UNIT 1 THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Structure

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Social influence is defined as change in an individual's thoughts, feelings, attitudes, or behaviours that results from interaction with another individual or group. It refers to the change in behaviour that one person causes in another, intentionally or unintentionally. As a result, the changed person perceives himself in relationship

to the influencer, other people and society in general. In this unit we will be dealing with Current research on social influence, such as minority influence etc., areas of social influence such as conformity with related experiments, compliance and its factors, obedience and the related factors and experimental studies on human obedience.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

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

l   Define Social influence;

l   Differentiate between various types of Social influence;

l   Analyse various factors associated with Conformity;

l   Explain various factors affecting Compliance; and

l   Describe the factors affecting Obedience.

1.2 CURRENT RESEARCH ON SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Social influence can also be defined as the process by which individuals make real changes to their feelings and behaviours as a result of interaction with others who are perceived to be similar, desirable, or expert. People adjust their beliefs with respect to others to whom they feel similar in accordance with psychological principles such as balance. Individuals are also influenced by the majority: when a large portion of an individual's referent social group holds a particular attitude, it is likely that the individual will adopt it as well. Additionally, individuals may change an opinion under the influence of another who is perceived to be an expert in the matter at hand. French and Raven (1959) provided an early formalisation of the concept of social influence in their discussion of the bases of social power. For French and Raven, agents of change included not just individuals and groups, but also norms and roles. They viewed social influence as the outcome of the exertion of social power from one of five bases: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, or referent power. A change in opinion or attitude was considered an instance of social influence.

Since 1959, scholars have distinguished true social influence from forced public acceptance and from changes based on reward or coercive power. Social researchers are still concerned with public compliance, reward power, and coercive power, but those concerns are differentiated from social influence studies.

Current research on social influence generally uses experimental methodology and tends to fall into five main areas: (1) minority influence in group settings, (2) research on persuasion, (3) dynamic social impact theory, (4) a structural approach to social influence, and (5) social influence in expectation states theory. Each is discussed below.

1.2.1 Minority Influence

Minority influence is said to occur when a minority subgroup attempts to change the majority. For example, teachers often influence their students' beliefs, and political and religious leaders frequently influence the behaviour of their followers.

While some previous research has characterised the process of social influence as the majority riding over the minority, many scholars interested in minority influence believe that every member of a group can influence others, at least to some degree. Studies have found this to be particularly true when the minority group is consistent in what it presents to the majority. In addition, the presence of minority groups within a larger group often leads to more creative thinking and better overall solutions on group tasks. Nemeth and Kwan (1987) demonstrated this in a study of four-person groups working on a creativity task. Individuals were given information that a majority 3 of 3 or a minority 1 of 3 of the other group members had come up with a novel response to the task at hand. Those who were in the minority condition actually produced more correct solutions to the task, indicating the strong effect of minority viewpoints.

1.2.2 Persuasion

Current research on persuasion, broadly defined as change in attitudes or beliefs based on information received from others, focuses on written or spoken messages sent from source to recipient. This research operates on the assumption that individuals process messages carefully whenever they are motivated and able to do so. Two types of theories dominate modern persuasion research: the elaboration likelihood model and heuristic-systemic models.

1.2.3 Elaboration Likelihood Model

The elaboration likelihood model developed by Cacioppo, Petty, and Stoltenberg (1985) has been used most frequently in therapeutic and counseling settings. It states that the amount and nature of thinking that a person does about a message will affect the kind of persuasion that the message produces. Aspects of the persuasion situation that have been shown to be important for this model include source, message, recipient, affect, channel, and context. Of particular importance is the degree to which the recipient views the message's issue as relevant to himself. This model has demonstrated its utility in persuading various people to make various types of healthier choices e.g., cancer patients, teens at risk from tobacco use.

1.2.4 Heuristic-systemic Models

Heuristic-systemic models propose that argument strength will be most effective in persuading an individual when he is motivated and able to attend to the message, the "systemic" route . When the target individual is not motivated or is unable to attend carefully, persuasion will take place through more indirect means, the "heuristic" route, such as nonverbal cues or source credibility. Persuasion that takes place via the systemic route will be relatively permanent and enduring; persuasion through the heuristic route is more likely to be temporary.

1.2.5 Social Impact Theory

Broader than persuasion, social impact theory, as developed primarily by Bibb Latane (1981), forms the basis for an active line of inquiry today called dynamic social impact theory. Social impact means any of the number of changes that might occur in an individual (physiological, cognitive, emotional, or behavioural) due to the presence or action of others, who are real, imagined, or implied.

Social impact theory proposes that the impact of any information source is a function of three factors: (i) the number of others who make up that source, (ii) their immediacy i.e., closeness, and their strength and (iii) salience or power.

Dynamic social impact theory uses ideas about social impact to describe and predict the diffusion of beliefs through social systems. In this view, social structure is the result of individuals influencing each other in a dynamic way. The likelihood of being influenced by someone nearby, rather than far away, (the immediacy factor) produces localised cultures of beliefs within communication networks.

This process can lead initially randomly distributed attitudes and beliefs to become clustered or correlated , less popular beliefs become consolidated into minority subcultures. Dynamic social impact theory views society as a self-organising complex system in which individuals interact and impact each others' beliefs.

Like dynamic social impact theory, the structural approach to social influence examines interpersonal influence that occurs within a larger network of influences. In this larger network, attitudes and opinions of individuals are reflections of the attitudes and opinions of their referent others.

Interpersonal influence is seen as a basis of individuals' socialisation and identity. Social influence is seen as the process by which a group of actors will weigh and then integrate the opinions of significant others within the context of social structural constraints. The structure determines the initial positions of group members and the network and weight of interpersonal influences within the group.

1.2.6 Social Influence Network Theory

Social influence network theory, as described by Friedkin (1998), has its roots in work by social psychologists and mathematicians .The formal theory involves a two- weighted averaging of influential opinions. Actors start out with their own initial opinions on some matter. At each stage, then, actors form a "norm" opinion which is a weighted average of the other opinions in the group. Actors then modify their own opinion in response to this norm, forming a new opinion which is a weighted average of their initial opinion and the network norm. This theory utilises mathematical models and quantifications to measure the process of social influence.

1.2.7 Expectation States Theory

Expectation states theory provides another formal treatment of social influence. Rooted in the work of Bales (1950), which found inequalities in the amount of influence group members had over one another . Researchers in this tradition have developed systematic models predicting the relative influence of task-oriented actors in group settings. Bales discovered that even when group members were equal on status at the beginning of the group session, some members would end up being more influential than others.

The group would develop a hierarchy based on the behaviour of the group members. When group members were initially unequal in status, inequalities would be imported to the group from the larger society such that, for example, age or sex or race would structure a hierarchy of influence.

Expectation states theory, as described in Berger et al. (1980), was originally

proposed as an explanation for Bales's finding that groups of status equals would develop inequalities in influence. According to the theory, group members develop expectations about the future task performance of all group members, including themselves. Once developed, these expectations guide the group interaction. In fact, expectations both guide and are maintained by the interaction. Those group members for whom the highest expectations are held will be the most influential in the group's interactions.. Scholars are continuing to expand the theory both theoretically and substantively.

1.3 AREAS OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Three areas of social influence are conformity, compliance and obedience. *Conformity* is changing how you behave to be more like others. This plays to belonging and esteem needs as we seek the approval and friendship of others. Conformity can run very deep, as we will even change our beliefs and values to be like those of our peers and admired superiors.

Compliance is where a person does something that they are asked to do by another. They may choose to comply or not to comply, although the thoughts of social reward and punishment may lead them to compliance when they really do not want to comply. *Obedience* is different from compliance in that it is obeying an order from someone that you accept as an authority figure. In compliance, you have some choice. In obedience, you believe that you do not have a choice. Many military officers and commercial managers are interested only in obedience.

1.3.1 Conformity

Conformity is the process by which an individual's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours are conditioned by what is conceived to be what other people might perceive. This influence occurs in both small groups and society as a whole, and it may be the result of subtle unconscious influences, or direct and overt social pressure. Conformity also occurs by the "implied presence" of others, or when other people are not actually present. For example, people tend to follow the norms of society when eating or watching television, even when they are at home by themselves. People often conform from a desire to achieve a sense of security within a group—typically a group that is of a similar age, culture, religion, or educational status.

Any unwillingness to conform carries with it the very real risk of social rejection. In this respect, conformity can be seen as a safe means of avoiding bullying or deflecting criticism from peers. Conformity is often associated with adolescence and youth culture, but it affects humans of all ages. Although peer pressure may be viewed as a negative trait, conformity can have either good or bad effects depending on the situation. Driving safely on the correct side of the road is a beneficial example of conformity. Conformity influences the formation and maintenance of social norms and allows society to function smoothly and predictably. Because conformity is a group phenomenon, such factors as group size, unanimity, cohesion, status, prior commitment, and public opinion all help to determine the level of conformity an individual will display (Aronson, et.al. (2007).

1.3.1.1 Asch's (1951) Experiment on Conformity

Perhaps the most influential study of conformity came from Solomon E. Asch

(1951). Asch gave groups of seven or nine college students what appeared to be a test of perceptual judgment: matching the length of a line segment to comparison lines. Each subject saw a pair of cards set up in front of the room, similar to the ones that follow.
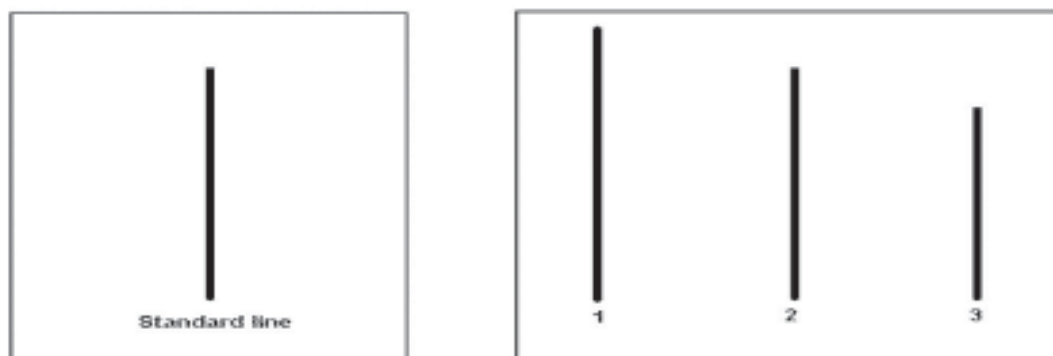
Stimuli like those used by Asch

Subjects received the following instructions:

This is a task involving the discrimination of lengths of lines. Before you is a pair of cards. On the left is a card with one line. The card at the right has three lines different in length; they are numbered 1, 2 and 3, in order. One of the three lines at the right is equal to the standard line at the left-you will decide in each case which is the equal line. You will state your judgment in terms of the number of the line. There will be 18 such comparisons in all... As the number of comparisons is few and the group small, I will call upon each of you in turn to announce your judgments.

In a group of nine, eight subjects were actually confederates of the experimenter. The experiment was designed so that the genuine subject was called upon next-to-last in the group. The experimenter's confederates had been instructed, in advance, to make deliberately ridiculous judgments on many of the trials, but to agree unanimously with one another. On 12 of the 18 trials, they said in loud voices (for example) that the 4½" line was exactly equal to 3" standard line. The pressure of the group had a dramatic effect. Although people could pick the correct line 99% of the time when making the judgments by themselves, they went along with the erroneous group judgment 75% of the time, even when it was plainly wrong.

The conforming subjects did not fool themselves into thinking the wrong line was equal to the standard line. They could see the difference. However, they were influenced by eight people in a row making the "wrong" decision. Asked later why they had made such obviously incorrect judgments, subjects reported, "They must have been looking at line widths" or "I assumed it was an optical illusion" or "If eight out of nine people made the same choice, I must have missed something in the instructions."

Asch obtained the conformity effect even when the confederate declared an eleven-inch line to be equivalent to a four-inch standard. He found that small groups-even groups of three, containing two confederates and one naïve subject-were sufficient to induce the effect.

About a quarter of the subjects remained independent throughout the testing and never changed their judgments to fit those of the group. One could argue that Asch's experiment showed stubborn independence in some people, just as it showed conformity in others. A subject who did *not* conform reported to Asch later:

I've never had any feeling that there was any virtue in being like others. I'm used to being different. I often come out well by being different. I don't like easy group opinions.

Asch later tested the effect of having a *dissenter* in the group. He found that if only one of seven confederates disagreed with the group decision, this was enough to free most subjects from the conformity effect. However, if the dissenter defected later, joining the majority after the first five trials, rates of conformity increased again. The public nature of the judgment also seemed to have an effect. If subjects were invited to write their responses in private, while the majority made oral responses, this destroyed the conformity effect.

1.3.1.2 Factors Found to Increase Conformity

Asch's experiment inspired a lot of follow-up research by other experimenters. Factors found to increase conformity included the following:

1) Attractiveness of other members in the group . People tended to go along with a group of attractive people.

2) Complexity or difficulty of the task . People were more likely to conform if the judgment was difficult.

3) Group cohesiveness. People conformed more if friendships or mutual dependencies were set up beforehand .

To appreciate further the nature of this dilemma, let us imagine an introductory lecture in psychology. The instructor is describing the Asch study and has just shown a picture of the experimental stimuli. Suddenly he is interrupted by a student who remarks, "But line A *is* the correct answer..." Predictably, the class would laugh aloud and thereby communicate their enjoyment of their peer's joke. Suppose, however, that the dissenter failed to smile or to otherwise confirm that he was trying to be funny. Suppose, instead, that he insisted, "Why are you all laughing at me? I can see perfectly, and line A *is* correct." Once convinced of the dissenter's sincerity, the class response almost certainly would be a mixture of discomfort, bewilderment, concern, and doubt about the dissenter's mental and perceptual competence. It is *this* response that the Asch dissenters risked and, accordingly, it is not surprising that many chose to avoid it through conformity.

Was the Asch conformity effect possibly due to the era in which it was carried out? After all, the early 1950s were famous for emphasising conformity, such as the "corporate man" who did everything possible to eliminate his individuality and fit into a business setting. To see if the same experiment would work with a later generation of subjects, NBC news had social psychologist Anthony Pratkanis replicate the Asch experiment in front of a hidden camera for its *Dateline* show in 1997. Sure enough, the experiment still worked, and the percentage of conformists was almost identical to what Asch found. Most students, even some who looked creative or rebellious on the outside, went along with obviously

incorrect group judgments. Later they explained that they did not want to look foolish, so they just "caved in."

Research in has focused primarily on two main varieties of conformity. These are *informational* conformity, or informational social influence, and *normative* conformity, otherwise known as normative social influence.

1.3.1.3 Informational Social Influence

Informational social influence occurs when one turns to the members of one's group to obtain accurate information. A person is most likely to use informational social influence in three situations: When a situation is ambiguous, people become uncertain about what to do. They are more likely to depend on others for the answer. During a crisis when immediate action is necessary, in spite of panic. Looking to other people can help ease fears, but unfortunately they are not always right. The more knowledgeable a person is, the more valuable they are as a resource. Thus people often turn to experts for help. But once again people must be careful, as experts can make mistakes too. Informational social influence often results in *internalisation* or *private acceptance*, where a person genuinely believes that the information is right. Informational social influence was first documented in Muzafer Sherif's autokinetic experiment (Sherif, M., 1936). He was interested in how many people change their opinions to bring them in line with the opinion of a group. Participants were placed in a dark room and asked to stare at a small dot of light 15 feet away. They were then asked to estimate the amount it moved. The trick was there was no movement, it was caused by a visual illusion known as the autokinetic effect. Every person perceived different amounts of movement. Over time, the same estimate was agreed on and others conformed to it. Sherif suggested that this was a simulation for how social norms develop in a society, providing a common frame of reference for people.

Subsequent experiments were based on more realistic situations. In an eyewitness identification task, participants were shown a suspect individually and then in a lineup of other suspects. They were given one second to identify him, making it a difficult task.

One group was told that their input was very important and would be used by the legal community. To the other it was simply a trial. Being more motivated to get the right answer increased the tendency to conform.

Those who wanted to be most accurate conformed 51% of the time as opposed to 35% in the other group (Baron, 1996). Economists have suggested that fads and trends in society form as the result of individuals making rational choices based on information received from others. These information form quickly as people decide to ignore their internal signals and go along with what other people are doing.

1.3.1.4 Normative social influence

Normative social influence occurs when one conforms to be liked or accepted by the members of the group. It usually results in *public compliance*, doing or saying something without believing in it. Asch was the first psychologist to study this phenomenon in the laboratory. As mentioned earlier, He conducted a modification of Sherif's study, assuming that when the situation was very clear, conformity would be drastically reduced. He exposed people in a group to a series of lines, and the participants were asked to match one line with a standard line.

All participants except one were secretly told to give the wrong answer in 12 of the 18 trials. The results showed a surprisingly high degree of conformity. 76% of the participants conformed on at least one trial. On average people conformed one third of the time.

However, in a reinterpretation of the original data from these experiments Hodges and Geyer (2006) found that Asch's subjects were not so conformist after all. The experiments provide powerful evidence for people's tendency to tell the truth even when others do not. Also, there are multiple moral claims which include the need for participants to care for the integrity and well-being of other participants, the experimenter, themselves, and the worth of scientific research.

Normative influence is a function of social impact theory which has three components. The *number of people* in the group has a surprising effect. As the number increases, each person has less of an impact. A group's *strength* is how important the group is to a person. Groups we value generally have more social influence. *Immediacy* is how close the group is in time and space when the influence is taking place. Psychologists have constructed a mathematical model using these three factors and are able to predict the amount of conformity that occurs with some degree of accuracy.

