SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

UNIT I

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.

1.0. 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".

1.1. 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. 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.

1.3. 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.

•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.

•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.

1.3. 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.

1.4. 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

UNIT 2

SOCIAL PERCEPTION AND COGNITION
SELF CONCEPT

2.0. What Is Self-Concept?

Imagine yourself looking into a mirror. What do you see? Do you see your ideal self or your actual self? Your **ideal**, or imagined, **self** is the self that you aspire to be. It is the one that you hope will possess characteristics similar to that of a mentor or some other worldly figure. Your **actual self**, however, is the one that you actually see. It is the self that has characteristics that you were nurtured or, in some cases, born to have.

Self-concept is the construct that negotiates these two selves. In other words, it connotes first the identification of the ideal self as separate from others, and second, it encompasses all the behaviors vetted in the actual self that you engage in to reach the ideal self. Behavioral scientists often assert that the self-concept is the sole perspective from which one can understand an individual's behavior because it includes all the dimensions of the self including how one looks (self-image), and what one knows (self-knowledge), and the ways in which these exist for others (fulfilling the ego).

What Is the Actual Self?

The **actual self** is built on self-knowledge. **Self-knowledge** is derived from social interactions that provide insight into how others react to you. For example, you are about to meet someone for the first time on a date. You are well dressed and you introduce yourself with a smile on your face. However, your date meets you with a frown and declares, 'I don't want to see you!' At first, you think about the frown and wonder whether his or her reaction has anything to do with you. But, the mention of 'you' in the comment tells you that this does have something to do with you. So, you reflect on your past behaviors and encounters trying to figure out if you've met this person before and if you did, what exactly sparked his or her reaction. At this point, you are reflecting on your actual self derived from your self-concept and you attempt to re-align this self with this surprising meeting on the first date. Conversely, if your date greeted you with a smile and said, 'It is so good to see you,' then you would not experience this discrepancy. Instead, you would feel self-assured with your actual self intact.

What Is the Ideal or Imagined Self?

The **ideal self** is the self that you imagined to be on that first date. You thought about the context to your self-knowledge and imagined how the date would see you. It did not go as expected, which gave rise to the conflict between your actual and imagined self. If it did go as expected, your actual self would have matched your ideal self in this moment in time of your life.

How Do We Negotiate between the Ideal and Actual Self?

The **negotiation** is complex because there are numerous exchanges between the ideal and actual self. These exchanges are exemplified in **social roles** that are adjusted and re-adjusted, and are derived from outcomes of social interactions from infant to adult development. George Mead stated that, "By incorporating estimates of how the 'generalized other' would respond to certain actions, the individual acquires a source of internal regulation that serves

to guide and stabilize his behavior in the absence of external pressures... There are as many selves as there are social roles."

Thus, think of your actual self as a Rubik's cube and your ideal self as the context that surrounds the Rubik's cube. Your actual self, like a Rubik's cube, has six 'faces,' or social roles, and each 'face' solidly presents one color. In this event, your actual self is in complete accordance with your ideal self and there are no threats. This means that you have self-actualized your potential and your basic developmental and psychological needs have been essentially fulfilled. In other words, your colors are seen by others in similar ways in which you see your actual self, and your ideal self matches your actual self. Hence, your possible selves are closely aligned with each other, solidly tied to firm beliefs about the actual self and demonstrating unification.

However, this event is not common. When someone hands you a Rubik's cube, the colors are often mixed up. This means that the face that you present of your actual self is in discord with your ideal self. This conflict arises through fears or doubts of your self and others, or lack of self-knowledge of the context. Often, your actual self may never be the same in all instances because context influences your choice of your 'presented face.'

Five Basic Tenets of Self-Concept

Self-concept includes five basic tenets, each with its own set of characteristics.

1. Change

Your self-concept seeks out dynamic change with new social interactions. This is one way for it to gather new information and integrate within its current system. The self-concept can cover many dimensions (more than six faces on a Rubik's cube!) in terms of possible selves that are utilized, depending on the context.

2. Stability

To unlock this lesson you must be a Stu

2.1. WHAT IS SELF-ESTEEM?

Self-esteem is the regard or respect that a person has for oneself. A person with positive feelings regarding the self is said to have high self-esteem. However, self-esteem can refer to very specific areas as well as a general feeling about the self. For instance, a person may have low self-esteem regarding physical attractiveness and high self-esteem about ability to do a job well.

WHAT IS SELF-EFFICACY?

Self-efficacy is a person's belief in their ability to accomplish some specific goal or task. It generally corresponds to the level of competence an individual feels. Competence can vary from one situation to another. For instance, a person might feel quite capable competing in a particular sport but may not feel competent speaking in front of a group. As a result, overall self-efficacy may not be completely accurate as it is assessing an individual's general feelings of competence across a variety of situations or tasks.

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW SELF-ESTEEM?

1) **Feelings of unhappiness.**

People with low self-esteem are typically unhappy. Our sense of satisfaction and contentment with life is usually derived from how we feel about ourself. For some people, low self-esteem may contribute to depression and even inability to function in life. However, some

individuals who derive their happiness from some other source such as spiritual beliefs may not find their degree of happiness impacted by the low self-esteem.

2) **Feelings of anxiety.**
Many people with low self-esteem experience anxiety, especially social anxiety. Frequently, this is a consequence of the social evaluative aspect of self-esteem. In other words, we tend to evaluate our self based upon comparisons to other people. In addition, many people are concerned about others' evaluating them and assume that others will see the same flaws and incompetencies that they see within themselves. Such a concern leads to the feelings of anxiety.

3) **Feelings of inferiority or superiority.**
Most people who have low self-esteem feel inferior to others. They believe that they don't measure up to some standard that others meet. Frequently they feel that some flaw within them means that they are not worthwhile or deserving. For many people I have worked with this flaw is not something visible to others but something magnified by the person with low self-esteem due to past experiences. For example, a person who believes she is selfish because that is what she was told as a child although her behavior as viewed by others may be quite giving and compassionate.

Some people with low self-esteem may present an air of superiority. However, this may be a way of covering how they truly feel about themselves. Or, individuals who have low self-esteem but are perfectionists due to their concern about what others may think of them may appear to others as thinking themselves superior.

However, don't make the common mistake and assume that all feelings of superiority are due to low self-esteem. There is another category of people who actually feel they are superior to others, intellectually, financially, or spiritually. However, this group is not the focus of this article. One way to make the distinction is that people who have low self-esteem and feelings of superiority will often have other characteristics of low self-esteem such as unhappiness or anxiety.

4) **Impatience or irritation with self or others.**
Another characteristic of low self-esteem is a tendency to be impatient or easily irritated by mistakes, flaws, or inadequacies. Most frequently this is directed at the self but it can also be directed at other people.

5) **Externally oriented goals.**
Individuals with low self-esteem often determine goals and direction in life based upon what others might want or need. They often feel that their needs or desires are unimportant. Such an attitude can lead to resentment due to always taking care of others while their needs are not addressed.

6) **Negativity.**

Low self-esteem tends to lead to negativity. This negativity may not always be externally observed but internal self-talk is usually negative. Also, external manifestations such as criticizing oneself to others or excessively apologizing or commenting about negative observations may be noticed by others. Unfortunately, people tend to avoid individuals who are excessively negative which can reinforce the low self-esteem.

WHAT ARE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SELF-ESTEEM?

To clearly define the characteristics of high self-esteem, I need to make the distinction between an artificially inflated self-esteem and true self-esteem. An artificially inflated self-esteem is an effort to appear to have high self-esteem. However, such individuals don't typically show the following characteristics of people with high self-esteem. Individuals with low self-esteem may have some of the following qualities as well but those with high self-esteem have these characteristics in abundance and with consistency.

1) **Responsibility.**

Since individuals with high self-esteem can accept themselves completely they are able to take responsibility for themselves and the consequences of their actions without being excessively critical of themselves. Therefore, they are readily able to acknowledge mistakes and accept limitations.

2) **Goal commitment.**

Those with high self-esteem tend to have a strong sense of purpose and are committed to goals in life. In addition, they tend to be persistent in achieving these goals as they commitment does not fluctuate based on success or failure. As active participants in life they tend to strive for excellence not for perfection.

3) **Genuineness.**

People with high self-esteem can be honest with themselves and others both emotionally and intellectually. As they aren't fearful of others truly knowing them, they tend to be genuine in their interactions with others.

4) **Forgiving.**

High self-esteem tends to correspond with tolerance and acceptance of limitations. As a result, people who have high self-esteem are forgiving of themselves and others.

5) **Internal values.**

Individuals with high self-esteem tend to have internally-based values rather than externally-based values. In other words, they have a strong identity based on chosen values rather than values they believe due to the demands or expectations of others. This type of identity is usually considered an "achieved identity" in which a person has analyzed their beliefs and values to decide the set of internal principles or values that they will adhere to.

6) **Positivity.**

People with high self-esteem are positive with an appreciative and grateful attitude towards life. They can freely praise themselves and others and tend to look for the positive aspects of life and not dwell on the negative.

7) **Self-improvement.**

Generally, there is a strong tendency to strive towards self-improvement among those with high self-esteem. As they don't view the need for self-improvement as a negative quality they are able to examine themselves uncritically. In addition, they can ask for help as needed because they don't view the need for help as shameful or negative.

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW SELF-EFFICACY?

1) **Fear of risks.**

Individuals with low self-efficacy see themselves as unable to be successful. As a result, they are often unwilling to take risks or try new things because they are convinced that the result will be failure. This is particularly unfortunate because the main way to increase self-efficacy is through practice and experience.

2) **Fear of uncertainty.**

Low self-efficacy often is related to self-doubt and uncertainty. The individual doesn't want to try without a guarantee of success. As a result, they may never discover things at which they could be successful.

3) **Feelings of failure.**

Those with low self-efficacy frequently have feelings of failure. As indicated above they might avoid or not try new things due to the risk involved. Or, they might only try something half-heartedly. As a result, they are less likely to experience success and more likely to see themselves as a failure.

4) **Impression management.**

Impression management is the attempt to control how others might perceive you in order to be seen more positively. People with low self-efficacy feel they are not capable but may try to present a successful and competent image to others. They may put a great deal of energy into behaving in a way to obtain approval from others and experience a great deal of worry about being found out to be a fraud. For instance, they may try to hide mistakes from others rather than learn from them which prevents them from increasing their sense of self-efficacy.

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SELF-EFFICACY?

1) **Self-confidence.**

One of the most obvious characteristics of high self-efficacy is self-confidence. They approach tasks or situations with a sense of their ability to be successful. This self-confidence tends to lead to more experience which increases their ability which leads to greater self-confidence. This positive cycle lends itself to increasing self-efficacy even further.

2) **Accurate self-evaluation.**

Individuals with high self-efficacy tend to be able to accurately evaluate their performance. They are neither overly-critical nor overly positive but are able to examine themselves realistically in order to pursue self-improvement.

3) Willingness to take risks.

Those with high self-efficacy are willing to take risks because they understand that taking calculated risks increases the chances of success. As they are not fearful of failure or mistakes, reasonable risks can only increase self-efficacy.

4) Sense of accomplishment.

Generally those with high self-efficacy feel a sense of accomplishment because they are often more successful due to the willingness to take risk and to pursue interests. Even if they fail or make mistakes they feel a sense of accomplishment because they view mistakes as opportunities to improve themselves.

HOW CAN SOMEONE HAVE A GOOD SENSE OF SELF-EFFICACY BUT LOW SELF-ESTEEM?

Self-efficacy and self-esteem are similar concepts but they are not the same thing. They do tend to correspond so that a person who is low in one is more likely to be low in the other. But it is also possible to have low self-esteem and yet have high self-efficacy. In fact, since I work with a lot of perfectionists I see this combination frequently. Therefore, someone may tend to be overly-critical and negative about himself and yet see himself as quite capable in certain areas. For instance, he might see himself as uninteresting and unlikeable but see himself as a competent architect. This occurs frequently with perfectionists because they are often competent at tasks with clear guidelines but feel uncertain in situations without clear "rules" such as relationships.

HOW CAN SELF-ESTEEM BE IMPROVED?

1) Eliminate negative self-talk.

First and foremost, people with low self-esteem need to eliminate harmful self-talk. The negative labels and frequent self-criticism can only cause further damage. Eliminating negative self-talk doesn't mean you can't recognize and address problems, but it means to be careful about how you talk to yourself and to not be self-destructive.

2) Recognize strengths.

Those with low self-esteem tend to focus on their weaknesses rather than focusing on their strengths sometimes claiming that there isn't anything positive they can say about themselves. That is unlikely to be true. It is important to pay attention to strengths and to appreciate the strengths no matter how small they may seem. Once you recognize the strengths you need to reinforce the strengths through frequent focus on them.

3) Recognize self-worth.

It is important to recognize that you are a unique human being and have worth. Recognize that you deserve to take care of yourself and set limits. You deserve respect and to be treated well. Again, you need to frequently reinforce this idea by continuing to focus on your self-worth.

4) **Accept mistakes.**

Recognize that mistakes and flaws are part of the human condition. They don't make you less than others. Instead, you are like everyone else. You have flaws and you make mistakes. The more actively you are involved in life, the more mistakes you will make. But being actively involved allows you more opportunity for success as well. Accept yourself—flaws and all.

5) **Accept rejection.**

The more you can believe that everyone doesn't have to like you, the less you need to feel bad or be ashamed of your imperfections. No one can be liked by everyone! It is an impossible task. However, the person with low self-esteem often feels a failure if someone is disapproving or rejecting. Instead, congratulate yourself if someone doesn't like you because you are being a genuine person.

HOW CAN SELF-EFFICACY BE IMPROVED?

1) **Develop skill set.**

The most important way to improve self-efficacy is to develop the skill set you need to be effective. If you are having trouble being successful in your work, identify your areas of deficit and determine what you need to do to improve. Ask others to honestly evaluate your skills and to give specific advice regarding improvement. Once you know what you need to do, then you need to do it again and again until you feel competent. That's how competence develops. People aren't born with competence, they have to learn and practice in order to become competent.

2) **Modeling.**

One way to learn the necessary skills is to observe others. You can observe successful completion of tasks to learn how to achieve success. When you observe others being rewarded for their performance or successful completion of a task, you are more likely to be able to model yourself after their behavior.

3) **Focus on specifics.**

To improve self-efficacy, it is best to focus on specifics. If someone gives you general feedback especially if it is negative you are less able to make changes than if someone can provide specific feedback. For instance, if you want a child to learn how to do dishes you don't say "These dishes aren't clean," instead you say "Let me show you how to load the dishwasher to get the best results."

4) **Reinforcement.**

The more behavior is reinforced, the more likely it will continue. If you want to improve your self-efficacy focus on what you do well and reinforce it by giving yourself specific praise.

