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Social Psychology

The Deadly Link between Frustration and Aggression

December 6, 1989 is a date that many Canadians, especially Canadian women, will never forget. On that day, Marc Lepine opened fire in École Polytechnique, an engineering school in Quebec that is affiliated with the Université de Montréal. He went first to a second-floor classroom and separated the women from the men, allowing approximately 50 men to leave the room. After the men left, he opened fire on the nine remaining women, killing six and wounding three. After this, he left the classroom and proceeded to other areas of the building. By the end of his shooting spree, he had killed 14 women, wounded 9 women and 4 men, and had finally killed himself. At least five other people have subsequently killed themselves because of the devastation felt as a result of being connected to the massacre.

After his death, a three-page suicide letter was found in his jacket pocket. In this letter, he blamed feminists for ruining his life. The letter also contained a “hit list” of 19 Quebec women, whom he referred to as “radical feminists” and whom he labelled lucky because his lack of time prevented their deaths.

Why did Lepine hate women so much? He hated them because in his mind, they were responsible for all of his failures. In particular, he blamed women and feminism for his inability to gain admission to École Polytechnique. Frustration, which occurs when goal-directed behaviour is blocked, has been found to be linked with aggressive acts. In this particular case, the link between frustration and aggression was deadly. 

Why study social psychology?

If people lived in total isolation from other people, there would be no reason to study the effect that other people have on the behaviour of individuals and groups. But human beings are social creatures—we live with others, work with others, and play with others. The people who surround us all of our lives have an impact on our beliefs and values, decisions and assumptions, and the way we think about other people in general. Why are some people prejudiced toward certain other people? Why do we obey some people but not others? What causes us to like, to love, or to hate others? The answers to all these questions and many more can be found in the study of social psychology.

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Chapter One defined psychology as the scientific study of behaviour and mental processes, including how people think and feel. The field of social psychology also looks at behaviour and mental processes but includes as well the social world in which we exist, as we are surrounded by others to whom we are connected and by whom we are influenced in so many ways. It is not the same field as *sociology*, which is the study and classification of human societies. Sociology studies the big picture: how entire groups of people live, work, and play. Although social psychology does look at group behaviour, it is more concerned with the individual person within the group and the influence of the group on the person.

Social psychology is the scientific study of how a person's behaviour, thoughts, and feelings are influenced by the real, imagined, or implied presence of others. Although there are several sections in this chapter, there are really only three main areas under discussion: *social influence*, the ways in which a person's behaviour can be affected by other people; *social cognition*, the ways in which people think about other people; and *social interaction*, the positive and negative aspects of people relating to others.

Social Influence: Conformity, Compliance, and Obedience

People live in a world filled with other people. An infant is born into a world with adults who have an impact on the infant's actions, personality, and growth. Adults must interact with others on a daily basis. Such interactions provide ample opportunity for the presence of other people to directly or indirectly influence the behaviour, feelings, and thoughts of each individual in a process called **social influence**. There are many forms of social influence. People can influence others to follow along with their own actions or thoughts, to agree to do things even when the person might prefer to do otherwise, and to be obedient to authorities. The mere presence of others can even influence the way people perform tasks successfully or unsuccessfully.

social psychology

the scientific study of how a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour are influenced by the real, imagined, or implied presence of others.

social influence

the process through which the real or implied presence of others can directly or indirectly influence the thoughts, feelings, and behaviour of an individual.

CONFORMITY

13.1 What makes people want to conform to the actions of others?

Have you ever noticed someone looking up at something? Did the urge to look up to see what that person was looking at become so strong that you actually found yourself looking up? This common practical joke always works, even when people suspect that it's a joke. It clearly demonstrates the power of **conformity**: changing one's own behaviour to more closely match the actions of others.

SHERIF'S EXPERIMENT ON NORM FORMATION In 1936, social psychologist Muzafer Sherif conducted a study in which participants were shown into a darkened room and exposed to a single point of light. Under those conditions, a point of light will seem to move because of tiny, involuntary movements of the eye known as saccades. **LINK** to Chapter Three: *Sensation and Perception*, p. 96. The participants were not told of this effect (called the autokinetic effect) and reported the light moved anywhere from a few inches to several feet. When a confederate (a person chosen by the experimenter to deliberately manipulate the situation) also gave estimates, the original participants began to make estimates of motion that were more and more similar to those of the confederate (Sherif, 1936). This early experiment on conformity has been criticized because the judgments being made were ambiguous (i.e., the light wasn't really moving so any estimate within reason would sound good); would participants be so easily swayed if the judgments were more specifically measurable and certain?

ASCH'S CLASSIC STUDY ON CONFORMITY Solomon Asch (1951) conducted his classic study of conformity by having participants gather in a room. They were told that they were participating in an experiment on visual judgment. They were then shown a white card with three black lines of varying lengths followed by another white card with only one line on it. The task was to determine which line on the first card was most similar to the line on the second card (see Figure 13.1).

In reality, only the last person in the group was a real participant. The others were all confederates (people following special directions from the experimenter) who were instructed to pick the same *incorrect* line from the comparison lines. Would the last person, having heard the others pick what seemed to be the wrong answer, change their answer to conform to the group's opinion? Surprisingly, the participants conformed a little over one-third of the time. Asch also found that the number of confederates mattered: Conformity increased with each new confederate until there were four confederates; more than that did not increase the participants' tendency to conform (Asch, 1951). In a later experiment, Asch (1956) found that conformity decreased if there was just one confederate who gave the correct answer—apparently, if participants knew that there was at least one other person whose answer was different from that of the group (even if their answer was wrong), they felt more comfortable going against the group themselves.

