anger in response to rudeness by this individual than if they do not receive such information. Emotional arousal influences our cognition to a considerable extent. According to Zillmann (1994) levels of emotional arousal influences our thoughts about other's behaviour and so our tendencies to aggress against them. According to Zillmann (994) strong emotional arousal sometimes produces what he describes as cognitive deficit - i.e., reduced ability to formulate rational plans of action or reduced ability to evaluate the possible outcome of various behaviours.

iv. Exposure to Media Violence : Exposure to media violence increases aggression in individuals. A large number of research studies have conclusively demonstrated that exposure to aggressive models stimulate similar behaviour among observers. Similarly, research studies have also conclusively shown that exposure to violence in the mass media (films and TV), increases aggression by viewers. Some important findings of the various research studies with respect to exposure to media violence and aggression are as follows:

- Research on exposure to violent television, movies, video games and music indicates that such material significantly increases the likelihood of aggressive behaviour by people exposed to them.

- Such effects are both short term and long term in nature.

- The magnitude of these effects is large, real and long lasting.

- It has been found that the more violent films or televisions programs participants watched as children, the higher their levels of aggression as teenagers or adults are.

- In a recent study Bartholow et al (2006) have found that individuals who reported that they had often played violent video games in the past directed more aggression against another person who had done nothing to provoke them than people who had rarely played such games. The more participants in the study had played violent video games in the past, the stronger the aggression they directed to their "opponent" on trials when they won.

Exposure to media violence enhances aggression because it desensitizes an individual to aggressive acts and makes the individual aggress against others with increasing intensity.

v. ***Violent Pornography :*** It means viewing sex films involving violence. A large number of research studies also indicate that violent pornography leads to aggressive behaviour. Exposure to violent pornography increases the tendency of males to aggress against females. Combination of explicit sexual content and violence against women is potentially dangerous. It makes men aggressive. Exposure to violent pornography also leads to desensitizing effect in which viewers react less negatively to the violence in these films as they watch more and more of them. Research studies have shown that prolonged exposure to scenes depicting sexual violence toward females (several hours of viewing such films), both men and women report more callous attitudes toward such actions. They perceive crimes such as rape as less serious, report less sympathy toward rape victims, indicate greater acceptance of false beliefs about rape (e.g., the myth that many women really want to be ravaged) and become more accepting of bizarre forms of pornography.

14.3.2 Cultural causes of Aggression :

Cultural factors also considerably influence aggression. Certain cultural practices with respect to honour, sexuality, etc., are filled with violence and aggression. An important concept in this area is **"Cultures of Honour"**. It refers to those cultures in which there are strong norms indicating that aggression is an appropriate response to insults to one's honour. In North India (especially Haryana), among the Rajputs, where such a culture is prevalent, incidents of Honour killings/punishments are fairly common, where the girl and sometimes the girl and the boy are both killed or punished by the family and/or community for engaging in an intercaste/interfaith relationships. Thus, in 'cultures of honor' there are strong norms suggesting that insults to one's honour must be avenged through aggression.

Sexual Jealously : Social psychological research as well as observation of scholars like Shakespeare and Freud have pointed out that sexual jealously is one of the most potential causes of aggression. Sexual jealously can be defined as the perception of a threat to a romantic relationship by a rival for one's partner. Research studies by Buss et al.,(1992). Parrot, (1991); and Sharpsteen, (1991) have demonstrated that individuals who feel that their lover has "done them wrong" by flirting with another person often experience strong feelings of anger and frequently think about or actually engage in actions designed to punish their lover, the rivals, or both. Some studies have found that most of the blame is on one's lover rather than the rival. It has also been found

(Paul et al., 1993) that females experience stronger feelings of anger at both the partner and the rival than males do and they are more likely to react aggressively to such betrayals.

14.3.3 Personal Causes of Aggression :

Many personal factors contribute towards aggression, some of which includes:
  i.   Personality Factors
  ii. Type A Behaviour Pattern
  iii. Narcissism and Ego Threat
  iv. Sensation Seeking
  v.   Gender Differences

We would discuss each of these briely.

i.   Personality Factors : Many personality factors interact in complex ways with a given situational variable to determine how aggressively an individual reacts to a given situation. One such model is called as the TASS Model: The traits as Situational Sensitivities Model. It suggests that many personality traits function in a threshold-like manner, influencing behaviour only when situations evoke them. For example in people high in trait of aggressiveness, even a moderate level of provocation would trigger intense aggressive reactions. On the other hand for people low in trait of aggressiveness, a moderate provocation would trigger little or no aggression. Only a strong provocation would result in overt aggression.

ii.   Type A Behaviour Pattern : The Term type A was introduced by Friedman and Rosenman to describe an individual's set of personality characteristics. The Type A behaviour pattern is a pattern of behaviour consisting primarily of high levels of competitiveness, time urgency and hostility. The Type A personalities are highly competitive, achievement oriented and always worried about time. They take too many activities at hand and always work against the pressure of time. Type A individuals are prone to aggressive and hostile behaviours. Type A individuals are hostile because aggressing against others is a useful means for reaching one's goals, such as furthering one's career or winning in athletic competitions (This is called as instrumental aggression). Type A individuals also engage in hostile aggression i.e., aggression whose prime purpose is that of inflicting pain and suffering on the victims. It has been found that Type A's are more likely than Type B's to engage in such actions as child abuse or spouse abuse (Strube et al, 1984).

iii.   Narcissism and Ego Threat : The term Narcissism is derived from the story of a character from Greek mythology.

Narcissus fell in love with his own reflection in the water and drowned trying to reach it. His name has now become a synonym for excessive self-love. Narcissistic individuals are highly self-centered and hold an over-inflated view of one's own virtues or accomplishments. It has been found that high levels of Narcissism are associated with aggressive behavior. Bushman and Baumeister (1998) found that individuals who have high levels of Narcissism often react with exceptionally high levels of aggression to slights from others, i.e., feedback that threatens their inflated self-image. They also react in an aggressive manner to mild provocations because they believe that they are much better than other people and as a result, perceive mild critical comments form others as strong slurs on their inflated self-image. Due to their inflated self-image narcissistic individuals perceive themselves to be victims of transgressions (wrong doings).

iv.   **Sensation Seeking :** Sensation seeker is one personality characteristics. Individuals who are described as sensation seekers are ones who are highly impulsive, adventurous, seeks new experiences and gets bored quickly. These individuals seek exciting events having an element of risk in it. They are also less inhibited. According to Zuckerman such individuals are high in aggression. Those who are high in sensation seeking are found to be highly aggressive due to following reasons:

- They experience anger and hostile feelings in higher amount as compared to others.
- Their emotions are easily aroused.
- They have lower thresholds for becoming angry.
- Moreover, their tendencies to get bored and to seek exciting new experiences may lead them to have more hostile thoughts.

Joiereman et al (2003) found that those scoring high on sensation seeking were found to be high on verbal and physical aggression due to following reasons:

- High sensation seekers are generally attracted to situations that elicit aggression because they find such situations as exciting and appealing.
- They experience anger and hostility in higher proportions as compared to those who score lower on sensation seeking.
- They are also more likely to focus on immediate rather than delayed consequences of their behaviour.

v.   **Gender Differences :** Research studies have shown that there are sex differences in aggression. Males are found to be more aggressive than females. Statistical data indicates that males are more likely than females to be arrested for violent acts.