Baron and his colleagues conducted a second "eyewitness study", this time focusing on normative influence (Baron, 1996). In this version, the task was made easier. Each participant was given five seconds to look at a slide, instead of just one second. Once again there were both high and low motives to be accurate, but the results were the reverse of the first study. The low motivation group conformed 33% of the time (similar to Asch's findings). The high motivation group conformed less at 16%.

These results show that when accuracy is not very important, it is better to get the wrong answer than to risk social disapproval.

An experiment using procedures similar to Asch's found that there was significantly less conformity in six-person groups of friends as compared to six-person groups of strangers. Because friends already know and accept each other, there may be less normative pressure to conform in some situations. Field studies on cigarette and alcohol abuse, however, generally demonstrate evidence of friends exerting normative social influence on each other.

1.3.1.5 Minority Influence and Conformity

Although conformity generally leads individuals to think and act more like groups, individuals are occasionally able to reverse this tendency and change the people around them. This is known as *minority influence*, a special case of informational influence.

Minority influence is most likely when people are able to make a clear and consistent case for their point of view. If the minority fluctuates and shows uncertainty, the chance of influence is small. However, if the minority makes a strong, convincing case, it will increase the probability of changing the beliefs and behaviour of the majority.

Minority members who are perceived as experts, are high in status, or have benefited the group in the past are also more likely to succeed. Another form of

minority influence can sometimes override conformity effects and lead to unhealthy group dynamics. By creating negative emotional climate that interferes with healthy group functioning. They can be avoided by careful selection procedures and managed by reassigning them to positions that require less social interaction.

1.3.1.6 Gender and Conformity

Societal norms often establish gender differences. In general, this is the case for social conformity, as females are more likely to conform than males (Reitan & Shaw, 1964).

There are differences in the way men and women conform to social influence. Social psychologists, Alice Eagly and Linda Carli performed a meta-analysis of 148 studies of influenceability. They found that women are more persuasible and more conforming than men in group pressure situations that involve surveillance. In situations not involving surveillance, women are less likely to conform.

In a study by Sistrunk and McDavid at a private university, a public junior college, and at a high school, overall, females were more susceptible to social pressures than males. In fact, females conformed more than males 3 out of 4 times when they were presented masculine questions. Males conformed more than females 2 out of 4 times when they were presented feminine questions.

The composition of the group plays a role in conformity as well. In a study by Reitan and Shaw, it was found that men and women conformed more when there were participants of both sexes involved versus participants of the same sex. Subjects in the groups with both sexes were more apprehensive when there was a discrepancy amongst group members, and thus the subjects reported that they doubted their own judgments. (Reitan & Shaw, 1964).

Normative social influence explains women's attempt to create the ideal body through dieting, and also by eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Men, in contrast, are likely to pursue their ideal body image through dieting, steroids, and overworking their bodies, rather than developing eating disorders. Both men and women probably learn what kind of body is considered attractive by their culture through the process of informational social influence.

Self Assessment Questions

1) What are the current research in social influence?

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2) What kind of studies have been conducted to understand minority influence?

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3) Give with suitable examples some of the studies conucted in persuation.

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4) Discuss elaboration likelihood and heuristic systemic models in regard to social influence.

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5) What do you understand by social impact theory and how it has contributed to understading social influence?

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6) Discuss social influence network theory and the expectation states theory of social influence.

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7) Discuss the various areas of social influence .

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8) Put forward the experiment by Asch on conformity and indicate its significance for social influence.

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1.3.2   Compliance

In psychology, compliance refers to the act of responding favourably to an explicit or implicit request offered by others. The request may be explicit, such as a direct request for donations, or implicit, such as an advertisement promoting its products without directly asking for purchase. In all cases, the target recognises that he or she is being urged to respond in a desired way. To study the compliance professions from the inside, Cialdini (2001) joined training programs of a different compliance professions (sales, advertising, public relations, etc.) and started the participant observation. He found that some principles are commonly used to increase the probability of successful compliance, including reciprocation, credibility, liking/ friendship, scarcity and social validation.

1.3.2.1 Principles Observed by Robert Cialdini

The principles observed by Cialdini include (i) reciprocation, (ii) credibility (iii) Liking / friendship (iv) Scarcity (v) Social validation and (vi) Commitment.

1.3.2.1.1 Reciprocation

Based on the social norm "treat others as you would expect to be treated", when someone does us a favour, it creates an obligation to accept any reasonable requests he or she might make in return. We feel a motivation to reciprocate. For instance if someone does something for you (such as giving you a compliment), then you feel more obligated to do something for them (buy a product they may be offering). Failing to respond leads to violation of our obligation to reciprocate and bears the risk of social sanction. Guilt arousal produces an increase in compliance. People who are induced to guilt are more likely to comply with a request such as making a phone call to save native trees or donating blood (Darlinton, & Macker, 1966).

Research findings supports in that this can be demonstrated by experiment. Participants acted as subjects to answer questions under two conditions. When they answered wrongly, participants acted as shock administrator and delivered shock in condition A . When participants acted as witness, witnessing subjects being shocked in condition B. After a few trials, requests for making calls were made. Results showed that participants in condition A were more likely to comply with the requests by making many more calls (39 calls) than those in condition B (6.5 calls). It is because participants in condition A comply with the requests in order to ward off their guilty feeling.

1.3.2.1.2 Credibility

The source of requests will also affect whether we comply or not. If the source is an expert, with knowledge, abilities or skills, i.e. more credible, we would respect the request more and would be more likely to comply. This principle is used as a marketing strategy, where they put on white lab coats which, from a consumer's point of view, will symbolise authority.

One of the experiments conducted in this regard invited five hundred university students to join the study about their opinion of sleep. In the first stage, students gave their opinion on the optimum length of sleep and the average result was about eight hours. Then, students received advice from two sources, one was a physiologist who had won a Nobel Prize before and was a specialist on sleep research; the other one was a YMCA instructor.

Clearly, the former one represented a more credible source while the latter one represented a less credible source. Two experts varied their answer about the number of sleeping hours needed every day from eight to zero. Therefore, the discrepancy between the student's answer and the expert's answer increased from zero to eight.

After consulting the experts, students were asked to give their opinion again about the number of sleeping hours. When the experts' opinion was different from that of students, students were more likely to change their own answers after they got the advice from the physiologist (more credible source) than from the YMCA instructor (less credible source). Therefore, a high credibility source makes people more likely to comply. This may explain why advertisements nowadays always quote experts' opinion or construct a sense of expertise by showing a professional figure.

1.3.2.1.3 Liking/Friendship

People are more likely to say yes to those they know and like because of the Social Exchange Theory, which states that human relationships are formed by using a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives. Thus, complying with a person we like certainly is more favourable. This principle is used by salesmen all over the world. The principle of liking is common within neighbourhoods, neighbours selling and buying things from each other. When you feel that you trust a person you feel more obliged to buy the thing that they're selling.

In an experiment conducted by Dennis (2006), 115 female and 94 male undergraduate students were requested to complete a questionnaire asking them the degree of intimacy with their partners. Besides, participants were also asked to consider 32 behavioural change messages e.g. smoking cessation, safe sex practice, etc. as if these were delivered to them by their partners and to estimate their effectiveness on a 5-point scale.

The result showed that higher levels of intimacy within romantic relationships are significantly and positively correlated with the estimated success of appeals targeted at health-related behavioural motivations.

1.3.2.1.4 Scarcity

The scarcity effect refers to the influence of perceived scarcity on the subjective desirability of an object. Individuals do not want to be left alone without an item. A consumer often infers value in a product that has limited availability or is promoted as being scarce. The idea of "Limited edition" which can be seen all over the world is based on the principle of scarcity. When we see that an object is limited we feel the urge to buy them in order to not be left out. This also relates to the key explanation to one of the fundamental concepts in economics "Supply and Demand".

A classical experiment was done by Worchel et al. (1975). Jars of chocolate chip cookies were shown to the subjects who were then asked to rate 'how much do you like the cookies', 'how attractive the cookies are' and 'how much would you pay for the cookies'.

Results found that the rating of liking, attractiveness and cost paid were significantly

higher in the scarcity condition in which there were only 2 cookies in the jar than in the abundant condition with 10 cookies in the jar. Therefore, suggesting that the product is scarce or in limited supply is an effective selling method. People are more likely to comply with the salesmen's persuasion and buy the limited edition products as they value more on scarce products.

1.3.2.1.5 Social Validation

Social Validation, also called "Principle of Conformity and Consensus", in compliance is a phenomenon in which people are more willing to take a recommended step if they see evidence that many others, especially similar others, are taking it. The human need to fit in is very strong and tends to make us comply in order to be a part of the majority.

Schultz (1999) had conducted a "Field Experiment on Curbside Recycling" to observe participants' curbside recycling behaviours for 17 weeks with different interventions. In the experiment, 5 conditions namely, 'plea', 'plea plus information', 'plea plus neighbourhood feedback', 'plea plus individual household feedback', or the control condition are observed.

Among these conditions, the 'Plea plus neighborhood feedback' condition in which subjects receive the total amount of each material collected for the duration of the study and the percentage of households participated that week , shows the most long lasting participation during post-intervention. This unveils the underlying strong influence of social validation in compliance.

On business front, manufacturers often persuade purchase by claiming that their products are the fastest growing or best selling in the market. Cialdini (2001) has pointed out that this strategy of enhancing compliance by providing information of others who had already complied was the most widely used principle he encountered.

1.3.2.1.6 Commitment

Commitment to a store or a company induced by loyalty cards or bonuses can make it harder for a person to change where they shop or what they purchase.

1.3.2.2 Four Compliance Strategies

Compliance is known to be enhanced by a number of situational manipulations such as:

l   Foot-in-the-door technique

l   Door-in-the-face technique

l   Low-Ball

l   Ingratiation

1.3.2.2.1 Foot-in-the-door technique

Foot-in-the-door technique (FITD) is a compliance tactic that involves getting a person to agree to a large request by first setting them up by having that person agreeing to a modest request.

In a study, a team of psychologists telephoned housewives in California and asked

if the women would answer a few questions about the household products they used. Three days later, the psychologists called again. This time, they asked if they could send five or six men into the house to go through cupboards and storage places as part of a 2-hr enumeration of household products. The investigators found these women were more than twice as likely to agree to the 2-hr request as a group of housewives asked only the larger request. Numerous experiments have shown that foot-in-the-door tactics work well in persuading people to comply, especially if the request is a pro-social request. Research has shown that FITD techniques work over the computer via email, in addition to face-to-face requests.

Examples

"Can I go over to Sita's house for an hour?" followed by *"Can I stay the night?"*

"Can I borrow the car for 1 day?" followed by *"Can I borrow the car for the weekend?"*

"Would you sign this petition for our cause?" followed by *"Would you donate to our cause?"*

"May I re turn the maggine a few hours late?" followed by *"May I re turn it in next week?"*

1.3.2.2.2 Door-in-the-face technique

The door-in-the-face (DITF) technique is a persuasion method. Compliance with the request of concern is enhanced by first making an extremely large request that the respondent will obviously turn down, with a metaphorical slamming of a door in the persuader's face. The respondent is then more likely to accede to a second, more reasonable request than if this second request were made without the first, extreme request. Cialdini (Cialdini, 2001) suggests that this is a form of reciprocity, e.g. the [induced] sharp negative response to the first request creates a sense of debt or guilt that the second request offers to clear. Alternately, a reference point (or framing) construal may explain this phenomenon, as the initial bad offer sets a reference point from which the second offer looks like an improvement.

One of the classic experiments to test the door in the face technique is where Cialdini asked students to volunteer to counsel juvenile delinquents for two hours a week for two years. After their refusal, they were asked to chaperone juvenile delinquents on a one-day trip to the zoo. 50% agreed to chaperone the trip to the zoo as compared to 17% of participants who only received the zoo request.

Examples

Other examples of the door-in-the-face technique include:

"Will you donate Rs.1000 to our organization?" [Response is no]. *"Oh. Well, could you donate Rs.10 ?"*

"Can you help me do all this work?"

"Well, can you help me with this bit?"

1.3.2.2.3   Low-Ball Technique

Process of Social Influence

The low-ball is a persuasion and selling technique in which an item or service is offered at a lower price than is actually intended to be charged, after which the price is raised to increase profits.

A successful low-ball relies on the balance of making the initial request attractive enough to gain agreement, whilst not making the second request so outrageous that the customer refuses.

First propose an attractive price on an idea/item which you are confident that the other person/buyer will accept.

Maximise their buy-in, in particular by getting both verbal and public commitment to this, e.g. down payment or hand-shaking. Make it clear that the decision to purchase is from their own free will.

Change the agreement to what you really want. The person/buyer may complain, but they should agree to the change if the low-ball is managed correctly.

The experimenters asked students to participate in an experiment. 56% agreed, before being told that the experiment started at 7am. They then told the volunteers that the study was scheduled at 7am, and the volunteers could withdraw if they wished. None did so, and 95% turned up at the scheduled time (the Low-Ball group). When a control group were asked to participate and were told the unsocial timing of the experiment up front, only 24% agreed to participate.

Self Assessment Questions

1) In regard to Compliance, what are principles observed by Cialdini? Support your arguments with research findings.

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2) What is credibility? Discuss credibility factor as influencing compliance. Give evidence in terms of research findings.

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3) How does liking or friendship affect a person's compliance? Give suitable evidences and examples.

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4) What is meant by scarcity factor? How does it contribute to compliance?

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5) Describe and discuss each of the four compliance strategies. FIDT, DIFT, LBT

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1.3.3 Obedience

Obedience *is a form of social influence where an individual acts in response to a direct order from another individual, who is usually an authority figure.* It is assumed that without such an order the person would not have acted in this way. Obedience occurs when you are told to do something (authority), whereas conformity happens through social pressure (the norms of the majority). Obedience involves a hierarchy of power/status.

Therefore, the person giving the order has a higher status than the person receiving the order. Obedience is the act of obeying orders from others.

As humans we are indoctrinated to obey authority figures. This training begins from the moment of birth as we are reliant on our parents to take care of our every need, in turn being subservient to our authority figure or parents. As we begin to mature and are thrust into society we obtain more influential authority figures from outside the household.

Schools have a system of order and authority. Teachers give us guidance and direction academically and even socially because we begin to learn how to act in a group or societal setting. The school environment is all a preparation for careers.

When we begin working most of us work for a company or organisation with all levels of management who we must be obedient to. As we mature we are given more and more responsibility over our actions and judgments, thus making it more beneficial to our societal advancement to be obedient. Stanley Milgram, a famous social psychologist, performs a number of experiments on human obedience in the 1960's.

Obedience, in human behaviour, is the quality of being obedient, which describes the act of carrying out commands, or being actuated. Obedience differs from compliance, which is behaviour influenced by peers, and from conformity, which is behaviour intended to match that of the majority. Humans have been shown to be surprisingly obedient in the presence of perceived legitimate authority figures, as demonstrated by the Milgram experiment in the 1960s, which was carried out by Stanley Milgram to discover how the Nazis managed to get ordinary people

to take part in the mass murders of the Holocaust. The experiment showed that obedience to authority was the norm, not the exception

1.3.3.1 Forms of Obedience

Obedience is the tendency to follow orders given by an authority figure. This can be explained by Milgram's Agency Theory, which states that we are in either one of two states. Forms of human obedience include:

l   obedience to laws;

l   obedience to social norms;

l   obedience to a monarch, government, organisation, religion, or church;

l   obedience to God;

l   obedience to self-imposed constraints, such as a vow of chastity;

l   obedience of a spouse or child to a husband/wife or parent respectively;

l   obedience to management in the workplace.

1.3.3.2 Cultural Attitudes to Obedience

Obedience is regarded as a virtue in many traditional cultures; historically, children have been expected to be obedient to their elders, slaves to their owners, serfs to their lords in feudal society, lords to their king, and everyone to God. Even long after slavery ended in the United States, the Black codes required black people to obey and submit to whites, on pain of lynching.

In some Christian weddings, obedience was formally included along with honor and love as part of a conventional bride's (but not the bridegroom's) wedding vow. This came under attack with women's suffrage and the feminist movement. Today its inclusion in marriage vows is optional in some denominations.

As the middle classes have gained political power, the power of authority has been progressively eroded, with the introduction of democracy as a major turning point in attitudes to obedience and authority.

Since the democides and genocides of the First World War and Second World War periods, obedience has come to be regarded as a far less desirable quality in Western cultures. The civil rights and protest movements in the second half of the twentieth century marked a remarkable reduction in respect for authority in Western cultures, and greater respect for individual ethical judgment as a basis for moral decisions.

1.3.3.3 Obedience Training of Human Beings

Some animals can easily be trained to be obedient by employing operant conditioning, for example obedience schools exist to condition dogs into obeying the orders of human owners. Obedience training seems to be particularly effective on social animals a category that includes human beings; other animals do not respond well to such training.

Learning to obey adult rules is a major part of the socialisation process in childhood, and many techniques are used by adults to modify the behaviour of children. Additionally, extensive training is given in armies to make soldiers capable of

obeying orders in situations where an untrained person would not be willing to follow orders. Soldiers are initially ordered to do seemingly trivial things, such as picking up the sergeant's hat off the floor, marching in just the right position, or marching and standing in formation. The orders gradually become more demanding, until an order to the soldiers to place themselves into the midst of gunfire gets a knee-jerk obedient response.