More recent research in North America has found less conformity among participants, perhaps suggesting that the Asch conformity effect was due to the more conforming nature of people in the era and culture of the 1950s (Lalancette & Standing, 1990; Nicholson et al., 1985; Perrin & Spencer, 1980). In other cultures, however, studies have found conformity effects similar to those in Asch's study (Neto, 1995). Still others have found even greater effects of conformity in collectivist cultures such as Hong Kong, Japan, and Zimbabwe (Bond & Smith, 1996; Kim & Markus, 1999).



"Sure, I follow the herd — not out of brainless obedience, mind you, but out of a deep and abiding respect for the concept of community."

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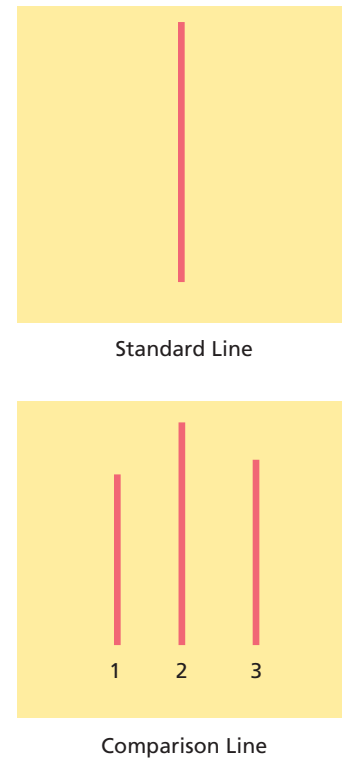


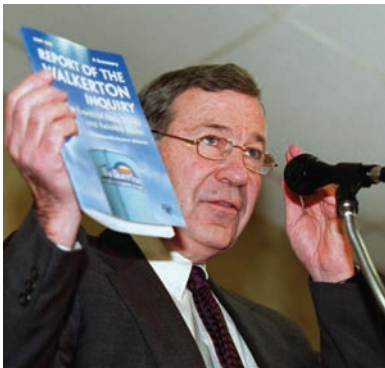
FIGURE 13.1 Stimuli Used in Asch's Study Participants in Asch's famous study on conformity were first shown the three comparison lines. They were then shown the standard line and asked to determine to which of the three comparison lines the standard line was most similar. Which line would you pick? What if you were one of several people, and everyone who answered ahead of you chose line number three? How would that affect your answer?

Source: Adapted from Asch (1956).

conformity

changing one's own behaviour to match that of other people.

What about gender— are men or women more conforming?



Many historical events have been at least partly caused by the phenomenon of groupthink. The Walkerton, Ontario, water crisis where an E. coli outbreak killed seven people and made hundreds of others sick, is one of those events. According to the local medical officer of health, Dr. Murray McQuigge, the disaster could have been prevented. Apparently, the Walkerton Public Utilities Commission knew there was a problem with the water several days before the public was informed.

I have a friend who watches all those infomercials on the shopping channels and buys items that aren't worth the money or that don't work like they're supposed to work. Why do people fall for pitches like that?

What about gender—are men or women more conforming? Research shows that gender differences are practically non-existent unless the situation involves behaviour that is not private. If it is possible to give responses in private, conformity is no greater for women than for men, but if a public response is required, women do tend to show more conformity than men (Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000). This effect may be due to the socialization that women receive in being agreeable and supportive; however, the difference in conformity is quite small.

13.2 What is groupthink?

THE HAZARDS OF GROUPTHINK In the 1912 sinking of the *Titanic*, the group responsible for its design and construction and the captain and crew of the ship assumed she was unsinkable and did not even bother to include enough lifeboats on board for all of the passengers. This is a classic example of an error that can occur in situations when the pressure to conform to the group norm outweighs any evidence that the group norm is wrong. This kind of thinking, in which people feel it is more important to maintain the group's cohesiveness than to consider the facts more realistically, is called **groupthink** (Hogg & Hains, 1998; Janis, 1972, 1982; Schafer & Crichlow, 1996). Other examples include the *Challenger* disaster of 1986 in which a part on the shuttle was known by a few to be unacceptable (but no one spoke up to delay the launch), the Walkerton water crisis, and the 2004 NHL strike.

Why does groupthink happen? Social psychologist Irving Janis (1972, 1982), who originally gave this phenomenon its name, lists several “symptoms” of groupthink. For example, group members may come to feel that the group can do no wrong, is morally correct, and will always succeed, creating the illusion of invulnerability. Group members also tend to hold stereotyped views of those who disagree with the group's opinions, causing members to think that those who oppose the group have no worthwhile opinions. They exert pressure on individual members to conform to group opinion, prevent those who might disagree from speaking up, and even censor themselves so that the group's mindset will not be disturbed in a “don't rock the boat” mentality. Self-appointed “mind-guards” work to protect the leader of the group from contrary viewpoints. (See Table 13.1.)

Several things can be done to minimize the possibility of groupthink (Hart, 1998; McCauley, 1998; Moorhead et al., 1998). For example, leaders should remain impartial and the entire group should seek the opinions of people outside the group. Any voting should be done on secret ballots rather than by a show of hands, and it should be made clear that group members will be held responsible for decisions made by the group.

COMPLIANCE

I have a friend who watches all those infomercials on the shopping channels and buys items that aren't worth the money or that don't work like they're supposed to work. Why do people fall for pitches like that? Marketing products is really very much a psychological process. In fact, the whole area of **consumer psychology** is devoted to figuring out how to get people to buy things that someone is selling.