Harris (1994) in his research study found that males have indulged in wide range of aggressive actions as compared to females. Some important research findings with respect to gender differences in aggression are as follows :

a. Males are significantly more likely than females to aggress against others when the provocation for aggression was absent.

b. Gender difference tends shrink or even disappears when there is provocation.

c. Gender differences are also found with respect to types of aggression. Males are more likely than females to engage in various forms of physical aggression such as kicking, punching, hitting and use of weapons. On the other hand women are found to indulge more in verbal assaults. It has been further found that females engage in forms of aggression that make it difficult for victims to identify the aggressor or even to realize that they have been the targets of aggressive behaviour.

d. Males and females also differ with respect to one form of aggression called as sexual coercion. It involves words and deeds designed to overcome a partner's objections to engaging in sexual behavior and they can range from verbal tactics such as false statements of love to threats of harm and actual physical force. It has been found (Mussweiler and Forster 2000, Hogben et al 2001) that males are far more likely to indulge in sexual coercion as compared to females.

e. Research findings indicate that males are more likely than females to engage in various forms of direct aggression - actions aimed directly at the target and which clearly stem from the aggressor, e.g., physical assaults, pushing, shoving, throwing something at another person, shouting, making insulting remarks, etc. Females were found to indulge more in indirect forms of aggression - actions that allow the aggressor to conceal his/her identity from the victim, and which, in some cases, make it difficult for the victim to know that they have been the target of intentional harm doing. Such actions include:

   ▪ Spreading vicious rumors about the target person.

   ▪ Gossiping behind this person's back

   ▪ Telling others not to associate with the intended victim,

   ▪ Making up stories to get them in trouble, etc.

14.3.4 Situational Causes of Aggression :

Heat (Temperature) and Alcohol :

There are many Situational factors that influence aggressive behavior. Situational forces refers to the context in which the

aggression occurs and weather it is viewed as acceptable in a given culture or not. There are many situational factors that influence aggression. The two most important situational factors that can influence aggression are as follows:

- Heat (Temperature)
- Alcohol

We would now briefly discuss these two situational causes of aggression.

a) Heat (Temperature) : Social psychological researchers have found a close connection between temperature (heat) and aggression. Some earliest classic studies in this area was conducted in the 1970s by Baron (1972) and his associates (Baron and Lawton, 1972). Their results indicated that heat increases aggression, but only up to a point. Beyond some level, people become so uncomfortable that they lack the energy for engaging in aggression or any other kind of vigorous activity. Paul Bell and Baron (1975) have presented a negative affect escape model to explain this phenomenon. According to them aggression did increase as temperatures rose in to the mid-80s Fahrenheit, but then dropped off at higher levels. Recently Anderson, Bushman and Groom (1997) obtained correlation between temperature and violent crimes. These researchers collected average annual temperatures for 50 cities in the USA over a 45-year period (1950 – 1995). In addition, they obtained information on the rate of both violent crimes (aggravated assault, homicide, etc.) and property crimes (burglary, car theft, etc.) as well as another crime that has been often viewed as primarily aggressive in nature: Rape. They then performed analysis to determine whether temperature was related to these crimes. Results indicated that the hotter years did indeed produce higher rates of violent crimes, but that they did not produce increase in property crimes or rape. This was true, even when the effect of many other variables that might also influence aggressive crimes (e.g. poverty, age distribution of the population, etc.) was eliminated. These findings and those of related studies (e.g. Anderson, Anderson and Deuser, 1996), suggest that heat is indeed linked to aggression.

Recent research by Rotton and Cohn, (2000), has revealed that the relationship between heat and Aggression is curvilinear. These researchers found that in two large U.S. cities, the incidence of violent assaults rose with increasing temperatures, but only up to a point; beyond this level, as temperature continued to rise, the incidence of assaults actually dropped.

b) Alcohol : Social Psychologists have found a close relationship between alcohol and aggressive behaviour. Bars, nightclubs, and other places in which people consume alcohol are

often the scene of aggressive behaviour. These results and those of several related studies (e.g., Jeavons and Taylor, 1985) suggest that alcohol does not automatically increase aggression by individuals who consume it. Such persons do sometimes become more aggressive, but only in the context of social or situational cues suggesting that such behaviour is appropriate (e.g., strong provocation from other, social pressure to behave aggressively, etc.).

Recent research has also established a strong correlation between consumption of alcohol and aggressive behavior. In several experiments, participants who consumed substantial doses of alcohol (enough to make them legally drunk), have been found to behave more aggressively and to respond to provocations more strongly, than those who did not consume alcohol (Bushman and Cooper, 19900, Gustafson, 1990). Alcohol triggers aggression because consumption of alcohol impairs our cognitive functions of higher order such as rational and logical thinking. It makes us more impulsive resulting in higher levels of aggression.

14.4 QUESTIONS :

1.   Discuss the different perspectives on Aggression.

2.   Write short notes on the following:
    a) Frustration Aggression Hypothesis
    b) The General Aggression Model

3.   Discuss the various causes of Aggression.

4.   Write short notes on the following:
    i) Provocation and Aggression
    ii) Heightened Arousal
    iii) Violent Pornography and Aggression
    iv) Culture and Aggression
    v) Situational causes of Aggression

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15

AGGRESSION IN LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP AND PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF AGGRESSION

Unit Structure:

15.0   Objectives
15.1   Bullying
    15.1.1 Characteristics of the Bullies
    15.1.2 How to Reduce the Occurrence of Bullying
15.2   Workplace Aggression
    15.2.1 Effect - Danger Ratio
    15.2.2 Types of Workplace Violence
    15.2.3 Causes of Workplace Aggression
    15.2.4 Abusive Supervision
15.3   The prevention and control of violence (Aggresssion)
15.4   Questions

Aggression in long-term relationship especially with those involving family members, schoolmates, friends, and coworkers and with people with whom we have intimate relationships is well known phenomenon. Such aggression can take many different forms such as child abuse, marital cruelty, domestic violence, etc. It can range from verbal abuses to physical fights and even murders. Two important types of aggression in long term relationship that we will discuss include Bullying and Workplace Violence (Aggression). Towards the end of this unit we would discuss the various techniques for prevention and control of aggression.

15.0 OBJECTIVES :

In this unit we will attempt to:
- Understand the phenomenon of bullying.
- Understand the characteristics of Bullies and Victims.
- Discuss how to reduce the Occurrence of Bullying.
- Study the concept of workplace aggression and its various types.
- Discuss the various techniques for prevention and control of aggression.

15.1 BULLYING :

It is one type of aggression generally seen in long term relationship. Bullying means Singling out others for Repeated Abuse. It is a pattern of behavior in which one individual is chosen as the target of repeated aggression by one or more others. The target person (the victim) generally has less power than those who engage in aggression (bullies). The targets of bullying are less able to stand up for them and bring bullying to an end. Bullying generally occurs with reference to children and teenagers. It is also common in workplaces and prisons. Two important topics with respect to bullying include characteristics of Bullies and Victims and reducing the occurrence of Bullying.

15.1.1 Characteristics of the Bullies :

Bullies have different perceptions of the social world. They often behave in ways in which others have treated them. Bully and victims display the following characteristics:

- They demonstrate Low self-esteem.

- They are also more likely to respond to stress with aggression or by engaging in self-destructive behaviors.

- They are less effective in coping with stress than are other children, especially those not involved in bullying.

- Lower in belief that they can control their own outcomes.

- Higher in Machiavellianism a tendency to adopt ruthless, manipulative approach to dealing with other persons.

- They have a more negative view of the world than other children and

- They show personal characteristics that may interfere with their personal happiness and adjustment.

15.1.2 How to Reduce the Occurrence of Bullying :

There are many ways in which the occurrence of bullying can be reduced. Some of these are as follows:

- **Train children to intervene rather than to simply stand by:** Bullying can be reduced if children are trained to intervene rather than to simply stand by when bullying occurs. It has been observed that girls are more willing to intervene as compared to boys.

- **Provide direct means for dealing with bullying:** Potential victims must be provided with direct means for dealing with bullying, they must be told precisely what to do and who to see when bullying occurs. Details of the contact person including

his/her telephone numbers should be prominently displayed and distributed among students. Regular seminars and workshops and involvement of peer groups in tackling bullying can go a long way in reducing this problem.

- **Role of Teachers:** Bullying can also be reduced with the help of teachers. One recent study (O'Moore, 2000) found that teachers should be taught the important fact that bullying involves low self-esteem and that attempts should be made by teachers to enhance children's feelings of self-worth and this can help in reducing bullying.