DON'T MISTAKE POSITIVE THINKING FOR CHANGING THINKING.

A common error that people make when trying to increase self-esteem or self-efficacy is what I call the "Saturday Night Live" phenomenon. Most people are acquainted with Al Franken's rendition of Stuart Smalley's self-improvement statements: "I'm good enough, I'm smart enough, and doggone it, people like me!"

The problem with this type of positive thinking is that it is not believable, therefore it cannot

change the self-esteem. My challenge as a therapist working with people with low self-esteem is to develop believable statements. Otherwise my clients are likely to respond with "You're just saying that because you are my therapist." If I make a statement that is believable they are more likely to accept it and use it. And, very simply, a believable statement is one that is true.

So the challenge for you in improving your self-esteem is to develop believable statements. Telling yourself "I'm wonderful in every way" is not likely to help. However, you are more likely to change self-esteem if you are able to identify particular strengths such as "I'm a person who is willing to learn about myself and make improvements" or "I have courage because I am facing something that is very difficult for me" or "I am persistent. Even though happiness has eluded me I keep trying."

Notice with these statements there are specifics attached to them. They are not general and overly positive. Instead, the statements are realistic with specific reasons why they are true.

2.2. SELF PRESENTATION
Self-presentation is not only a prevalent aspect of our lives, it is also a very important one. Our success at leading others to believe we possess various characteristics has a profound influence on our outcomes in life (Hogan & Briggs, 1986). Who we marry, who our friends are, whether we get ahead at work, and many other outcomes depend, to a great extent, on our ability to convince people that we are worthy of their love, their friendship, their trust, and their respect. Undoubtedly, this need to create a positive impression is one reason that people spend billions of dollars a year on cosmetics and other personal-appearance products. Self presentational concerns also lead people to engage in behaviors that enhance their appearance to others but simultaneously jeopardize their own physical well-being (e.g., overexposure to the sun; excessive dieting) (Leary, Tchividijian, & Kraxberger, 1994). Self-presentational concerns can even underlie self-destructive behaviors, such as cigarette smoking and substance abuse (Sharp & Getz, 1996).

The Nature of Self-Presentation
A. Why Do People Engage in Self-Presentation?

We begin our discussion by considering why people engage in self-presentation. Why do we bother to lead people to see us in one way or another?

1. Facilitate Social Interaction
The most basic function of self-presentation is to define the nature of a social situation (Goffman, 1959). Most social interactions are very role governed. Each person has a role to play, and the interaction proceeds smoothly when these roles are enacted effectively. For example, airline pilots are expected to be poised and dignified. As long as they convince their passengers that they possess these qualities, their passengers remain calm and behave in an orderly fashion. (Imagine, for example, how unsettling it would be if your airline pilot acted

like the character "Kramer" on the television show Seinfeld!)This function of self-presentation was first highlighted by Erving Goffman (1959).

Goffman noted that social life is highly structured. In some cases, this structure is formalized (e.g., state dinners at the White House are characterized by strict rules of protocol), but most often it is informal and tacitly understood (e.g., norms of politeness and etiquette guide our social interactions).Among these norms is one that mandates that people support, rather than undermine, one another's public identities. Goffman refers to these efforts as face work. Each participant in an interaction is obliged to honor and uphold the other person's public persona. Toward this end, people may misrepresent themselves or otherwise refrain from saying what they really think or feel. For example, people publicly claim to like the presents they receive, find another person's new clothes or hairstyle attractive, or make excuses for why they cannot get together for some social encounter. This kind of self-presentational behavior seems to be primarily driven by a desire to avoid social conflict and reduce tension (DePaulo, Kashy, Kirkendol, Wyer, & Epstein, 1996).

2. Gain Material and Social Rewards

People also strive to create impressions of themselves in the minds of others in order to gain material and social rewards (or avoid material and social punishments). As discussed earlier, it is usually in our best interests to have others view us in a particular way. Employees generally have a material interest in being perceived as bright, committed, and promising. To the extent that they are successful in inducing these impressions in the minds of their employers, they are apt to be promoted and given raises. Social rewards also depend on our ability to convince others that we possess particular qualities. Being liked entails convincing others that we are likable; being a leader involves convincing others that we are capable of leading. Jones (1990; see also, Tedeschi & Norman, 1985) notes that this type of strategic self-presentation represents a form of social influence in which one person (the self-presenter) attempts to gain power over another (the audience). This approach assumes that we are in a better position to influence the nature of social interaction in a manner that suits our purposes if we are able to control how others see us. This emphasis is apparent in many popular books, that carry titles like How to Win Friends and Influence People(Carnegie, 1936) and Winning through Intimidation(Ringer, 1973).To some, the idea that people actively strive to manipulate how they are viewed by others conjures up images of duplicity and Machiavellianism. This need not be the case, however. Strategic self-presentation does not necessarily mean that we are trying to deceive others (though sometimes we are). It can also involve genuine attempts to bring our (self-perceived) positive qualities to the attention of others. In fact, for reasons to be discussed later, misrepresentation and lying tend to be the exception rather than the rule. Most of the time, strategic self-presentation involves "selective disclosures and omissions, or matters of emphasis and timing, rather than blatant deceit or dissimulation" (Jones, 1990, p.175).

3. Self-Construction

Another reason we try to create impressions of ourselves in the minds of others is to construct a particular identity for ourselves (Baumeister, 1982b; Rosenberg, 1979; Schlenker, 1980).

This type of self-presentational behavior serves a more private, personal function. Convincing others that we possess some quality or attribute is a means of convincing ourselves. Sometimes, self-construction is initiated in order to create an identity. Rosenberg (1979) notes that this is particularly prevalent during adolescence. Adolescents routinely try out different identities. They adopt the dress and mannerisms of various social types (e.g., the sophisticate; the rebel), and studiously note people's reactions to these displays in an attempt to fashion an identity that fits. Other times, self-construction is undertaken to confirm an already established self-view. The successful Wall Street banker may wear suspenders, carry a beeper, and drive a Lexus to signal to others that he is indeed a man of "wealth and taste." Swann (1990) calls this form of self-construction "self-verification," and Wicklund and Gollwitzer (1982) refer to such behavior as "self-symbolizing."Self-enhancement needs also underlie self-construction. Most people like to think of themselves as being competent, likable, talented, and so forth. By convincing others that they possess these positive attributes, people are better able to convince themselves. This, in turn, makes people feel better about themselves. In this sense, we can say that people seek to create impressions in the minds of others because it makes them feel good about themselves to do so.Finally, self-construction can serve a motivational function. People are expected to be who they claim to be (Goffman, 1959; Schlenker, 1980). When they publicly announce an intention or otherwise stake a claim to an identity, people experience additional pressures to make good on their claims. The reformed alcoholic who proclaims his sobriety is utilizing this function. By publicly renouncing the use of alcohol, he increases

2.3. Non-Verbal Communication

Communication is generally defined as has having both a verbal and nonverbal component. Whereas verbal communication often refers to the words we use in communication, nonverbal communication refers to communication that is produced by some means other than words (eye contact, body language, or vocal cues .The five primary functions of Nonverbal Behavior are:

1. Expression of Emotion - emotions are expressed mainly through the face, body, and voice.

2. Communication of Interpersonal Attitudes - the establishment and maintenance of relationships if often done through nonverbal signals (tone of voice, gaze, touch, etc.).

3. Accompany and Support Speech - vocalization and nonverbal behaviors are synchronized with speech in conversation (nodding one's head or using phrases like "uh-huh" when another is talking).

4. Self-Presentation - presenting oneself to another through nonverbal attributes like appearance.

5. Rituals - the use of greetings, handshakes or other rituals.

Traditional Dimensions of Nonverbal Communication

• Physical appearance - Appearance messages are generally the first nonverbal messages received and can be used to develop judgments about people based on how they look, what they wear, and their level of attractiveness, among other things. Physical attractiveness impacts how people perceive others as similar to themselves and is used to evaluate credibility and general attractiveness.

• Territory and Personal Space (Proxemics) - Personal space refers to the space an individual maintains around him or herself, while territory is a larger area an individual controls that can provide privacy (for example, an office or a specific chair in the conference room). Invading another's territory may cause that person discomfort and the desire to defend his or her space (by turning away or creating a barrier).Culture can influence the way that individuals use space. Individualist societies like the United States emphasize personal rights and responsibilities, privacy, and freedom, whereas more collectivist societies emphasize community and collaboration.

• Facial expressions - The most important non-verbal channel for expressing attitudes and emotions to other people is the face. Researchers have attempted to categorize facial expressions that express emotion and typically agree on six: happiness, surprise, fear, sadness, anger, disgust/contempt.

• Gestures & Posture - Gestures and postures are frequent and continuous movements of the body that reflect individual thought processes and regulate communication. For body language to be interpreted as positive and genuine, it is important that it appear to be natural. Lewis (1998) suggests individuals stand erect and walk with shoulders back and stomach in. This helps communicate a message of self-confidence, awareness, and enthusiasm.

• Touch (tactile Communication) writes that "the most basic meaning of touch is that an interpersonal bond is being offered or established" (p. 226). While touch can be used for consolation, support, and congratulations depending on the relationship, touch is often culturally regulated in organizations (Harris, 2002) meaning it may be regulated to behaviors such as handshakes. Touch, like any other communication message, may elicit negative and positive reactions depending on the configuration of people and the circumstances.

• Eye Contact - Eye contact regulates conversation and signals the exchange of speaker and listener roles. It is occurs during 10–30% of the conversation. Eye contact is used to acknowledge or avoid the presence of others and can reveal information about attitudes, emotion, dominance and power in social relationships. When there are breakdowns in conversation it may be because the people conversing have different patterns of eye contact (which can be a result of differing cultural backgrounds). When individuals respond with their eyes they allow others to have a sense of their emotional state and can increase feelings of communication satisfaction.

• Vocal Cues that accompany Speech (Paralanguage) - Vocal cues include intonation, voice quality and vocal emphasis and that can enhance verbal meaning. Laughing and crying are also considered vocal cues. These cues may reveal an emotional state, attitudes towards others, social class, or origin. Individuals may exercise dominance with a loud projecting voice and indicate submission by using a lower, softer pitch. When communicating verbally it is important to ensure that the paralanguage aligns with the verbal messages it accompanies (Lewis, 1998).

• Time (Chronemics) - The way an individual talks about or uses time can communicate much non-verbal information about him or her. Individuals may view time as the location or duration of events, the interval between events, or as patterns of intervals (routines or cycles of behavior).Individuals may also have differing psychological time orientations that influence how they think about and perceive time in their daily lives. Individuals may be more past-oriented, using the past to shape the present, or future-oriented, working towards tomorrow. Individuals can also be present-oriented, living mostly for today. Culture can play a role in determining time orientation, so it is important to be aware of these differences and their potential impact on communication.

2.4. STEREOTYPES

The principles of social psychology, including the ABCs - affect, behavior, and cognition - apply to the study of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, and social psychologists have expended substantial research efforts studying these concepts. The cognitive component in our perceptions of group members is the **stereotype**-*the positive or negative beliefs that we hold about the characteristics of social group.* We may decide that "French people are romantic," that "old people are incompetent," or that "college professors are absent minded." And we may use those beliefs to guide our actions toward people from those groups. In addition to our stereotypes, we may also develop **prejudice**-*an unjustifiable negative attitude toward an outgroup or toward the members of that outgroup.* Prejudice can take the form of disliking, anger, fear, disgust, discomfort, and even hatred—the kind of affective states that can lead to behavior such as the gay bashing you just read about. Our stereotypes and our prejudices are problematic because they may create **discrimination**—*unjustified negative behaviors toward members of outgroups based on their group membership.*
Although violence against members of outgroups is fortunately rare, stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination nevertheless influence people's lives in a variety of ways. Stereotypes influence our academic performance (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007), the careers that we chose to follow (Zhang, Schmader, & Forbes, 2009), our experiences at work (Fiske & Lee, 2008), and the amount that we are paid for the work that we do (Jackson, 2011; Wood & Eagly, 2010).
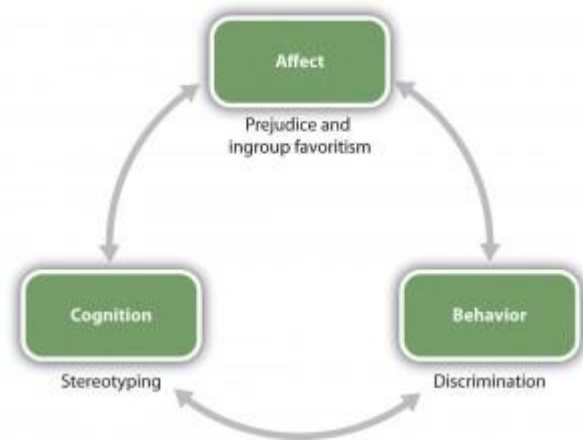
Figure 11.2 Relationships among social groups are influenced by the ABCs of social psychology.

Stereotypes and prejudice have a pervasive and often pernicious influence on our responses to others, and also in some cases on our own behaviors. To take one example, social psychological research has found that our stereotypes may in some cases lead to **stereotype threat**—*performance decrements that are caused by the knowledge of cultural stereotypes*. Spencer, Steele, and Quinn (1999) found that when women were reminded of the (untrue) stereotype that "women are poor at math," they performed more poorly on math tests than when they were not reminded of the stereotype, and other research has found stereotype threat in many other domains as well. We'll consider the role of stereotype threat in more detail later in this chapter.

In one particularly disturbing line of research about the influence of prejudice on behaviors, Joshua Correll and his colleagues had White participants participate in an experiment in which they viewed photographs of White and Black people on a computer screen. Across the experiment, the photographs showed the people holding either a gun or something harmless such as a cell phone. The participants were asked to decide as quickly as possible to press a button to "shoot" if the target held a weapon but to "not shoot" if the person did not hold a weapon. Overall, the White participants tended to shoot more often when the person holding the object was Black than when the person holding the object was White, and this occurred even when there was no weapon present (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2007; Correll et al., 2007).

Discrimination is a major societal problem because it is so pervasive, takes so many forms, and has such negative effects on so many people. Even people who are paid to be unbiased may discriminate. Price and Wolfers (2007) found that White players in National Basketball Association games received fewer fouls when more of the referees present in the game were White, and Black players received fewer fouls when more of the referees present in the game where Black. The implication is—whether they know it or not—the referees were discriminating on the basis of race.

You may have had some experiences where you found yourself responding to another person on the basis of a stereotype or a prejudice, and perhaps the fact that you did surprised you. Perhaps you then tried to get past these beliefs and to react to the person more on the basis of his or her individual characteristics. We like some people and we dislike others—this is

natural—but we should not let a person's skin color, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnic background make these determinations for us. And yet, despite our best intentions, we may end up making friends only with people who are similar to us and perhaps even avoiding people whom we see as different.