But infomercials are not the only means by which people try to get others to do what they want them to do. **Compliance** occurs when people change their behaviour as a result of another person or group asking or directing them to change. The person or group asking for the change in behaviour typically doesn't have any real authority or power to command a change; when that happens, it is called *obedience*, which is the topic of the next major section of this chapter.

A number of techniques that people use to get the compliance of others clearly show the relationship of compliance to the world of marketing, as they refer to techniques that door-to-door salespeople would commonly use.

TABLE 13.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUPTHINK

Characteristic	Description	Example (Using the Titanic Disaster)
Invulnerability	Members feel they cannot fail.	Designers, builders, and the captain and crew believed the <i>Titanic</i> was unsinkable.
Rationalization	Members explain away warning signs and help each other rationalize their decision.	The captain and crew ignored the iceberg warnings and went “full speed ahead” because the night was clear and they could see the icebergs.
Lack of introspection	Members do not examine the ethical implications of their decision because they believe that they cannot make immoral choices.	The <i>Titanic</i> did not have enough lifeboats for even half of the passengers.
Stereotyping	Members stereotype their enemies as weak, stupid, unreasonable, or as trying to sabotage their efforts.	Some people believe the <i>Titanic</i> was trying to set speed records in the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean and that the captain and crew believed the warnings of the other ships to be sabotage attempts.
Pressure	Members pressure each other not to question the prevailing opinion.	Fredrick Fleet, the lookout, was made fun of when he complained that he did not have binoculars.
Lack of disagreement	Members do not express opinions that differ from the group consensus.	Many people believe that there must have been at least one person on the crew who believed they should have slowed down and that the unanimity of the captain and crew was only an illusion.
Self-deception/ Self-censorship	Members share in the illusion that they all agree with the decision.	Fredrick Fleet did not suggest they pick up binoculars at the next port.
Insularity	Members prevent the group from hearing disruptive but potentially useful information from people who are outside the group.	The telegraph operator, after receiving numerous warnings of icebergs in the area, failed to take down and deliver the final message about the iceberg that sunk the <i>Titanic</i> .

Source: Janis (1972, 1982).

13.3 What are four common ways to gain the compliance of another?

FOOT-IN-THE-DOOR TECHNIQUE Let’s say that a neighbour asks you to keep an eye on his house while he is on vacation. You agree, thinking that it’s a rather small request. Later that day, or perhaps even in the same conversation, the neighbour asks if you would kindly water his plants while he’s gone. This is a little bit more involved and requires more of your time and energy—will you do it? If you are like most people, you probably will comply with this second larger request.

When compliance with a smaller request is followed by a larger request, people are quite likely to comply because they have already agreed to the smaller one and they want to behave consistently with their previous response (Cialdini et al., 1995; Dillard, 1990, 1991; Freedman & Fraser, 1966). This is called the **foot-in-the-door technique** because the first small request acts as an opener. (Salespeople once literally stuck a foot in the door to prevent the occupant from shutting it so they could continue their sales pitch, hence the name.) Chances are you have already used this technique with your parents or friends. For example, if you have ever asked a parent for a toonie to get a Tim Hortons coffee and after receiving it asked for a little bit more money to buy a sandwich as well, you have used this common technique.

groupthink

kind of thinking that occurs when people place more importance on maintaining group cohesiveness than on assessing the facts of the problem with which the group is concerned.

consumer psychology

branch of psychology that studies the habits of consumers in the marketplace.

compliance

changing one’s behaviour as a result of other people directing or asking for the change.

foot-in-the-door technique

asking for a small commitment and, after gaining compliance, asking for a bigger commitment.

This couple is in the process of buying a new car. Car salespeople often use the lowball technique by quoting what sounds like a reasonable price to potential buyers. Once this couple has committed to buying a particular car, they may find that there are other costs tacked on to that original price, such as additional options, extended warranties, and other fees. Can you think of other instances when something like this has happened to you?



DOOR-IN-THE-FACE TECHNIQUE Closely related to the foot-in-the-door technique is its opposite: the **door-in-the-face technique** (Cialdini et al., 1975). In this method, the larger request comes first, which is usually refused. This is followed by a second smaller and more reasonable request that often gets compliance. A good example of this is asking your parents for a brand new car, knowing that your wish will most likely not be granted. Once your request is denied, you can then ask to simply borrow the family car, which you will probably be allowed to do.

This technique relies on the **norm of reciprocity**, which basically assumes that if someone does something for a person, the person should do something in return (Gouldner, 1960). So how does this norm relate to the door-in-the-face technique? According to Cialdini et al. (1975), the norm of reciprocity entails that people should make concessions to those who make concessions to them. In the example of asking for a car, because you made a concession in your request by asking for something more reasonable, your parents will feel as though they need to make a concession, too: lending you the family car.

LOWBALL TECHNIQUE Another compliance technique, also common in the world of sales, is called the **lowball technique** (Burger & Petty, 1981). In this technique, once a commitment is made, the cost of that commitment is increased. (In the sense used here, *cost* does not necessarily mean money; *cost* can also mean time, effort, or other kinds of sacrifices.) A common example will seem familiar to anyone who has ever bought a car. The commitment to buy the car at one low price is quickly followed by the addition of other costs: extended warranties, additional options, taxes and fees, and so on, causing the buyer to spend more money than originally intended.