1.3.3.4 Experimental Studies of Human Obedience

Obedience has been extensively studied by psychologists since the Second World War — the Milgram Experiment and the Stanford Prison Experiment are the most commonly cited experimental studies of human obedience, while the Hofling hospital experiment was an early field experiment (Hofling CK et al., 1966)

The Milgram experiments, the first of which was carried out in 1961, were the earliest investigations of the power of authority figures as well as the lengths to which participants would go as a result of their influence. Milgram's results showed that, contrary to expectations, a majority of civilian volunteers would obey orders to apply electric shocks to another person until they were unconscious or dead. Prior to these experiments, most of Milgram's colleagues had predicted that only sadists would be willing to follow the experiment to their conclusion.

Obedience is a basic human trait and is a deeply ingrained behaviour. Some form of obedience is a requirement for function in modern society. The Milgram shock experiment proves these characteristics. The experiments first took place at Yale University and eventually involved over one thousand participants from all walks of life.

Two individuals were to enter a psychology laboratory and take part in a study of memory and learning. One of them was to be the teacher and the other the student. The student was instructed to learn a list of word pairs and whenever the student made a mistake would receive an electric shock of increasing intensity. However the focus of the experiment is the teacher. The teacher watches the student being strapped into place and then taken to a shock generator. The shock generator features switches ranging from 15 to 450 volts in 15 volt increments. If the student gets the answer correct the teacher is to move on to the next problem. If the answer is wrong the teacher is to shock the student beginning with 15 volts.

The teacher, being the focus of the experiment, does not know that the student is not really being shocked and that the student is really an actor. Each time the student answers incorrectly and is shocked, he pretends to be shocked. As the teacher watches the student being tortured by the electric shocks, he continues to follow the orders he was instructed. The experiment proves that obedience is something humans teach one another and follow through with.

Milgram thinks the problems lies in the structure of society, people are just following orders of superiors and are not directly responsible for his or her actions.

Also, Milgram himself had already conducted several studies, which had shown that obedience tended to increase with the prestige of the authority figure. In these studies, an undergraduate research assistant posing as a Yale professor had a much greater influence than did someone of lesser status, regardless of the prestige of the institution in which the study was based.

1.3.3.4.1 The Stanford Prison Experiment

Unlike the Milgram experiment, which studied the obedience of individuals, the 1971 Stanford prison experiment studied the behaviour of people in groups, and in particular the willingness of people to obey orders and adopt abusive roles in a situation where they were placed in the position of being submissive or dominant by a higher authority.

In the experiment, a group of volunteers was divided into two groups and placed in a "prison," with one group in the position of playing prison guards, and other group in the position of "prisoners".

In this case, the experimenters acted as authority figures at the start of the experiment, but then delegated responsibility to the "guards," who enthusiastically followed the experimenters' instructions, and in turn assumed the roles of abusive authority figures, eventually going far beyond the experimenters' original instruction in their efforts to dominate and brutalize the "prisoners." At the same time, the prisoners adopted a submissive role with regard to their tormentors, even though they knew that they were in an experiment, and that their «captors» were other volunteers, with no actual authority other than that being role-played in the experiment.

The Stanford experiment demonstrated not only obedience (of the "guards" to the experimenters, and the "prisoners" to both the guards and experimenters), but also high levels of compliance and conformity.

1.3.3.4.2 The Hofling Hospital Experiment

Both the Milgram and Stanford experiments were conducted in experimental circumstances. In 1966, psychiatrist Charles K. Hofling published the results of a field experiment on obedience in the nurse-physician relationship in its natural hospital setting. Nurses, unaware they were taking part in an experiment, were ordered by unknown doctors to administer dangerous doses of a (fictional) drug to their patients. Although several hospital rules disallowed administering the drug under the circumstances, 21 out of the 22 nurses would have given the patient an overdose of medicine.

1.3.3.4.3 Factors that Increase Obedience

Milgram found that subjects were more likely to obey in some circumstances than others. Obedience was highest when:

l   Commands were given by an authority figure rather than another volunteer

l   The experiments were done at a prestigious institution

l   The authority figure was present in the room with the subject

l   The learner was in another room

l   The subject did not see other subjects disobeying commands

In everyday situations, people obey orders because they want to get rewards, because they want to avoid the negative consequences of disobeying, and because they believe an authority is legitimate. In more extreme situations, people obey even when they are required to violate their own values or commit crimes. Researchers think several factors cause people to carry obedience to extremes:

People justify their behaviour by assigning responsibility to the authority rather than themselves.

People define the behaviour that's expected of them as routine.

People don't want to be rude or offend the authority.

People obey easy commands first and then feel compelled to obey more and more difficult commands. This process is called entrapment, and it illustrates the foot-in-the-door phenomenon.

Stanley Milgram has pointed out a human characteristic that may very well be in each and every one of us. These experiments show us that ordinary people will go to any length to be subservient to an authority figure, no matter the moral dilemma. Only when we can differentiate between being a good subject and having good morals will we be able to make a distinction between being obedient and committing crimes by our own individual actions.

Self Assessment Questions

1) What are the various forms of obedience?

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2) How are humans trained to obey?

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3) What factors influence obedience? Put forward experimental studies on humans in regard to obedience.

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4) Describe the Milgram experiment . What did you learn from it in regard to obedience?

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5) What factors increase obedience?

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1.4 LET US SUM UP

Social influence is the change in behaviour that one person causes in another, intentionally or unintentionally, as a result of the way the changed person perceives themselves in relationship to the influencer, other people and society in general. Social influence can also be defined as the process by which individuals make real changes to their feelings and behaviours as a result of interaction with others who are perceived to be similar, desirable, or expert. Three areas of social influence are conformity, compliance and obedience. *Conformity* is changing how you behave to be more like others. This plays to belonging and esteem needs as we seek the approval and friendship of others. Conformity can run very deep, as we will even change our beliefs and values to be like those of our peers and admired superiors. *Compliance* is where a person does something that they are asked to do by another. They may choose to comply or not to comply, although the thoughts of social reward and punishment may lead them to compliance when they really do not want to comply. *Obedience* is different from compliance in that it is obeying an order from someone that you accept as an authority figure. In compliance, you have some choice. In obedience, you believe that you do not have a choice. Many military officers and commercial managers are interested only in obedience.

1.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Define the term Social Influence and discuss its various types.

2) Describe the factors associated with conformity.

3) describe in detail the Asch's study on conformity.

4) What do you mean by compliance? Discuss various factors leading to compliance.

5) Describe the Stanford Prison experiment and indicate itws contribution in understanding obedience.

6) What is the significance of Hofling Hospital experiment? Discuss the same in the context of obedience.

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UNIT 2 PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR AND FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Pro-social behaviour is defined as "…any act performed with the goal of benefiting another person" (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2004 p. 382). How is it possible to differentiate the meaning or motivation or consequences between a ten rupees donation to charity and rescuing a drowning child? This is not a topic confined within one discipline. Even a cursory review of the literature reveals that psychologists, philosophers, economists, sociobiologists, and others all have distinct and often conflicting points of view. Prosocial are voluntary made with the intention of benefiting others.   This definition focuses on the potential benefits to the person performing the prosocial behaviour. In this unit we will be dealing with noticing emergency for help, understanding how and what do in such situations, and determining and taking decisions to help. Such a helping behaviour is influenced by a large number of factors such as physical attractiveness of the person who needs help, similarity in a number of factors,   whether the person is a relative and belong to kin etc. This unit deals with also the perspective of help from the victim's point of view and one's own personal experience. Many theoretical perspectives have also been put across in this unit which includes social learning theory and its influence on helping behaviour, the motivation and social identity theories contributing to understanding of helping behaviour empathic and receiprocity factors as to how they contribute to the understanding of helping behaviour. Lastly the unit discusses the current trends in regard to pro social behaviour.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After successful completion of this Unit, you are expected to be able to:

l   Define Pro-social behaviour and altruism;

l   Have knowledge about various factors affecting pro-social behaviour;

l   Explain pro-social behaviour in the light of different theories; and

l   Analyse the current trends in research related to pro-social behaviour.

2.2 PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

2.2.1 Definition and Description

Staub (1979) defined pro-social behaviour as voluntary behaviour intended to benefit another person. "Voluntary" emphasises the spontaneous initiative by the

actor in contrast to professional help (e.g., physicians or nurses). Pro-social behaviour may include helping, sharing, giving, and comforting (Bierhoff, 2002).

Pro-social behaviour is defined as "…any act performed with the goal of benefiting another person" (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2004 p. 382). How is it possible to differentiate the meaning or motivation or consequences between a ten rupees donation to charity and rescuing a drowning child? Many researchers have attempted to narrow the parameters of discussion by focusing on subsets of prosocial behaviour such as altruism versus self-interest, helping behaviours sustained over time versus one-time events, personality variables versus situational context, the origins of empathy and others.

Pro-social behaviour is not a topic confined within one discipline. Even a cursory review of the literature reveals that psychologists, philosophers, economists, sociobiologists, and others all have distinct and often conflicting points of view. As Kohn points out, the term pro-social is so broad that it becomes essentially meaningless.

Pro-social are voluntary made with the intention of benefiting others (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998). This definition focuses on the potential benefits to the person performing the pro-social behaviour. Nevertheless, benefiting others, but whose main goal is self-advantageous (e.g. cooperative intended to obtain a common resource), typically are not considered pro-social. Typical examples include: volunteering, sharing toys, or food with friends instrumental help (e.g., helping a peer with school assignments) costly help e.g. risking one's own life to save others and emotionally supporting others in distress e.g., comforting a peer following a disappointing experience or caring for a person who is ill.

2.2.2 Pro-social Behaviour and Altruism

Pro-social behaviour is often accompanied by psychological and social rewards for its performer. In the long run, individuals can benefit from living in a society where prosociality is common. It has been difficult for researchers to identify purely altruistic behaviours, benefiting only the recipient and not the performer. Altruism is generally defined as any form of voluntary act intended to favour another without expectation of reward (Smith & Mackie, 2000; Batson et. al., 2002; Aronson et. al., 2004).

Perhaps the first person to utilise the term altruism was the French sociologist Auguste Comte, who declared that humans have inborn drives to behave sympathetically toward others (Lee, Lee and Kang, 2003). It is a specific kind of motivation to benefit another without consciously considering for one's own self interest (Hall, 1999). In other words, altruism refers to a kind of selfless help, which is based on pure desire to help others (Aronson, Wilson, Akert, & Fehr, 2004). Nevertheless, altruism is not a synonym for pro-social behaviour.

Prosocial behaviour refers to helping behaviour of favouring another person with the goal that may involve benefits to self (Smith & Mackie, 2000; Aronson et. al., 2004). For instance, people donating money to Tsunami relief fund may not always be selfless. In the case that donation is for the sake of tax exemption, its motive would not be regarded as altruistic. The major difference between altruism and pro-social behaviour is that altruism does not involve the element of self interest (Myers, 1996).

2.2.3   Certain Historical Aspects of Prosocial Behaviour

The term pro-social behaviour was introduced in the early 1970's after the incident of Kitty Genovese case in USA (Kohn, 1990) .On March 13, 1964, Kitty Genovese was murdered in front of her home. She parked her car a number of feet from her apartment when all of a sudden, a man named Winston Moseley chased her down and stabbed her in the back twice. Kitty screamed for help and a neighbour responded shouting at the criminal "Let that girl alone!" Immediately, Winston fled the scene and left the girl crawling towards her apartment. Several witnesses reported to have seen the whole scene. At that time, there was a strong degree of interest in exploring why 38 neighbours ignored the pleas and calls for help from a woman being repeatedly stabbed and ultimately murdered by her assailant.

Why were such apathy, indifference and lack of concern observed from all the neighbours of Kitty? Two social psychologists, John Darley & Bibb Latane, started asking questions why the witnesses demonstrated a lack of reaction towards the victim's need for help. They found bystander apathy is the major factor that influences helping behaviour.

The term bystander effect refers to the phenomenon in which greater the numbers of people present, the less likely people are to help a person in distress. When an emergency situation occurs, observers are more likely to take action if there are few or no other witnesses.

In a series of classic study, researchers Bibb Latane and John Darley (1969) found that the amount of time it takes the participant to take action and seek help varies depending on how many other observers are in the room. In one experiment, subjects were placed in one of three treatment conditions: alone in a room, with two other participants or with two confederates who pretended to be normal participants.

As the participants sat filling out questionnaires, smoke began to fill the room. When participants were alone, 75% reported the smoke to the experimenters. In contrast, just 38% of participants in a room with two other people reported the smoke. In the final group, the two confederates in the experiment noted the smoke and then ignored it, which resulted in only 10% of the participants reporting the smoke.

There are two major factors that contribute to the bystander effect. First, the presence of other people creates a diffusion of responsibility. Because there are other observers, individuals do not feel as much pressure to take action, since the responsibility to take action is thought to be shared among all of the present. The second reason is the need to behave in correct and socially acceptable ways. When other observers fail to react, individuals often take this as a signal that a response is not needed or not appropriate. Other researchers have found that onlookers are less likely to intervene if the situation is ambiguous (Solomon, 1978). In the case of Kitty Genovese, many of the 38 witnesses reported that they believed that they were witnessing a "lover's quarrel," and did not realise that the young woman was actually being murdered.

2.3 PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS

There are five step response in emergency situations (Darley & Latane, 1969), which include the following:

2.3.1 Noticing the Emergency

In order for people to help, they must notice that an emergency has occurred. Sometimes very trivial things, such as how much of a hurry a person is in, can prevent them from noticing someone else in trouble. Darley and Batson (1973) showed that seminary students who were in a hurry to give a sermon on campus were much less likely to help an ostensibly injured confederate groaning in a doorway than were those who were not in a hurry.

2.3.2 Interpreting an Emergency as an Emergency

The next determinant of helping is whether the bystander interprets the event as an emergency. Ironically, when other bystanders are present, people are more likely to assume an emergency is something innocuous. This pluralistic ignorance occurs because people look to see others' reactions (informational influence); when they see that everyone else has a blank expression, they assume there must be no danger (Latané and Darley, 1970)

2.3.3 Assuming that it is your Responsibility to Help

The next step that must occur if helping is to take place is for someone to take responsibility. When there are many witnesses, there is a diffusion of responsibility, the phenomenon whereby each bystander's sense of responsibility to help decreases as the number of witnesses increases. Everyone assumes that someone else will help, and as a result, no one does, as happened with the Kitty Genovese murder.

2.3.4 Knowing what to do

Even if all the previous conditions are met, a person must know what form of assistance to give. If they don't, they will be unable to help.

2.3.5 Making the Decision to Help

Finally, even if you know what kind of help to give, you might decide not to intervene because you feel unqualified to help or you are too afraid of the costs to yourself. Markey (2000) examined helping in an Internet chat room situation; when the chat room group as a whole was asked to provide some information about finding profiles, the larger the group, the longer it took for anyone to help. However, when a specific person was addressed by name, that person helped quickly, regardless of group size.

2.4 FACTORS AFFECTING HELPING BEHAVIOUR

2.4.1 Physical Attractiveness

Attractiveness is defined as physical attractiveness or the attractiveness of a person's

personality or behaviour (DeVito, 1976). Researchers believe physical attractiveness can be defined for any one individual situationally (DeVito, 1976). Physically attractive people are more likely to receive help than unattractive people (Harrell, 1978). The explanation lies in the fact, that as a society, we consciously or subconsciously tend to treat attractive individuals differently, expecting better lives for them (Berscheid, Walster, Bohrnstedt, 1973). Adams and Cohen (1976) feel physical attractiveness is a major factor in the development of prosocial behaviour in a child.

2.4.2 Similarity and Kinship

Finally, individuals are more likely to behave prosocially towards similar or likable others (Penner et al., 2005), and towards others considered to be close, especially kin (Graziano et al., 2007). Genetic relatedness aside, pro-social behaviour towards family members probably involves a sense of duty, reciprocity, and affective relationships. Individuals care more for victims who belong to their in-group rather than to their out-group (Dovidio et al. 1997; Flippen et al. 1996; Levine et al. 2002). Park and Schaller (2005) found that attitude similarity serves as a heuristic cue signaling kinship, which may motivate kin-recognition responses (e.g., prosocial behaviour) even to unrelated individuals.

2.4.3 Religiosity

Although several studies have examined the impact of donor characteristics across various domains, the findings are not as robust as those about victim characteristics. One consistent finding is that humanitarian values and religiosity are correlated with giving (Burnett 1981; Pessemier, Bemmaor, and Hanssens 1977).

2.4.4 Victim's Perspective

Batson and colleagues have shown consistently greater empathy and altruistic behaviour by individuals who are primed to take the victim's perspective (Batson, Early, and Salvarani 1997; Batson et al. 2003).

2.4.5 Personal Experience

A vast literature examines the impact of personal experience on self-protective behaviour (Weinstein, 1989, for a critical review). Although the majority of studies examine effects on victims themselves, a few assess the impact of knowing a victim as a form of personal experience (Manheimer, Mellinger & Crossley 1966 and Schiff 1977). Barnett et al. (1986) found that participants who had been raped reported greater empathy when watching a video about a rape victim than did those who had never been raped. Batson et al. (1996) found that for females but not males, the expectation of oneself receiving a shock affected self-reported empathy when one observed a same-sex peer receiving a shock. Christy and Voigt (1994) found that those who reported being abused as a child indicated that they would be more likely than those who had never been abused to intervene if they saw a child being abused.