- **Role of Parent's and Parent's Association:** In Norway (Roland, 2000) and Netherlands (Limper, 2000) parents help has been taken through Parent's Association as well as the help of outside experts such as Psychologists, etc., to reduce bullying. In these programs, efforts have been made to change the entire school environment so that it is clear to students, teachers and parents alike that bullying is not a normal part of growing up and is not to be tolerated.

15.2 WORKPLACE AGGRESSION :

Work place aggression is also called as work place violence. It refers to aggression occurring in work setting. According to Neuman and Baron (1998) workplace aggression can be defined as any form of behavior through which individuals seek to harm others in their workplace.

Covert Aggression at Work Place : Large number of research studies has suggested that workplace violence is largely covert rather than overt in nature. Covert aggression is very much similar to indirect aggression. Covert aggression is relatively subtle in nature and allows aggressors to harm other persons while simultaneously preventing such persons from identifying them as the source of harm. Such violence has been increasing at a higher frequency. With respect to violence at work place two points are worth noting.

- A large majority of violence occurring in work setting takes place in connection with robberies and related crimes and is generally performed by outsiders, i.e., people who do not work there but who enter a work-place to commit robbery or other crimes.

- Threats of physical harm or actual harm in work settings are actually quite rare.

Aggression at workplace occurs in very covert ways. There are two reasons why aggression at workplace occurs in covert (subtle) manner.

- At workplace, aggression occurs in very many subtle ways because in work settings there are many potential witnesses to acts of aggression.

- Since would - be aggressors in workplace usually expect to interact with their intended victims in the future, they prefer covert forms of aggression because with respect to covert forms of aggression there is reduced likelihood of retaliation.

15.2.1 Effect - Danger Ratio :

It is a principle suggesting that in situations in which individuals interact frequently with potential victims, most people try - when engaging in aggression - to maximize the harm they produce while minimizing the danger of retaliation. One useful way to do this is aggress in subtle ways so that the victim can't be sure who caused the harm she/he is suffering and in fact, can't even tell whether the harm is the result of the actions of someone else or just as a result of impersonal factors, such as bad luck.

15.2.2 Types of Workplace Violence :

Arnold Buss (1961) suggested three types of covert aggression at workplace:
  i) Verbal,
  ii) Passive and
  iii) Indirect.

Baron et al (1999) found that aggression occurring in workplace falls in to following major categories:

i) ***Expression of Hostility :*** Hostility expressed through verbal and symbolic behavior such as belittling other's opinions, talking behind their backs, etc., is very common at workplace.

ii) ***Obstructionism :*** In this form of behavior attempt is made to obstruct or impede the target's performance. It can take many different forms, some of which are as follows :

  - Failure to return phone calls.
  - Failure to respond to memos, letters, etc.
  - Failure to provide or transmit needed information.
  - Interfering with activities that are important to the target.

iii) Overt Aggression : This form of aggression is generally rare but does occur, sometimes in extreme forms. Some types of overt aggression include :

- Physical assault
- Theft or destruction of property
- Threats of Physical violence
- Murder, etc.

iv) **Incivility :** It can be defined as low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target. This form of aggressive act is in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect and includes the following acts:

- Sending a rude e-mail.
- Excluding someone from a meeting, giving hostile looks or stares.
- Addressing a co-worker inappropriately or unprofessionally.

Research studies have revealed that expression of hostility and instances of obstructionism are much more frequent than instances of overt aggression.

15.2.3 Causes of Workplace Aggression :

Some of the major causes of workplace violence are as follows:

Perceived Unfairness : Workplace violence occurs when individuals perceive unfairness (Neuman and Baron, 1997). When individuals feel that they have been treated unfairly either by organization or its members, they experience intense feelings of anger and resentment and often seek to settle their score by harming the people they hold as responsible for their problems.

Structural changes : Workplace aggression has also been attributed to many structural changes that are taking place in our organizations. These structural changes include as follows:

- Downsizing
- Layoffs
- Increased use of part-time employees, etc.

The greater the number of such changes that have occurred, the greater the aggression occurring in such workplaces. Three additional points with respect to workplace violence, which are worth noting, are as follows:

- Media attention to dramatic instances of workplace violence may be somewhat misleading.
- Workplace violence is far less frequent and subtler in occurrence.
- Workplace aggression is influenced by many of the same factors that influence aggression in other contexts.

15.2.4 Abusive Supervision :

Abusive supervision involves a continued pattern of aggression by bosses towards their subordinates. It is one form of work place aggression in which your supervisor or immediate boss often shouts at you, ridicules your work, always seemed to be in an irritable mood and who seemed to evaluate your work in a totally unpredictable – and unfair manner.

Abusive supervision is one type of aggression at work place that is fairly common, experienced by about 10 % of the employees currently and that 30% of the employees have reported being exposed to abusive treatment by their supervisor/boss at some point in the past. Hornstein (2004) found that bosses indulged in abusive supervision partly to vent out their own frustrations but mainly for the sheer pleasure of exercising their power and the gains in self-esteem. Abusive supervision has many damaging consequences:

- It creates unpleasant work environment which can influence efficiency and productivity.
- It damages not only employees but also organizations as well.
- Abusive supervision may reduce the willingness of employees to help one another at work.

One can overcome abusive supervision through family support, help of the unions and peer groups and even taking the help of law by reporting such supervision to the seniors/management or police.

15.3 THE PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF VIOLENCE (AGGRESSION) : SOME USEFUL TECHNIQUES :

Prevention and control aggression is a well planned strategy. Since aggression originates from a complex interplay of external events, cognitions and personal characteristics, it can be prevented or reduced. Some important techniques for preventing and controlling aggression are as follows:

1. Punishment
2. Self-regulation
3. Forgiveness
4. Non-violence
5. Other methods of reducing aggression

We would discuss each of these briefly.

1. **Punishment :** Punishment can be defined as delivery of aversive consequences. It is a major technique for reducing aggression. People who are given punishment:

   - Are made to pay fines
   - Put in prison
   - Placed under solitary confinement
   - Receive physical punishment for their aggressive acts, etc.

   It is a common belief among the members of the society that those individuals who have indulged in acts of aggression needs to be punished. The amount of punishment people receive should be matched to the magnitude of the harm they have caused. For example breaking someone's arm should deserve less punishment than permanently harming them or killing them. In addition, the magnitude of punishment should take in to account the extenuating (mitigating or justifying) circumstances. For example, was there some good reason for indulging in aggressive actions such as self-defense or was it an act of hostile aggression. The main aim of punishing the individual who have indulged in acts of aggression is to deter him/her form engaging in such acts in the future. Secondly, aggressive acts which are hard to detect, For example, that involve hidden or covert forms of harming others, should be strongly punished because only strong punishment will deter people from engaging in actions they believe they can get away with.

   Common sense suggests that either punishing the aggressors for their violent behaviour or merely threatening to do so may be a highly effective means of preventing these persons from engaging in such activities. On the basis of such a general belief, most societies have established severe punishments for murder, rape, assault and similar aggressive crimes. Even psychologists have generally accepted the suggestion that actual or threatened punishment is an effective deterrent to human violence. Dollard and Miller have remarked that "the strength of inhibition of any act of aggression varies positively with the amount of punishment anticipated to be a consequence of that act." Similarly, Richard Walters suggested that "it is only continual expectation of retaliation of the recipient or other members of society that prevents many individuals from

more freely expressing aggression." These remarks indicate that if the aggressor knows that he will be punished for his aggressive behaviour, he is likely to control his aggression, at least to some extent.

Parents as well as social institutions resort to punishment to control children's aggressive behaviour and aggressive activities of the criminals. Punishment is assigned in proportion to the extent of seriousness of the aggressive behaviour. It is true that punishment is sometimes quite effective. Results of several studies conducted with children suggest that the frequency or intensity of such behaviour can often be considerably reduced by even mild forms of punishment like social disapproval.

Conditions necessary for punishment to be effective : In order for punishment to be effective several conditions as follows must be met.

(a) Punishment must follow objectionable behaviour immediately or at least quickly. In other words punishment must be delivered promptly.

(b) It must be of sufficient magnitude to be aversive to the recipient.