THAT'S-NOT-ALL TECHNIQUE Finally, there is the now familiar technique of the infomercial salesperson: the **that's-not-all technique**. In this compliance tactic, the person doing the persuading makes an offer, but before the target of the offer can make a decision, the persuader throws in something extra to make the deal look even better (Burger, 1986). See if this sounds familiar:

“But wait—that’s not all! If you act now, we’ll send you this 15-piece set of genuine faux carving knives as a bonus!”

By offering something that the consumer did not ask for in the first place, the persuader has once again activated the norm of reciprocity. Now the consumer feels as though the persuader has “given” something and the consumer should respond by giving in to the persuader’s request to buy the product.

Cultural differences exist in people’s susceptibility to these techniques. For the foot-in-the-door technique in particular, research has shown that people in individualist cultures (such as Canada) are more likely to comply with the second request than are people in collectivist cultures (such as Japan). The research suggests that people in collectivist cultures are not as concerned with being consistent with previous behaviour because they are less focused on their inner motivation than are people in individualist cultures, who are more concerned with their inner motives and consistency (Cialdini et al., 1999; Petrova et al., 2003). [LINK](#) to Chapter Twelve: Theories of Personality, pp. 511–513.

door-in-the-face technique

asking for a large commitment and being refused, and then asking for a smaller commitment.

norm of reciprocity

assumption that if someone does something for a person, that person should do something for the other in return.

lowball technique

getting a commitment from a person and then raising the cost of that commitment.

that’s-not-all technique

a sales technique in which the persuader makes an offer and then adds something extra to make the offer look better before the target person can make a decision.

OBEDIENCE

13.4 What makes people obey the instructions or orders of others?

There is a difference between the concepts of compliance, which is agreeing to change one's behaviour because someone else asks for the change, and **obedience**, which is changing one's behaviour at the direct order of an authority figure. A salesperson who wants a person to buy a car has no real power to force that person to buy, but an authority figure is a person with social power—such as a police officer, a teacher, or a work supervisor—who has the right to demand certain behaviour from the people under the authority figure's command or supervision.

How far will people go in obeying the commands of an authority figure? What factors make obedience more or less likely? These are some of the questions that researchers have been investigating for many years. The answers to these questions became very important not only to researchers but also to people everywhere after the atrocities committed by the soldiers in Nazi Germany—soldiers who were “just following orders.”

MILGRAM'S SHOCKING RESEARCH Social psychologist Stanley Milgram set out to find answers to these questions. He was aware of Asch's studies of conformity and wondered how much impact social influence could have on a behaviour that was more meaningful than judging the length of lines on cards. He designed what has become one of the most famous experiments in the history of psychology.

Through ads placed in the local newspaper, Milgram recruited people who were told that they would be participating in an experiment to test the effects of punishment on learning behaviour (Milgram, 1964a, 1974). Although there were several different forms of this experiment with different participants, the basic premise was the same: The participants believed that they had randomly been assigned to either the “teacher” role or the “learner” role, when in fact the “learner” was an actor already aware of the situation. The “teacher” was given a sample 45-volt shock from the chair in which the “learner” was strapped during the experiment. The task for the learner was a simple memory test for paired words.

The “teacher” was seated in front of a machine through which the shocks would be administered and the level of the shocks changed. (See Figure 13.2.) For each

obedience

changing one's behaviour at the command of an authority figure.

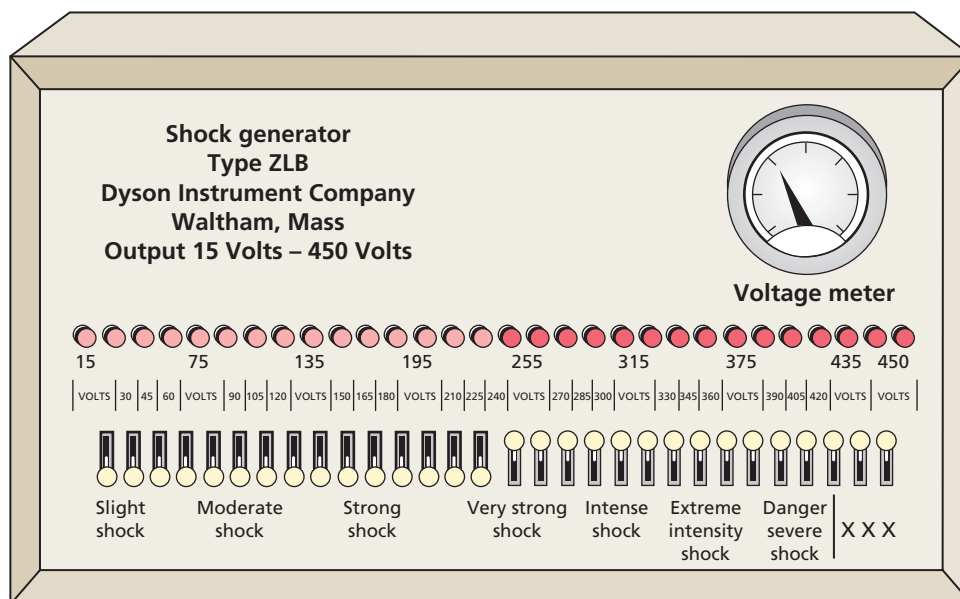


FIGURE 13.2 Control Panel in Milgram's Experiment In Stanley Milgram's classic study on obedience, the participants were presented with a control panel like this one. Each participant (“teacher”) was instructed to give electric shocks to another person (the “learner,” who only pretended to be shocked). Notice the labels under the switches. At what point do you think you would have refused to continue the experiment?