2.4.6 Identifiable Victim Effect

Previous research has shown that people give more to identifiable victims than to unidentifiable or statistical victims (Kogut and Ritov 2005a, b; Small, Loewenstein, and Slovic 2006). This effect has even been demonstrated when no meaningful

information is provided about the identified victim (Small and Loewenstein 2003). Other identifying factors, such as showing a victim's face or being in the presence of a victim, also increase pro-social behaviour (Bohnet and Frey 1999). Charities do often describe or show images of specific victims to potential donors in their advertising campaigns, but such attempts seem designed to benefit from the identifiable victim effect (Kogut and Ritov, 2005a, b; Small et al. 2006), rather than to create "friendship" between donors and victims.

2.4.7 Attributions Concerning Victim's Responsibility

People also give more to victims who are perceived as "deserving," in other words, whose needs arise from external rather than internal causes (Weiner 1980). Thus, disabled children are deemed deserving; healthy unemployed men are not (Schmidt and Weiner 1988). Finally, the effect of deservingness on prosocial behaviour is mediated by sympathy, suggesting that giving decisions are not based on cold mental calculations (Weiner, 1980). A study carried out on the New York subway showed that people were more likely to help 'blind' rather than 'drunk' confederates who had collapsed (Piliavin, 1969).

2.4.8 Positive Friend Influence

Barry and Wentzel (2006) supported the notion that friends in particular can be important socialisers of pro-social behaviour. Children are similar to their friends in the degree to which they display pro-social behaviour and are motivated to behave this way (Wentzel, Barry, & Caldwell, 2004; Wentzel & Caldwell, 1997). Adolescents who have friends are more likely to be pro-social than those without friends (McGuire & Weisz, 1982).

2.4.9 Gender

Females engage in prosocial behaviours more frequently than males (Fabes, Carlo, Kupanoff, & Laible, 1999), which is consistent across ratings from parents, teachers, and peers (Holmgren, Eisenberg, & Fabes, 1998). Additionally, observational studies have indicated that females are more likely than males to share and cooperate when interacting (Burford, Foley, Rollins, & Rosario, 1996). Beutel and Johnson (2004) reported that in a study of 12 through 17 year-olds, females placed more importance on prosocial values than males at younger ages, and the gender gap in prosocial values was larger at older ages. Eagly and Crowley (1986) did a meta-analysis and found that men are more likely to help in chivalrous, heroic ways, and women are more likely to help in nurturant ways involving long-term commitment.

2.4.10 Age

Older adolescent males placed less importance on prosocial values than younger adolescent males (Beutel & Johnson, 2004). Further, in a study of adolescent soccer players' behaviours, recruited from age groups of under 13, under 15, and under 17, significant differences among the age groups indicated that the oldest group displayed more frequent antisocial behaviours and less frequent prosocial behaviours compared to the younger groups (Kavussanu, Seal, & Phillips, 2006). However, there appears to be an increase in the use of some prosocial behaviours after a certain point in adolescence, as Eisenberg et al. (2005) found that prosocial moral reasoning and perspective-taking abilities showed increases with age from

late adolescence to early adulthood, whereas helping and displaying sympathy did not increase with age.

2.4.11 Personality

Research following children from early childhood to adulthood supports the existence of the long-debated altruistic or prosocial personality (Eisenberg et al., 1999). Individual differences in prosociality are linked to sociability, low shyness, extroversion, and agreeableness, although specific prosocial behaviours may require a combination of additional traits, such as perceived self-efficacy in the case of helping (Penner et al., 2005). Personality and contextual variables are likely to interact in determining prosocial behaviour. For example, agreeable individuals were more likely to help an outgroup member than low-agreeableness individuals, but agreeableness was not associated with helping an ingroup member (Graziano et al., 2007).

While, Hartshorne and May (1929) found only a .23 correlation between different kinds of helping behaviours in children, and several studies have found that those who scored high on a personality test of altruism were not much more likely to help than those who scored low. People's personality is clearly not the only determinant of helping. Instead, it seems to be that different kinds of people are likely to help in different situations.

2.4.12 Effects of Positive Moods: Feel Good, Do Good

People who are in a good mood are more likely to help. For example, Isen and Levin (1972) did a study in a shopping mall where subjects either found or did not find a dime in a phone booth. As the person emerged from the booth, a confederate walked by and dropped a sheaf of papers; 84% of those who found the dime helped compared with 4% of those who did not find the dime. North, Tarrang, & Hargreaves (2004) found that people are more likely to help others when in a good mood for a number of other reasons, including doing well on a test, receiving a gift, thinking happy thoughts, and listening to pleasant music.

Good moods can increase helping for three reasons: (1) good moods make us interpret events in a sympathetic way; (2) helping another prolongs the good mood, whereas not helping deflates it; (3) good moods increase self-attention, and this in turn leads us to be more likely to behave according to our values and beliefs (which tend to favor altruism).

2.5 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

There are a large number of theorie which explain pro-social behaviour and these are described and discussed below:

2.5.1 Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory suggests that pro-social behaviour is learned (Bandura, 1977; Bandura & McDonald, 1963; Batson, 1998). Observing role models who are loved or respected, such as parents or authorities, engaged in pro-social behaviour, demonstrates how people can and should behave prosocially. Rewards reinforce helping behaviour; punishments reduce unhelpful or hurtful behaviour. Within a group context, social recognition, not just private reward, increases pro-

social behaviour (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998).Observational modeling processes with reinforcement will result in learning over time (Compeau & Higgins, 1995; Lim *et al.*, 1997).

2.5.2 Motivation Perspective

Theorists differentiate altruistic prosocial behaviour from egoistic prosocial behaviour depending upon the motivation of the helper (Batson, 1991; Nelson, 1999; Piliavin & Charng, 1990). Altruistic prosocial behaviour is motivated purely by the desire to increase another person's welfare; egoistic prosocial behaviour is motivated by the desire to increase one's own welfare or that of one's group or cause through helping others (Batson, 1998; MacIntyre, 1967).

Some researchers believe that pro-social behaviour does not need to be based on unobservable underlying motivations of children (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989), but other researchers believe that another person's well-being must be of primary concern in prosocial behaviours (Cialdini, Kenrick, & Bauman, 1976). It is generally understood that an intention of prosocial behaviours is to achieve positive consequences for others (Jackson & Tisak, 2001; Tisak & Ford, 1986), but it is possible that there are other reasons children behave prosocially as well. Children's expectancies may influence their likelihood of engaging in prosocial behaviours. Adolescents who expect positive adult reactions to their prosocial behaviours report engaging in more prosocial and less aggressive behaviours (Wyatt & Carlo, 2002).

2.5.3 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory and self-categorisation theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987) are helpful in understanding why some people exhibit substantial prosocial behaviour over time.

Social identity theory is based on the premise that people identify with particular groups in order to enhance their self-esteem. Identification leads to selective social comparisons that emphasise intergroup differences along dimensions. This leads to favouring the ingroup and confer positive distinctiveness on the ingroup when compared to the salient outgroup (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Categorising the self and others in terms of groups accentuates the similarities between group members with respect to their fit with the relevant group prototype or 'cognitive representation of features that describe and prescribe attributes of the group' (Hogg & Terry, 2000). The prototype guides the participants' understanding of the group and its expected behaviours and attitudes. People identified with a group will thus be more likely to exhibit behaviours that are consistent with shared group norms and will cooperate with the group and its members.

Group identification is an important antecedent to cooperative behaviours related to group maintenance and survival (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Kramer, 1993; Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Tyler, 1999).

2.5.4 Biological Perspective

Empathy, altruism and prosocial behaviour are considered vital for the good functioning of society. Although psychological theories emphasise the importance

of cognition and socialisation, genes also have a role to play. Monozygotic (MZ) twin pairs share 100% of their genes, whereas dizygotic (DZ) twin pairs share 50%; thus the comparison of MZ and DZ twin similarities and differences allows for estimates to be made of genetic influences (Plomin et al. 2001). Several studies have found that by adulthood, approximately 50% of the variance in altruism, empathy and social responsibility is due to genes and 50% to non-genetic factors (Rushton et al. 1986; Rushton 2004).

2.6 NEGATIVE-STATE RELIEF HYPOTHESIS

Negative State Relief Model, views empathic concern as being accompanied by feelings of sadness that the helper tries to relieve through helping someone in need (Smith, Keating, & Stotland, 1989; Cialindi, et al., 1987; Schroeder, Dovidio, Sibicky, Matthews, & Allen, 1988). Here, the motivation for prosocial behaviour is based on increasing the welfare of both the helper and helpee. Three prominent features of the Negative State Relief Model are that: (1) helpers experience empathic concern; (2) such concern is accompanied by feelings of sadness and (3) helpers attempt to relieve such feelings by helping others.

Cialdini's (1987) experiments involved participants taking the place of people receiving electric shocks. However, high empathy participants were less inclined to help if they had been praised by the researchers. It is thought that this praise helped to lift their mood so that it was not necessary to help the person receiving the shocks.

When people feel guilty, they are more likely to help. For example, Harris et al. (1975) found that churchgoers were more likely to donate money after confession.

2.7 EMPATHY – ALTRUISM HYPOTHESIS

Batson (1987, 1991) introduced the empathy-altruism hypothesis, which states refers to " the claim that feeling empathic emotion for someone in need evokes altruistic motivation to relieve that need has been called the empathy-altruism hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the greater the empathetic emotion, the greater the altruistic motivation." (Batson et. al., 2002).

According to the Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis, empathic concern motivates helpers to enhance the welfare of those in need rather than avoid the situation instead (Smith, Keating, & Stotland, 1989; Baston, 1987).

In a study by Toi and Batson, (1982), students listened to a taped interview with a student who had ostensibly broken both legs in an accident and was behind in classes. Two factors were manipulated: empathetic vs. non-empathetic set, manipulated by instructions given to Ss; and the costs of helping, manipulated by whether or not the injured student was expected to be seen every day once she returned to class. The dependent variable was whether Ss responded to a request to help the injured student catch up in class. As the empathy-altruism hypothesis predicted, people in the high empathy condition helped regardless of cost, while those in the low empathy condition helped only if the cost of not helping was high.

2.7.1 Empathic-Joy Hypothesis

Smith, Keating, and Stotland's (1989) hypothesis proposes that empathic concern

is based on a helper's overarching sensitivity to a victim's emotional state and a subsequent heightened sense of vicarious happiness and relief upon the fulfillment of the recipient's needs. The authors propose that empathic witnesses to someone in need may regard empathic joy as being more achievable and rewarding than would be a self-focused witness, and thus have greater motivation to help.

The three prominent features of the Empathic-Joy Hypothesis are that:

1) helpers experience empathic concern;

2) this concern is a function of their sensitivity to another's needs; and

3) the awareness of relief for another's distress promotes subsequent relief of the helper's empathic concern as well as a sense of joy.

2.7.2 Self-Efficacy Hypothesis

This hypothesis reflects a combination of proposals from authors regarding correlates to helping behaviours. According to Midlarsky (1968) individuals? level of competence with a given skill can influence helping behaviour, especially in times of need. Such competence may increase the likelihood of helping through increased certainty over what to do, along with the decreased fear of making a mistake and decreased stress over the situation (Withey, 1962; Janis 1962, Midlarsky, 1968; Staub, 1971).

2.8 RECIPROCITY AND SOCIAL NORMS

The concept of reciprocity" is defined in settings in which individuals act in a more cooperative manner in response to the positive or friendly behaviour of others. As a result, reciprocity as a reputational motivation is very closely linked to the idea that the more others contribute, the more one gives. For instance, although contributing to charitable organisations does not benefit the donor directly, she may still gain in the long run, because she expects to benefit from reciprocity in the future when she will need help. Leider et al. (2009) established that giving is motivated, at least in part, by future interaction (enforced reciprocity).

Social norms also encourage people to find ways by which to avoid being generous when it is not completely necessary. As suggested by Stephen Meier (2004), reciprocity and concern to conform to social norms are closely tied together. In particular, by observing the behaviour of others, one translates this behaviour into a recipe of what one 'should do'.

2.9 CURRENT TRENDS

Genetics also contribute to individual variation in prosociality. Research on adults finds that prosociality is substantially heritable. Research on young children shows lower heritability, demonstrated by one longitudinal twin study showing increase in the heritability of parent-rated prosociality, from 30 % at age 2 to 60 % at age 7 (Knafo & Plomin, 2006). Gene-environment correlations can also shape individual differences in prosociality. For example, children's low prosociality is related to parents' use of negative discipline and affection.

This relationship can be traced back to children's genetic tendencies, implying that the genetically influenced low prosociality can initiate a negative reaction from

parents (Knafo & Plomin, 2006). Some evidence suggests that children in Western societies are less pro-social than children in other cultures, but some studies find no differences along these lines (see review by Eisenberg et al., 2006).

A field study by Levine, Norenzayan, and Philbrick (2001) found large cultural differences in spontaneously helping strangers. For example, the proportion of individuals helping a stranger with a hurt leg pick up dropped magazines ranged from 22 % to 95 % across 23 cultures. Perhaps, cultures differ substantially in what each promotes as prosocial behaviour (Eisenberg et al., 2006).

It has been suggested that there are two reasons for cultural differences in altruism (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989) first is Industrial societies place value on competition and personal success and secondly Co-operation at the home in non-industrial societies promotes altruism.

2.10 LET US SUM UP

Pro-social behaviours are voluntary behaviours made with the intention of benefiting others. Prosocial behaviour is often accompanied with psychological and social rewards for its performer. In the long run, individuals can benefit from living in a society where prosociality is common. Altruism is generally defined as any form of voluntary act intended to favour another withour expectation of reward. There are various factors that affect the pro-social behaviour e.g. (i) Noticing the emergency, (ii) Interpreting an emergency as an emergency. (iii) Assuming that it is your responsibility to help, (iv) Knowing what to do, (v) Making the decision to help. Amongst the various factors affecting helping behaviour, we saw that (i) Physical attractiveness, (ii) Similarity and kinship, (iii) Religiosity, (iv) Victim's perspective,(v) Personal experience, (vi) Gender, (vii) Age, (viii) Personality etc.

It has been suggested that there are two reasons for cultural differences in altruism (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989) first is Industrial societies place value on competition and personal success and secondly Co-operation at the home in non-industrial societies promotes altruism.

2.11 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Define pro-social behaviour with factor leading us to help in a particular situation.

2) Discuss various factors that affect pro-social behaviour.

3) Critically evaluate theories of pro-social behaviour.

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UNIT 3 INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Relationships with the individuals around us are key to one's social existence. Any given interaction is characterised by a certain level of intensity, which is conveyed by individual and interpersonal behaviour, including the more subtle nonverbal behavioural information of interpersonal attraction. The words "like" and "love," "dislike" and "hate" are among the most frequently used in the English language. Everyone knows what is meant by these terms. Therefore, when we state that we feel "attracted" to a certain person, it is unlikely that we will be asked to define our use of the verb "attracted." Interpersonal attraction is the attraction between

people which leads to friendships and romantic relationships. The study of interpersonal attraction is a major area of research in social psychology. In this unit we will be discussing how Interpersonal attraction is related to how much we like, love, dislike, or hate someone. We will consider interpersonal attraction as a force acting between two people that tends to draw them together and resist their separation. We would also provide the causative factors to interpersonal attraction, as for example similarity, thinking alike etc.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

After completion of this Unit, you will be able to:

l   Define Interpersonal attraction;

l   Elucidate the factors contributing to Interpersonal attraction;

l   Analyse Interpersonal attraction in the light of different theories;and

l   Explain how rewarding or complementing in Interpersonal attraction reduces negative emotions.

3.2 INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

To the query why it is that a particular person has evoked our positive regard, probably we will reply by making reference to some of the person's "good qualities" such as the person's honesty, sense of humor, or even the particular hair style that the person sports etc. While explanations referring to qualities which seem to "compel" admiration are frequently given, it must be kept in mind that interpersonal attraction is much more complicated than such explanations would imply.

In some cases, people are attracted to those persons whom they perceive as similar to themselves. The effect is very small for superficial features like clothes or race but very strong for perceived similarity of attitudes.

In certain other cases, we like people who seem to agree with us because

a)   we think they're smart,

b)   we will probably get along, and

c)   they'll probably like us too.

To pretend to agree with someone even when you do not really, for the purpose of getting something they can give you, like a job, is called ingratiation. In general this works best if you pretend to agree in about 70%. Research shows that less is not enough, and more is both suspicious and boring.

Interpersonal attraction has been an important topic of research in psychology, because humans are social animals, and attraction serves an important function in forming a social network, which in turn provides security and satisfies people's need to belong to a social group (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008).

In assessing the nature of attraction, psychologists have used methods such as questionnaires, survey, and rating scale to determine level of one's attraction toward another. Here, the effects of similarity, social reward, familiarity, and physical attractiveness are examined to see how they impact interpersonal attraction. When measuring interpersonal attraction, one must refer to the qualities of the attracted as well as the qualities of the attractor to achieve predictive accuracy. It is suggested that to determine attraction, personality and situation must be taken into account. Many factors leading to interpersonal attraction have been studied. The most frequently studied are: physical attractiveness, propinquity, familiarity, similarity, complementarity, reciprocal liking, and reinforcement. We will discuss each factor one by one.

3.2.1 Physical Attractiveness

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

One of the most commonly cited factors influencing attraction is physical attractiveness. It is indeed well known that most people show a substantial preference for attractive persons over unattractive others (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008). Perhaps the advantage of good looks and the inferences people make when they see a physically attractive person are the reasons for getting attracted to another person.