CENTRAL TRAITS

A central trait is an attribute in someone's personality that is considered particularly meaningful, in that its presence or absence signals the presence or absence of other traits. For example, if a person has a warm personality, it usually means that he or she is also friendly, courteous, cheerful, and outgoing—among many other possible traits. A peripheral trait is one whose presence or absence does not imply many other characteristics. For example, if a person is sarcastic, it might imply that he or she is cynical about the world or has a dark sense of humor—but not much else.

Usage and Implications of Central Traits and Peripheral Traits

The notion of central versus peripheral traits appears emerges in three related, but separate, areas of psychology.

Descriptions of Personality

The first usage of these terms crops up in descriptions of an individual's personality. Gordon Allport asserted that an individual's personality often contained between five to ten central traits that organized and influenced much of that person's behavior. What those five to ten traits were, however, differed from individual to individual, but if those traits could be identified, an observer could then predict how the person would respond in a wide variety of situations. At times, Allport conceded, a person's behavior might be dependent on more peripheral traits (which he termed secondary traits), but the operation of these traits would be much narrower than that of a person's central attributes.

Descriptions of Self

The second usage of central versus peripheral traits refers to people's perceptions of themselves. Central traits loom large in a person's self-concept; peripheral traits do not. According to psychological theorists stretching back all the way to William James, self-

esteem is influenced the most by people's performances along these central traits. For example, if intelligence is a central trait for a person, then academic performances will have a greater impact on self-esteem than it will for someone for whom intelligence is not central. Studies show how a trait's centrality influences self-esteem as well as behavior. People like to do well along central traits. Indeed, they like to think of themselves as superior to others along these traits. This desire can even lead people to sabotage the efforts of their friends so that they can outperform those friends along central traits, according to the work by Abraham Tesser on his self-evaluation maintenance model. Along peripheral traits, no such sabotage occurs. Instead, people bask in the reflected glory of their friend's achievements along these peripheral dimensions and feel no envy about being outperformed.

The link between trait centrality and self-esteem, however, is complex. Failure along central traits does not guarantee a significant or long-lasting blow to self-esteem. This is because people often reevaluate a trait's centrality after succeeding or failing along it. If a person chronically fails in the classroom, for example, that person can choose to de-emphasize the centrality of academic achievement in his or her self-concept. If the person succeeds in some other arena—in social circles, for example—he or she can decide to emphasize traits relevant to that arena (e.g., social skills) as more central to their self-concept. Recent evidence shows that the traits people view as central to their self-concept just happen to be the ones that they already think they have. One would expect this if people constantly reanalyzed a trait's centrality based on past successes and failures.

Impressions of Others

The third usage of the concepts central versus peripheral traits focuses on perceptions of others. Information about central traits influences perceptions of others more than does information about peripheral traits. When people hear that another person possesses a central trait (e.g., moral), they are more willing to make a host of inferences about that person than if they hear that the person possesses a more peripheral trait (e.g., thrifty).

Two classic experiments demonstrate the impact that central traits have on people's impressions of others. In 1946, Solomon Asch presented some students with a description of a person who was intelligent, skillful, industrious, warm, determined, practical, and cautious. For other students, the term warm was replaced with cold. Students later described the first person much more positively—as wiser, happier, and more humorous, for example—than they did the second person. These differences arose, Asch argued, because warm and cold are central traits that have a powerful impact on the range of conclusions people are willing to reach about others. Supporting this view, replacing warm and cold with polite and blunt, respectively, did not carry the same impact, presumably because these were more peripheral traits. Echoing Asch's findings, Harold Kelley in 1950 introduced a guest lecturer to a class to some students as a warm person and to others as a cold individual. Students receiving the first description were more likely to engage in class discussion and to rate the lecturer as effective and less formal.

One note should be mentioned about trait centrality for the self and trait centrality for judgments about others. Often, the traits considered central in the self-concept are also the traits that show up as more central in impressions of others. If extraversion is a trait that is central to a person's self-concept, he or she will judge others more centrally on whether they are extraverted. If morality is a central trait for self-esteem, morality is likely to operate as

central trait in impressions of others. Theorists suspect that self-central traits are used more centrally in judgments of others because doing so bolsters self-esteem. If one's own attributes suggest so many other characteristics and abilities in other people, then those attributes must be important, and it must be good to possess such important traits.

2.5. PRIMACY AND RECENCY EFFECTS
Recency Effect Defined
Why is there a summary at the beginning and end of a chapter or lesson? If your shopping list is in alphabetical order, why do you remember apples, bananas, mushrooms, xylophone wax, yogurt, and zebra steaks?

The **recency effect** can be described as you remembering best the items that come at the end of the list. So in the example above, you remember a few things from the beginning (apples and bananas), some stuff in the middle (mushrooms), and a lot of stuff at the end (xylophone wax, yogurt, and zebra steaks).

This is related to the **primacy effect**, which states you remember some things at the beginning of a list because it occurred first. Memorizing a list of words is like running a marathon. There is the beginning, a very long middle that blurs together, and now it is the end. The primacy effect is the beginning; you remember it because that is where you started. The recency effect is the finish; you remember the end the best.

Retention During a Learning Episode

When an individual is processing new information, the amount of information retained depends, among other things, on what it is presented during the learning episode. At certain time intervals during the learning we will remember more than at other intervals. Try a simple activity that Madeline Hunter devised to illustrate this point. You will need a pencil and a timer. Set the timer to go off in 12 seconds. When you start the time, look at the list of 10 words below. When the timer sounds, cover the list and write as many of the 10 words as you remember on the lines to the right of the list. Write each word on the line that represents its position on the list, i.e., the first word on line one, etc. Thus, if you cannot remember the eighth word, but you remember the ninth, write it on line number nine.

Read? Start the time and stare at the word list for 12 seconds. Now cover the list and write the words you remember on the lines to the right. Don't worry if you did not remember all the words. Turn to your list again and circle the words that were correct. To be correct, they must be spelled correctly and be in the proper position on the list. Look at the circled words. Chances are you remember the first 3-5 words (lines 1 through 5) and the last 1-2 words (lines 9 and 10), but had difficulty with the middle words (lines 6-8).

KEF 1. _____
LAK 2. _____
MIL 3. _____
NIR 4. _____
VEK 5. _____

**LUN 6.** _____
NEM 7. _____
BEB 8. _____
SAR 9. _____
FIF 10. _____

Your pattern in remembering the word list is a common phenomenon
and is referred to as the primacy-recency effect. In a learning episode,
we tend to remember best that which comes first, and remember second best that which comes last. We tend to remember least that which comes just past the middle of the episode. This is not a new discovery. Ebbinghaus published the first studies on this phenomenon in the 1880s.

Later studies help to explain why this is so. The first items of new information are within the working memory's functional capacity so they command out attention, and are likely to be retained in semantic memory. The later information, however, exceeds the capacity and is lost. As the learning episode concludes, items in working memory are sorted or chunked to allow for addition processing of the arriving final items, which are likely held in immediate memory unless further rehearsed.

During a learning episode, we remember best that which comes first, second best that which comes last, and least that which comes just past the middle. The figure below shows how the primacy-recency effect influences retention during a 40-minute learning episode. The times are approximate and averages. Note that it is a bimodal curve, each mode representing the degree of greatest retention during that time period. For future reference, I will label the first or primary mode prime-time-1, and the second or recency mode prime-time-2. Between these two odes is the time period in which retention during the lesson is least. I will refer to that area as the down-time. This is not a time when no retention takes place, but a time when it is more difficult for retention to occur.
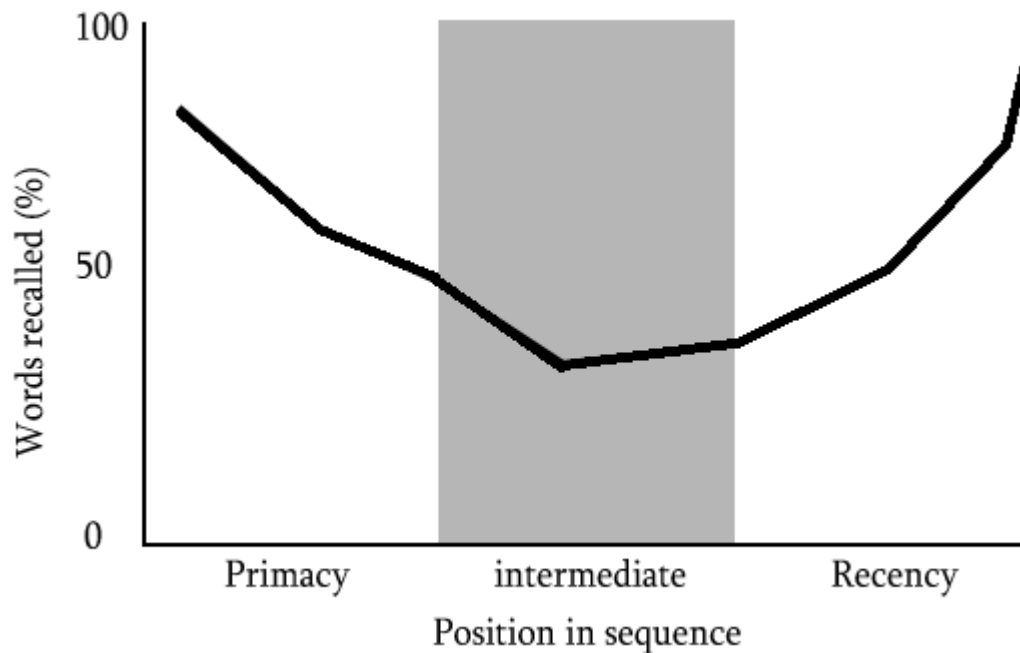
This funny U-shaped curve was named the **serial position curve**. It is called this because the serial position of the word on the list influences if it will be remembered.

Studies show that the serial position curve works over several periods of time. While Ebbinghaus and other psychologists were looking at word lists memorized and rewritten in a day, the recency effect has also been studied over several days and even over weeks.

2.6. ATTRIBUTION THEORY

Attribution theory deals with how the social perceiver uses information to arrive at causal explanations for events. It examines what information is gathered and how it is combined to form a causal judgment" (Fiske, & Taylor, 1991)

Attribution theory is concerned with how and why ordinary people explain events as they do. Heider (1958) believed that people are naive psychologists trying to make sense of the social world. People tend to see cause and effect relationships, even where there is none!

Heider didn't so much develop a theory himself as emphasize certain themes that others took up. There were two main ideas that he put forward that became influential.

> 1. **Internal Attribution**: The process of assigning the cause of behaviour to some internal characteristic, rather than to outside forces. When we explain the behavior of others we look for enduring internal attributions, such as personality traits. For example, we attribute the behavior of a person to their personality, motives or beliefs.
>
> 2. **External Attribution**: The process of assigning the cause of behaviour to some situation or event outside a person's control rather than to some internal characteristic. When we try to explain our own behavior we tend to make external attributions, such as situational or environment features.

UNIT III

ATTITUDES, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

An attitude is a positive, negative, or mixed evaluation of an object that is expressed at some level of intensity. Our attitude can vary in strength along both positive affect, and with negative affect, with ambivalence or with apathy and indifference. It usually implies feelings that are either positive or negative. Social psychologists use the term attitude differently. Gordon Allport formulated the following definition: "An altitude is a mental and neural stale of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to ill objects and situations with which it is related."

Nature of Attitude Attitude are a complex combination of things we tend to call personality, beliefs, values, behaviors, and motivations. An attitude exists in every person's mind. It helps to define our identity, guide our actions, and influence how we judge people. Although the feeling and belief components of attitude are internal to a person, we can view a person's attitude from his or her resulting behavior. Attitude helps us define how we see situations, as well as define how we behave toward the situation or object. Attitude provides us with internal cognitions or beliefs and thoughts about people and objects. Attitude cause us to behave in a particular way toward an object or person. Characteristics of attitudes Attitude can be characterized by: Affective Cognitive consistency: The degree of consistency between the affective and cognitive components influences the attitude—behavior relationship. That is, the greater the consistency between cognition and evaluation, the greater the strength of the attitude-behavior relation. Strength: Attitudes based on direct experience with the object may be held with greater certainty. Certainty is also influenced by whether affect or cognition was involved in the creation of the attitude. Attitudes formed based on affect are more certain than attitudes based on cognition Valence: It refers to the degree or grade of likeliness or unlikeliness toward the entity/incident. If a person is fairly unconcerned toward an object then his attitude has low valence. Direct Experience: An attitude is a summary of a person's past experience; thus, an attitude is grounded in direct experience predicts future behavior more accurately. Moreover, direct experience makes more information available about the object itself. Multiplicity: It refers to the amount of features creating the attitude. For example, one may show interest in becoming a doctor, but another not only shows interest, but also works hard, is sincere, and serious. Relation to Needs: Attitudes vary in relative to requirements they serve. Attitudes of an individual toward the pictures serve only entertainment needs, but attitudes of an employee toward task may serve strong needs for security, achievement, recognition, and satisfaction. Comparison of Attitude and Beliefs Attitude refers to feelings, beliefs and behaviour predispositions directed towards people, groups, ideas or objects. Attitudes will always have a positive and negative element and have a tendency to behave in a certain way toward that person or object. Attitudes are formed primarily based on underlying values and beliefs. Beliefs are acquired through real experiences but the original experience related to a particular belief is mostly forgotten. It affects the quality of our work and relationships because we experience what we believe and it is not based on reality. Beliefs govern our experiences. They are an important part of our

identity. They may be religious, cultural or moral. Beliefs reflect who we are and how we live our lives.

3.0. ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR

Attitudes can positively or negatively affect a person's behavior. A person may not always be aware of his or her attitude or the effect it is having on behavior. A person who has positive attitudes towards work and co-workers (such as contentment, friendliness, etc.) can positively influence those around them. These positive attitudes are usually manifested in a person's behavior; people with a good attitude are active and productive and do what they can to improve the mood of those around them.

In much the same way, a person who displays negative attitudes (such as discontentment, boredom, etc.), will behave accordingly. People with these types of attitudes towards work may likewise affect those around them and behave in a manner that reduces efficiency and effectiveness.