TABLE 13.2 SAMPLE SCRIPT ITEMS FROM MILGRAM'S CLASSIC EXPERIMENT

Voltage of "Shock"	Learner's Script
150	"Ugh!! Experimenter! That's all. Get me out of here. I told you I had heart trouble. My heart's starting to bother me now. Get me out of here, please. My heart's starting to bother me. I refuse to go on. Let me out."
210	"Ugh!! Experimenter! Get me out of here. I've had enough. I <i>won't</i> be in this experiment any more."
300	(<i>Agonized scream</i>) "I absolutely refuse to answer any more. Get me out of here. You can't hold me here. Get me out. Get me out of here."
330	(<i>Intense and prolonged agonized scream</i>) "Let me out of here. Let me out of here. My heart's bothering me. Let me out, I tell you. (<i>Hysterically</i>) Let me out of here. Let me out of here. You have no right to hold me here. Let me out! Let me out! Let me out of here! Let me out! Let me out!"

Source: Milgram (1964a, 1974).

mistake made by the "learner," the "teacher" was instructed to increase the level of shock by 15 volts. The "learner" (who was not actually shocked) followed a carefully arranged script, showing discomfort, asking for the experiment to end, screaming, and even falling silent as if unconscious—or dead. (See Table 13.2 for samples of the scripted responses of the "learner.") As the "teachers" became reluctant to continue administering the shocks, the experimenter in his authoritative white lab coat said, for example, "The experiment requires you to continue" or "You must continue," and reminded the "teacher" that the experimenter would take full responsibility for the safety of the "learner."

How many of the participants continued to administer what they believed were real shocks? Milgram surveyed psychiatrists, college students, and other adults prior to the experiments for their opinions on how far the participants would go in administering shocks. Everyone predicted that the participants would all refuse to go on at some point, with most believing that the majority of the participants would start refusing as soon as the "learner" protested—150 volts. None of those he surveyed believed that any participant would go all the way to the highest voltage.

So were they right? Far from it—in the first set of experiments, 65 percent of the "teachers" went all the way through the experiment's final 450-volt shock level, although many were obviously uncomfortable and begged to be allowed to stop. Of those "teachers" who did protest and finally stop, not one of them stopped before reaching 300 volts!

So what happened? Were those people sadists? Why would they keep shocking someone like that? No one was more stunned than Milgram himself. He had not believed that his experiments would show such a huge effect of obedience to authority. These results do not appear to be some random "fluke" resulting from a large population of sadistic people residing in the area. These experiments have been repeated at various times, in North America and in other countries, and also with females as participants (only men were included in Milgram's original experiment)

So what happened?

Were those
people sadists?

Why would they
keep shocking
someone like
that?



and the percentage of participants who went all the way consistently remained between 61 and 66 percent (Blass, 1999).

That's incredible—I just don't believe that I could do something like that to someone else.

EVALUATION OF MILGRAM'S RESEARCH Researchers have looked for particular personality traits that might be associated with high levels of obedience but have not found any one trait or group of traits that consistently predicts who will obey and who will not in experiments similar to Milgram's original studies (Blass, 1991). The people who “went all the way” were not necessarily more dependent or susceptible to being controlled by others; they were simply people like most other people, caught in a situation of “obey or disobey” the authority. Although some have suggested that Milgram's results may have been due to the same kind of foot-in-the-door technique of persuasion as discussed earlier, with participants more likely to go on with each next demanding step of the experiment because they had already agreed to the smaller increments of shock, as yet no research supports this idea (Gilbert, 1981).

Milgram's research also raised a serious ethical question: How far should researchers be willing to go to answer a question of interest? Some have argued that the participants in Milgram's studies may have suffered damaged self-esteem and serious psychological stress from the realization that they were willing to administer shocks great enough to kill another person, just on the say-so of an experimenter (Baumrind, 1964). Milgram (1964b) responded to the criticism by citing his follow-up study of the participants, in which he found that 84 percent of the participants were glad to have been a part of the experiment and only 1.3 percent said that they were sorry they had been in the experiment. A follow-up psychiatric exam one year later also found no signs of harm or trauma in the participants. Even so, most psychologists do agree that under the current ethical rules that exist for such research, this study would never be allowed to happen today. **LINK** to Chapter One: *The Science of Psychology*, pp. 34–36.

SOCIAL FACILITATION AND SOCIAL LOAFING

13.5 How does the presence of other people affect a person's performance on a task?

In addition to the influence that others can have on a person's actions and attitudes, social influence can affect the success or failure of an individual's task performance. The difficulty of the task seems to determine the particular effect of the presence of others as well: If a task is easy, the presence of other people seems to improve performance. If the task is difficult, the presence of others actually has a negative effect on performance. The positive influence of others on performance is called **social facilitation**, whereas the negative influence is sometimes called *social impairment* (Aiello & Douthitt, 2001; Michaels et al., 1982; Zajonc, 1965).

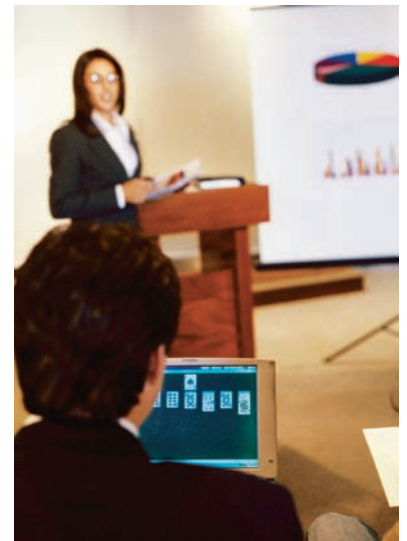
In both social facilitation and social impairment, the presence of other people acts to increase arousal (Zajonc, 1965, 1968; Zajonc et al., 1970). Social facilitation occurs because the presence of others creates just enough increased arousal to improve performance. But the presence of others when the task is difficult produces too high a level of arousal, resulting in impaired performance. **LINK** to Chapter Nine: *Motivation and Emotion*, p. 371.