Studies have shown that when people see an attractive person, they believe that there is more than physical beauty that they see, and they tend to assume certain internal qualities within the person, such as kindness, outgoing, etc. (Barocas & Karoly, 1972). To illustrate this factor, let us take the research illustrating this relationship between physical attractiveness and its stereotypes. For instance, a study on popularity among adolescents was carried out by Cavior & Dokecki in 1973. They found that when physical attractiveness was compared to perceived attitude similarity, physical attractiveness had a stronger effect on popularity. These findings suggest that individuals' perceptions of attitude similarity with those of others may be strongly influenced by more automatic judgments of physical attractiveness. Such demonstrations of preferential treatment may have significant implications at the level of society, as well. For example, in one jury task simulation experiment, more attractive defendants were found to be evaluated more positively and with less certainty of guilt than were other less attractive defendants.

Even though physical attractiveness is unrelated to objective measure of internal qualities such as intelligence and personality, many researches indicate that bias for beauty is pervasive in society

3.2.1.1 Research on Physical Attractiveness Stereotype

In one of the first studies of the physical attractiveness stereotype, college students were asked to look at pictures of men and women who either were good-looking, average, or homely and to then evaluate their personalities. Results indicated that the students tended to assume that physically attractive persons possessed a host of socially desirable personality traits as compared to those who were unattractive. Consistent with the physical attractiveness stereotype, it was

also reported from research that beautiful and handsome characters were significantly more likely to be portrayed as virtuous, romantically active, and successful than their less attractive counterparts. Over the past thirty-five years, many researchers have examined this stereotype, and two separate meta-analyses of these studies reveal that physically attractive people are perceived to be more sociable, successful, happy, dominant, sexually warm, mentally healthy, intelligent, and socially skilled than those who are unattractive.

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

Attractiveness and Job-Related Outcomes

Field and laboratory studies conducted in both individualistic and collectivistic cultures indicate that physical attractiveness does have a moderate impact in a variety of job-related outcomes, including hiring, salary, and promotion decisions. In one representative study, it was found that there was a significant difference between the starting salaries of good-looking men and those with slow average faces. For women, facial attractiveness did not influence their starting salaries, but it did substantially impact their later salaries. Once hired, women who were above average in facial attractiveness typically earned $4,200 more per year than women who were below average in attractiveness.

For attractive and unattractive men, this difference in earning power per year was $5,200. Further, although neither height nor weight affected a woman's starting salary, being 20% or more overweight reduced a man's starting salary by more than $2,000. Overall, the research literature informs us that physical appearance does indeed influence success on the job.

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

3.2.2   Propinquity/Proximity

According to Rowland Miller's Intimate Relationships text, the propinquity effect can be defined as: "the more we see and interact with a person, the more likely he or she is to become our friend or intimate partner." This effect is very similar to the mere exposure effect in that the more a person is exposed to a stimulus, the more the person likes it; however, there are a few exceptions to the mere exposure effect.

3.2.2.1   Proximity as an Intensifier of Sentiments

A frequently advanced and commonly accepted notion is that propinquity, or proximity, has a strong influence on one's friendship choices. Stated in its simplest form, the proposition is as follows: Other things being equal, the closer two individuals are located geographically, the more likely it is that they will be attracted to each other. Studies demonstrating the impact of proximity on friendship choices are so numerous that we will mention only a few.

Several investigators have collected data which indicate that students tend to develop stronger friendships with those students who share their classes, or their dormitory or apartment building, or who sit near them, than with those who are geographically located only slightly farther away (Byrne, 1961a). Clerks in a large department store and members of a bomber crew have been found to develop closer relations with those who happen to work next to them than with co-workers a few feet away (Zander and Havelin, 1960).

One of the more interesting studies demonstrating the relationship between proximity and friendship choice was conducted by Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950). These investigators examined the development of friendships in a new housing project for married students. The housing development studies consisted of small houses arranged in U-shaped courts, such that all except the end houses faced onto a grassy area. The two end houses in each court faced onto the street. Festinger (1951) arrived at the intriguing conclusion that to a great extent architects can determine the social life of the residents of their projects. He found that the two major factors affecting the friendships which developed were (1) sheer distance between houses and (2) the direction in which a house faced. Friendships developed more frequently between next-door neighbors, less frequently between people whose houses were separated by another house, and so on. As the distance between houses increased, the number of friendships fell off so rapidly that it was rare to find a friendship between persons who lived in houses that were separated by more than four or five other houses.

Festinger, Schachter, and Back also found that architectural feature which brought an individual into proximity with other residents tended to increase that person's popularity. It was found, for example, that the positions of the stairways enabled the residents of the apartments near the entrances and exits of the stairways to make more friends than other residents. Similarity, the position of the mailboxes in each building improved the social life of the residents of the apartment near which they were located.

Another interesting finding has been that integrated housing produced increased racial harmony. Deutsch and Collins (1958), for example, concluded on the basis of their data that integrated housing should be encouraged since such integration helps eradicate racial prejudice. Segregationists, however, have concluded that since the evidence suggests that integration would lead to interracial friendships and "race mixing," segregation should be preserved at all costs.

3.2.2.2 Increased Probability of Acquiring Information

What underlies the often obtained relationship between proximity and sentiment? Proxomity appears to allow, an opportunity to obtain information about the other person and accumulates experience regarding the rewards or punishments one is likely to receive from the other person.

Thus with decreasing distances sentiments such as likes and dislikes, especially the strong sentiments of love and hate, are not likely to be felt for people about whom we have minimal information and with whom we have had little experience.

Hence if we know the degree of proximity between two people, and do not have knowledge of the content of the information exchange such proximity has made possible, we cannot make a prediction concerning whether a positive sentiment or a negative sentiment will develop. Therefore one may state that there are a number of factors which may make such a conclusion erroneous.

It appears that there is a somewhat greater tendency for proximity to breed attraction than hostility. Newcomb has advanced the hypothesis that proximity should produce positive rather than negative attraction. He argued that when persons interact, the reward-punishment ratio is more often such as to be reinforcing than extinguishing. (Newcombe, 1956, p. 576). Thus, he reasons that the information which proximity permits is more likely to be favorable than unfavourable and that liking, therefore, will more often result from proximity than disliking. Since people are to a great extent dependent upon one another for satisfaction of their needs, it seems probable that individuals generally take care to reward others as much as possible in interaction with them.

3.2.2.3 Heider's Balance Theory

The prediction that proximity will more often lead to liking than disliking can be derived from a number of the cognitive-consistency theories. It can perhaps be most easily derived from Heider's (1958) balance theory. The basic tenet of Heider's theory is that people strive to make their sentiment relationships harmonious with their perception of the unit relationships existent between objects.

What does Heider mean by the phrase *"sentiment relationships"?* A "sentiment" is simply a positive or negative attitude toward someone or something. What does Heider mean by the phrase *"unit relationships"?* Separate entities are said to have a unit relationship when they are perceived as belonging together. The members of a family, for example, are usually perceived as a unit, as are a person and his clothing, and so on.

Heider draws upon the principles of perceptual organisation which were formulated by the Gestalt psychologists. The Gestaltists discovered that relationship between objects which is especially likely to lead to unit formation is proximity: Objects which are close together spatially tend to be perceived as a unit. According to Heider's theory, then, if one perceives that a unit relationship with another exists (e.g., the other is in close proximity), this perception should induce a harmonious sentiment relationship (e.g., liking).

To test whether or not unit formation produced by interacting intimately with another increases attraction, Darley and Berscheid (1967) led college women to expect that they were going to discuss their sexual standards and behaviour with another girl, ostensibly participating in the same study. After the expectation of further interaction had been induced, each girl was given two folders. One folder was said to contain personality information about her partner, the girl with whom she would converse and exchange information. The other folder was said to contain information about another girl, who would also participate in the study but whom she would never meet.

The personality information contained in both folders was designed to produce as ambiguous a picture as possible of the girl described. Half of the subjects believed that the girl described in folder A was their "randomly selected" discussion partner; the other half believed that the girl described in folder B was their partner.

Subjects were instructed to read through both folders, form a general impression of both girls, and then rate each of them along a number of dimensions, including liking. The results of this study clearly indicated that the subjects expressed more liking for the girl who had been designated as their discussion partner than they did for the girl who was not. This study suggests, that the factor of proximity, may

produce a feeling of unit formation between two people. This feeling of being in a unit relationship with another may then induce feelings of liking for that person. Knowledge that one will be in close proximity with another may result, then, in an individual's going *into* an interaction situation with increased liking for the other person prior to the actual interaction and prior to actual knowledge of possible rewards which may be obtained in the interaction.

It is interesting that the liking produced by the anticipation of being in close proximity with another may lead a person to voluntarily choose to associate with the other person, even though the original interaction which was anticipated has been cancelled. It was found that even when a subject anticipated interacting with an objectively undesirable person, the attraction induced by the anticipation of close interaction caused subjects to choose voluntarily to interact with that negative person more readily than did people who had not previously anticipated association with that person.

Thus one may summarise this section by stating that actual proximity is probably correlated with attraction (or repulsion) because proximity allows one to obtain an increased amount of information about the other person and to experience rewards or punishments from the other. There is some suggestive evidence that proximity in and of itself, (apart from any information it may provide about another and apart from any rewards or punishments which the other may administer), may facilitate attraction as a by-product of the individual's desire for cognitive consistency.

3.2.3 Similarity

The notion of "birds of a feather flock together" points out that similarity is a crucial determinant of interpersonal attraction. According to Morry's attraction-similarity model (2007), there is a lay belief that people with actual similarity produce initial attraction. Perceived similarity develops for someone to rate others as similar to themselves in ongoing relationship. Such perception is either self serving (friendship) or relationship serving (romantic relationship). Newcomb (1963) pointed out that people tend to change perceived similarity to obtain balance in a relationship. Additionally, perceived similarity was found to be greater than actual similarity in predicting interpersonal attraction.

3.2.3.1 Similarity in Different Aspects

Research suggest that interpersonal similarity and attraction are multidimensional constructs in which people are attracted to others who are similar to them in demographics, physical appearance, attitudes, interpersonal style, social and cultural background, personality, interests and activities preferences, and communication and social skills. A study conducted by Theodore Newcomb (1963) on college dorm roommates suggested that individuals with shared backgrounds, academic achievements, attitudes, values, and political views became friends.

Physical Appearance

Erving Goffman, sociologist suggests that people are more likely to form long standing relationships with those who are equally matched in social attributes, like physical attractiveness etc. The study by researchers Walster and Walster supported the matching hypothesis by showing that partners who were similar in terms of physical attractiveness expressed the most liking for each other. Another study

also found evidence that supported the matching hypothesis: photos of dating and engaged couples were rated in terms of attractiveness, and a definite tendency was found for couples of similar attractiveness to date or engage (Murstein et.al., 1976).

Attitudes

According to the 'law of attraction' by Byrne (1971), attraction towards a person is positively related to the proportion of attitudes similarity associated with that person. It was also raised that the one with similar attitudes as yours was more agreeable with your perception of things and more reinforcing she/he was, so the more you like him/her. Based on the cognitive consistency theories, difference in attitudes and interests can lead to dislike and avoidance (Singh & Ho, 2000) whereas similarity in attitudes promotes social attraction (Singh & Ho, 2000). It was pointed out that attitude similarity activates the perceived attractiveness and favuor-ability information from each other, whereas dissimilarity would reduce the impact of these cues.

The studies by Jamieson, Lydon and Zanna (1987) showed that attitude similarity could predict how people evaluate their respect for each other, and social and intellectual first impressions which in terms of activity preference similarity and value-based attitude similarity respectively. In intergroup comparisons, high attitude similarity would lead to homogeneity among in-group members whereas low attitude similarity would lead to diversity among in-group members, promoting social attraction and achieving high group performance in different tasks Although attitudinal similarity and attraction are linearly related, attraction may not contribute significantly to attitude change (Simons, Berkowitz & Moyer, 1970).

Social and Cultural Background

Byrne, Clore and Worchel (1966) suggested people with similar economic status are likely to be attracted to each other. Buss & Barnes (1986) also found that people prefer their romantic partners to be similar in certain demographic characteristics, including religious background, political orientation and socio-economic status.

Personality

Researchers have shown that interpersonal attraction was positively correlated to personality similarity (Goldman, Rosenzweig & Lutter, 1980). People are inclined to desire romantic partners who are similar to themselves on agreeableness, conscientiousness, extroversion, emotional stability, openness to experience and attachment style (Klohnen & Luo, 2003).

Interests and Activities

Activity similarity was especially predictive of liking judgments, which affects the judgments of attraction (Lydon, Jamieson & Zanna, 1988). Lydon et.al, (1988) claimed that high self-monitoring people were influenced more by activity preference similarity than attitude similarity on initial attraction, while low self-monitoring people were influenced more on initial attraction by value-based attitude similarity than activity preference similarity.

Social Skills

According to the post-conversation measures of social attraction, tactical similarity was positively correlated with partner satisfaction and global competence ratings, but was uncorrelated with the opinion change and perceived persuasiveness measures (Waldron & Applegate, 1998).

3.2.3.2 Effects of Similarity on Interpersonal Attraction

Similarity has effects on starting a relationship by initial attraction to know each other. It is showed that high attitude similarity resulted in a significant increase in initial attraction to the target person and high attitude dissimilarity resulted in a decrease of initial attraction. Similarity also promotes relationship commitment. Study on heterosexual dating couples found that similarity in intrinsic values of the couple was linked to relationship commitment and stability (Kurdek & Schnopp-Wyatt, 1997).

3.2.3.3 Complementarity

The model of complementarity explains whether "birds of a feather flock together" or "opposites attract".Studies show that complementary interaction between two partners increases their attractiveness to each other. Complementary partners preferred closer interpersonal relationship than non-complementary ones. Couples who reported the highest level of loving and harmonious relationship were more dissimilar in dominance than couples who scored lower in relationship quality. (Markey & Markey (2007)).

Mathes and Moore (1985) found that people were more attracted to peers approximating to their ideal self than to those who did not. Specifically, low self-esteem individuals appeared more likely to desire a complementary relationship than high self-esteem people. We are attracted to people who complement to us because this allows us to maintain our preferred style of behaviour (Markey & Markey (2007), and through interaction with someone who complements our own behaviour, we are likely to have a sense of self-validation and security.

3.2.3.4 Principles of Similarity or Complementarity

Principles of similarity and complementarity seem to be contradictory on the surface. In fact, they agree on the dimension of warmth. Both principles state that friendly people would prefer friendly partners (Dryer & Horowitz, 1997) . The importance of similarity and complementarity may depend on the stage of the relationship. Similarity seems to carry considerable weight in initial attraction, while complementarity assumes importance as the relationship develops over time. Markey (2007) found that people would be more satisfied with their relationship if their partners differed from them, at least, in terms of dominance, as two dominant persons may experience conflicts while two submissive individuals may have frustration as neither member take the initiative. Perception and actual behaviour might not be congruent with each other. There were cases that dominant people perceived their partners to be similarly dominant, yet in the eyes of independent observers, the actual behaviour of their partner was submissive, in other words, complementary to them (Dryer 1997). Why do people perceive their romantic partners to be similar to them despite evidence to the contrary? The reason remains unclear, pending further research.

3.3 EXPLAINING INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

3.3.1 Social Exchange Theory

People's feelings toward a potential partner are dependent on their perception of rewards and costs, the kind of relationships they deserve, and their likelihood for having a healthier relationship with someone else. Rewards are the part of a relationship that makes it worthwhile and enjoyable. A cost is something that can cause irritation like a friend overstaying his welcome. Comparison level is also taken into account during a relationship. This suggests that people expect rewards or costs depending on the time invested in the relationship. If the level of expected rewards is minimal and the level of costs is high, the relationship suffers and both parties may become dissatisfied and unhappy. Lastly, the comparison of alternatives means that satisfaction is conditional on the chance that a person could replace the relationship with a more desirable one.

3.3.2 Evolutionary Theories

The evolutionary theory of human interpersonal attraction states that opposite-sex attraction most often occurs when someone has physical features indicating that he or she is very fertile. Considering that the primary purpose of conjugal/romantic relationships is reproduction, it would follow that people invest in partners who appear very fertile, increasing the chance of their genes being passed down to the next generation. This theory has been criticised because it does not explain relationships between same-sex couples or couples who do not want children, although this may have something to do with the fact that whether one wants children or not one is still subject to the evolutionary forces which produce them.

Another evolutionary explanation suggests that fertility in a mate is of greater importance to men than to women. According to this theory, a woman places significant emphasis on a man's ability to provide resources and protection. The theory suggests that these resources and protection are important in ensuring the successful raising of the woman's offspring. The ability to provide resources and protection might also be sought because the underlying traits are likely to be passed on to male offspring.

Evolutionary theory also suggests that people whose physical features suggest they are healthy are seen as more attractive. The theory suggests that a healthy mate is more likely to possess genetic traits related to health that would be passed on to offspring. People's tendency to consider people with facial symmetry more attractive than those with less symmetrical faces is one example. However, a test was conducted that found that perfectly symmetrical faces were less attractive than normal faces. It has also been suggested that people are attracted to faces similar to their own. Case studies have revealed that when a photograph of a woman was superimposed to include the features of a man's face, the man whose face was superimposed almost always rated that picture the most attractive. This theory is based upon the notion that we want to replicate our own features in the next generation, as we have survived thus far with such features and have instinctive survival wishes for our children. Another (non-evolutionary) explanation given for the results of that study was that the man whose face was superimposed may have consciously or subconsciously associated the photographically altered female face with the face of his mother or other family member.