(c) There must be clear contingency between individual behaviour and punishment.

(d) Punishment must also be certain, i.e., the probability that it will follow aggression must be very high.

(e) Punishment must be strong, i.e., strong enough to be highly unpleasant to potential recipients.

(f) Punishment must also be effective.

2. **Self-regulation :** Self-regulation refers to internal mechanism for controlling aggression. It involves displaying self-control and restraints. It refers to our capacity to regulate many aspects of our behaviour including display of overt aggression. Self-regulation involves the use of cognitive effort to control aggression. Changing one's cognitions and attributions about a given event can lead to reductions in aggression.

3. **Forgiveness :** Forgiveness can be defined as giving up the desire to punish some one who has hurt us and seeking, instead, to act in a kind and helpful ways towards them. Forgiveness helps to reduce subsequent aggression and retaliation.

4. **Non-violence :** It is an important principle of peace that has been a part of the Indian philosophy and has been advocated by

Lord Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi and others. Non-violence helps to reduce aggressive acts. In public life, especially protests against the authorities, non-violence plays an important role.

5. **Other methods of reducing aggression :** Many different methods of reducing aggression are available. These include as follows:
   a) Catharsis
   b) Cognitive Intervention Strategies
   c) Exposure to Non-aggressive models
   d) Incompatible Response
   e) Legislation
   f) Decreasing Anonymity
   g) Prison Reform

We would discuss each of these briefly.

a) **Catharsis :** It refers to a view that if individuals give went to their anger and hostility in relatively non-harmful ways, their tendencies to engage in more dangerous types of aggression will be reduced. In other words catharsis hypothesis, as presented by Dollard et al (1939), states that providing angry individuals with the opportunity to "blow off steam" through vigorous but non-harmful actions will:
   ▪ Reduce their level of arousal, and
   ▪ Lower their tendencies to engage in overt acts of aggression.

b) **Cognitive Intervention Strategies :** By cognitive intervention strategies we mean various forms of perception, thoughts, reasoning or inferences that will help us to change our ideas, behaviour or outlook with respect to aggression. There are many cognitive intervention strategies.

(i) One type of cognitive intervention strategy is *our attributions concerning a given event*. Attributions often play a major role in determining reactions to provocation. If we decide that provocation from another stems mainly from internal causes (e.g., his or her motives and intentions) we are much more likely to grow angry and respond aggressively than if we conclude that these actions stem largely from external factors beyond his or her control. This fact in turn points to an intriguing possibility "perhaps aggression can be reduced in many situations by conditions encouraging individuals to make such external attributions". In short, if persons exposed to provocation can be induced to interpret provocative actions by

others as stemming mainly from external causes, later aggression may be greatly reduced.

(ii)   Another cognitive intervention strategy is to **help an individual to overcome his/her cognitive deficit.** Very often, when we become angry our ability to evaluate the consequences of our actions is reduced. Helping the individual to overcome his/her cognitive deficit will help to reduce aggression to a considerable extent. Two important procedures that will help us to overcome cognitive deficits are as follows:

- ▪ *Pre-Attribution:* Attributing annoying actions by others to unintentional causes before the provocation actually occurs. For example, before meeting with someone you know can be irritating, you could remind yourself that she or he doesn't mean to make you angry—it's just the result of an unfortunate personal style.

- ▪ *Prevention of Rumination:* Another technique involves preventing yourself—or others—from ruminating about previous real or imagined wrongs (Zillmann, 1993). You can accomplish this by participating in pleasant, absorbing activities that have no connection to anger and aggression, for e.g., watching a funny movie or television program to solving interesting puzzles. Such activities allow for a cooling-off period during which anger can dissipate, and also help to reestablish cognitive control over behavior.

(iii) Still another cognitive intervention strategy includes *apologies and offering good excuses.* By apologies we mean admissions of wrong doings that include requests for forgiveness. Offering good excuses also helps to reduce anger in others. Good excuses are ones that make references to factors beyond the excuse-giver's control.

c) **Exposure to Non-aggressive Models :** Aggression results due to exposure to aggressive models.   Similarly, exposing individuals to non-aggressive models can lead to decrease in aggression. Research studies by Baron and associates (1972) have shown that individuals exposed to the actions of non-aggressive models later demonstrated lower levels of aggression than persons not exposed to such models. Research has shown that it is very useful to plant non-aggressive models in tense and threatening situations. Their presence will help to reduce aggression and violence.

d) **Training in Social Skills :** One of the reasons why individuals indulge in aggression is that they lack some form of social skill. There is a communication breakdown. Research has shown

that individuals, who lack the social skill of communication, self-expressions are insensitive to the feelings and emotions of others and are likely to become more aggressive. Helping such individuals to learn appropriate communication skills, to learn expressive modes of frustration and to become sensitive to emotional feelings of others will considerably help to reduce aggression.

e) **Incompatible Response :** All organisms (including human beings) are incapable of engaging in two incompatible responses at once. For e.g., it is impossible, both to day dream and balance your checkbook. Similarly, it is difficult (if not impossible) to feel depressed and elated at once. The term ***incompatible response technique*** has been used by Baron (1993) to refer to this process. It is a technique for reducing aggression in which individuals are exposed to events or stimuli that cause them to experience affective states incompatible with anger or aggression. Extending this principal to the control of aggression, it seems possible that such harmful behaviour can be reduced through the induction (among potential aggressors) of response incompatible either with overt aggression itself or with the emotion of anger. In fact, a growing body of research evidence suggests that this is the case. When angry individual are induced to experience emotional states incompatible with anger or overt aggression such as empathy, mild sexual arousal or humour, they do show reduced levels of aggression.

f) *Legislation :* Making stricter rules and regulations can help curtail aggression. Two experts on criminal homicide have estimated that probably less than 5 per cent of all known killings are premeditated, planned, or intentional (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967, p. 189). The other 95 per cent occur in the heat of passion or as the result of one person's intention to harm, but not to kill another. The availability of a gun makes it easier for an individual to use the weapon impulsively.

These findings suggest the need for stricter gun legislation - especially the regulation of handguns. In further support of this proposal, it has been found that some countries with very strict gun control laws have much lower homicide rates than the United States. In Japan, for instance, it is illegal for any resident - except members of the armed forces, the police, ballistics researchers, and sporting marksmen - to own a handgun. Laws concerning the use of guns is very carefully regulated. Although there are many differences between Japanese and American society, which might account for the different homicide rates, police officials in Japan feel that their gun laws - coupled with their very strict drug laws have significantly reduced the incidence of homicide.

g) Decreasing Anonymity : Urban living arrangement fosters anonymity. City residents who live in high-rise apartments may neither know nor want to know their neighbors. Although the values and traditions of the group foster this kind of impersonal anonymity, so do the physical arrangements of the apartments. In the usual high-rise apartments there are no provisions or incentives for groups of tenants to meet, and therefore occupants are discouraged from spending time outside their own apartments. Research has shown that the crime rate was significantly higher in high-rise buildings. One obvious implication of this finding is that families should not be placed in high-rise buildings in large public housing project. Of course, walkup buildings would mean a lower density of people about fifty units to an acre. In most parts of the country, however, this lowered density would not be a problem. Where high-rise housing is the only housing solution possible, the tenants should be made to make those spaces safer through good lighting, television monitoring or the frequent presence of security personnel. Attention should be devoted to designing buildings and communities in a manner that curtails crime. Lack of anonymity leads to lack of identity, which leads to aggressive behaviour. Decreasing anonymity can help to control crimes.

h) **Prison Reform :** Seventy per cent of prison inmates released return to patterns of crime, and their crimes are more violent after imprisonment than they were before (Zimbardo, 1971). This fact makes it very clear that the present prison system is failing to rehabilitate prisoners. Instead, the prisons are training grounds for aggression. How could the prisons be improved? The social psychologist who performed the prison experiment and who has had extensive contact with several ex-convicts has made a number of suggestions, which if implemented can help to reduce aggression. In India urgent prison reforms are needed so that prisoners are rehabilitated and prisons do not become a place for "networking" crimes.