All people are not the same, and it would be foolish to expect the rules of social influence to affect different individuals in exactly the same way. For example,

◀ **That's incredible**—I just don't believe that I could do something like that to someone else.

social facilitation

the tendency for the presence of other people to have a positive impact on the performance of an easy task.



At first the man in the foreground seems to be paying attention to the woman making the presentation. But if you look carefully at his computer screen, you'll see he's actually engaging in some serious social loafing. How do you think his colleagues around the room might feel about his behaviour?



social loafing

the tendency for people to put less effort into a simple task when working with others on that task.

people who are lazy tend not to do as well when other people are also working on the same task, but they can do quite well when working on their own. This phenomenon is called **social loafing** (Karau & Williams, 1993, 1997; Latané et al., 1979). The reason for this is that it is easier for a lazy person (a “loafer”) to hide laziness when working in a group of people because it is less likely that the individual will be evaluated alone—the group will be the focus of the evaluation, and someone in the group will most likely be concerned enough about the evaluation to make sure that the task is completed successfully. The social loafer doesn’t feel the need to make any real effort, preferring to let the other members of the group do the work. But when the social loafer is working alone, the focus of evaluation will be on that person only and as a result, the person feels evaluation apprehension. In that case, the loafer works harder because there is no one else to whom the work can be shifted. Most students experience this social loafing phenomenon at some point during their post-secondary career when they are assigned to work on a group project.

Social loafing depends heavily on the assumption that personal responsibility for a task is severely lessened when working with a group of other people. One study suggests that although North Americans may readily make that assumption, Chinese people, who come from a more interdependent cultural viewpoint, tend to assume that each individual within the group is still nearly as responsible for the group’s outcome as the group at large (Menon et al., 1999). Chinese people are, therefore, less likely to exhibit social loafing than are people in Canada.

PRACTICE QUIZ: HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

1. A person’s conformity in a situation like the Asch line study is most likely to be strongest when
 - a. the person is in the room with only one other person.
 - b. at least one other person agrees with the person.
 - c. that person is from Hong Kong.
 - d. that person is from Canada.
2. In groupthink, members of the group
 - a. have an illusion of invulnerability.
 - b. avoid stereotyping those who hold an opposing viewpoint.
 - c. like to “rock the boat” every now and then.
 - d. sometimes question the moral “rightness” of the group.
3. When members of a cult are trying to enlist a new recruit, they start by asking the recruit to make a small commitment, such as attending a short meeting or helping out at a social function. Then the commitments get more involved, such as staying for a longer period of time and eventually for major donations of money and moving in with the cult members. This is most like which of the following techniques?
 - a. foot-in-the-door technique
 - b. door-in-the-face technique
 - c. lowball technique
 - d. that’s-not-all technique
4. Which of the following has been shown to be true concerning the “teachers” in Milgram’s experiment?
 - a. Most of the “teachers” were sorry to have been a part of the experiment.
 - b. They were found to be psychologically weak-minded people.
 - c. Only a very small percentage said they were sorry they had participated.
 - d. They were not ordinary people.
5. Alex, who is in the honours program, failed to do his share of the work on the group project with his four classmates. Alex was most likely engaging in
 - a. social facilitation.
 - b. social impairment.
 - c. social loafing.
 - d. social influencing.

Attitudes

One area of social cognition concerns the formation and influence of attitudes on the behaviour and perceptions of others. An **attitude** can be defined as a tendency to respond positively or negatively toward a certain idea, person, object, or situation (Triandis, 1971). This tendency, developed through people's experiences as they live and work with others, can affect the way they behave toward those ideas, people, objects, and situations and can include opinions, beliefs, and biases. In fact, attitudes influence the way people view these things *before* they've actually been exposed to them (Petty et al., 2003).

What do you mean—how can an attitude have an effect on something that hasn't happened yet? Although new research is showing that there may be biological and genetic factors that affect attitudes (Olson, Vernon, Harris, & Jang, 2001), for the most part, attitudes are learned through experiences and contact with others and even through direct instruction from parents, teachers, and other important people in a person's life. Because attitudes involve a positive or negative evaluation of things, it's possible to go into a new situation, meet a new person, or be exposed to a new idea with one's "mind already made up" to like or dislike, agree or disagree, and so on (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Petty et al., 2003). For example, children are known for making up their minds about certain foods before ever tasting them, simply because the foods are "green." Those children may have tried a green food in the past and disliked it and now will generalize that dislike to any green food, whether they've tasted it or not.

attitude

a tendency to respond positively or negatively toward a certain person, object, idea, or situation.

◀ What do you mean—how can an attitude have an effect on something that hasn't happened yet?



THE ABC MODEL OF ATTITUDES

13.6 What are the three components of an attitude and how are attitudes formed?

Attitudes are actually made up of three different parts, or components, as shown in Figure 13.3. These components should not come as a surprise to anyone who has been reading the other chapters in this text because, throughout the text, references have been made to personality and traits being composed of the ways people think, feel, and act. By using certain terms to describe these three things, psychologists have come up with a handy way to describe the three components of attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, 1998).