Evolutionary theory also suggests that love keeps two people together so that they can raise a child. Love keeps two people together, and this would help raise a child. For example, a man and a woman who love each other would be together and work together to raise a child. Back in the tribal days—when much of human evolution took place—it would probably require two people to successfully raise an offspring, and a mother with a supporting partner would probably have more surviving offspring than a mother who does not have such a partner. Thus, people with the ability to form love would produce more offspring than those without that ability. And these offspring would have the genes for love. Thus, the genes for love would become common, and that is why most people today have the ability to love.

3.3.3 The Reciprocity-of-Liking Rule

A naive observer from another culture would have little trouble discovering one reward which people in our society spend a tremendous amount of time, money, and effort to obtain. Just a brief glance at a few television commercials would reveal that the desire for the esteem of others must be a very strong and pervasive motivation, for it is often exploited by those who have something to sell. Countless everyday observations provide a great deal of evidence that we value highly the esteem of others and will work hard to obtain this reward. If esteem is indeed a reward, and if it is true that we tend to like those who reward us, it follows that we should like people who like us.

The proposition that esteem will be reciprocated can be derived from several psychological theories. Theorists who take the reinforcement point of view reason that the most general determinants of interpersonal esteem are reciprocal rewards and punishments. Some of these theorists (e.g., Homans, 1961) have specifically noted that one type of reward to which people are extremely responsive is social approval or esteem. Like money, social approval is viewed as a generalised, "transituational" reinforcer because it has the power to reinforce a wide variety of human activities. For example, many experimenters have demonstrated that if one merely nods his head and murmurs approval each time his discussion partner utters a plural noun, he can dramatically increase the frequency with which the recipient of that reward will pepper his discourse with plural nouns (e.g., Dulany, 1961). Stronger demonstrations of approval, such as the roar of the crowd or another's love for oneself, frequently influence lifetimes of activity. Social approval, again like money, is valuable because its possession makes one reasonably confident that a number of his needs will be satisfied; a lack of social approval often indicates that many of one's needs— those which require the good will and cooperation of others for satisfaction— will be frustrated.

In addition to the reinforcement theorists, cognitive-consistency theorists also make the reciprocal-liking prediction. Heider's balance theory (1958), for example, predicts that if Person A likes X (himself) and Person B likes X (Person A), a cognitively balanced state in which Person A likes Person B will be induced. Many correlational data, obtained from a wide variety of psychological studies, have been cited in support of the reciprocal-liking proposition (e.g., Newcomb, 1963). These data provide evidence that individuals tend to believe that the people they like reciprocate their liking. If it is true that we like people who like us, we would expect to find such a correlation. Taken alone, however, these data do not provide conclusive evidence for reciprocity of liking. Either one of two processes, or both, could be responsible for the observed correlation between the extent to which we feel another likes us and the extent to which we like him.

1) A person may come to like another and *then,* as a consequence of his liking, come to perceive that the other person likes him. In such a case, the liking for the other is not induced by the other person's providing the reward of esteem, but rather by some other determinant of interpersonal attraction.

2) One may become attracted to another as a consequence of his discovery that the other person likes him. Such a process would support the notion that esteem constitutes a reward, and we are attracted to people who give such a reward.

3.3.4 Rewarding Reduces Anxiety, Stress, Loneliness and Enhances Self-Esteem

As a strategy of interpersonal attraction if one person in the interaction rewards the other for aomething the latter has done, it enhances the interpersonal relationship. In the process it also reduces many of the negative emotional states of the person concerned. This is being discussed in detail below:

3.3.4.1 Liking Produced By Rewards Others Provide

The psychological principle which is most frequently used to predict interpersonal attraction is the principle of reinforcement. We will like those who reward us, we will dislike those who punish us. Several theorists have elaborated upon the relationship between reinforcement and interpersonal attraction. For example, Homans' (1961) theory rests largely on the general proposition that a necessary condition for receiving esteem from others is the capacity to reward them. He hypothesizes further that

A man's esteem depends upon the relative rarity of the services he provides if we take a larger look at the ways in which a man may help others. If he has capacities of heart, mind, skill, experience, or even strength that they do not have, and uses these capacities to reward others, he will get esteem from them. But if his capacities are of a kind that they also possess, or if these capacities are widely available in the group, he will not get much esteem even if he uses them in such a way as to reward the others.

In other words, there are, according to Homans, rewards and rewards— one who provides rewards which are in short supply is more likely to evoke attraction than one who provides rewards which are relatively common. Homans considers the costs as well as the rewards one can incur in a relationship and introduces the concept of profit. Profit is simply defined as the amount of reward a person receives from an interaction minus the cost he incurs in that interaction. The amount of social approval, or esteem, one has for another is hypothesised to be a function of the profit one obtains from one's interactions with the other.

According to these theorists, then, how much a person will be attracted to another depends upon whether the outcomes the person obtains from the other are above or below his Comparison Level (CL) "If the outcomes in a given relationship surpass the CL, that relationship is regarded as a satisfactory one. And, to the degree the outcomes are supra-CL, the person may be said to be attracted to the relationship. If the outcomes endured are infra-CL, the person is dissatisfied and unhappy with the relationship".

Lott and Lott (1961), extending Hullian learning theory to apply to the case of interpersonal attraction, have reasoned that a person should come to like not only

those who provide rewards, but also those who have nothing to do with providing rewards, but are merely physically present when the individual receives rewards. They have reasoned that, like any other response, response to a reward becomes conditioned to all discriminable stimuli present at the time of reinforcement; another person, of course, may be a discriminable stimulus.

To test whether or not one tends to like those who just happen to be present at the time one receives a reward, Lott and Lott formed three-member groups of children. Each group then played a game in which some members of the group were rewarded and other members were not. Following participation in the game sociometric tests were administered to the children. Specifically the children were asked which two children in the class they would choose to take with them on their next family vacation. The results of some studies indicated that children who had been rewarded chose members of their three-person groups (who were present at the time of reward) significantly more often than unrewarded children chose members of their three-person groups.

Thus, Lott and Lott concluded that the reward of success in the game had been conditioned to the other members of the group and this led to increased esteem for these members. Results of this study were corroborated by a subsequent study conducted by James and Lott (1964). While it is generally accepted that "we will like those who reward us and dislike those who punish us," we must note that this statement does not, to any great extent, increase predictability in the area of interpersonal attraction. We have no equation which will permit us to add up all the rewards a stimulus person will provide and balance them against the punishment which he will inflict and thus arrive at a total reward index which will tell us how much others will like him.

A multitude of things may be rewarding or punishing to any individual at a given time. In addition, it is often the case that "one man's meat is another man's poison"; individuals differ in what they find to be rewarding or punishing. Since it is so difficult to calculate what one individual at one point in time will find rewarding, researchers in interpersonal attraction have been led to consider which behaviours and events most people, most of the time, will find rewarding. By considering some of the specific behaviours that have been found to be rewarding or punishing to people in a number of different situations, that is behaviours which appear to be "trans-situational reinforcers, some predictive insight into interpersonal attraction has been gained.

3.3.4.2 Anxiety

There is much evidence that when individuals feel anxious, afraid, lonely or unsure of themselves, the sheer presence of others is particularly rewarding. Try an experiment: Come to class a few minutes early on a regular school day. You will probably find that few of your classmates approach you. Then, some time when an exam is scheduled in one of your classes, arrive a few minutes early. You may be surprised to see the number of classmates who approach you with friendly remarks or joking comments. There is a good psychological explanation for the observation that students seem friendlier on days when an exam is scheduled than on days when one is not.

Schachter (1959) tested the hypothesis that anxiety conditions will lead to an increased affiliative tendency. He recruited college women to participate in an experiment. When they arrived in the experimental rooms, the experimenter claimed

that his investigation was concerned with the effects of electric shock. The description of the shock experiment was designed to make some of the women highly anxious, while leaving the remainder of the women calm. Specifically, anxiety was produced in the following way:

In the high-anxiety condition, the subjects entered a room to find facing them a gentleman of serious mien, wearing hornrimmed glasses, dressed in a white laboratory coat, stethoscope dribbling out of his pocket, behind him an array of formidable electrical junk. After a few preliminaries, the experimenter began: "Allow me to introduce myself. I am Dr. Gregor Zilstein of the Medical School's Departments of Neurology and Psychiatry. I have asked you all to come today in order to serve as subjects in an experiment concerned with the effects of electrical shock".

To make matters worse, the series of electric shocks the girls were to receive were described as extremely painful. In the low-anxiety condition, both the setting and the description of the experiment were designed to avoid arousing anxiety in the subjects. There was no electrical apparatus in the experimental room. The experimenter explained that he was concerned with extremely mild electrical shocks that would not in any way be painful. The "shocks" were said to resemble more a tickle or a tingle than anything unpleasant.

Once some women had been made more anxious than others, Schachter could examine how anxiety affected their desire to be with other individuals. He assessed subjects' desire to affiliate in the following way. The experimenter claimed that there would be about a ten-minute delay while several pieces of equipment were secured. Subjects were told that during the ten-minute break they could wait in a private cubicle. These rooms were said to be comfortable and spacious; they all contained armchairs and there were books and magazines in each room. The experimenter also commented that some of them might want to wait with other girls. If they preferred to wait with others, they were asked to let the experimenter know. He then passed out a sheet upon which the subject could indicate whether she preferred to wait alone, or with others, or had no preference at all. Schachter found support for his hypothesis that anxious people will be especially inclined to seek the company of others. Sixty-three per cent of the subjects in the high-anxiety condition wanted to wait with other subjects. In the low-anxiety condition only thirty-three per cent of subjects wished to wait with others. Schachter had also asked girls to indicate how *strongly* they desired to be alone or with others. They could give answers varying from "I very much prefer being alone" (scored -2) through "I don't care very much" (0) to "I very much prefer being together with others" (scored +2). These data also support the notion that affiliative desire increases with anxiety.

The finding that the anticipation of stress produces an increased desire to affiliate has been replicated by Darley and Aronson (1966). While anxiety appears to increase an individual's need for affiliation, there is evidence that anxious individuals are selective about the others with whom they wish to affiliate. Anxious people apparently do not wish to be in the company of just any other person. Instead, anxious individuals seem to prefer to associate with people who are in a situation similar to their -own.

Schachter bases this conclusion on a study which is similar in many ways to the experiment just described. Two groups of college women were led to anticipate that they would soon be severely shocked. Then they were asked whether they

preferred to wait alone or with others. How the "others" were described varied. In one condition girls were given a choice between waiting alone or waiting with some girls who were said to be taking part in the same experiment. In the other condition, girls were told they could either wait alone or with girls who were waiting to talk to their professors and advisors. Sixty per cent of the girls who had a chance to visit with similar others chose to spend their time in the company of others. Not one girl who was given the option of waiting with girls who were waiting to talk with their professors chose to wait with others. Scores on the "Over-all Intensity Scale" revealed the same results. Girls did not seem to be especially anxious to associate with other girls unless these other girls were in a situation similar to their own. Schachter notes that this finding puts a limitation on the old saw "Misery loves company." Perhaps misery doesn't love just any kind of company - only miserable company. Once we accept the proposition that when individuals are anxious they have a special desire to affiliate with people in situations similar to their own, the question arises as to why this would be so. Schachter considers several possibilities:

1) *Escape.* When one is in a stressful situation, perhaps he anticipates that talking to others in the same situation may help him figure out a way to avoid the pain altogether.

2) *Cognitive clarity.* There is some evidence that individuals in ambiguous or novel situations will desire to talk with knowledgable others in order to gain some understanding of an otherwise incomprehensible event. Since receiving severe shock in an experimental setting is probably unique in the subject's experience, perhaps anxious subjects desire to associate with others in order to find out if the others know any more about what is going on than they do.

3) *Direct anxiety reduction.* People often comfort and reassure one another. Perhaps highly anxious subjects choose to wait with others in the hope that the others will bolster their courage.

4) *Indirect anxiety reduction.* An effective device for reducing anxiety is to "get one's mind off one's troubles." People may be seen as more diverting than books or magazines. Perhaps subjects choose to wait with others in order to prevent themselves from thinking about the shock which will be forthcoming.

5) *Self-evaluation.* People often use other people in order to evaluate the reasonableness of their own emotions and feelings. In this novel and emotion-producing situation, an individual probably is not quite sure exactly how she should be reacting. (Should she be angry at the experimenter? Slightly apprehensive about the shock? Terrified?) Perhaps high-anxiety subjects seek out others in an attempt to appropriately label and identify their own feelings.

3.3.4.3 Stress

There is some evidence that individuals who are placed in a stressful situation show less severe physiological disturbance if other individuals are present than if they are not. Bovard (1959) developed an intriguing and compelling theory concerning the effect of social stimuli on an individual's physiological response to stress.

A number of recent studies have suggested a reciprocal inhibitory effect between the posterior hypothalamus and the anterior hypothalamus and parasympathetic

centers . . . Stimulation of the latter region would appear to inhibit activity of the former . . .

The simplest hypothesis to account for the observed phenomena at the human and animal levels is, therefore, that the presence of another member of the same species stimulates activity of the anterior hypothalamus and thus, as a byproduct, inhibits activity of the posterior hypothalamus and its centers mediating the neuroendocrine response to stress. Previous interaction with the other person or animal, as the case may be, could be assumed to accentuate this effect.

The evidence that the presence of others may help eliminate an individual's discomfort when he is experiencing stress, provides an additional reason why individuals might learn to affiliate with others in stressful circumstances.

3.3.4.4 Social Isolation

There is evidence that even when not under stressful conditions, people prefer a fair amount of contact with others to being alone for any length of time. The strength of the desire for social intercourse with others was dramatically demonstrated by the results of a social reform experiment conducted in the early 19th century. At this time one of the great prison architects was John Haviland. As the result of the Quakers' religious beliefs and the upsurge of "humanitarianism," an attempt was made in 1821 to reform the prison system. Haviland was commissioned to build a "perfect" and "humanitarian" prison. The Quaker reformers noticed that mingling among prison inmates produced strong friendships among the inmates which caused them to continue their friendships after being released. Such friendships among ex-criminals tended to lead ex-criminals back into a life of crime. In the humanitarian reformation, it was decided to prevent contact among the prisoners. It was thought that total social isolation would prevent harmful corruption, protect the criminal's good resolutions, and give him ample opportunity to ponder on his mistakes and make his peace with God. Haviland's architectural design, which provided for solitary confinement day and night, was extremely popular with prison commissioners and a great many prisons imitated this style. The wardens, however, soon found that great ingenuity had to be adopted to prevent prisoners from talking. For example, new ventilation systems had to be designed, for prisoners soon found that the regular systems could be utilised for purposes of communication. Ultimately the policy of social isolation was found to produce undesirable results. The fact that many inmates became physically and mentally ill as a result of their solitary confinement and their lack of work eventually forced a change of policy. Current psychological knowledge would have enabled us to foresee this outcome. By early childhood a person has usually developed a need for the company of people. Complete social isolation for any prolonged period of time is known to be a painful experience. "Cabin fever" is a familiar expression which epitomizes the discomfort that even brief social isolation brings. Schachter points out that the autobiographical reports of religious hermits, prisoners of war, make it clear that isolation is devastating.

He notes that three trends have been found to characterise the experience of individuals enduring absolute social deprivation.

1) The reported pain of the isolation experience seems typically to bear a nonmonotonic relationship to time. Pain increases to a maximum in many cases and then decreases sharply. This decrease in pain is frequently marked by onset of the state of apathy, sometimes so severe as to resemble a schizophrenic state

of withdrawal and detachment.

2) There seems to be a stronger tendency for those in isolation to think, dream, and occasionally to hallucinate about people.

3) Those isolates who are able to keep themselves occupied with distracting activities appear to suffer less and to be less prone to develop apathy.

The data support the conclusion that complete social isolation is more unpleasant than normal human contact. It is evident that others provide some reward by their sheer physical presence, they stave off loneliness.

3.3.4.5 Self Esteem

What effect does an individual's self-esteem have on his reaction to accepting or rejecting others? Clinicians seem to agree that a high self-esteem person is more receptive to another's love than is an individual with lower self-esteem. For example, Rogers (1951) says that the person who accepts himself will have better interpersonal relations with others. Adler (1926) adds that those who themselves feel inferior depreciate others. Horney (1939) views love as a capacity, she sees love of self and love of others as positively related. Fromm (1939), too, agrees with this notion. Studies supporting a positive relationship between self-esteem and liking or acceptance for others are reported in Omwake (1954). These studies support the contention that there is a positive relationship between self-esteem and liking.

A different prediction was made by Dittes (1959). He hypothesised that approval from other people would be especially rewarding to individuals low in self-esteem. He argued that:

A person's attraction towards membership in a group, like motivational attraction toward any object, may be considered a function of two interacting determinants: (a) the extent to which his particular needs are satisfied by the group, and (b) the strength of his needs.

Dittes assumed that the lower the level of one's own self-esteem, the greater would be his need for such supports to self-esteem as are provided by acceptance in a group. From this assumption, Dittes' predictions can be clearly derived: (1) When another person is accepting, he satisfies a greater need in a low self-esteem person than in a high self-esteem person. Thus, acceptance should produce a greater increase in attraction the lower the self-esteem of the recipient. (2) When the other person is rejecting, he frustrates a greater need in the low self-esteem person than in the high self-esteem person. Thus rejection should decrease the other's attractiveness more, the lower the self-esteem of the recipient.