15.4 QUESTIONS :

1. Write Short Notes on the following :
   a) Bulling.
   b) Workplace Aggression.
   c) Abusive Supervision.
   d) Types of Workplace Violence.

2. Discuss some Techniques for Prevention and Control of Aggression.

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GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS

When you have read this chapter, you should be able to define those key concepts in your own words, and you should also be able to :

- Explain the basic tenets of group.

- Distinguish between social grouping and social loafing.

- Understand why groups develop norms and use sanctions to regulate the behaviour of their members.

- Understand the process of group socialization of individuals.

- Explain why individuals conform to the dictates of their group.

- Distinguish between cooperation and conflict

Background :

Groups are a fundamental part of social life. As we see they can be very small - just two people - or very large. They can be highly rewarding to their members and to society as a whole, but there are also significant problems and dangers with them. All this makes them an essential focus for research, exploration and action.

Defining 'group' :

As researchers turned to the systematic exploration of group life, different foci for attention emerged. Some social psychologists, looked at the ways in which, for example, working in the presence of others tend to raise performance (Allport 1924). Others looked at different aspects of group process. Kurt Lewin (1948), for example, found that nearly all groups were based on interdependence among their members – and this applied whether the group was large or small, formally structured or loose, or focused on this activity or that. In a famous piece Lewin wrote, 'it is not similarity or dissimilarity of individuals that constitutes a group, but interdependence of fate' (op. cit.: 165). In other words, groups come about in a psychological sense because people realize they are 'in the same boat' (Brown 1988: 28).

"Hundreds of fish swimming together are called a school. A pack of foraging baboons is a troupe. A half dozen crows on a telephone line is a murder. A gam is a group of whales. But what is a collection of human beings called? A group. …. [C]ollections of people may seem unique, but each possesses that one critical element that defines a group: connections linking the individual members…. [M]embers are linked together in a web of interpersonal relationships. Thus, a group is defined as two or more individuals who are connected to one another by social relationships". [Donelson R. Forsyth (2006: 2-3)]

In part differences in definition occur because writers often select those things that are of special importance in their work and then posit 'these as the criteria for group existence' (Benson 2001: 5). This said, it is possible, as Jarlath F. Benson has done, to identify a list of attributes:

- A set of people engage in frequent interactions.

- They identify with one another.

- They are defined by others as a group.

- They share beliefs, values, and norms about areas of common interest.

- They define themselves as a group.

- They come together to work on common tasks and for agreed purposes (Benson 2000: 5).

GROUPS : When we join and when we leave.

Group Formation :

Well functioning groups do not just form out of the blue. It takes time for a group to develop to a point where it can be effective and where all members feel connected to it. Bruce Tuckman has identified four stages that characterize the development of groups. Understanding these stages can help determine what is happening with a group and how to manage what is occurring. These four group development stages are known as forming, storming, norming, and performing as described below and the skills needed to successfully guide a group through these stages are described.

1. **Forming :** This is the initial stage when the group comes together and members begin to develop their relationship with one another and learn what is expected of them. This is the stage when team building begins and trust starts to develop. Group members will start establishing limits on acceptable behavior through experimentation. Other members' reactions will

determine if a behavior will be repeated. This is also the time when the tasks of the group and the members will be decided.

2. **Storming :** During this stage of group development, interpersonal conflicts arise and differences of opinion about the group and its goals will surface. If the group is unable to clearly state its purposes and goals or if it cannot agree on shared goals, the group may collapse at this point. It is important to work through the conflict at this time and to establish clear goals. It is necessary that there should be discussion so everyone feels heard and can come to an agreement on the direction the group is to move in.

3. **Norming :** Once the group resolves its conflicts, it can establish patterns of how to get its work done. Expectations of one another are clearly articulated and accepted by members of the group. Formal and informal procedures are established in delegating tasks, responding to questions, and in the process by which the group functions. Members of the group come to understand how the group as a whole operates.

4. **Performing :** During this final stage of development, issues related to roles, expectations, and norms are no longer of major importance. The group is now focused on its task, working intentionally and effectively to accomplish its goals. The group will find that it can celebrate its accomplishments and that members will be learning new skills and sharing roles. After a group enters the performing stage, it is unrealistic to expect it to remain there permanently.

When new members join or some people leave, there will be a new process of forming, storming, and norming engaged as everyone learns about one another. External events may lead to conflicts within the group. To remain healthy, groups will go through all of these processes in a continuous loop.

When conflict arises in a group, do not try to silence the conflict or to run from it. Let the conflict come out into the open so people can discuss it. If the conflict is kept under the surface, members will not be able to build trusting relationships and this could harm the group's effectiveness. If handled properly, the group will come out of the conflict with a stronger sense of cohesiveness then before.

The Benefit of Joining of Group :

1) **Sharing common interests :**
   If you joined a group of weekend bikers, you already know what the central topic and subtopics are. You'll probably talk about

motorcycle magazines, accessories, maintenance, detailing and tuned exhaust pipes. You will also share a bunch of biking stories, run-ins with the law, and near misses that could make the hairs on the back of everyone's necks stand at attention.

2) **Flow of new ideas :**
Imagine giving, receiving and recommending tips, tools and pointers that foster your group's growth. You get to pool together the resources of your entire group to solve problems, share tactics and testify to success stories.

3) **Minimal investment :**
Most special interest groups, clubs or organizations do not charge high dues for membership. Their goal is to build a steady, growing membership. Its when you get involved with business groups, investment clubs and marketing mentorship-you can expect to pay anywhere from two- to four-figures a month.

4) **Networking opportunities :**
You can expand your business network and exposure through word-of-mouth marketing, referrals and sponsored events. The more people know and like you-the more business will come your way. Its easier to land the big account if someone in your sphere of influence puts in a good word for you.

5) **Forming new friendships and alliances :**
This is the icing on the cake. Not only do you share common interests already, but also you get to share it with people you like. And you get to look forward to deeper and more meaningful experiences the more time you spend together.

Task Performance and Behaviour :

Performance in the Presence of Others: Imagine you are a dancer and you are preparing for a national level stage performance for days and months, several hours each day. Finally on the big day you are on the stage with hundreds of people around. How will you do? Better or worse than you practiced alone? This was the first researched topic studied in social psychology by Allport (1920). Allport and other researchers referred to the effects on performance of the presence of other persons as **social facilitation,** because it appeared that when others were present, performance was enhanced. But some researchers soon called the accuracy of this research into question. It was soon clear that on certain occasions the presence of others reduced performance. (Pessin, 1933) One elegant answer to this mystery was offered by Robert Zajonc.

Zajonc gave the **drive theory of social facilitation** which propounds, the presence of others will improve when they are highly skilled. Individuals were likely to perform dominant responses in the presence of others than when alone, and their performance on various tasks was either enhanced or impaired, depending on whether the responses were correct or incorrect in each situation.

The following figure illustrates the drive theory of Social Facilitation.