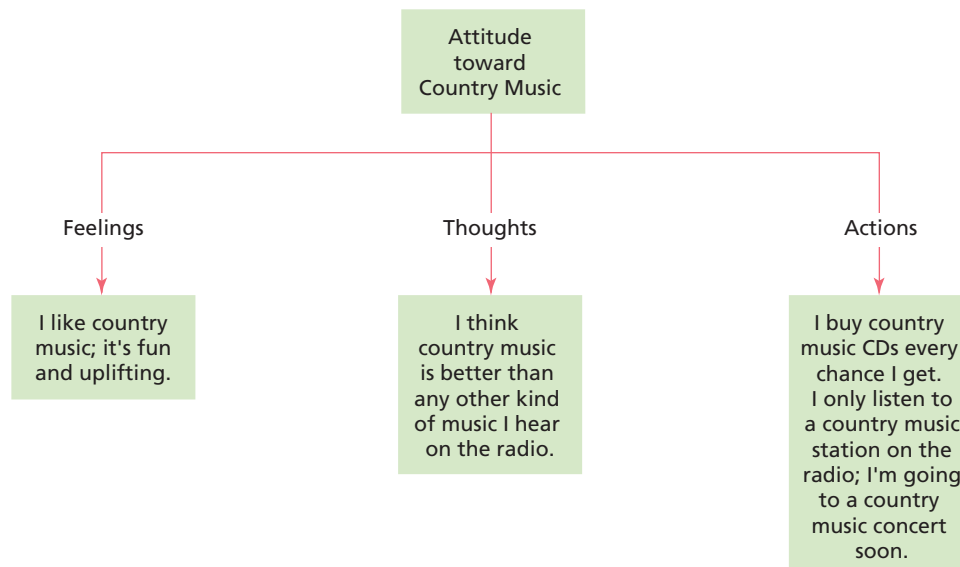


FIGURE 13.3 Three Components of an Attitude Attitudes consist of the way a person feels and thinks about something, as well as the way the person chooses to behave. If you like country music, you are also likely to think that country music is good music. You are also more likely to listen to this style of music, buy this type of music, and even go to a performance. Each of the three components influences the other two.

So if you know ►
what someone thinks
or feels about
something, you can
predict what that
person will do, right?

Although many people might have the attitude that buying an environment-friendly vehicle such as this Toyota Prius (a hybrid vehicle that can run on either gasoline or electricity) is a good idea, only those who can afford to buy such a vehicle will do so. Attitudes may predict people's behaviour but only when people also have the means to act on their beliefs will the predicted behaviour actually occur.



AFFECTIVE COMPONENT The *affective component* of an attitude is the way a person feels toward the object, person, or situation. *Affect* is used in psychology to mean “emotions” or “feelings,” so the affective component is the emotional component. For example, some people might feel that hockey is fun and entertaining.

BEHAVIOUR COMPONENT The *behaviour component* of an attitude is the action that a person takes in regard to the person, object, or situation. For example, people who feel that hockey is fun are likely to tune in to a sports channel on the car radio, play hockey themselves, or go to a hockey game.

COGNITIVE COMPONENT Finally, the *cognitive component* of an attitude is the way a person thinks about the person, object, or situation. These thoughts, or cognitions, include beliefs and ideas about the focus of the attitude. For example, the hockey lover might believe that hockey is superior to other sports.

THE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR LINK

So if you know what someone thinks or feels about something, you can predict what that person will do, right? Oddly enough, attitudes turn out to be pretty poor predictors of actual behaviour in a number of controlled research studies. One survey of such research conducted in the 1960s found that what people say and what people do are often two very different things (Wicker, 1971). Studies conducted in the decades that followed found that attitudes predict behaviour only under certain conditions. For example, in one study researchers found that although people indicated on a survey that they believed in protecting the environment and would be willing to pay more for fruits and vegetables raised under such conditions, those same people were seen to buy the ecology-friendly fruit only in grocery stores in areas of higher income levels where consumers actually had the financial means to “put their money where their mouth was” (Clarke et al., 1999). Those who did not live in a higher-income area gave what they probably saw as a socially desirable answer on the survey but then allowed the external influence of a lower income to determine their actual behaviour.

Another factor in matching attitudes and behaviour concerns how specific the attitude itself is. People may hold a general attitude about something without reflecting that attitude in their actual behaviour. For example, doctors generally hold the attitude that people should do everything they can to protect their health and promote wellness, yet many doctors still smoke tobacco, fail to exercise, and often get too little sleep. But a very specific attitude, such as “exercise is important to my immediate health” will more likely be associated with the behaviour of exercising (Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000).

Some attitudes are stronger than others, and strong attitudes are more likely to predict behaviour than weak ones. A person who quit smoking because of failing health might have a stronger attitude toward second-hand smoking than someone who quit smoking on a dare, for example. The importance or salience* of a particular attitude in a given situation also has an impact on behaviour—the more important the attitude appears, the more likely the behaviour will match the attitude. Someone who is antismoking might be more likely to confront a smoker breaking the rules in a hospital, for example, than a smoker outside the building (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998).

*Salience: importance, or having the quality of being obvious or easily seen

ATTITUDE FORMATION

There are many different ways that attitudes can be formed. For many years, it was believed that the only way attitudes are formed is through learning. However, recent Canadian research shows otherwise. The various ways that attitudes can be formed are found below.

DIRECT CONTACT One way in which attitudes are formed is by direct contact with the person, idea, situation, or object that is the focus of the attitude. For example, a child who tries Brussels sprouts for the first time and dislikes them will form a negative attitude about Brussels sprouts. Later that negative attitude may be generalized to other foods that are green or have a similar taste.