Attitudinal Categories

Attitude and behavior interact differently based upon the attitude in question. Understanding different types of attitudes and their likely implications is useful in predicting how individuals' attitudes may govern their behavior. Daniel Katz uses four attitude classifications:

1. *Utilitarian*: Utilitarian refers to an individual's attitude as derived from self or community interest. An example could be getting a raise. As a raise means more disposable income, employees will have a positive attitude about getting a raise, which may positively affect their behavior in some circumstances.
2. *Knowledge*: Logic, or rationalizing, is another means by which people form attitudes. When an organization appeals to people's logic and explains why it is assigning tasks or pursuing a strategy, it can generate a more positive disposition towards that task or strategy (and vice versa, if the employee does not recognize why a task is logical).
3. *Ego-defensive*: People have a tendency to use attitudes to protect their ego, resulting in a common negative attitude. If a manager criticizes employees' work without offering suggestions for improvement, employees may form a negative attitude and subsequently dismiss the manager as foolish in an effort to defend their work. Managers must therefore carefully manage criticism and offer solutions, not simply identify problems.
4. Value-expressive: People develop central values over time. These values are not always explicit or simple. Managers should always be aware of what is important to their employees from a values perspective (that is, what do they stand for? why do they do what they do?). Having such an awareness can management to align organizational vision with individual values, thereby generating passion among the workforce.

Organizational Attitudes and Behaviors

Attitudes can be infectious and can influence the behavior of those around them. Organizations must therefore recognize that it is possible to influence a person's attitude and, in turn, his or her behavior. A positive work environment, job satisfaction, a reward system, and a code of conduct can all help reinforce specific behaviors.

One key to altering an individual's behavior is consistency. Fostering initiatives that influence behavior is not enough; everyone in the organization needs to be committed to the success of these initiatives. It is also important to remember that certain activities will be more effective with some people than with others. Management may want to outline a few different behavior-change strategies to have the biggest effect across the organization and take into consideration the diversity inherent in any group.

## 3.1. THEORY OF REASONED AND PLANNED BEHAVIOUR
History and Orientation
Ajzen and Fishbein formulated in 1980 the theory of reasoned action (TRA). This resulted from attitude research from the Expectancy Value Models. Ajzen and Fishbein formulated the TRA after trying to estimate the discrepancy between attitude and behavior. This TRA was related to voluntary behavior. Later on behavior appeared not to be 100% voluntary and under control, this resulted in the addition of perceived behavioral control. With this addition the theory was called the theory of planned behavior (TpB). The theory of planned behavior is a theory which predicts deliberate behavior, because behavior can be deliberative and planned.

Core Assumptions and Statements
Theory of Reasoned Action suggests that a person's behavior is determined by his/her intention to perform the behavior and that this intention is, in turn, a function of his/her attitude toward the behavior and his/her subjective norm. The best predictor of behavior is intention. Intention is the cognitive representation of a person's readiness to perform a given behavior, and it is considered to be the immediate antecedent of behavior. This intention is determined by three things: their attitude toward the specific behavior, their subjective norms and their perceived behavioral control. The theory of planned behavior holds that only specific attitudes toward the behavior in question can be expected to predict that behavior. In addition to measuring attitudes toward the behavior, we also need to measure people's subjective norms – their beliefs about how people they care about will view the behavior in question. To predict someone's intentions, knowing these beliefs can be as important as knowing the person's attitudes. Finally, perceived behavioral control influences intentions. Perceived behavioral control refers to people's perceptions of their ability to perform a given behavior. These predictors lead to intention. A general rule, the more favorable the attitude and the subjective norm, and the greater the perceived control the stronger should the person's intention to perform the behavior in question.

Conceptual Model

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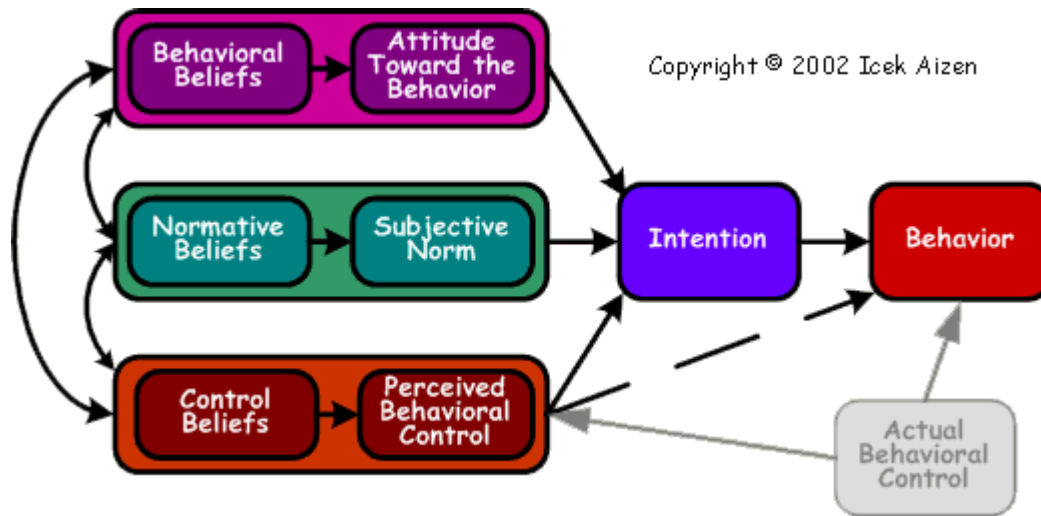
FORMATION, CHANGE AND MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES
Attitudes: What are they?

There are many ways to define an attitude, and several definitions are currently accepted. Basically, an attitude is a stable and enduring disposition to evaluate an object or entity (a person, place or thing), in a particular way. "I like working on this project" and "I do not like working after office hours" are examples of attitudes because they express a persons general feeling, either favorable or unfavorable toward something.

Typically attitudes have been considered along with two other elements – beliefs and behaviors. Beliefs represent what we have learned or come to know through experience. As such, they are either true or represent what we think is true (for example, that working on a challenging project would bring recognition in the organization or that working after office hours would affect health and personal life). Behaviors (for example, whether one completes the project successfully or leaves the office at 6PM in the evening) represent the actions we take with regard to a particular object or entity.

In the simplest case attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors should be related. A dislike of nuclear power plants would be associated with negative beliefs about them (for example, believing that they are dangerous and often run in an irresponsible manner) and negatively oriented behaviors (signing a petition to stop construction of a nuclear power plant).

Sometimes these three elements are strongly related (Campbell, 1947), though in other instances the relation between attitudes, beliefs and behaviors is not very strong. (Wiegel et al., 1974). For example, we might dislike studying, (a negative attitude) and rarely study at all (negative behavior) yet truly believe it will lead to success, yet rarely study (for example if we were required to work for forty hours a week to support ourselves or if we were brilliant). We could even dislike studying, be unsure whether it leads to better grades, and yet spend a great deal in studying. Hence we can say that attitude is a complex cognitive process.

Clearly, the possible relations between attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are complex. We will discuss the various possibilities more throughout the chapter.

Why are attitudes important?
- Attitudes serve as one way to organize our relationship with our world. They make our interactions more predictable affording us a degree of control. For example, the attitude "I like working for this company" is very useful in guiding our behavior towards the company's work.
- Attitudes also enable us to reduce the vast amount of information that we possess into manageable units. All the beliefs we have about our company could be summarized as "I like my company", and thus our attitude represents the combination of many bits of information for us.
- We can use others attitudes to make judgments about them.
- It has been found consistently that the more similar our attitudes are to those of others, the more we like them.
- Finally, people's attitudes can sometimes be useful in predicting behavior, such as how they will vote in an election or which brand of car they will buy.

Components of Attitudes

Attitudes consist of three basic components: emotional, informational, and behavioral.
- The emotional component involves the person's feelings, or affect- positive, neutral, or negative- about an object. Thus, emotion is given the greatest attention in the organizational behavior literature in relation to job-satisfaction.
- In addition, the expression of emotions either positive, like a customer service representative; negative, like a bill collector or a police officer; or neutral, like an academic administrator or public servant- is also important to work behavior.
- The informational component consists of the beliefs and information the individual has about the object. A supervisor may believe that two weeks of training is necessary before a worker can operate a particular piece of equipment.
- In reality, the average worker may be able to operate the machine after only four days of training. Yet the information the supervisor is using (that two weeks is necessary) is the key to his attitude about training.
- The behavioral component consists of a person's tendencies to behave in a particular way toward an object. For example the supervisor in the above paragraph may assign two weeks of machine training to all his new people.

It is important to remember that of the three components of attitudes, only the behavioral component can be directly observed.

> One cannot see another person's feelings (the emotional component)
> or beliefs (The informational component). These two components can
> only be inferred.
> For example, when the supervisor assigns a new employee to two

weeks training on the equipment, it is only inferred that the 1) the supervisor has strong feelings about the length of training required and the individual believes that this length of training is necessary.

How are attitudes formed?

Attitudes may be learned from the experiences we have. These include mostly mundane events such as being praised by our parents for expounding "liberal" attitudes, but also major life and world events.

The basic processes through which we learn attitudes remain the same throughout life, though as we grow older the attitudes we learn may be more complex, and the ones we already hold may become more resistant to change.

The processes through which our experiences create attitudes are all related to "learning" which is a basic human process. We will learn more about learning processes in the chapter 6 of this module.

As for now just keep in mind that all our attitudes are learned from our experience of the social context around us.

The influence of the family, schooling, and peer groups waxes and wanes as we grow into adolescence and adulthood.

Thus, the primary sources of our attitudes change as we mature. A final source of attitudes is the culture in which a child grows up. Culturally prevalent prejudices are generally reflected in prejudiced attitudes.

Attitudes have three main components: cognitive, affective, and behavioral. The cognitive component concerns one's beliefs; the affective component involves feelings and evaluations; and the behavioral component consists of ways of acting toward the attitude object. The cognitive aspects of attitude are generally measured by surveys, interviews, and other reporting methods, while the affective components are more easily assessed by monitoring physiological signs such as heart rate. Behavior, on the other hand, may be assessed by direct observation.

Behavior does not always conform to a person's feelings and beliefs. Behavior which reflects a given attitude may be suppressed because of a competing attitude, or in deference to the views of others who disagree with it. A classic theory that addresses inconsistencies in behavior and attitudes is **Leon Festinger**'s theory of **cognitive dissonance**, which is based on the principle that people prefer their cognitions, or beliefs, to be consistent with each other and with their own behavior. Inconsistency, or dissonance, among their own ideas makes people uneasy enough to alter these ideas so that they will agree with each other. For example, smokers forced to deal with the opposing thoughts "I smoke" and "smoking is dangerous" are likely to alter one of them by deciding to quit smoking, discount the evidence of its dangers, or adopt the view that smoking will not harm them personally. Test subjects in hundreds of experiments have reduced cognitive dissonance by changing their attitudes. An alternative explanation of attitude change is provided by Daryl Bem's self-perception theory, which asserts that people adjust their attitudes to match their own previous behavior.

Attitudes are formed in different ways. Children acquire many of their attitudes by **modelling** their parents' attitudes. **Classical conditioning** using pleasurable stimuli is another method of

attitude formation and one widely used by advertisers who pair a product with catchy music, soothing colors, or attractive people. **Operant conditioning**, which utilizes rewards, is a mode of attitude formation often employed by parents and teachers. Attitudes are also formed through direct experience. It is known, in fact, that the more exposure one has toward a given object, whether it is a song, clothing style, beverage, or politician, the more positive one's attitude is likely to be.

One of the most common types of communication, *persuasion,* is a discourse aimed at changing people's attitudes. Its success depends on several factors. The first of these is the source, or communicator, of a message. To be effective, a communicator must have credibility based on his or her perceived knowledge of the topic, and also be considered trustworthy. The greater the perceived similarity between communicator and audience, the greater the communicator's effectiveness. This is the principle behind politicians' perennial attempts to portray themselves in a folksy, "down home" manner to their constituency. This practice has come to include distinguishing and distancing themselves from "Washington insiders" who are perceived by the majority of the electorate as being different from themselves.

In analyzing the effectiveness of the persuasive message itself, the method by which the message is presented is at least as important as its content. Factors influencing the persuasiveness of a message include whether it presents one or both sides of an argument; whether it states an implicit or explicit conclusion; whether or not it provokes **fear**; and whether it presents its strongest arguments first or last. If the same communicator were to present an identical message to two different groups, the number of people whose attitudes were changed would still vary because audience variables such as age, sex, and **intelligence** also affect attitude change. Many studies have found women to be more susceptible to persuasion than men, but contrasting theories have been advanced to account for this phenomenon. Some have attributed it to the superior verbal skills of females which may increase their **ability** to understand and process verbal arguments. Others argue that it is culturally determined by the greater pressure women feel to conform to others' opinions and expectations.

The effect of intelligence on attitude change is inconclusive. On one hand, it has been hypothesized that the greater one's intelligence, the more willing one is to consider differing points of view. On the other hand, people with superior intelligence may be less easily persuaded because they are more likely to detect weaknesses in another person's argument. There is, however, evidence of a direct link between **self-esteem** and attitude change. People with low self-esteem are often not attentive enough to absorb persuasive messages, while those with high self-esteem are too sure of their own opinions to be easily persuaded to change them. The most easily persuaded individuals tend to be those with moderate levels of self-esteem, who are likely to pay a reasonable amount of **attention** to what those around them say and remain open enough to let it change their minds.

The medium of persuasion also influences attitude change ("the medium is the message"). Face-to-face communication is usually more effective than mass communication, for example, although the effectiveness of any one component of communication always involves the interaction of all of them. The effects of persuasion may take different forms. Sometimes they are evident right away; at other times they may be delayed (the socalled

"sleeper effect"). In addition, people may often change their attitudes only to revert over time to their original opinions, especially if their environment supports the initial opinion.

The information-processing model of persuasion, developed by psychologist William McGuire, focuses on a chronological sequence of steps that are necessary for successful persuasion to take place. In order to change listeners' attitudes, one must first capture their attention, and the listeners must comprehend the message. They must then yield to the argument, and retain it until there is an opportunity for action—the final step in attitude change.

3.2. PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice is an unfavourable or negative attitude towards a group of people, based on insufficient or incorrect information about the group to whom it is directed. Note that prejudice is towards an identifiable group or an identifiable member of a group, not towards an isolated individual.

Discrimination is the action that expresses the attitude of prejudice. Prejudice is a form of anti-social behaviour, and it is a cause for concern in all communities. It is present in most cultures, and has been evident throughout history. It causes stress and tension between groups, and harm to the victims.

A negative attitude towards a group is not always necessarily prejudice, however.For example, it is common for members of a society to have a negative attitude towards a group of people who have been found guilty in a court of law for committing criminal activity, such as murder. To be able to moderate andprevent the effects of prejudice, it is important to understand why people are prejudiced, and how prejudice may be formed. Note that while prejudice and discrimination are closely related concepts, they are slightly different.Prejudice can result in acts of discrimination. In other words, prejudice is a feeling/behaviour, whereas discrimination is action. It is possible for one of these to exist without the other. For example, LaPiere's (1934) study, which found that although many restaurant owners were prejudiced against Chinese people, very few demonstrated discrimination by refusing service to them.

The interrelationship between attitudes, prejudice and discrimination

Prejudice is another example of an attitude, and therefore the tricomponent model of attitudes can be applied to prejudice.