THE DRIVE THEORY OF SOCIAL FACILATION :

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                                    ┌────────────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
                                    │ If dominant responses│    │ Performance is│
                                    │  are correct in the │ →  │   enhanced   │
                                    │  present situation  │     │              │
                                    └────────────────────┘     └──────────────┘
                                              ↑
┌──────────────┐   ┌────────────┐   ┌────────────────────┐
│ Presence of  │   │ Heightened │   │ Enhanced tendency to│
│others; audience│ →│  arousal  │ → │  perform dominant  │
│ or spectators│   │            │   │     responses      │
└──────────────┘   └────────────┘   └────────────────────┘
                                              ↓
                                    ┌────────────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
                                    │ If dominant responses│    │ Performance is│
                                    │ are incorrect in the│ →  │   impaired   │
                                    │  present situation  │     │              │
                                    └────────────────────┘     └──────────────┘
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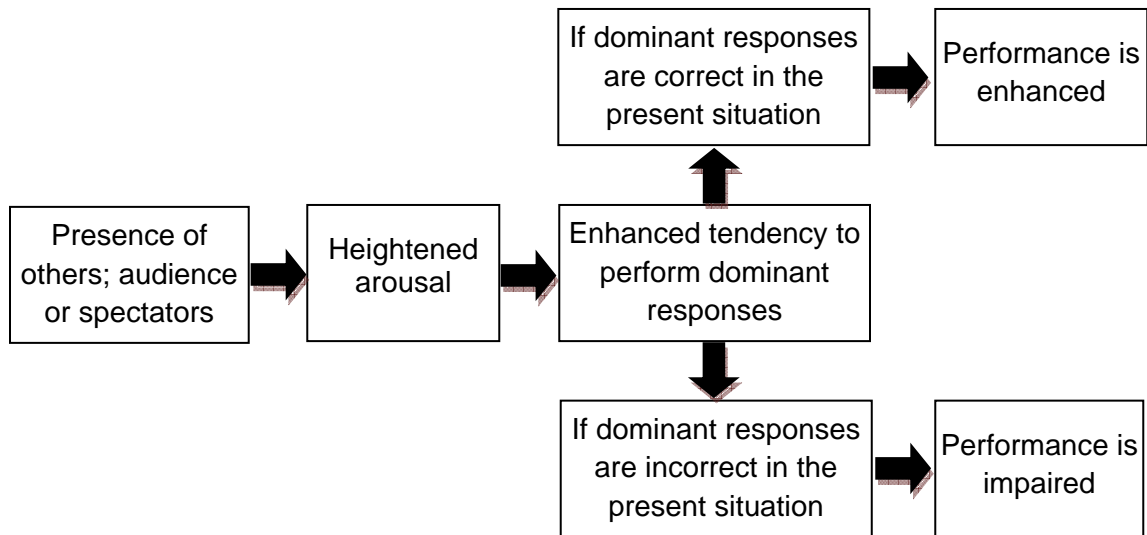
SOCIAL LOAFING AND OTHER TOPICS

When you read this unit you will be able to:-

- Understand social loafing.
- Distinguish between cooperation and conflict.
- Comprehend perceived fairness in group.
- Understand the process of decision making in the group.

In the social psychology of groups, **social loafing** is the phenomenon of people making less effort to achieve a goal when they work in a group than when they work alone. This is viewed as one of the main reasons as to why groups are sometimes less productive than the combined performance of their members working as individuals.

The main explanation for social loafing is that people feel unmotivated when working with a team, because they think that their contributions will not be evaluated or considered.

According to the results of a meta-analysis study, social loafing is a pervasive phenomenon, but it does not occur when team members feel that the task or the team itself is important. It can occur when the person feels under appreciated within their team or group.

Social loafing occurs in a group situation in which the presence of others causes relaxation instead of arousal. When individuals relax their performance, they are able to fade into the crowd, which is especially appealing to people when they know they are not going to be accountable for their actions or performance. In easier, less demanding tasks, such as singing happy birthday or giving applause, one is likely to exert less effort due to the concept of diffusion of responsibility. This occurs when people think that they can "get a free ride" because someone else will surely pick up the slack.

Social loafing is associated with poor performance on easy tasks. However, people tend to exert more effort on challenging or rewarding tasks. If a group is completing a task for some kind of reward, such as money or a good grade, then members are more likely to try harder. Generally, a greater reward results in more motivation to perform well, and therefore, more effort. People will

also work harder when they feel their particular tasks or efforts are indispensable to the group's success.

Solutions :

According to Dan J. Rothwell, it takes "the three C's of motivation" to get a group moving: collaboration, content, and choice. Thus, the answer to social loafing may be motivation. A competitive environment may not necessarily get group members motivated.

1. **Collaboration** is a way to get everyone involved in the group by assigning each member special, meaningful tasks. It is a way for the group members to share the knowledge and the tasks to be fulfilled unfailingly. For example, if Sally and Paul were loafing because they were not given specific tasks, then giving Paul the note taker duty and Sally the brainstorming duty will make them feel essential to the group. Sally and Paul will be less likely to want to let the group down, because they have specific obligations to complete.

2. **Content** identifies the importance of the individual's specific tasks within the group. If group members see their role as that involved in completing a worthy task, then they are more likely to fulfill it. For example, Sally may enjoy brainstorming, as she knows that she will bring a lot to the group if she fulfills this obligation. She feels that her obligation will be valued by the group.

3. **Choice** gives the group members the opportunity to choose the task they want to fulfill. Assigning roles in a group causes complaints and frustration. Allowing group members the freedom to choose their role makes social loafing less significant, and encourages the members to work together as a team.

In conjunction with the "three C's of motivation," Latane, Williams and Harkins have listed three possible causes, and thus options to combat social loafing. They include :

1. **Attribution and equity:** Many times, people come into groups with preconceived notions of how much effort they will put in or how other slack off in groups.

2. **Submaximal goal setting:** Like Collaboration, tasks should be made and distributed with optimization instead of maximization. Once each member has a specific duty, instead of many working on the same task, then they will have the opportunity to be evaluated as an individual as well as a group member.

3. **Lessened contingency between input and output:** Social loafers believe that they can "hide in the crowd" to avoid negative effects,or that they will "get lost in the crowd" and feel that they will not get proper credit when they deserve it.

Social loafing and the workplace :

According to Hwee Hoon Tan and Min Li Tan, social loafing is an important area of interest in order to understand group work. While the opposite of social loafing, called "organizational citizenship behavior", can create significant productivity increases, both of these behaviors can significantly impact the performance of organizations. Social loafing is a behavior that organizations want to eliminate. Understanding how and why people become social loafers is critical to the effective functioning, and effectiveness of an organization.

COORDINATION IN GROUPS: COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

We often note that individuals engage in prosocial behaviour- action that benefit others but have no obvious or immediate benefit to the persons who is performing the task. While such behaviour is far from rare, another pattern - one in which helping is mutual and both sides benefit. This pattern is known as **cooperation** and involves situation in which groups work together to **attain shared goals.** Cooperation can be highly beneficial through this process group of persons can attain goals they could never hope to reach by themselves. Surprisingly, though, cooperation does not always develop, frequently persons belonging to a group try to coordinate their efforts but somehow fail in the attempt.

Some times for worse person may perceive their personal interests as incompatible, with the result that instead of working together and coordinating their effort, they often **work against each other**. In this way they produce negative results for both sides, which are known as **conflict.** A process in which individuals or groups perceive that others will soon take actions incompatible with their own interest. Conflict has a nasty way of escalating, with a simple mistrust and quickly moving through a spiral of anger, resentment and actions designed to harm the other side. When carried to extremes, the ultimate effects can be very harmful to both the sides.

Cooperation is often highly beneficial to the person involved. The question is then why don't group members always coordinate their activities in this manner? They don't cooperate because some goals people don't like to simply share. Several people seeking

promotion, same job or romantic partner cannot come together to attain the goal; rewards can go to only one. In such cases **cooperation** is not possible, and **conflict** may quickly develop in group as each person will maximise his or her own outcomes.

PERCEIVED FAIRNESS IN GROUPS: ITS NATURE AND EFFECTS :

Have you ever been in a situation in which you felt that you were getting less than you deserve in a group that you are working for? If so, you are reacting to perceived unfairness strongly and you are not happy in the group. Perhaps you are experiencing anger, resentment, powerful feelings of injustice. (Cropanzano,1993) if you felt this you would not sit around waiting for the situation to improve, you do some concrete action to rectify the situation and get what you deserve. If this is not done you demand more, reduce your contribution in the group or even leave it. Social psychologist have recognised such effects for many years and studied it. They have come out with the following types of justice occurring in the group:

i) **Distributive justice**: It refers to individual's judgements about whether they are receiving fair share of available rewards or not; a share as per contribution in their group or any other relationship.

ii) **Procedural justice**: The fairness of the procedures used to distribute available rewards to the group.

iii) **Interpersonal Justice:** The extent to which persons who distribute rewards explain or justify their decisions and show consideration and courtesy to those who receive the rewards.