An experimental study provided support for Dittes' proposal. Subjects were college freshmen, who met in small groups of five or six members for a two-hour discussion task session. An attempt was made to make the group very attractive. During the first hour of discussion, the groups' conversation was interrupted three times to allow subjects to rate the desirability of having each of the other members in the group. These ratings were requested by the experimenter as though they were for his own interest. At an intermission, the subject's interest in these ratings was aroused and he was allowed to see privately what he believed to be the ratings of desirability made of him by other members of the group. Actually, the

distributed ratings were fictitious, and had been prepared in advance to lead some subjects (those in the Satisfying condition) to believe that they were highly accepted by the group, and to lead others (those in the Frustrating condition) to believe that the group rejected them. After some additional tasks had been performed, the subject's own attraction to the group was assessed. Individuals were asked if the group met again, how much they would like to continue working with it, how much they enjoyed participating in the experiment, and how disappointed would they be if not invited back to participate. Scores on these questions were summed to form an index of the subject's attraction to the group.

Dittes measured self-esteem in three ways: (1) Before the experimental session, subjects completed a self-esteem questionnaire. (2) At the end of the session, they were asked about their general sense of adequacy among groups of peers. (Since the acceptance manipulation would be expected to affect answers to this question, subjects' scores were computed separately in each experimental condition.) (3) Subjects were rated by the other individuals in the group. The ratings they received were considered to be indicative of their own self-esteem. The extent to which the subject believed he had been accepted by the group had a much greater effect on whether or not he reciprocated the group's liking when his self-esteem was low than when it was high.

3.4 LET US SUM UP

Both personal characteristics and environment play a role in interpersonal attraction. A major determinant of attraction is propinquity, or physical proximity. People who come into contact regularly and have no prior negative feelings about each other generally become attracted to each other as their degree of mutual familiarity and comfort level increases. The situation in which people first meet also determines how they will feel about each other. One is more likely to feel friendly toward a person first encountered in pleasant, comfortable circumstances. People are generally drawn to each other when they perceive similarities with each other. The more attitudes and opinions two people share, the greater the probability that they will like each other. It has also been shown that disagreement on important issues decreases attraction. One of the most important shared attitudes is that liking and disliking the same people creates an especially strong bond between two individuals. The connection between interpersonal attraction and similar attitudes is complex because once two people become friends, they begin to influence each other's attitudes. In conclusion, people tend to be attracted to individuals who are physically attractive, physically accessible and socially available; and similar in terms of purposes, backgrounds, beliefs, and needs. However, interpersonal attraction is not the only factor that affects the building of a strong and health relationship. A good relationship requires communication and the ability to adapt to one another.

3.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Define the term interpersonal attraction and discuss its significance in our life.

2) Describe the salient factors that contribute in the development of interpersonal attraction

3) Why do people attracted towards others as they do, critically evaluate.

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UNIT 4 AGGRESSION AND VIOLENCE

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Human aggression is any behaviour directed toward another individual that is carried out with the proximate (immediate) intent to cause harm. In addition, the perpetrator must believe that the behaviour will harm the target, and that the target is motivated to avoid the behaviour (Bushman & Anderson 2001, Baron & Richardson 1994, Berkowitz 1993, Geen 2001).

Aggression is the delivery of an aversive stimulus from one person to another, with intent to harm and with an expectation of causing such harm, when the other person is motivated to escape or avoid the stimulus.

When we hear the word 'aggression' we probably tend first to think of physical force - a fist-fight, an assault with a weapon, a loud verbal retort or some other form of intense and punitive action enacted in the course of conflict between two people. Actually, according to the definition we have adopted, aggression may be carried out in any behaviour actuated by intent to harm another person against that person's wishes. Spreading vicious gossip about someone in hopes of ruining that person's reputation would be considered aggression.

In this unit we will be dealing with nature and type of aggression, and learn how to measure aggression. Following this we will learn about causes of aggression from various perspectives including biologic, neurophysiologic and social perspective. Whether aggressive behaviour is in any way related to parental rearing style and the influence of parental attitudes on children. Also there will be environmental stressorws and the unit will take up all the theories of aggression. Finally the unit will talk about the interventions to prevent aggression.

4.1 OBJECTIVES

After successful completion of this Unit, you will to be able to:

l   Define aggression;

l   Differentiate between various types of aggression;

l   Analyse the various causes of aggression;

ı Explain aggression in the light of different theories; and

ı Explain effective techniques to reduce aggression.

4.2 NATURE AND TYPES OF AGGRESSION

Apart from physical violence against the body of other humans, there may also be verbal abuse and verbal assault etc., which all can be considered as aggression. In addition, damaging or destroying another's property can be a highly effective way of aggressing against another person. Even something as subtle and controlled as a social snub can be a powerful source of harm to the victim, a harm that is clearly intended by the person delivering it. Accidental harm is not aggressive because it is not intended. Harm that is an incidental by-product of helpful actions is also not aggressive, because the harm-doer believes that the target is not motivated to avoid the action (e.g., pain experienced during a dental procedure). Similarly, the pain administered in sexual masochism is not aggressive because the victim is not motivated to avoid it. Indeed, the pain is actively solicited in service of a higher goal (Baumeister 1989).

Aggressive behaviour during early childhood is considered a part of the normal developmental process (Greydanus, Pratt, Greydanus, & Hoffman, 1992). Acts of aggression change during a person's life span. When young children lack verbal skills, aggression is predominantly physical. When verbal skills develop, they could be used as peaceful communication, but also for aggressive purposes (Ferris & Grisso, 1996). Outbursts of anger usually peak around 18 to 24 months of age and gradually decrease by five years of age. Tremblay et al. (1999), found that most children have experienced their onset of physical aggression by the end of their 2nd year. Early aggressive behaviour consists of crying, screaming, temper tantrums, biting, kicking, throwing, and breaking objects (Achenbach, 1994; Raine, Reynolds, Venables, Mednick, & Farrington, 1998). At this stage, intention is instrumental.

Early childhood aggressive behaviour may be in response to parental authority and unrealistic expectations on the part of the parent toward their child. Later as social interactions increase, aggression may be directed towards peers (Greydanus et al., 1992). Later on, such behaviours as teasing, bullying, fighting, irritability, cruelty to animals, and fire-setting occur. During early adolescence, more serious violence develops, including gang fights and use of weapons.

In human research, a widely used definition of aggression is behaviour deliberately aimed at harming people and/or objects. In this definition harm has implicitly been defined as hurting someone physically, e. g. by kicking. However, other forms of harm, like psychological harm, e. g. humiliating, and relational harm such as malicious gossiping, are just as important. In addition to physical aggression, two other forms of aggression are currently recognised, namely psychological aggression and relational aggression.

Antisocial behaviour is defined as behaviour by which people are disadvantaged and basic norms and values are violated. Examples of such behaviours are lying, stealing and truancy. Aggressive behaviour then is a specific form of antisocial behaviour. Aggressive behaviour is an important component of several common mental health disorders in young people, including conduct disorder, oppositional-defiant disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and intermittent explosive disorder.

Effective treatment of aggression is important not only because this behaviour is associated with negative developmental outcomes for perpetrators but also because it harms people in addition to the client

There are different types of aggression. Theoretical perspectives on aggression suggest that typographically and functionally distinct subtypes of aggression exist (Dodge & Schwartz, 1997). It is important to consider the multidimensional nature of aggression because different stimuli combine with different types of physiological and mental processes to create distinct forms of aggression. Although different classification systems for aggression have been proposed, as seen below, these typologies tend to overlap somewhat, with each system having a slightly different emphasis. The forms of types of aggression that are reviewed consist of the clinical classification, the stimulus-based classification, the instrumental versus hostile classification, and the positive versus negative classification.

4.2.1 Clinical Classification

The clinical literature research, heavily influenced by the work of Feshbach (1970) has frequently referred to two forms of aggression the first form being "affective," "reactive," "defensive," "impulsive," or "hot-blooded" aggression. This type of aggression is defined as a violent response to physical or verbal aggression initiated by others that is relatively uncontrolled and emotionally charged. In contrast, the second form of aggression is referred to as "predatory," "instrumental," "proactive," or "cold-blooded" aggression. This type of aggression is characterised as controlled, purposeful aggression lacking in emotion that is used to achieve a desired goal, including the domination and control of others.

4.2.2 Instrumental versus Hostile Aggression

Feshbach (1970) originally developed this typology, and it has been elaborated upon more recently by Atkins et al. (1993). This influential model separates aggression into instrumental and hostile functions. Instrumental aggression produces some positive reward or advantage (impact) on the aggressor unrelated to the victim's discomfort. The purpose of hostile aggression is to induce injury or pain (negative impact) upon the victim. In this case, there is little or no advantage to the aggressor. This model has been widely studied in community samples of children and adults with varying results (Atkins et al., 1993). One problem with this classification is that the constructs require careful delineation because many aggressive episodes will have components of both instrumental and hostile aggression.

4.2.3 Proactive and Reactive Aggression

A number of recent studies of aggression draw a distinction between reactive and proactive aggression. The first of these terms refers to aggressive behaviour that is enacted in response to provocation, such as an attack or an insult, and it is manifested in both self-defensive and angry actions. The latter term refers to aggression that is initiated without apparent provocation, such as we see in bullying behaviour. Such behaviour is not evoked by anger, hostility or the need to defend oneself, but by other motives that relate to obtaining goods, asserting power, assuring the approval of reference groups and other such goals. Reactive and proactive aggression are the equivalent of what earlier theorists called affective and instrumental aggression.

4.2.4 Positive versus Negative Aggression

Generally speaking, aggression is considered to have a negative function that not only elicits disapproval from others, but also is evaluated as destructive and damaging in its consequences. However, Blustein (1996) argues that the term "aggressive" behaviour is ambiguous, denoting both positive and negative behaviours. Ellis (1976) considered positive aggression to be healthy, productive behaviour if it promoted the basic values of survival, protection, happiness, social acceptance, preservation, and intimate relations. In the context of positive aggression, a certain amount of aggression is thought to be necessary and adaptive throughout childhood and adolescence because it helps build autonomy and identity (Gupta, 1983; Romi & Itskowitz, 1990).

Furthermore, a certain degree of aggression or dominance helps to facilitate engagement in cooperative and competitive activities with one's peers. Channeled in the proper direction, human aggression is the force that enables a person to be healthfully self-assertive, dominant, and independent and to achieve mastery of both the environment and the self. Therefore, it is believed that positive aggression takes many forms, including self-protection, standing up in the face of negation, pushing for new possibilities, and defending against harm.

With respect to negative aggression, this behaviour has been defined as acts that result in personal injury or destruction of property (Bandura, 1973). Alternatively, it also has been defined as attacking behaviour that harms another of the same species (Atkins et al., 1993). Negative aggression also is defined as forceful action that is directed towards the goal of harming or injuring another living being (Moyer, 1968).

Encroaching on the home or territory of a resident and causing others financial, physical, and emotional damage also is included in negative aggression (Moyer, 1968). Negative aggression is considered unhealthy because it induces heightened emotions that can in the long-term be damaging to the individual.

4.3 THE MEASUREMENT OF AGGRESSION

Aggression has been measured in a number of different ways. Perhaps the most popular technique has been to use rating scales that are completed by either the mother of the child or the schoolteacher. One well-used example of such a rating scale is the Child Behaviour Checklist (Achenbach, 1994). A second frequently used measure of aggression consists of self-report measures where the individual fills out a questionnaire to assess different aggressive attitudes and behaviours. Perhaps the most popular is the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (Buss & Durkee, 1957).

Aggression also can be measured by observers. For example, the Overt Aggression Scale (Yudofsky, 1986) measures four different types of ward behaviour in psychiatric patients by nurse raters. Furthermore, aggression can be measured using a subtype scale that can classify different types of aggression. Proactive and reactive aggression can be reliably and validly assessed by a brief self-report measure (the Reactive-Proactive Aggression Questionnaire) with a reading age of eight years.

In addition, aggression and aggressive-related measures can be assessed in the justice system by using

1) official files of the police, court, and correctional agencies

2) self-report measures, for example Self-Reported Delinquency

3) Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R), a rating scale designed to measure traits of psychopathic personality disorder (Hare, 1991).

PCL-R is the most popular clinical instrument for assessing psychopathic behaviour Finally, aggression may be assessed using clinical projective tests such as the Thematic Apperception Test (Murray, 1957; Wodrich & Thull, 1997).

Self Assessment Questions

1) Discuss nature and types of aggression with suitable examples.

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2) What are the clinical classification of aggression?

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3) Differentiate between proactive and reactive aggression.

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4) Define instrumental aggression and differentiate it from hostile aggression.

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5) Explain proactive and reactive aggression.

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6) What are the characteristic features of positive and negative aggression.

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7) Describe the methods by which aggression can be measured.

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4.4 CAUSES OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR

4.4.1 Neurophysiologic Perspectives

Neurophysiologic perspectives argue that aggression is a biological response that is under the control of the brain. There are several important principles, It emphasises the role of the brain, hormones and neurotransmitters in aggressive behaviour; It stresses that our behaviour is largely governed by biological forces rather than environmental ones; It states that aggression is innate not learned.

4.4.2 Biological Causes

Research is beginning to indicate that biological processes (internal stimuli) may serve a role in predisposing to aggression. Five specific processes are selected for brief description: (1) brain dysfunction, (2) testosterone, (3) serotonin, (4) birth complications, and (5) nutrition deficiency.

4.4.2.1 Brain Dysfunction

Aggressive criminals have been found to have poor brain functioning. One source of evidence comes from neuropsychological tests, which have indicated poor functioning of the frontal and temporal regions of the brain in violent offenders. In addition, EEG studies have shown that aggressive prisoners are more likely to show EEG abnormalities.

Aggressive psychopaths are more likely to show excessive slow EEG wave. A third source of evidence comes from brain imaging studies. Aggressive prisoners have been shown to have reduced glucose metabolism in the prefrontal region of the brain, while individuals with antisocial personality disorder show an 11% reduction in the volume of prefrontal gray matter compared to normal and psychiatric control groups. The reason why brain dysfunction predisposes to aggression may be because the prefrontal region of the brain normally acts to control and regulate the emotional reactions generated by deeper, limbic brain structures like the amygdala. If the prefrontal region of the brain is functioning poorly, it will be less able to keep these aggressive impulses in check, resulting in an increased likelihood of impulsive, aggressive acts.

4.4.2.2 Testosterone

Sex hormones appear to play a role in shaping aggressive behaviour. Aggressive, violent offenders have been found to have significantly higher levels of testosterone than controls. Female criminals also have been found to be much more likely to commit crimes around the menstrual phase of their cycle when progesterone is low, while aggression is reduced around the time of ovulation when estrogen and progesterone levels are high (Carlson, 1998). Weight-lifters who take anabolic steroids become more aggressive and hostile, and normal men who are given testosterone become more irritable and hostile.

4.4.2.3 Serotonin

There has been a recent increase in research on neurotransmitters and their relationship to aggression in animals and humans. Although there is emerging data implicating the role of a variety of neurotransmitters in mediating impulsive aggressive behaviour in humans, most data have suggested a particularly strong role for serotonin. Both animal and human research has shown that aggressors have lower levels of the neurotransmitter serotonin. Nevertheless, the links between brain chemistry and aggression in humans are complex, because the environment plays a key role in regulating neurochemistry.

Social dominance influences serotonin levels in monkeys, and alcohol consumption also plays a significant role (Carlson, 1998). Birth complications have been repeatedly found to be associated with later increased aggressive behaviour in childhood and criminal activity in adults . Interestingly, birth complications alone have rarely been found to have a direct link with aggression and violence. Instead, aggressive behaviour is especially likely to develop when birth complications combine with psychosocial risk factors such as disadvantaged family environment, and poor parenting (Arsenault, Tremblay, Boulerice, & Saucier, 2002). Specific birth complications e.g., forceps delivery etc. are believed to result in central nervous system damage, which in turn impairs brain function, which then predisposes aggression (Liu, 2004a).

4.4.2.4 Nutrition Deficiency

Research on nutrition deficiency and aggressive behaviour is beginning to get attention. Factors include food additives, hypoglycemia, cholesterol, and deficiencies in protein, iron, and zinc. In humans, the male offspring of pregnant women starved during the German blockade of food to Holland at the end of World War II had 2.5 times the rates of antisocial personality disorder in adulthood compared to controls. In addition, several studies reported that iron deficiency is directly associated with aggressive behaviour and conduct disorder. Similarly, zinc deficiency has been found to be linked with aggressive behaviour in both animals and humans. It is believed that early malnutrition negatively impacts brain growth and development, and that brain impairments predispose individuals to antisocial and violent behaviour by impacting cognitive functions (Liu, Raine, Venables, & Mednick, 2004).

4.4.3 Environment and Genes

Twin and adoption studies suggest a large shared (family) environmental effect, a moderate non-shared (unique) environmental effect, and a modest genetic effect. Typical twin concordance rates for adolescent delinquency are 87% for

monozygotic twins and 72% for dizygotic twins. Adoption studies suggest that genetically vulnerable children—that is, children whose birth parents were antisocial—may be especially susceptible to unfavourable family conditions. The genetic element seems to be stronger for adult criminality than childhood conduct disorder and delinquency.

4.4.4 Parental Rearing Style

Five aspects of how parents bring up their children have been shown repeatedly to be strongly associated with long term antisocial behaviour problems, namely (a) poor supervision, (b) erratic, harsh discipline, (c) parental disharmony, (d) rejection of the child, and (e) low involvement in the child's activities. One study showed that among antisocial boys aged 10, differences in parenting styles predicted over 30 % of the variance in aggression two years later.