The tricomponent model of attitudes applied to prejudice

PREJUDICE

Cognitive   The categorisation of people, and beliefs about the people that are put
                   into these categories, especially stereotyping

Affective   Feelings that are either friendly or hostile towards a group of people

DISCRIMINATION

Behavioural   Behaviour towards a group of people

For example, prejudice against elderly   people (ageism) includes negative beliefs about elderly people (cognitive component), a strong feeling of dislike towards the elderly (affective component)and the action of discriminating against them (behavioural component).

EXAMPLES OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

The most obvious examples of prejudice are based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual preference, physical or intellectual disability, or mental illness.

Examples of prejudice

PREJUDICE TYPE	PREJUDICE
Sexism	Gender
Racism	Ethnicity or race
Ageism	Age
Homophobia	Sexual preference
Disability	Physical or intellectual disability, or mental illness

In most Western nations, much has been done to try to reduce these prejudices through education and legislation. There is still much work to do, however, because prejudice can be difficult to prevent and difficult to eradicate once it has been established. Although laws in Australia prevent discrimination, some prejudice can be difficult to detect. It is also subtly embedded in everyday language, culture and social dialogue.

Examples of discrimination

Reluctance to help

Reluctance to help other groups to improve their position in society by passively or actively declining to assist their efforts. Inadequate facilities for physically disabled employees in a workplace

Tokenism

Publicly giving trivial assistance to a minority group in order to avoid accusations of prejudice and discrimination. Employing one woman in a predominantly male organisation

Reverse discrimination

Publicly being prejudiced in favour of a minority group in order to deflect accusation of prejudice and discrimination. Deliberately favouring a minority group by making it company policy to employ a percentage of minority group members – but this sometimes turns out to be discriminatory because the members of the minority group are singled out and treated differently once employed by the company

Formation of prejudice

A range of influences contribute to the formation and maintenance of prejudice.

These include learning, competition, intergroup confl ict, threat to social identity, social and cultural grouping, stigmatising, stereotyping and scapegoating.

L E A R N I N G
Because prejudice is an attitude, the factors that influence the formation of prejudice are the same as the factors that influence the formation of attitudes. As with all attitudes, operant conditioning, observational learning, parents, peers and the media are significant influences in the formation of prejudice.

C O M P E T I T I O N
Wherever there is competition between social groups for scarce resources, it is possible that hostility and prejudice will develop. There are numerous historical as well as current and everyday instances of this; for example, competition for the highest marks in school subjects; competition for jobs; performance in sport; or competition over land. In a classic study, Sherif and colleagues (1961) found that, when placed in a competitive environment, children developed prejudice towards perceived rivals. Immigrant groups may experience prejudice from people already living in the country where they settle, because they are rivals competing for jobs. This competition may lead to psychological processes occurring, including:
-intergroup conflict (in-groups and out-groups)
-threatening of social identity
-social categorisation and stereotyping
-stigmatising
-scape goating.

INTERGROUP CONFLICT: IN-GROUPS AND OUT-GROUPS
Intergroup conflict occurs where there is:
-the existence of groups
-competition between groups for scarce resources.

People in groups sometimes perceive themselves as 'us' (the in-group) and 'them' (the out-group). Members of a perceived in-group tend to classify themselves as being better than people who they perceive as belonging to an out-group. For example, people from a specific ethnic group may see themselves as the in-group who possess what they believe to be superior physical or intellectual qualities to all other ethnic groups (the out-groups). The 'cool group' at school may consider itself to be the in-group because they possess qualities that they believe to be superior to the out-group.

GROUPS & LEADERSHIP

Group is the way to involve different people with different skill who working in same task. It is a powerful solution of achieving the target goals.

The nature of groups and group behaviour within Organisation

The word group can be explained as two or more people work or interact together for same purpose. When a group of people work together rather than individuals, the aim of the organisation can be simply achieved. However, working together is a multifaceted task. Group dynamics refers to the communications among the members of a group. Working together as a group in any organisation is the most essential for the social characteristics of workers in that company.

Nature of Groups

There are different types of groups which are created to get some specific results in any organisations. The team members agree to a general task, become mutually dependent relative in their action, and work together with each other to support its success. There are three views on the nature of act between team members. The first is normative, which explain how to carry out performance and manage the team. The second view is includes of a set of method, group building, role play, self managed groups and sensitivity training of the members. The third is referred as a team dynamic from the point of sight that the internal nature of any groups.

Dynamics of Team Formation

Group dynamics refers to the behavioural and attitudinal features of a team. Group dynamics discuss how groups form, their configuration and process, and how they intention. Group dynamics are related in both informal and formal groups of all types.

Formal Groups

A formal group is the systematic and conscious grouping of people in any organisation that the organisational target can be better to achieve. In formal group, structure of the organisation is very formal and gives responsibilities and assignment to different members with the aim of achieving the goals. Task groups and command groups are the example of formal group.

Informal Groups

Informal groups are the spontaneous and natural grouping members when they work together for long period of time. Informal groups are created by the getting closeness of need, support, interests or growth. Interest groups and friendship groups are the example of informal groups.

The Five-Stage Model

All groups pass through the Forming, Storming, Norming, Performing and Adjourning stages. This is known as five stage model.

Forming: forming is the first step of group creation, where team members' aim is to identify suitable behaviour in the group. The team members try to design their behaviour as a part of the team.
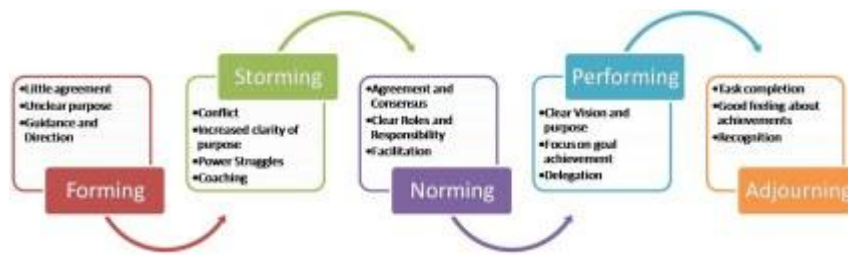
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Storming: Storming is the second step of makes any team. In this stage the members are disagreements about leadership. By the end, the members come to same point of view.

Norming: In this stage, group members are get together and motivate and cooperate with each

Performing: In performing stage, group members are work attentively toward target goal. Team members are friendly and helpful to one another.

Adjourning: This is the last step of any group as like task group formed to do some mission. The groups are stop to exit after this stage. Some of group members are happy about the achieving of target goal, some are unhappy to loss their friends after groups disperse.

Promote or inhibit the development of effective teamwork in organisation

The team can be effective if it can achieve member satisfaction, group viability and high level of performance. There are some factors that are essential to develop successful team work and the factors are, useful communication, well leadership, plan for disagreement decision and diversity. Leadership is the most essential elements of teamwork. Team leader have to be able to create and maintain the working culture of the organisation and make that positive. Motivate the other group members to do the work to achieve the target goals.

The term "internal functioning" is used to describe the internal group dynamic, that is, its structure, socialization process and the relationships among group members. "External functioning" refers to relationships between groups and other organizations.

Internal functioning

To understand the structure of a group and its effects on the members, certain concepts such as norms, social roles, communication and intragroup relations, are presented in this section.

Norms

In daily life, whether at school, at work or during leisure time, individuals generally respect various norms, rules or laws in order to adapt themselves to the environment or group to which they belong. But what are norms? How do they influence the daily lives of members? The following section provides some answers to these questions.

Definition of a norm

Norms are rules or behavioural models that are established and accepted by individuals who belong to the same culture or group. Since they reflect the group's values, they may:

 Define the nature of interpersonal relations promoted among members or with non-members;

 Determine the skills required by each individual in order to accomplish specific tasks in the group;

 Establish acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the group.

To find out what norms the group has adopted, it is important to ask questions about its core values, conduct and practices.

A punishment and reward system may be a good indication of the norms preferred by a particular group.

The role of norms in a group

The purposes of norms are

☐ ☐ To help the group reach its objectives. As members share the same code of conduct the group's norms dictate the responsibilities and obligations of each member. This combination of choices, decisions and behaviours generally fosters a harmonious functioning among group members;

☐ ☐ To foster relationships among members and internal group cohesion. Norms indicate what attitude members should adopt in various circumstances. They may, for instance, help members settle a conflict by providing them with possible resolutions to problems or misunderstandings. As a result, misunderstandings can be avoided and harmonious relationships among members preserved;[fn 24]

☐ ☐ To help members gain a better understanding of their experience. By suggesting or prescribing acceptable and unacceptable attitudes or behaviours as well as the roles and functions of each group member, norms enable members to better understand the behaviours of their co-members. Norms also allow members to identify those who do not respect the rules enforced in the group.

How group norms affect individuals

In daily life, each individual develops a unique and personal way of judging situations and people. A person's judgment may be shaped by participation in group life and the internalization of rules that exist in the group..

The influence that a group may have on a member's perceptions or representations of reality is not, from the outset, good or bad. It is, however, important to understand that becoming a member of a group and adopting its rules and practices changes an individual's view of the world in different ways. A group's ability to assert its influence over a member may, however, vary depending on the individual and group in question.

The following section describes the different influence processes that can exist in a group.

Adapting to the group: from socialization to conformism

A person who decides to become a member of a group must necessarily adapt to life in the group by subscribing to its values, norms and beliefs. One of the processes in which individuals model their behaviour on that of the other members is known as socialization.

Coordinating the behaviour of group members in their interactions with one another reduces the chance of disagreement and conflict among members and, ultimately, fosters a sense of unity, cohesion and true companionship.

Once the members have adopted similar values, practices and behaviours, four changes may occur within the group:

☐ ☐ Sense of unity: relationships among group members become more harmonious and a sense of belonging to the group develops. Members are proud to identify themselves with the group and its participants;

☐ ☐ Stability: once conflicts are resolved and harmony is maintained, the number of members stabilizes;

☐ ☐ Satisfaction: group cohesion and the satisfaction of members who participate in the life of the group are closely related. The greater the sense of belonging to the group, the more its

members are happy to live within it. They feel privileged to be recognized as participants of this particular group;

☐ ☐ Internal dynamic: groups with strong internal cohesion enjoy greater influence over their members. When internal cohesion is strong, members more readily accept the goals, objectives and norms imposed by a leader or by co-members.

Although group cohesion can have positive effects on the life of the group, its intensity can sometimes have a negative impact. Some group members may become intransigent with regard to those who demonstrate deviant behaviour. Consequently, the slightest nonconformist behaviour may lead to sanctions.

Members who disregard the group's norms tend to be less valued by the other members. In some cases, those who deviate from the norm and create friction in the group may expose themselves to

☐ ☐ Hostility;

☐ ☐ Isolation from the other members;

☐ ☐ Being the scapegoat for the group's problems;

☐ ☐ Rejection by the group.

Behaviour based on an established set of norms may, therefore, have a positive effect on the group, its functioning and interactions among members. It may improve the group's productivity, but it may also lead to the isolation and rejection of deviant members.

Conformism

When individuals integrate into the life of a group, they often adopt the values, norms and behaviours valued by the group in order to be accepted. People who model their behaviour on other group members can be described as conformist.

Unlike socialization, in which individuals adapt to group life while preserving their autonomy ⁻ conformism requires individuals to accept a set of group requirements and modify their behaviour to duplicate that of the other members in order to be accepted.

Conformism can be described as a process of submission to the majority which can reveal a need for security, a search for identification through membership to a group or a strategy for avoiding conflict.

Here are three processes through which individuals adapt their behaviour to group norms: acquiescence, internalization and identification.

Avoiding conflict through acquiescence

In some cases, the possibility of conflict arising among members or the possibility of being recognized as a nonconformist influences group members to acquiesce to the demands expressed.

Members may feel peer pressure, prompting them to acquiesce to the demands expressed by individuals in the group. In this case, when individuals are eager to please group members or to make friends, they may acquiesce to the requirements imposed by the members in exchange for their friendship. The more individuals are attracted to a group or to its participants, the more eager they will be to adhere to requirements, even if they are contrary to their personal philosophy of life or beliefs.

In this context, conformism may be short lived. Members may acquiesce to the group's demands in public but refuse to conform to group norms when they are no longer in contact with other members.

Internalization

Individuals may also modify their behaviour if they believe, for instance, that the group is right or holds "the truth.

Individuals, who have internalized the opinions, preferences or actions of the group into their own value system, accept the group's norms and demands both in their public and private lives.

Identification

The process of identification occurs when individuals consciously or sub-consciously agree to give in to group pressure because they want to attain the qualities or characteristics that certain members possess.

Violating norms

Despite the influence a group may have on its members, some participants may adopt behaviour that interferes with the group's activities. Under these circumstances, the group is likely to react to the nonconformist who may be subjected to different forms of pressure designed to modify his or her behaviour.

Sanctions

The violation of a norm elicits different reactions depending on the importance of the norm to the group.

If a person breaks a new rule or one that is of less importance to the members, the reactions and sanctions may be minimal. However, if a person breaks a well-established rule that is deemed important by the members, the group's reaction and the ensuing sanctions may be more stringent.

In order for one or several norms to be transgressed, there has to be:

 An established norm;

 A person who transgresses the norm;

 A person recognized by the group as nonconformist.

A person can violate a norm without provoking a reaction if:

 There is no witness to confirm the violation;

 The person's deviant behaviour is recognized as involuntary or unintentional.

Consequently, the sanctions and severity imposed on individuals who are recognized as a nonconformist varies according to the nature of the deviant act committed. The greater the violation committed in the view of group members, the greater the sanction will be.

A person who violates the rules of the group may be perceived as an evil force or a threat to the group's equilibrium. In this case, the other group members may have a negative or even hostile reaction to the individual. The deviant member may be ignored for a period of time, isolated, insulted or even expulsed from the group.

It is important to note that, the reactions and sanctions of members vary from one group to another.

The importance of deviant or nonconformist members

The deviant member plays a particular role in the group since he or she becomes a symbol, representing behaviour or ideas that are ill-advised or prohibited in the group. This person may, therefore, serve as an example of what members must not do.

Roles in a group

A role consists of a set of behaviours, conducts or functions expected from a person in a group.

Roles are varied and enable the activities and tasks of each member to be differentiated. Some, for instance, are assigned administrative, management, publicity or basic tasks to be performed for the group.

Each role requires specific skills. The concept of roles implies specialized tasks within a specific group. Some group members will never have an opportunity to assume certain roles within the group because they have been identified as not having the necessary skills. In some groups, for instance, a woman's role is limited to educating children, while men assume the role of provider.

Status

To understand group functioning, it is also important to examine the status associated with the roles established in the group. Each role may enable access to a particular social position. Power and prestige vary according to the role being performed. For instance, in a large restaurant, the roles of head chef and waiter are not assigned the same powers, privileges and responsibilities. Similarly, the social situation of a child, a women or a man in a group may vary in terms of the roles they are allowed to assume.