When individuals feel that they are treated badly, they often take steps to restore fairness. These steps range from overt actions such as sabotage or double cross or change in perception, suggesting they need better treatment. In intimate relationship, conflicts can lead to increased feelings of unfair treatment and this in turn can further intensify conflict.

DECISION MAKING BY GROUPS :

How It Occurs and The Pitfalls It Faces :

Groups decision making is the process of decision making in groups consisting of multiple members/entities. The challenge of group decision is deciding what action a group should take. Decision making in groups is sometimes examined separately as process and outcome. Process refers to the group interactions.

Some relevant ideas include coalitions among participants as well as influence and persuasion. The use of politics is often judged negatively, but it is a useful way to approach problems when preferences among actors are in conflict, when dependencies exist that cannot be avoided, when there are no super-ordinate authorities, and when the technical or scientific merit of the options is ambiguous.

There are many ways that a group can make a final decision, decide on a solution, or come to agreement. Some of the most popular ways of making the decision include :

- **Consensus :** The group members all agree on the final decision through discussion and debate.
- **Compromise :** Through discussion and readjustment of the final plan, group members come to agreement by giving up some of their demands.
- **Majority Vote :** The decision is based on the opinion of the majority of its members.
- **Decision by Leader :** The group gives the final decision to its leader.
- **Arbitration :** An external body or person makes a decision for the group

What are the actual steps in a decision made by a group?

1. **Identify The Problem :** Tell specifically what the problem is and how you experience it. Cite specific examples.
   - "Own" the problem as yours and solicit the help of others in solving it rather than implying that it's someone else's problem that they ought to solve. Keep in mind that if it were someone else's problem, they would be bringing it up for discussion.

   - In the identification phase of problem-solving, avoid references to solutions. This can trigger disagreement too early in the process and prevent ever making meaningful progress.

   - Once there seems to be a fairly clear understanding of what the problem is, this definition needs to be written in very precise language If a group is involved, it must be displayed on a flip chart or chalkboard.

2. **Clarify The Problem :** This step is most important when working with a group of people. If the problem is not adequately clarified so that everyone views it the same, the result will be that people will offer solutions to different problems. To clarify the problem, ask someone in the group to paraphrase the problem as they understand it. Then ask the other group

members if they see it essentially the same way. Any differences must be resolved before going further.

In clarifying the problem, ask the group the following questions: Who is involved with the problem? Who is likely to be affected? Can we get them involved in solving the problem? Who legitimately or logically must be included in the decision? Are there others who need to be consulted prior to a decision? These questions assume that commitment of those involved (and affected by the problem) is desirable in implementing any changes or solutions. The best way to get this commitment is to include those involved and affected by the problem in determining solutions.

3. **Analyze the Cause :** Any deviation from what must be is produced by a cause or interaction of causes. In order to change "what is" to "what is wanted" it is usually necessary to remove or neutralize the cause in some way. This calls for precise isolation of the most central or basic cause(s) of the problem, and requires close analysis of the problem to clearly separate the influencing from the non-influencing factors. This is probably an easier process to follow when dealing with problems involving physical things rather than with interpersonal or social issues. Typically, interpersonal and social problems are more likely to spring from a dynamic constellation of causes that will be more difficult to solve if the causes are only tackled one at a time. Still, whether dealing with physical or social problems, it is important to seek those causes that are most fundamental in producing the problem. Don't waste energy on causes that have only a tangential effect.

4. **Solicit Alternative Solutions to the Problem :** This step calls for identifying as many solutions to the problem as possible before discussing the specific advantages and disadvantages of each. What happens frequently in problem solving is that the first two or three suggested solutions are debated and discussed for the full time allowed for the entire problem solving session. As a result, many worthwhile ideas are never identified or considered. By identifying many solutions, a superior idea often surfaces itself and reduces or even eliminates the need for discussing details of more debatable issues. These solutions may be logical attacks at the cause or they may be creative solutions that need not be rational. Therefore, it is important at this step to limit the time spent discussing any one solution and to concentrate rather on announcing as many as possible. The basic tool used in generating many possible solutions to a problem is **brainstorming.** To use the brainstorming process effectively requires following a prescribed set of rules very closely. These rules are :

1. No positive or negative comments are allowed during the brainstorming phase.

2. Positive or negative non-verbal evaluations are discouraged as well.

3. A group member may ask for clarification if the member does not understand a given suggestion, but it is important to avoid any questions that are directed to "how" or "why" of the idea. In other words, the person suggesting a solution is not to be asked to defend the idea!

4. "Far out" or amusing suggestions are encouraged. Laughter can serve as a good release and help people relax. A seemingly wild or amusing suggestion is listed with the more serious ideas for group consideration, unless the "author" of the idea specifically asks that it be withheld. Sometimes a wild idea can be changed or built upon for creative practical solutions. The idea here is to relax and let the ideas flow.

5. Encourage group members to generate solutions that are based upon changing ideas already presented, (e.g., reversing, expanding, limiting).

6. Combine ideas that seem to compliment each other.

Selecting One Or More Alternatives :

For action before actually selecting alternatives for action, it is advisable to identify criteria that the desired solution needs to meet. This can eliminate unnecessary discussion and help focus the group towards the solution (or solutions) that will most likely work. At this point it becomes necessary to look for and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of options that appear viable. The task is for the group members to come to a mutual agreement on which solutions to actually put into action. It is desirable for positive comments to be encouraged (and negative comments to be ignored or even discouraged) about any of the solutions. One solution needs to be the best, but none must be labeled as a "bad idea".

Plan For Implementation :

This requires looking at the details that must be performed by someone for a solution to be effectively activated. Once the required steps are identified, it means assigning these to someone for action; it also means setting a time for completion. Not to be forgotten when developing the implementation plan: Who needs to be informed of this action?

Clarify The Contract :

This is to insure that everyone clearly understands what the agreement is that people will do to implement a solution. It is a summation and restatement of what people have agreed to do and when it is expected they will have it done. It rules out possible misinterpretation of expectations.

The Action Plan :

The best of plans are only intellectual exercises unless they are transformed into action. This calls for people assigned responsibility for any part of the plan to carry out their assignments according to the agreed upon contract. It is the phase of problem solving that calls for people to do what they have said they would do.

Provide For Evaluation And Accountability :

After the plan has been implemented and sufficient time has elapsed for it to have an effect, the group should reconvene and discuss evaluation and accountability. Have the agreed upon actions been carried out? Have people done what they said they would do?

Decision-making Problems and Pitfalls :

The way that people think, both as individuals and collectively within organizations, affects the decisions that they make, in ways that are far from obvious and rarely understood. John Hammond, Ralph Keeney and Howard Raiffa writing in the Harvard Business Review have provided some of the most intriguing research and insights in this area. (See John S. Hammond, Ralph L. Keeney and Howard Raiffa, The Hidden Traps in Decision-making, Harvard Business Review, September-October 1998.)

Although bad decisions can often be traced back to the way the decisions were made (the alternatives were not clearly defined; the right information was not collected; the costs and benefits were not accurately weighed), the fault sometimes lies not in the decision making process, but in the mind of the decision maker.

Fragmentation :

- This occurs when people are in disagreement, either with their peers or their superiors in the organization.

- Usually, the expression of emerging dissent is disguised or suppressed, although it may appear as 'passive aggression.'

- Dissenting opinion can often fester in the background, for example, mentioned informally in conversation, rather than clearly raised in formal situations, such as meetings.

- Each of the fragmented groupings – and there may be several – often show a confirmation bias. In other words, they evaluate incoming information to support initially held opinions, rather than viewing it more objectively.

- Fragmentation is corrosive, hindering effective analysis and decision making.

- Fragmentation can worsen when the views of one grouping are dominant.

- Fragmentation feeds off itself in a feedback loop, with any move to break it cynically seen as an attempt to gain dominance by one side or faction. It can, therefore, become locked-in to the organization, and be extremely difficult to reverse.

Groupthink :

- Groupthink is the opposite of fragmentation, and is no less of a hindrance to decision making.

- Groupthink occurs when the group suppresses ideas that are critical or not in direct support of the direction in which the group is moving.