4.4.5 Parent-child Interaction Pattern

Direct observation in the home shows that much aggressive behaviour in children is influenced by the way parents behave towards them. In many families with antisocial children the parents do little to encourage polite or considerate behaviour by the child. Such behaviour is often ignored and rendered ineffective. Yet frequently when the child yells or has a tantrum he or she gets attention, often the parent gives in, so the child wins and soon learns to adapt accordingly. The coexistent unresponsiveness to the child's communications and emotional needs contributes further to the child's disturbance.

4.4.6 Parental Influence on Children's Emotions and Attitudes

Difficulties can often be traced back to infancy. A high proportion of toddlers who go on to develop conduct problems show disorganised attachment patterns, experiencing fear, anger, and distress on reunion with their parent after a brief separation. This behaviour is likely to be a response to frightening, unavailable, and inconsistent parenting. The security of infant attachment can be predicted with substantial certainty before the child is even born, from the emotionally distorted, confused style in which the mother talks about relationships with her own parents.

By middle childhood, aggressive children are quick to construe neutral overtures by others as hostile and have difficulty judging other people's feelings. They are poor at generating constructive solutions to conflicts, believing instead that aggression will be effective. This quickness to take offence at the slightest opportunity is reflected on the street in sensitivity to disrespect, which can lead to swift retribution. This indicates the fragile self esteem and confrontational view of the world that these young people have come to develop after experiencing years of frustration and failure. Some find that being violent makes them feel good about themselves and give them control.

4.4.7 Difficulties with Friends and at School

In the school playground these children lack the skills to participate and take turns without upsetting others and becoming aggressive. Peer rejection typically ensues quickly, and the children then associate with the other antisocial children, who share their set of values. Those with difficulty reading typically fail to get any qualifications by the time they leave school, and they become unemployed. This may contribute to persisting aggressive behaviour.

4.4.8 Predisposing Child Characteristics

Hyperactivity, also known as attention deficit Hyperactivity disorder is predominantly genetically determined. Children who show this restless, impulsive pattern of behaviour do not necessarily start off aggressive, but over time a proportion become so. They have difficulty waiting their turns in social encounters and games and so easily provoke retaliation and get into fights. Where hyperactivity and conduct disorder coexist from an early age the long term outlook is especially poor.

Delinquents have repeatedly been shown to have an IQ that is 8-10 points lower than law abiding peers—and this is before the onset of aggressive behaviour. Other traits predisposing to conduct problems include irritability and explosiveness, lack of social awareness and social anxiety, and reward seeking behaviour.

The interplay between a child's characteristics and the environment is complex. As children grow older, their environment is increasingly determined by their own behaviour and choices. There may be turning points when certain decisions set the scene for years to come.Thus it is not simply a young person's level of antisocial behaviour per se that determines later outcome but also how the behaviour shapes the social world inhabited later on. This has important implications for intervention.

4.4.9 Environmental Stressors

4.4.9.1 Temperature

When the temperature rises people tend to feel more disposed to aggressive behaviour. A researcher looked at incidents of violence across the USA and the corresponding weather reports. He found that when it was moderately hot (84°F) there was the most violence, but after the weather showed higher temperature, the violence decreased. This was backed up by a lab study by Baron and Bell who put participants in rooms of different temperatures then increased the heat in each of the rooms. The participants were asked to give electric shocks. They found that as the temperature rose, the participants gave more electric shocks, but then once the temperatures got to extreme levels, the shocks decreased. However, another researcher called Anderson looked at cases of violent acts including rape, murder and assault. He found that there was a steady increase as the temperature rose but that there was no indication of decline in extreme heat. One problem with this theory is that it would probably not be true to say that people in hotter countries are more aggressive.

4.4.9.2 Crowding

A higher density of people leads to higher levels of aggression. This theory links to de-individuation. It is also unpleasant when your personal space is invaded. For example, there is the most aggression along the most heavily-congested roads. There are more prison riots when the population density in the prison is higher. A study shows there was more aggression in a day nursery as the nursery got more crowded.

However, this pattern is not found in families, as people expect others to be in close proximity. This suggests that it is not just a high density, but overcrowding that is the problem. There are also limitations to this, as some people do not find encroachment of their personal space to be a problem. Furthermore, there are

also cultural differences e.g. Arabs tend to stand very close together. Also, if you can confront people about it, aggression can be reduced. Both crowding and heat lead to physiological arousal which leads to aggression. However, this may depend on your interpretation of the arousal; for example, crowds can be uplifting, fun and exciting.

4.4.9.3 Noise

Noise is an unwanted sound that causes a negative effect. It can cause aggression when it is too loud or unpredictable. Glass and Singer conducted an experiment where participant were asked to complete a maths task and were then asked to complete a proof-reading task. During the maths task, some of participants were subjected to noise, but all of them had quietness and no noise during the proof-reading task. It was found that the people who had the noise in the first task made more mistakes in the second task. They made the most mistakes when the noise was very loud, was random and when they had no control over it.

Self Assessment Questions

1) Discuss the various causes of aggressive behaviour.

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2) What are the neurophysiologic factors that contribute to aggressive behaviour.

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3) Put forward the biological causes of aggression.

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4) Discuss the interaction between environment and genes in contributing to aggressive behaviour.

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5) In what ways parental rearing style and parental interaction cause aggression.

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6) Discuss the parental influence on children's emotions and attitudes and the influence that the difficulties the child has with friends in then school.

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7) Enumerate the various predisposing child characteristic factors in causing aggression

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8) What are the various environmental stressors that cause aggression.

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4.5 THEORIES OF AGGRESSION

4.5.1 Psychodynamic Theory

Freud argued that all human beings possess two important instincts, the life instinct (Eros) and the death instinct (Thanatos). The conflict between life and death instincts results in self-destructive tendencies which lead to aggressive behaviour. The struggle between life and death instincts creates a build up of tension in our unconscious mind. This tension needs to be released, either through suitable outlets such as sport (sublimation) or onto others (displacement). Failure to relieve these aggressive impulses may result in an outburst of uncontrollable aggression. Freud's theory is also known as the hydraulic model of aggression.

4.5.2 Frustration-Aggression Theory

It is essentially a behaviourist approach that suggests aggression is a learned response to frustration. Frustration occurs when an individual is exposed to external situations (stimulus) that cause discomfort or anger e.g. prolonged queuing,

overcrowding, failure to achieve a goal, etc. Frustration is cumulative – it builds up in an individual until it is discharged via an aggressive act (response). The frustration-aggression hypothesis is sometimes known as drive-reduction theory. Dollard et al claim that Frustration always causes aggression, and Aggression is always caused by frustration.

4.5.3 Cognitive Neo-association Theory

Berkowitz (1993) has proposed that aversive events such as frustrations, provocations, loud noises, uncomfortable temperatures, and odors produce negative affect. Negative affect produced by unpleasant experiences automatically stimulates various thoughts, memories, expressive motor reactions, and physiological responses associated with both fight and flight tendencies. In cognitive neo-association theory, aggressive thoughts, emotions, and behavioural tendencies are linked together in memory (Collins & Loftus 1975).

Concepts with similar meanings e.g., hurt, harm and, concepts that frequently are activated simultaneously e.g., shoot, gun, develop strong associations. When a concept is primed or activated, this activation spreads to related concepts and increases their activation as well. Cognitive neo-association theory not only subsumes the earlier frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard et al. 1939), but it also provides a causal mechanism for explaining why aversive events increase aggressive inclinations, i.e., via negative affect (Berkowitz 1993). This model is particularly suited to explain hostile aggression, but the same priming and spreading activation processes are also relevant to other types of aggression.

4.5.4 Social Learning Theory

According to social learning theories (Bandura, 2001; Mischel 1999), people acquire aggressive responses the same way they acquire other complex forms of social behaviour—either by direct experience or by observing others. Social learning theory explains the acquisition of aggressive behaviours, via observational learning processes, and provides a useful set of concepts for understanding and describing the beliefs and expectations that guide social behaviour. Patterson's work on family interactions and the development of antisocial behaviour patterns relies heavily on this approach.

4.5.5 Script Theory

Huesmann (1998) proposed that when children observe violence in the mass media, they learn aggressive scripts. Scripts define situations and guide behaviour. The person first selects a script to represent the situation and then assumes a role in the script. Once a script has been learned, it may be retrieved at some later time and used as a guide for behaviour. This approach can be seen as a more specific and detailed account of social learning processes. Scripts are sets of particularly well-rehearsed, highly associated concepts in memory, often involving causal links, goals, and action plans. When items are so strongly linked that they form a script, they become a unitary concept in semantic memory. Furthermore, even a few script rehearsals can change a person's expectations and intentions involving important social behaviours.

4.5.6 Excitation Transfer Theory

Excitation transfer theory (Zillmann 1983) notes that physiological arousal dissipates

slowly. If two arousing events are separated by a short amount of time, arousal from the first event may be misattributed to the second event. If the second event is related to anger, then the additional arousal should make the person even angrier.

4.6.7 Social Interaction Theory

Social interaction theory (Tedeschi & Felson 1994) interprets aggressive behaviour as social influence behaviour, that is, an actor uses coercive actions to produce some change in the target's behaviour. Coercive actions can be used by an actor to obtain something of value e.g., information, money, goods, sex, services, safety , to exact retributive justice for perceived wrongs, or to bring about desired social and self identities e.g., toughness, competence. This theory provides an excellent way to understand recent findings that aggression is often the result of threats to high self-esteem, especially to unwarranted high self-esteem i.e., narcissism.

4.5.8 Social Information Processing Theories

Although there is not yet one common theory of SIP in aggressive individuals, Crick and Dodge (1994) have convincingly integrated various constructs from studies on child and adolescent aggression.

According to their model, individuals in social situations:

l   perceive and encode the situational and social cues,

l   form a mental representation and interpretation of the situation,

l   select a goal or desired outcome for the interaction,

l   recall or construct possible reactions to the situation,

l   evaluate these reactions and finally,

l   initiate what they expect to be an adequate action.

The model suggests that some individuals develop specific characteristics of SIP that enhance their risk of aggressive behaviour. These processes are inferred from contents of the memory store, acquired rules, social schemata, and social knowledge.

Studies show that when aggressive youngsters encode situational cues, they focus more on aggression-relevant stimuli, they remember more aggression-relevant details of a situation, and they over perceive aggression in their partners. When interpreting the cues, aggressive children are less able to recognise the specific intentions and motivations of others, and they exhibit a tendency to attribute hostile intentions to others.

In the third phase, more egocentric and antisocial goals have been found in aggressive youngsters. They try more frequently to maximise their own utility even when this injures others, or they are more interested in dominating the interaction rather than maintaining a relationship. In the phase of response access or construction, aggressive children generate more aggressive and hostile alternatives (Zelli et al., 1999). This does not seem to be because of a generally smaller number of stored response schemata.

However, their repertoire of reactions lacks variety and is dominated by aggressive, impulsive, and sometimes fanciful reactions. In the phase of response evaluation and decision, antisocial individuals have a more short-term estimation of consequences. They also seem to expect more self-efficacy and relatively positive consequences of aggressive behaviour (Zelli et al., 1999).

These evaluations may be derived from enduring beliefs learned in the family and in peer groups. In the sixth phase, individuals initiate the reaction that seems to be most appropriate and in line with their goals.

Models of SIP assume that individuals go through these phases more or less automatically and with little if any reflection. Although the processes may depend partially on dispositions of neuropsychological functioning and temperament, the content of SIP is attributed mainly to learning in social contexts (e.g., Bandura, 1973).

For example, experiences of aggression, conflict, abuse, and inappropriate parenting in the family seem to have a basic influence. Aggression-prone schemata and beliefs may also be learned via media consumption, at school, and particularly in peer groups. The respective cognitions influence interactions in peer groups, and the resulting behaviour is again evaluated and reinforced cyclically by them (Crick & Dodge, 1994). Eventual changes in SIP may be because of new social experiences, differentiations of cognitive schemata, and acquired social skills during development.

4.5.9 General Aggression Model

In General Aggression Model (GAM), Anderson and Bushman (2002) tried to integrate existing mini-theories of aggression into a unified whole. The model is based on the concept of knowledge structures and how they operate to produce behaviour. Knowledge structures arise out of experience, influence perception, can become more or less automatic in some cases, and are linked to affective states, beliefs and behaviour. In essence, they are used to guide responses to the environment. Knowledge structures include perceptual schemata, person schemata, and behavioural scripts which define the kinds of behaviours that are appropriate in various situations. The model focuses on characteristics of person and the situation as they relate to a person's present internal state (affect, arousal and cognition), and ultimately appraisal and decision making processes. Appraisal and decision making processes lead to either impulsive or thoughtful actions, which in turn cycle back to the next social encounter.

Self Assessment Questions

1) Discuss the psychodynamic theory of aggression.

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2) In what ways frustration aggression theory explains aggression.

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3) What is cognitive neo association theory? How does it explain aggression.

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4) Delineate social learning theory from the point of view of learning aggressive behaviour.

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5) What is script theory? How does it explain aggression?

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6) Discuss excitation transfer theory and social information processing theories in terms of explaining aggression.

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7) Explain aggression from the point of view of social interaction theory.

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8) Put forward the general aggression model and explaina ggression in terms of the same.

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4.6 INTERVENTION TO REDUCE AGGRESSION

Treatment needs to be targeted at major modifiable risk factors and its outcome measured objectively. It should preferably be at an early age as conduct disorder can be reliably detected early, has high continuity, is amenable to treatment at a young age, and is very hard to eradicate in older children..

4.6.1 Parent Training Programmes for Reducing Antisocial Behaviour in Children

Little published evidence exists that individual psychotherapy whether psychodynamic or cognitive behavioural, pharmacotherapy, general eclectic family work, or formal family therapy are effective in treating conduct disorder. Behaviourally based programmes to help parents, however, have consistently been shown to be effective. For example, the pioneering work of Patterson and colleagues showed that directly instructing parents while they interact with their children leads to significant and lasting reduction in behavioural problems. Many other studies have replicated this.

4.6.2 Developing a Programme

It is better to organise a training programme for the parents and teenage children and this can be done by two or three disciplines coming together. To get results the professionals need to be trained in the specific methods, and for this one needs a manual and a training centre with well qualified trainers. Most consistently effective programmes have at least 10 sessions, to increase the effects, a booster is desirable several months later. Also, intervention needs to be early, since teenage treatments have only small effects.

4.6.3 Training Using Videotapes

Although conventional one-to-one treatment is effective, a more cost effective approach is needed to treat larger numbers. One could have videos showing short vignettes of parents and children in common situations. They show the powerful effect of parents' behaviour on their child's activity, with examples of "right" and "wrong" ways to handle children. Ten to 14 parents attend a weekly two hour session for 12 weeks. Two therapists lead the group and promote discussion, so that all members grasp the principles; role play is used to practice the new techniques. Practical homework is set each week and carefully reviewed with a trouble shooting approach.

4.6.4 Other Training Programmes

Among more intensive programmes, the one developed by Puckering et al entails one day a week for 16 weeks. This programme has been shown to be effective in improving parenting in quite damaged families and enabling children to come off "at risk" child protection registers.

4.6.5 Failure of Parent Training

In many cases, aggression is caused by faulty parental behaviour, often because of parental psychiatric difficulties such as depression, drug and alcohol problems, and personality difficulties.

4.6.6 Management of Hyperactivity

Hyperactivity is distinct from conduct disorder, although they often coexist. Psychological treatment has to be rather different. Rewards have to be given more contingently and more frequently and have to be changed more often. Tasks have to be broken down into shorter components. Specific, clear rules have to be set for each different situation, as these children have difficulty generalising. School is often particularly difficult as the demands for concentration are great, the distractions from other children higher than at home, and the level of adult supervision lower. However, use of the principles outlined above can lead to useful improvements.

Management with drugs (usually methylphenidate or dexamphetamine) is reserved for children with severe symptoms in both home and school (hyperkinetic syndrome). This syndrome occurs in just over 1% of boys. The short term effects of drug treatment are large; less is known about long term benefits.

4.6.7 Interventions at Schools

Early preventive educational programmes can reduce later aggressive behaviour.

Self Assessment Questions

1) What kind of parent training programme will be useful in reducing aggression.

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2) What are the various methods of developing a programme of intervention in Aggression?

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3) Discuss the various other training programme for intervention in aggression and indicate if there is failure of parent training how would it affect the interventions?

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4) How will you manage hyperactivity?

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5) In what ways one could organise intervention programmes in schools for reducing aggression

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4.7 LET US SUM UP

Aggression is the delivery of an aversive stimulus from one person to another, with intent to harm and with an expectation of causing such harm, when the other person is motivated to escape or avoid the stimulus. Accidental harm is not aggressive because it is not intended. Harm that is an incidental by-product of helpful actions is also not aggressive, because the harm-doer believes that the target is not motivated to avoid the action e.g., pain experienced during a dental procedure. There are different types of aggression. Theoretical perspectives on aggression suggest that typographically and functionally distinct subtypes of aggression exist. It is important to consider the multidimensional nature of aggression because different stimuli combine with different types of physiological and mental processes to create distinct forms of aggression. Treatment needs to be targeted at major modifiable risk factors and its outcome measured objectively. It should preferably be at an early age as aggression is amenable to treatment at a young age and is very hard to eradicate in adults

4.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Define the term aggression and discuss various types of aggression.

2) Describe the salient factors that contribute in the development of aggressive behaviour pattern.

3) Why do people behave aggressively as they do, critically evaluate?

4) Compare and contrast different theoretical models of aggression.

5) Design an intervention program to control aggression.

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