Evaluating the power of individuals in a group

Individuals can have power in a group if they possess one or more of the following:

☐ ☐ The ability to reward and punish deviant members;

☐ ☐ Knowledge valued by the group;

☐ ☐ A skill coveted by the group;

☐ ☐ Privileged information;

☐ ☐ Exemplary behaviour;

☐ ☐ Seen by the group as a good advisor;

☐ ☐ Influence over other members' choices, decisions and behaviour.

Members and their personalities

Although several members occupy similar roles in a group, each one has a unique personality. The diversity of individual personalities has a definite impact on how the group functions. Here are some of the variations that exist among members:

☐ ☐ **Active or passive attitude or behaviour in the group** not all members share the same level of involvement in the group. Some play an active role and express their opinions while other members are more timid and less vocal during discussions. Group members can be anywhere in between these two poles (active and passive);

☐ ☐ **Positive or negative attitude in the group**: not all members of a group are congenial and sociable. Some members appear to be congenial and warm, while others are indifferent or cold. Some may constantly disagree with their co-members, while others are more friendly and open to new proposals. Sociability, therefore, varies a great deal from one member to another;

☐ ☐ **Attitude or personality that causes the group to advance or to stagnate** members invest differently in the activities of the group. Some take their involvement seriously, while others are more focussed on their own needs than the attainment of common objectives.

Some members help the group attain its objectives by:

☐ ☐ Fostering cooperation among members, through their behaviour;

☐ ☐ Seeking to respond to requests made by members;

☐ ☐ Coordinating the actions of group members;

☐ ☐ Facilitating the group's orientation or restating its objectives;

☐ ☐ Stimulating the group and enabling it to progress.

Other members occupy roles that tend to maintain positive social interactions among members by:

☐ ☐ Supporting and encouraging others, and praising the work or personalities of co-members;

☐ ☐ Maintaining harmony among members and minimizing tensions and disagreements;

☐ ☐ Helping to reconcile diverging opinions and proposing new options.

There are also individuals whose roles can become problematic for the group and its pursuit of common objectives by:

☐ ☐ Rejecting the ideas of co-members and thereby preventing the group's advancement;

☐ ☐ Competing for prestige;

☐ ☐ Discouraging discussion among members and encouraging long monologues.

Leadership and the leader

Leadership can be defined as a process of social influence by which an individual is able to solicit and obtain the participation of group members in performing a common task. A person who has this power to influence others is called the leader.

Acting as the leader of a group means that this person has authority and responsibilities that differ from those of the other members. Consequently, the status of group leader is unique since he or she may:

☐ ☐ Influence or control interactions among members;

☐ ☐ Encourage others to quickly adopt his or her ideas;

☐ ☐ Make decisions on behalf of the group;

☐ ☐ Impose sanctions or punish members who do not contribute to accomplishing a task.

Each group seeks specific qualities in a leader. Based on the interactions of its members, the group reaches a consensus with regard to the leadership qualities valued, sought or expected:

☐ ☐ In some groups, the behaviours and attributes sought in a leader are extremely specific and leave little space for any form of personal expression. The person who assumes the leadership must therefore remain effective, or risk losing his or her position;

☐ ☐ Other groups may grant the leader more latitude. The leader may therefore be allowed to modify the group's requirements and reconfigure the leader's role based on his or her personality and skills.

When members recognize the unique quality of the leader, his or her influence on the members can increase over time. The leader of a group can influence members' choices, decisions and behaviour through mystic powers that he or she claims to possess and that are accepted by the members. For instance, a spiritual group leader can declare to the members that he or she has the ability to communicate with God. Since no one else in the group has this ability, the members may attribute disproportionate importance to the ideas and suggestions put forward by the leader.

While it is difficult to recognize qualities specific to a leader, certain characteristics are often associated with leaders who are able to maintain their role at the helm of a group:

☐ ☐ **The ability to create emotional ties with group members**: effective leaders often have the ability to quickly forge friendships with group members, and tend to favour warm interpersonal relationships. This helps to ensure better internal functioning of the group;

☐ ☐ **The ability to structure the group**: leaders tend to be creative in their methods for managing the group and intragroup relations;

☐ ☐ **The ability to promote production**: leaders favour a task-oriented approach and succeed in motivating members to pursue common objectives;

☐ ☐ **The ability to show compassion**: leaders are or appear to be tolerant and compassionate when conflicts arise among group members.

Aside from specific personality traits, a leader's success may also depend on his or her ability to facilitate the attainment of the group's objectives. In order to focus members' attention on attaining objectives, the leader may stimulate them by identifying a common enemy. This creates a sense of belonging to the organization and a desire to rally against the group's enemy.

The role of leader varies from one group to the next. To understand the full scope of a leader's power in a group, it is important to observe, among other things, his or her ability to make decisions on behalf of the entire group as well as his or her power to impose sanctions on group members.

Group communication

In a group, each member becomes versed in the language used and understands the cultural references employed by co-members. Participants in groups usually share common linguistic keys which allows them to understand each other. Take, for example, this conversation between two teenagers:

Nancy says to Julie: "That's a wicked T-shirt you're wearing!" Julie understands that Nancy really likes her T-shirt, even though the word "wicked" means "unpleasant" or "evil." Teenagers understand that this slang term really means "fantastic" or "beautiful."

Two members from different groups can have difficulty understanding each other even though they speak the same language because the meaning attributed to certain words can vary from one group to the next. Furthermore, cultural differences such as norms and philosophies on life impede fluid communication and language comprehension between members of different groups. Sharing a common language enables members of the same group to understand each other and creates an additional bond uniting them.

The decision-making process in a group

Group life involves making decisions together. The decision-making process varies among groups. Decisions may be:

☐ ☐ **Imposed by the group's authority.** This is a quick approach which can also be useful to resolve routine issues. However, when employed abusively, members may gradually feel manipulated by the leader(s) of the group. The fact that the other members are not consulted can hamper the group's effectiveness and members' motivation;

☐ ☐ **Made by the group's authority, following consultation with members.**This solution enables the points of view of several members to be taken into consideration before choosing the most appropriate solution;

☐ ☐ **Made by a person labelled a specialist.**This method of functioning may be effective if the person's judgement is satisfactory to the other group members. However, the very choice of a specialist can be a source of conflict and controversy. A specialist's decisions may be contested or rejected;

☐ ☐ **Made by the majority of the group.**This process may be satisfactory to the members, but may create conflicts with the group's minority who disagrees with the decisions adopted;

☐ ☐ **Formulated by a minority of individuals in the group.** This process is effective when the decisions being made are of no major consequence, but may become a source of conflict if the decisions have a direct impact on the daily lives of the majority of group members;

☐ ☐ **Adopted through consensus.**The participation of all group members may increase the quality and popularity of the decisions being made. However, since this process can take a long time, the group's productivity may be reduced. Furthermore, tensions among members can hinder the chance of finding solutions to difficulties encountered during the decision-making process.

The way in which groups arrive at decisions is, therefore, crucial since it can be a source of conflict or harmony among the members.

Mistakes in decision-making

Mistakes in group decision-making can result from strong group cohesion. The effect of cohesion on decision-making is referred to as the "Janis" effect, after the name of the author who described this phenomenon.

The "Janis" effect occurs when a group tries to establish a consensus around a solution considered to be the most acceptable. In order to safeguard the group's cohesion and avoid any discussion that could lead to conflict, members prefer to adopt a more simplistic but consensual solution than a complex one that could trigger a conflict.

In some groups, maintaining a climate of complicity is so important that participants avoid taking initiative or making counter suggestions in order to prevent any potential conflict. The initial solution, even if it does not seem adequate, is often retained. In this situation, the group is blinded by group loyalty which tends to stifle any critical or independent thinking. Added to this are other conditions in the decision-making process which favour the "Janis" effect:

☐ ☐ The group does not explore alternative solutions.

☐ ☐ The group does not consider all the objectives of the task being accomplished or does not determine the objectives that must be attained.

☐ ☐ The costs and consequences of the decision are not explored.Truths are quickly affirmed without any proof of what is or is not adequate or effective.

☐ ☐ The search for information is superficial. The members forget or disregard incoherent aspects of their decisions and are only interested in the elements that correspond with their common vision.

☐ ☐ The group is not interested in the difficulties that may be encountered during implementation of the program or project. The group minimizes, or even disregards, any ideas pertaining to these difficulties under the pretext that these situations are extremely rare.

Two major factors can be found in the context of a problematic decision-making process:

▢ ▢ Collective illusion of morality, rationale, unanimity or invariability leads the group to believe that its role is of such high moral calibre that it is incapable of making any mistakes.

▢ ▢ Collective censorship reigns and is self-imposed as well as imposed on others.

As a result, members do not express their ideas in order to preserve the group's harmony.

Reasons for becoming a member of a group

Human beings search for ways to understand their life experiences. In this search for meaning, the beliefs transmitted by a group or its world vision may help some people find the answers they are looking for or bring new meaning to their daily lives.

In a crisis situation, becoming a member of a group enables a person to relieve the tension or stress they are feeling. By joining a group, individuals who have been confronted by a disturbing event, such as the death of a loved one or the end of a relationship, may be better able to understand the event and come to terms with it. For instance, becoming a member of a spiritual group that believes in the existence of life after death may provide an explanation for a person who is grieving the loss of loved one.

Even though individuals cannot, for instance, bring a deceased child back to life, the beliefs transmitted by the group may allow them to interpret this event in a new light. In this situation, death perceived as unjust takes on a new meaning. An unacceptable death becomes a less painful reality and, in some cases, a tolerable event.

The group offers a framework to help people interpret their problems from a different standpoint. Once they have adopted the group's doctrine or philosophy, difficult challenges may no longer be perceived as insurmountable and, indeed, may take on a new meaning.

In a crisis, some people may find it easier to manage their emotions by being part of a group that provides plausible explanations for their problems and suffering. The group therefore responds to the needs of the person in exchange for the individual's commitment to join the other members in pursuit of the group's objectives.

For some people, belonging to a group allows them to adopt a more harmonious approach to daily problems. Unemployment, for instance, is no longer perceived as a disaster, but as a challenging opportunity for individuals to acquire new skills.

Integrating into group life offers some people a chance to better adapt to stress, physical and psychological exertion, ageing or death. Joining a group can also help some people overcome drug addiction and alcoholism.

Becoming a member to satisfy a need

A group of people may also share certain beliefs in order to respond to hardships. The various types of hardships experienced by an individual prior to joining a group may include:

▢ ▢ **Organic or physical.**Individuals who are suffering from a disease or live with someone who is suffering from physical problems may turn to a group for help. Belonging to a group can respond to this type of suffering by offering the promise of a remedy or of a healthier lifestyle.

▢ ▢ **Economic or material.**Individuals may be experiencing financial difficulties or may have material needs. The group can share its resources.

▢ ▢ **Social and community.**Individuals may feel that their relationships with others are unfulfilling. The group offers the possibility of engaging in positive interpersonal relationships, particularly through active participation in community life.

☐ ☐ **Moral.**Individuals may experience confusion with regard to their value system which they may consider to be contrary to socially accepted values. A group may provide them with another moral code to fill this gap.

☐ ☐ **Existential or psychological.**Individuals who are dissatisfied with their lives or their roles in society may be distressed and searching for the meaning of life or for an intense emotional connection. The group may, in these circumstances, provide a lifestyle that responds to their existential angst or sense of emptiness or boredom.

Becoming a member for reasons of similarity, reciprocity or social status

Given the diversity of groups, what factors influence a person to choose a particular group over another? Here are some of the reasons that can motivate a person's choice:

Similarity

Individuals may decide to join certain groups due to similarities they feel they share with the group. This attraction can be based on values, lifestyle or physical appearance.

Reciprocity

Individuals who feel a sense of value through their participation in the group, or who are complimented by the members for their skills, personality or appearance will be more likely to join a particular group, as opposed to another one which is critical of their lifestyle or personality. Conversely, a group will celebrate the arrival of a new candidate if it feels that the individual's skills will contribute to achieving the group's objectives.

Social status

A group's social status may be a determining factor in encouraging a person to become a member. A person may decide to become a member because the group is considered to be prestigious in the eyes of the community.[fn 72] A person who becomes a member of an influential group becomes, by association, a prestigious and important person. Limited spaces in a group may heighten some people's desire to join the group.

Proximity

Individuals often choose a group based on the groups available in their community. Obviously, they cannot become members of groups that do not exist or which are unknown to them.

Interpersonal relationships in a group

This section describes the different types of relationships that exist between members and their leaders in Eastern style groups.

Leader-follower relationship

Relationship with a good guru

It is difficult to describe the leader of a group as good or bad. Every guru or leader can have harmonious or problematic relationships with certain members of the group.

A "good" leader

☐ ☐ Has good knowledge of the group's writings;

☐ ☐ Has ben the disciple of several masters, and asks many questions during the learning process;

☐ ☐ Lives according to his or her teachings.

The condescending guru

This type of leader has a paternalistic attitude toward members of the group, and is overprotective and secretive about the leader-follower relationship. Although the leader's

intention is to protect and reassure members, in exchange, he or she sometimes demands extreme submission from members. In this situation, spiritual or personal growth occurs through the leader's teachings and the leader-follower relationship. The objective of the group is to promote the leader's spiritual growth so that the participants can share in his or her higher knowledge.

The spiritual abuser

The spiritual abuser may be described as a leader who uses spiritual, biblical or other writings to inflict feelings of guilt on members. The leader uses divine language or prayers to address social, psychological or health problems.

The swindler guru

Swindler gurus can be described as leaders who constantly ask their followers for money. These leaders live in luxury while their disciples lead an ascetic life, sometimes below the poverty line. This type of guru often does not accept questions from members and expects them to follow whatever he or she tells them.

Interdependent relationship

For some, a unique bond is created between the leader and the follower. This relationship is born out of the following complementary needs between the leader and the members:

☐ ☐ Leaders feel the need to be elected and vested with a mission. They see themselves as guides, leading their followers to salvation. This need to be elected is fulfilled by the members' fervent commitment to follow a leader.

☐ ☐ Members, for their part, want to be recognized as different from the rest of the population through their membership in the group. They feel the need to associate with a person whom they consider to be inspiring in order to follow an ideal.

These complementary needs and aspirations can create a powerful bond between the leader and the follower who may, over time, become mutually dependent.

In some relationships, the member becomes increasingly dependent on the leader. Membership in the group can eventually encroach on all aspects of an individual's life. Gradually, the members lose their ability to judge and become completely subjected to the leader.