- The group appears in agreement, and this may be caused by many factors. For example, past success can breed a belief of an infallible team, a complacency that the team cannot err.

- Groupthink may occur because the group is denied information, or lack the confidence or ability to challenge the dominant views of the group.

- People may be concerned about disagreeing, either because of past events, present concerns or a fear of what the future might hold, and so seek safety in numbers.

- Groupthink is exacerbated by the fact that cohesive groups tend to rationalize the invulnerability of their decision or strategy, and this in turn inhibits critical analysis and the expression of dissenting ideas. The effect is an incomplete survey of available options, and a failure to examine the risks of preferred decisions.

- Groupthink can occur in organizations where teamwork is either strong or weak. As with fragmentation, groupthink is also self-sustaining. Moreover, the longer it lasts, the more entrenched and 'normal' it becomes in people's minds and behaviours. After a little time, it is also very difficult to reverse.

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Syllabus
S.Y.B.A. Psychology, Paper-II
Social Psychology

**Academic Council Meeting held on 13 February 2009
(Items no. 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, 4.30 (final, after corrections)**

Agenda – Item no. 4.26

Recommendation made by the Board of Studies in Psychology at its meeting held on Tuesday, 27th January, 2009, that the revised syllabi for Psychology Papers II and III at S.Y.B.A. be as per appendix and that the same be brought into force with effect from the academic year 2009-10.

Appendix :

Revised syllabus in the subject of Psychology Paper II 'Social Psychology' at the S.Y.B.A. to be brought into force with effect from the academic year 2009-2010.

Objectives :

1. To Impart knowledge of the basic concepts and modern trends in Social Psychology.
2. To foster interest in Social Psychology as a field of study and research.
3. To make the students aware of the applications of the various concepts in Social Psychology in the Indian context.

3 lectures per week; 36 lectures per term; 7 lectures per topic and 1 lecture for orientation to the paper and discussion of question paper pattern

Term 1 (Topics 1 to 5)

Topis 1 :   The Field of Social Psychology
-     (a)   Social Psychology : what it is and what it does
-     (b)   Social Psychology : its cutting edge
-     (c)   A brief look at history : the origins and early development of Social Psychology
-     (d)   Research as the route to increased knowledge
-     (e)   The Role of theory in Social Psychology
-     (f)   The quest for knowledge and rights of individuals : seeking an appropriate balance

Topic 2 :   **Social Cognition**

    (a)   Schemas : mental Frameworks for organising and using social information

    (b)   Heuristics : how we reduce our Effort in Social cognition

    (c)   Automatic and controlled processing : two basic modes of social thought

    (d)   Potential Sources of error in social cognition

    (e)   Affect and cognition: how feelings shape thought and thought shapes feelings

Topic 3 :   **Social Perception**

    (a)   Nonverbal communication : the unspoken language of expressions, gazes and gestures

    (b)   Attribution : understanding the causes of other's behaviour

    (c)   Impression formation and impression management

Topic 4 :   **Attitudes**

    (a)   Attitude formation : how attitudes develop

    (b)   When and why do attitudes influence behaviour?

    (c)   How do attitudes guide behaviour?

    (d)   The fine art of persuasion : how attitudes are changed

    (e)   Resisting persuasion attempts

    (f)   Cognitive dissonance what it is and how we manage it?

Topic 5 :   **Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination**

    (a)   How members of different groups perceive inquality

    (b)   The nature and origins of stereotyping

    (c)   Prejudice and discrimination : feelings and actions toward social groups

    (d)   Why prejudice is not inevitable : techniques for countering its effects

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Term 2 (Topics 6 to 10)

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Topic 6 :   **Interpersonal Attraction and Close Relationships**

    (a)   Internal determinants of attraction : the need to affiliate and the basic role of affect

    (b)   External determinants of attraction : proximity and other's observable characteristics

    (c)   Factors based on interacting with others : similarity and mutual liking

    (d)   Close relationships : family and friends

Topic 7 :   Social Influence
    (a)   Conformity : group influence in action
    (b)   Compliance : to ask - sometimes – is to receive
    (c)   Symbolic social influence : how we are influenced by others even when they are not there
    (d)   Obedience to authority

Topic 8 :   Prosocial Behaviour
    (a)   Why people help; motives for prosocial behaviour
    (b)   Responding to an emergency : will bystanders help?
    (c)   External and internal influences on helping behaviour
    (d)   Long-term commitment to prosocial acts

Topic 9 :   Aggression
    (a)   Perspectives on aggression : in search of the roots of violence
    (b)   Causes of human aggression : social, personal, and situational
    (c)   Aggression in long-term relationships : bullying and aggression at work
    (d)   The prevention and control of violence : some useful techniques

Topic 10 :   Groups and Individuals
    (a)   Groups : when we join and when we leave
    (b)   The benefits of joining : what groups do for us
    (c)   Effects of the presence of others : from task performance to behaviour in crowds
    (d)   Social loafing : letting others do the work
    (e)   Coordination in groups : cooperation or conflict?
    (f)   Perceived Fairness in groups : its nature and effects
    (g)   Decision making by groups : how it occurs and the pitfalls it faces

Book for Study :

Baron, R. A., Branscombe, N. R., and Byrne, D. (2008). Social Psychology. (12th ed.). New Delhi : Pearson Education, Indian subcontinent adaptation 2009

Books for Reference :
1.   Aronson, E., Wilson, T.D., Akert, R.M., (2007). Social Psychology. (6th edi.), New Jersey : Pearson Education prentice Hall.

2. Baumeister, R.F., and Busnman, B.J. (2008). Social Psychology and Human Nature. International student edition, Thomson Wadworth USA.

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Item no. 4.28

Recommendation made by the Board of Studies in Psychology at its meeting held on Tuesday, 27th January, 2009, that the Question Paper Pattern for Term for Psychology Papers II and III and the 4 Applied Components in Psychology at S.Y.B.A. for term-end and A.T.K.T. examinations be as per Appendix and that the same be brought into force with effect from the academic year 2009-2010.

Appendix

Pattern of Question Paper to be brought into force with effect from the academic year 2009-2010 at S.Y.B.A. Psychology – Revised syllabi

Paper II (Social Psychology), Paper III (Development Psychology), and General Applied Component (4 Options – A-Health Psychology; B-Psychology of Adjustment; C-Stress Management; and D-Psychology of Gender)

Duration of examination = 2 hours; Marks = 50 (in each term)

(1) Question No. 6 is compulsory; any three more questions to be attempted out of the remaining five questions.

(2) The first 5 questions carry 12 marks each, and Question No. 6 carries 14 marks.

(3) Q. No. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 will be on the 5 topics covered in the term. Any one Question of these can have 2 parts, A and B, each having 6 marks, or all 5 questions can be full length essay-type.

(4) Question No. 6 – Write 4 short notes out of 5, each of 3½ marks; one short note will be form each of the 5 topics.

Pattern of Question Paper for A.T.K.T. Examination of 100 marks of Psychology Papers, I, II, III and Applied components to be brought into force with effect from the academic year 2009-2010 (Revised syllabi)

F.Y.B.A. Psychology Paper I, S.Y.B.A. Papers II and III (Social and Developmental Psychology), and General Applied Component (4 options – Health Psychology, Psychology of Adjustment, Stress Management, and Psychology of Gender)

Duration = 3 hours Marks = 100 (50 marks per section)

(1)   There will be 6 questions in each Section, 12 questions in all. Three questions from each Section are to be attempted, 6 questions in all.

(2)   Q. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in section I will be on the 5 topics covered in the first term and Q. No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 in section II will be on the 5 topics covered in the second term.

(3)   Question No. 6 and 12 carry 18 marks and are compulsory – Write 3 short notes out of 5, each of 6 marks; one short note will be from each of the 5 topics covered in each term.

(4)   The remaining 10 questions carry 16 marks each. Any 2 questions are to be attempted out of these questions from each section.

(5)   A-B type of questions may be asked, but not more than 1 out of the 5 questions in each Section.

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