Dependence on a leader becomes problematic when both the members and the leader cannot imagine life without the other. In some cases, leaders feel that it is their duty to preserve the members' fervour. To maintain this bond, the follower may be obliged to respond to all of the leader's demands. In this extreme interdependent relationship, group members can commit criminal acts.

Group relationships: possible effects on members

The following sections deal with the negative effects of group life.

Feeling depersonalized

Members can feel a sense of loss of identity as they become anonymous in the group. Co-members do not recognize them for who they are, but in terms of what they expect from them.

Feeling threatened

During the course of their membership in the group, some members may at times feel that they are being judged by co-members in terms of their behaviour, attitude or choices. Members who feel threatened in this way may decide to:

☐ ☐ Conform;

☐ ☐ Revolt;

☐ ☐ Leave the group.

Feeling dependent

Individuals who participate in group life tend to forge ties and to conform to the demands of others. They also have a tendency of internalizing common rules and images and feel that they belong to a community. This dependence can range from cooperation to fusion. Sometimes members fear the loss of love and support from the other group members and may agree to all of the demands made by the group so as not to be rejected.

Group illusion

The illusion is created through statements such as: "We are happy together; we have created a strong group; we have a good leader. This illusion serves to replace individual identity with group identity. This esprit de corps promotes close relationships among members who all feel important even though they are essentially identical. This state of mind is often accompanied by feelings of euphoria. Two conditions are necessary in order for a group illusion to be created:

☐ ☐ Scapegoat: this allows the group to transpose its internal aggression onto an external body and to enjoy group life free of conflict. The group may perceive another group or non-member as the representation of evil, while the group and its members represent good.

☐ ☐ An egalitarian ideology: this favours the melding of individual differences into a single identity.

External functioning or intergroup relations

Relationships between groups can foster a sense of social value, and provide advantages for communities, but can also serve to alienate certain groups or their members by promoting relationships based on prejudice, discrimination and conflict. This section examines the question of intergroup relations.

Creating prejudice and its effect on group relationships

Prejudice in intergroup relations can be explained by two factors: competition between groups for access to available resources and the social identity theory.

Intergroup competition

Intergroup competition can play a significant role in creating prejudicial or discriminatory ideas, attitudes or behaviour. According to conflict theory, resource scarcity and intergroup competition to acquire them are the source of prejudices against members of opposing groups. When groups engage in this kind of competition, negative or prejudicial attitudes toward their competitors can be observed among group members.

Social identity of members

Social identity theory explains that the mere fact of belonging to a particular group or specific social category encourages the development of prejudices toward members of other groups.

In fact, participating in group life is designed to help members build a positive self-image. To achieve this, groups compare themselves to members of other groups. This comparative evaluation process is designed to satisfy the need to establish a positive identity. As a result, group favouritism emerges as individuals spontaneously consider their co-members to be of high-calibre and denigrate the members of other groups. Depending on the situation,

members of adversary groups may be perceived as perverse or amoral. This perception sometimes leads to prejudice or discriminatory behaviour.

A sense of group cohesion can therefore serve to accentuate differences between groups. Gradually, the group may divide the world into two categories - us and them:

☐ ☐ "Us" being group members.

☐ ☐ "Them" being non-members or members of another group who share distinct values, ideas, etc.

In short, when members of a group develop prejudices against members of another group, they also create a glorified image of themselves. By comparing themselves with other groups that are perceived, for instance, as mean-spirited, they feel more confident about their own skills and their ability to overcome any obstacle along their path.

This glorification can be useful in building a strong team spirit. It may, however, become problematic when it leads to the manifestation of discriminatory behaviour.

Stereotypes in groups

Stereotypes are more or less consensual beliefs that individuals share with regard to the behaviour and personality of a group. By definition, stereotypes are generalizations that serve to attribute a specific set of personality traits to members of a particular group and accentuate the differences between groups.

Stereotypes distort reality:

☐ ☐ Group members perceive members of other groups as identical. Members of group A will say, for example, that members of group B are all evil and self-serving. These prejudices can develop even if the members of group B share the same physical and personal features as those of the members of group A.

☐ ☐ By overestimating the differences between groups, members see themselves as unique individuals, while they consider participants of other associations to be identical.

It is much more important to examine how members apply stereotypes than to focus on the stereotypes themselves. Stereotypes become destructive when they lead to racism and discriminatory behaviour toward a group and its members.

Discriminatory behaviour

Discriminatory behaviour can be an attempt to restrict the rights of members of adversary groups. Some situations widen the gap between groups and create a context that lends itself to discriminatory behaviour, such as:

☐ ☐ A group that defines itself as autonomous and self-sufficient and considers relations with other groups to be futile.

☐ ☐ Members who belong to a different language group, for instance, or who enjoy a different institutional role and status.

☐ ☐ Conflicting interests between groups, for example gains by one group which imply a loss for another group.

☐ ☐ When the members of each group believe that they have the only true, rational and fair solution.

Identifying an external scapegoat

The group may also adopt discriminatory behaviour toward a person or a group in order to free itself from existing internal tensions. The group therefore projects all of its tensions onto a scapegoat who is considered to be the cause of all the problems within the group. The

scapegoat serves as a call to arms that rallies and unites group members in order to tackle the problems created within the group by this negative force.

Escalating conflicts

The intergroup problems described in this section (competition and discriminatory group identity) can sometimes heighten intergroup conflicts. This escalation results from growing negative attitudes and behaviour toward other groups.

Due to mounting confrontations and tensions, groups become fearful and feel increasingly threatened by their enemy. They may, therefore, feel the need to react to the enemy group.

In extreme cases, the group may adopt a defensive attitude toward the behaviour and reactions of an enemy group and may, as a result, become more vigilant with regard to the enemy. While observing the opposing group, members may gather evidence in order to prove the other group's ill intentions. The accumulation of evidence may modify or legitimize discriminatory behaviour toward the other group.

Intergroup conflicts

Intergroup conflicts can take various forms. In a community, the divisions between group interests can lead to polarization and hostilities. Low-intensity conflicts between ethnic, racial and religious groups can be expressed by prejudice, discrimination and social protest.

Intergroup conflicts are not always the result of unfounded perceptions or misunderstanding; they may be based on real differences with regard to power between groups, access to resources, values or significant incompatibilities. Sources of conflict may however, be exacerbated by the subjective process through which individuals interpret the world and by group functioning in relation to perceived differences and threats.

The differences perceived by groups with regard to access to resources may lead to destructive conflicts. This type of conflict can be described as a social situation in which two groups confront each other. The groups may be opposed due to the incompatibility of their perceptions, goals or values and may, therefore, take steps to control each other. Antagonistic feelings can emerge from this dynamic and prompt one group to take extreme actions to control the group perceived as dangerous or problematic.

Sources of intergroup conflicts

Conflicts can be **economic** when groups vie for the same, often limited, resources. To avoid losing these resources to other associations, some groups may adopt violent strategies.

Conflicts can be based on **values** which involve opposing beliefs and preferences. These conflicts may arise around the meaning of values and the corresponding behaviour.

A variety of groups with different practices and beliefs co-exist daily within a community. **Relations** between these groups can create a climate of misunderstanding and incompatibility which, ultimately, can lead to hostility and discriminatory behaviour.

Conflicts may arise from issues of **power** when groups seek to maximize their influence and control over others. This type of conflict may be perceived as a struggle for domination and control over other groups.

Conclusion

Group functioning and the experience of members may vary according to the:

- Group's objectives;
- Norms that shape behaviour;
- Role and status acquired by each member;

- ☐ ☐ Presence or absence of a leader;
- ☐ ☐ Leader's style of authority;
- ☐ ☐ Type of sanctions condoned by the group;
- ☐ ☐ Communication among members;
- ☐ ☐ Decision-making process;
- ☐ ☐ Bonds that unite members.

UNIT 5

AGGRESSION AND PRO SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR
5.0. AGGRESSION

What do you mean when you say that Charley is an aggressive person? Aggression and aggressiveness have several different meanings in everyday speech - the actions of a brutal slayer or a successful salesperson - are we talking about the same thing?

Aggression (psy defn) any form of behavior directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such harm

aggression as behavior distinguishable from emotions that may or may not accompany it (anger); motives that may or may not underlie it (the desire to inflict pain); or the negative attitudes that sometimes facilitate its occurrence (prejudice)

aggression and intention - acts intended to harm; difficulties inherent in determining intent - inferred; however, if reference to intent was removed from the definition then we would have to include many non-aggressive acts as aggressive. Also, incidences of aggression do occur where the intent to harm fails. That's why it is essential to define aggression, not only, as behavior that inflicts harm or injury to others but rather as any action **directed toward the goal of harming** (inflicting aversive consequences)

aggression is directed at living beings that are motivated to avoid the harm

2 types of destructive aggression: instrumental - to attain a goal ;hostile - aggression as an ends in itself - thrill killing; comes from anger

Why do people behave aggressively? What causes aggressive behavior?
There are many explanations but most fall into 3 distinct categories or theoretical perspectives:

> **1) person centered (instinctual)**
> **2) situation centered (behavioral, environmental)**
> **3) interactionist (cognitive)**

1) Person centered

A) **Psychoanalytic theory** - aggression as human destiny, an innate urge toward death and destruction; we are genetically determined to be aggressive. Aggression operates as a powerful instinct (mortido); hostile impulses generated from this instinct gradually build up over time (accumulation of specific energy) and unless periodically released in safe and non-injurious ways, it will soon reach dangerous levels. Aggressive energy must be released (redirected or sublimated, catharsis) or the person will "explode" and kill himself or another. Society is a means of regulating aggression but it cannot really be controlled or eliminated according to this theory.

Feshbach - fantasy study and catharsis

Catharsis -experiencing an emotion is a way to release it - to release pent-up aggression

Hydraulic model - we store up aggressive energy and this energy needs to be released - does it work? Most social science research indicates that it does not - rather, aggression breeds further aggression

B) **The Ethological view - Lorenz** - aggression springs from an aggressive instinct (**pugnacity**) that man shares with many non-human species. This instinct developed during evolution because it yielded benefits in mating, food resources, geographical deployment within an environment of limited resources. However, the innate fighting instinct does not occur unless somehow provoked - **environmental cues** elicit the fighting instinct Cichlids - fighting fish - red spot. territoriality. Also a hydraulic model.

2) **Situation centered theories**

A) **Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis - Dollard & Miller**

Frustration is defined as the blocking of ongoing goal directed behavior leading to arousal of a drive whose primary goal is to harm. This aggressive drive leads to aggressive behavior. Frustration leads to aggression. Research on children who are frustrated by only being allowed to watch other children play when they expected to be able to play. This theory assumes:

1) frust leads to some form of aggression and

2) aggression is always the result of frustration (frustrated expectations - look at where riots occur - a case of **relative deprivation**).

The theory was modified to F leads to many forms of behavior, one of which may be aggression.

The condition most likely to elicit aggression is when the person perceives the frustration as
                    arbitrary, intentional, and views aggression as a valid response

Frustration "arises from the gap between expectations and attainments"p.429, Myers

B) **The Revised Frustration-Aggression hypothesis (Berkowitz)** Looks at aggression as an **externally elicited drive**. Frustration creates a "**readiness to respond in an aggressive manner**" if the proper **environmental cues** are present indicating that an aggressive response is appropriate. This theory suggests that certain cues in our environment have become strongly associated (learned) with aggression and aggressive behavior - they have **aggressive cue value**. If, then, a person becomes frustrated in the presence of these cues, he will behave more aggressively.

Led to research on the **Weapon's Effect** - Does the finger pull the trigger or does the trigger pull the finger? Ss were frustrated by a confederate; they were then given the opportunity to "shock" the confed. Ss were either in a room with sporting equipment or with weapons hanging on the walls. Findings?

Wisconsin studies - Ss insulted by confed/ watch an excerpt from a violent movie/ given change to aggress against the confed. - Confed has the same name as the bad guy in the film or the good guy in the film. Which confed received the most shocks? justified filmed aggression.

            General findings:
            1) **witnessing an aggression oriented movie lowers one's inhibitions against behaving aggressively**

2) certain stimuli have greater cueing value in triggering frustration engendered aggression (priming - accessibility)

3) anger and frustration create a readiness to respond in an aggressive manner if other contextual cues are appropriate

c) **General Arousal or the Excitation Transfer Model of Aggression   Zillman** emphasizes the role of arousal generated by the event as contributing to aggression; any sort of arousal can lead to aggression depending on the circumstances in which it occurs. In a study on aggression, Ss exercised vigorously, they were then jostled - what happens? **We label the residual excitement in terms of the current context**. Found that males who exercised prior to being interviewed by a female found that female to be much more attractive than did those males who did not exercise.

D) **Social Learning theory (Albert Bandura)**

aggression is acquired through viewing aggressive models; people are aggressive because

1) they have learned aggressive responses through past experience;

2) they receive or expect to receive rewards for behaving in an aggressive manner;

3) they are encouraged by social conditions to behave aggressively

People learn to be aggressive; behavior is transmitted through exposure to social models (real life and symbolic)

Modeling - the process through which a person observes the behavior of another, forms an idea (encodes it), and uses the performance as a guide to her own behavior. Through modeling the learner acquires new forms of behavior **(Observational learning effect).** Modeling can also **inhibit (weaken) or disinhibit (strengthen)** behavior. Models serve as cues to behavior - **response facilitation** (applauding at a concert), not new behaviors or learned behaviors but releasers.

Through direct or vicarious experience people learn:

 1) **a large array of aggr responses;**

 2) **who is an appropriate target for aggression;**

 3) **what actions by others justify retaliation;**

 4) **in what contexts aggr is appropriate (Baron & Richardson, 1991)**.

BoBo doll studies (Bandura) - adults hit a bobo doll while kids watch; kids are then given the chance to play with the doll. What do they do? What happens if the kids see the adult being reinforced with an ice cream cone after he beat the doll?

Problems: BoBos are punching bags; does this mean that a child will hit another or hurt another human as a result of this? Is this an ecologically valid study?

Liebart & Baron (1972) exposed kids to either a violent excerpt from the Untouchables or an excerpt from an exciting track race. Both groups were then given the opportunity to shock other children. Findings?

Leyens (1975) using full length movies observed the aggressive and non-aggressive behavior of young boys in a school in Belgium. Baseline behaviors were taken. Ss were then divided into violent and non-violent movie groups. One week's worth of movies. Behaviors observed?

When you look at **individual differences in aggressiveness**, the exposure to televised violence creates a greater impact.

Stein et al pre-tested nursery school kids on aggressiveness. Aggressive and nonaggressive kids were exposed to violent or prosocial programming over a 6 week period. Findings? observational learning; inhibition and disinhibition; sensitization and desensitization

Josephson (1987) young boys (7-9) rated as aggressive and nonaggressive; bike racing film or violent film; kids then played "floor hockey" - aggr. boys exposed to the violent movie were significantly more aggressive in their play; however, nonaggressive boys were not

Desensitization - as we escalate our viewing of filmed aggression toward others we become less sensitive to the pain and suffering of others

Kids exposed to SWAT or to an exciting volleyball match registered the same on measures of physiological arousal. They then watched a video of kids playing. The play turned into a knock down fight. The Ss **physiological responses** were recorded; the SWAT group registered lower than the volleyball watchers.

Eron - Rip Van Winkle study - long lasting effects of televised violence on kids; 875 eight year olds studied for 10 years; kids who watched a lot of violent TV at **8** were more likely to exhibit behavioral tendencies toward violence in teenage years

Chicago Circle study - 750 kids; factors most associated with aggressiveness: **peer ratings, self-ratings; fantasy aggression**. It seems that many factors correlate with the aggressiveness of children - not just TV viewing. They also found that **children who have difficulty distinguishing between real-life and fantasy aggression** are most affected by the TV violence.

Exposure to TV violence **generates a sense of danger and mistrust** . Elders, women, and children who view a great deal of TV are more fearful. Why?

TV communicates social norms, goals, etc. - is a goal of our culture to control people (certain groups of people) by inducing fear of victimization?

Cognitive factors: perception of the violence as real; identification with the violent characters; belief's about the social acceptance of violence.
 Singer and Singer (1983) TV is rapid paced and full of interruptions. It can be disorganized and stressful. It doesn't allow for reflection (mindlessness)

Gerbner et al 1986 typical cartoon has 3 violent episodes per minute; we watch an average of 7 hours per day

Heusmann, Lagerspetz, Eron (84) Eron & Huesmann (86) found significant correlations between amount of TV watched and aggressive behavior; particularly with boys who identify with the characters and with girls who prefer masculine activities. Huesmann - age 8 seems to be the critical period

Joy, Kimball, Zabrack (86) measured children's physical and verbal aggression in three similar Canadian towns;
   1) town 1 had no TV until 1974
   2) town 2 received broadcasts from only Canadian ntwk
   3) town 3 received broadcasts from US networks   measured mean increase in aggressive behavior in same time period that TV was introduced in town 1;
   findings; kids in town 1 showed larger increases in aggressive behavior
3) **Interactive theories**:

   a) **Social learning theory** - later forms are more cognitive; cognition and environment in a reciprocally determining relationship; people selectively attend to TV; they encode information is a way that is meaningful to them; cognitive factors are important in determining what will be attended to; how they will be perceived - self produced influences determine action. We can create and plan an experience. **People, by their actions create the social melieu**. Psychological functioning requires the constant reciprocal interaction between behavior, cognition, and environmental Influences (**Attitude accessibility** - violent rap music - J. Johnson - expectations, stereotypes - kids listening to gangsta rap were more likely to give aggressive responses and to view aggressive behavior as appropriate/ they were also more likely to view educational achievement as less important and less likely - gangsta and non-gangsta).

   Cognitive priming - violence increasing after the superbowl
   making ideas and **emotions ready or accessible**

Bushman & Geen (1990) students were asked to write down their thoughts after watching either excerpts from *48 HOURS* and the *French Connection* or a non-violent scene from *Dallas* - viewers who watched the most aggressive episodes had the most aggressive thoughts, anger-related feelings, and the greatest physiological arousal

5.1. PRO SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Prosocial behavior is defined as actions that benefit other people or society as a whole (Twenge, Ciarocco, Baumeister, & Bartels, 2007). It is characterized by helping that does not benefit the helper; in fact, prosocial behavior is often accompanied by costs. Psychologists suggest that one way this behavior may outweigh the associated costs concerns the human desire to belong to a group. Helping facilitates group work and in turn, provides individuals with immense benefits for the long run (Twenge et al., 2007).

The ubiquity of prosocial behavior amongst humans has long been a significant puzzle in the social sciences (Simpson 2008). Prosocial behavior can be defined as voluntary actions intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals (Knickerbocker 2003). While these actions benefit the recipient, they can also be costly to the doer (Bénabou 2005). One is thus faced with the decision to help others at the expense of oneself (Simpson 2008). When considering prosocial behavior, the external, explicit actions are emphasized; as opposed to the internal, implicit motivations for those prosocial actions. Prosocial behavior entails both the physical and mental amelioration of others (Knickerbocker 2003).

Historical evidence indicates that voluntary action which benefits others has biological roots, observable in both humans and animals (Knickerbocker 2003). The field of sociobiology, developed by Edward Wilson in the 1970s, examines the social behaviors of organisms as motivated by their biology. Wilson and others have documented examples of "helping" in several animal species, supporting the notion that prosocial behavior is genetically predisposed (Penner 2005) with an innate biological function, as opposed to a learned phenomenon (Knickerbocker 2003).

Helping behaviors amongst humans have been evidenced since early history, in accordance with the communal cultures of native peoples worldwide. (Penner 2005) From an evolutionary perspective, early humans' survival relied strongly on the processes of giving and helping. Those who displayed prosocial dispositions were thus met with evolutionary success (Penner 2005). Group selection evinces that if two groups are in direct competition with one another, the group with the larger number of altruists will have an advantage over a group of mainly selfish individuals (Penner 2005). Kin selection, or the successful transmission of one's genes from all sources to the next generation, is thus supported (Penner 2005). Religious practice has also been associated with prosocial and helping behaviors, as helping is often considered a religious obligation. Weight on giving and helping in the Judeo-Christian culture can be considered a primary reason that prosocial behavior is a social norm and moral imperative in Western Culture today (Knickerbocker 2003).

The term prosocial behavior arose in the 1970s, leading to psychological analysis of the giving, helping, and sharing processes. The nonresponsive bystanders in the brutal Katherine "Kitty" Genovese murder in 1964, as well as the 1960s Civil Rights Movement refuting racial discrimination, further prompted examination of human nature and the significance of helping others (Knickerbocker 2003). Prosocial behavior came to be seen as key in harmonious interpersonal and group interactions. Prosocial moral reasoning has been theoretically and empirically linked to prosocial behaviors (Carlo 1996). Culture, with its respective values and emphasis on socialization, may thus influence levels of prosocial moral reasoning (Carlo 1996). Other significant influences on moral reasoning include education and logical skills. (Carlo 1996).

Prosocial behavior is driven by a combination of egoistic and altruistic motivations. (Knickerbocker 2003) Arousal and affect theories share the guiding principle that people are motivated to behave in ways that help them attain some goal, and the interpretation of this arousal can shape the nature of prosocial motivation (Penner 2005). With egoistic motivation, self-importance or one's own image is the primary driver for prosocial behavior (Knickerbocker 2003). Egoists thus act prosocially when reputational incentives are at stake (Simpson 2008). An intermediate, mutual benefit occurs when reciprocity is expected – prosocial behavior is thus performed with the expectation of repayment (Simpson 2008). In contrast, altruists tend to act prosocially regardless of reputational incentives (Simpson 2008). Thus, altruistic individuals who are most likely to give in the absence of rewards are those who do not seek reputational gains (Simpson 2008) However, it is possible for even highly altruistic people to derive some personal benefit from their prosocial actions, if as menial as a sense of self-worth or personal gratification (Knickerbocker 2003). Reciprocal altruism explores the evolutionary advantages of helping unrelated individuals, where the favor is repaid in kind (Penner 2005), while indirect reciprocity addresses the receipt of such long-term benefits or rewards for short-term prosocial acts. Furthermore, altruists are more likely to indirectly reciprocate others' prosocial behaviors (Simpson 2008). [This contrasts with the direct reciprocity of egoism, where individuals directly return favors to those who have provided past help (Simpson 2008).] Altruistic behavior is thus observed not only when incentives exist, but also when they do not (Simpson 2008).

In assessing altruistic and egoistic motivations, gender and age may be factors. The related concept of moral reasoning is defined as reasoning about moral dilemmas where one person's needs/desires conflict with those of needy others, with formal obligations minimal or absent (Carlo 1996). Adolescents who reported more feminine characteristics were more likely to prefer internalized and less approval-oriented moral reasoning. (Carlo 1996). Adolescent girls have also been found to express higher-level modes of moral reasoning than adolescent boys (Carlo 1996). Personal and contextual factors are also said to influence one's prosocial moral reasoning.

There are also situational factors which contribute to prosocial behavior, involving concerns of extrinsic incentives and social reputation. The overjustification effect addresses the

dominance of extrinsic incentives, as the presence of rewards and punishments cloud one's true motives, often deterring prosocial behavior (Bénabou 2005). Typically, rewards confer benefit, while punishment confers harm to the respective recipients. (Bénabou 2005) Thus, intrinsic motivation is superseded by extrinsic incentives, leading to decreased motivation and reduced performance in terms of prosocial behavior (Bénabou 2005).

Social pressures and norms largely impact why people engage in good deeds and refrain from selfish ones. Within society, individuals confer important advantages on those who act prosocially towards others, and benefactors are indirectly reciprocated (Simpson 2008). As honor is associated with unselfish behavior, shame is correspondingly tied to selfish behavior (Bénabou 2005). Overt prosocial behavior is more readily observed than more subtle behavior, and rewards are readily appreciated. This can be seen in the tactics by nonprofit and charitable organizations to provide their donors with material gifts, such as T-shirts, pens, etc. (Bénabou 2005). Anonymous donations, where credit cannot be granted, are rare occurrences. Potential benefactors respond strategically to social benefits, cooperating at higher levels amongst reputational benefits and indirect reciprocity (Simpson 2008).

Introspection is another major factor in prosocial behavior. With concern over one's self-image, individuals often try to self-evaluate their own actions from a neutral, third person point of view. If the motives are acceptable, they are typically transformed into behavior (Bénabou 2005). Psychologists and sociologists identify a strong need for conformity between one's internal values and motivations, and one's external actions (Bénabou 2005).

It is also generally agreed that empathic responses precede many (but not all) prosocial acts. (Penner 2005) Factor analysis of several prosocial personality traits have led to two dimensions of the prosocial personality. The first is abstract, correlating prosocial thoughts and feelings (such as a sense of responsibility and tendency to experience empathy) with measures of agreeableness and dispositional empathy (Penner 2005). The second is more specific, namely the self-perception that one is a helpful and competent individual (Penner 2005). These facets are manifested in the act of volunteering, which incorporates prosocial action in an organized context (Penner 2005). Volunteering usually stems from a thoughtful decision to join and contribute to an organization, with a prosocial motive (at least initially). Interpersonal helping, in contrast, incorporates a sense of personal obligation (Penner 2005).

With a long history in psychology, particularly social psychology, the phenomenon of prosocial behavior combines intrinsic, extrinsic, and reputational motivations (Bénabou 2005). A combination of altruism and egoism are integrated with concern for both society and the self (Bénabou 2005). Prosocial behavior thereby encompasses several areas, including biological, motivational, cognitive, and social processes (Penner 2005). Psychological theories regarding prosocial tendencies have moved from a strong environmental bias towards models which focus on the interplay between biologically based tendencies and socialization experiences (Penner 2005). While the study of prosocial behavior is continuously evolving, it is evident that at the minimum, comprehensive analysis is required (Penner 2005). Future work in this area can investigate the possible mental and

physical benefits of prosocial actions, and the ongoing contribution of prosocial behavior to interpersonal and intergroup relations (Penner 2005).

Altruism

Any act that benefits another but does not benefit the helper and often involves some personal cost to the helper

Altruism - what does evolutionary psychology say?

- kin selection
- reciprocity norm
- learning social norms

Kin selection

The idea that behaviour that helps a genetic relative is favoured by natural selection

Norm of reciprocity

The expectation that helping others will increase the likelihood that they will help us in the future

Social exchange theory

Much of what we do stems from desire to maximize our outcomes and minimize our costs

What is the social exchange theory based/not based on?

Based on self-interest but no genetic base

Social exchange theory - three ways helping can be rewarding

1. Increase probability of help in return
2. Can relieve personal distress of bystander
3. Gain us social approval and increased self-worth

Empathy

The ability to experience events and emotions the way another person experiences them

Empathy-altruism hypothesis

When we feel empathy for a person we will attempt to help purely for altruistic reasons regardless of gain

Personal determinants of prosocial behaviour (3)

- Individual differences
- Effects of mood (positive moods/negative moods)
- Gender differences

Personal determinants of prosocial behaviour - individual differences (1)

Altruistic personality

Altruistic personality

Aspects of a person's makeup that cause him or her to help others in a wide variety of situations

Personal determinants of prosocial behaviour - effects of mood (2)

- Feel good do good: people who are in a good mood are more likely to help
- Feel bad, do good: When people feel guilty, they're more likely to help

Three ways good moods increase the likelihood of helping

1. Make us interpret events in a more sympathetic way
2. Helping another prolongs the good mood, whereas not helping can deflate the good mood

3. Good moods increase your self-attention, which make you more likely to behave according to your values and beliefs

Negative state relief hypothesis

People help in order to relieve their own sadness and distress

Personal determinants of prosocial behaviour - gender differences

Men are more likely to help in chivalrous, heroic ways; women are more likely to help in nurturant ways that involve long-term commitment

In-group

The group with which an individual identifies, and of which one feels a member

Out-group

A group with which the individual does not identify

Situational determinants of prosocial behaviour (3)

- Urban vs rural
- Bystander intervention
- Nature of the relationship (communal or exchange)

Situational determinants of prosocial behaviour - bystander intervention (5 steps)

1. Noticing an event
2. Interpreting it as an emergency
3. Assuming responsibility
4. Knowing how to help
5. Deciding to implement help

Urban overload

People in cities are likely to keep to themselves in order to avoid being overloaded by the stimulation they receive

Bystander effect

The greater the number of bystanders who witness an emergency, the less likely it is that any one of them will help

Diffusion of responsibility

Each bystander's sense of responsibility to help decreases as the number of witnesses to an emergency or crisis increases

Six general motivations for prosocial behaviours

1. Values
2. Understanding
3. Social
4. Career
5. Ego protection
6. Esteem enhancement

Six general motivations for prosocial behaviour:

1. Values

2. Understanding

3. Social

4. Career

5. Ego protection

6. Esteem enhancement

1. what you're taught

2. to learn more about people, or to learn skills

3. be part of a group or gain approval

4. to enhance job prospects and experience and contacts

5. to reduce guilt or escape personal problems

6. to boost self-worth and self-confidence

McGuire's taxonomy of helping (4)

- Casual helping

- Substantial person helping

- Emotional helping

- Emergency helping

McGuire's taxonomy of helping:

- Casual helping

- Substantial person helping

- Emotional helping

- Emergency helping

- small favours (ex. lending a pen or giving an acquaintance a ride in the direction you're going)

- ex. helping a friend move

- providing emotional support

- ex. giving assistance to a stranger after a car accident

How can helping be increased?

- instilling helpfulness with rewards and models

- increasing awareness of barriers to helping

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