DIRECT INSTRUCTION Another way attitudes are formed is through direct instruction, either by parents or some other individual. Parents may tell their children that smoking cigarettes is dangerous and unhealthy, for example. Some children will form a negative attitude about smoking as a result.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS Sometimes attitudes are formed because the person is around other people with that attitude. If a person's friends, for example, all hold the attitude that smoking is cool, that person is more likely to think that smoking is cool as well (Eddy et al., 2000; Hill, 1990). The attitudes and behaviour of teachers, parents, and siblings matter as well. Researchers found that a non-smoking mother, teacher, or brother had a strong influence on both girls and boys (who are less likely to smoke), although the influence of all three on boys seemed to fade over a seven-year follow-up study (Shean et al., 1994).

VICARIOUS CONDITIONING (OBSERVATIONAL LEARNING) Many attitudes are learned through the observation of other people's actions and reactions to various objects, people, or situations. Just as a child whose mother shows a fear of dogs may develop a similar fear, a child whose mother or father shows a positive attitude toward classical music may grow into an adult with a similarly positive attitude. The emotional components of an attitude can be learned by observing the emotional reactions of others, and the behavioural components can be observed and imitated.

Attitudes are not only influenced by other people in a person's immediate world but also by the larger world of the educational system (many attitudes may be learned in school or through reading books) and the mass media of magazines, television, and the movies—a fact of which advertisers and marketing experts are well aware (Gresham & Shimp, 1985; MacKenzie et al., 1986). Also, as James Olson of the University of Western Ontario and Mark Zanna of the University of Waterloo have pointed out, some attitudes are simply formed through what is known as *chance conditioning*, where learning of the attitude occurs as a result of chance or coincidence (Olson & Zanna, 1993). Advertising companies are well aware of how to take advantage of these facts—an estimated \$15 billion is spent yearly on television advertising in the United States and Canada alone.

As mentioned previously, it was, for many years, believed that attitudes are solely the result of learning. James Olson and his colleagues have shown that although attitudes are often the result of learning, biological and genetic factors can also influence attitudes. Olson and colleagues (2001) found significant differences between the attitudes of identical and fraternal twins: Identical twins' attitudes were more likely to be



This public service message is aimed at changing the attitudes of young people who smoke. Most non-smokers will not confront a person who is smoking in an appropriate area, as the young woman in this photo is doing. But if the young woman were in a hospital waiting room, others would be more likely to confront her. Smoking in an area that is clearly not appropriate would be more important to those with antismoking attitudes.

similar than those of fraternal twins. In addition, the attitudes that were found to be more similar in identical twins than in fraternal twins were more resistant to pressure to conform and more strongly held (Olson et al., 2001). Although more research needs to be done, it seems as though even attitudes may be partly determined by genetics.

ATTITUDE CHANGE: THE ART OF PERSUASION

13.7 How can attitudes be changed?

Sometimes people ►
learn attitudes that
aren't necessarily good
ones, right? So can
attitudes change?

Sometimes people learn attitudes that aren't necessarily good ones, right? So can attitudes change? Because attitudes are mostly learned, they are also subject to change with new learning. The world is full of people, companies, and other organizations that want to change people's attitudes. It's all about the art of **persuasion**, the process by which one person tries to change the belief, opinion, position, or course of action of another person through argument, pleading, or explanation.

Persuasion is not a simple matter. There are several factors that become important in predicting how successful any persuasive effort at attitude change might be. These factors include:

- **Source:** The *communicator* is the person delivering the message. There is a strong tendency to give more weight to people who are perceived as experts, as well as those who seem trustworthy, attractive, and similar to the person receiving the message (Eagly & Chaiken, 1975; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986, 1996; Priester & Petty, 1995).
- **Message:** The actual message should be clear and well organized (Booth-Butterfield, 1996). It is usually more effective to present both sides of an argument to an audience that has not yet committed to one side or the other (Crowley & Hoyer, 1994; Petty & Cacioppo, 1996; Petty et al., 2003). Messages that are directed at producing fear are more effective if they produce only a moderate amount of fear and also provide information about how to avoid the fear-provoking consequences (Kleinot & Rogers, 1982; Meyrick, 2001; Petty, 1995; Rogers & Mewborn, 1976).
- **Target audience:** The characteristics of the people who are the intended target of the message of persuasion are also important in determining the effectiveness of the message. The age of the audience members can be a factor, for example. Researchers have found that people who are in the young adult stage of the late teens to the mid 20s are more susceptible to persuasion than are older people (Visser & Krosnick, 1998). Where the audience members are from can also have an impact. Chanthika Pornpitakpan of the University of Singapore and June Francis of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver studied how Thai and Canadian students responded to persuasive arguments that varied in the perceived expertise of the speaker and in how strong the argument was. It was found that Thai students were more influenced by perceived expertise while Canadian students were more influenced by the strength of the argument (Pornpitakpan & Francis, 2001).
- **The way the message is communicated:** Research by Chaiken and Eagly (1978) has shown that the way the message is communicated (i.e., whether it is written down, videotaped, or audiotaped) is also important in persuasion. If the message is hard to understand, the target will be more easily persuaded if the message is in written form and less likely to be persuaded if it is heard on an audiotape. If the message is easy to understand, it has the most impact if it is shown on video and has the least impact when it is written down (Chaiken & Eagly, 1978).

persuasion

the process by which one person tries to change the belief, opinion, position, or course of action of another person through argument, pleading, or explanation.

Advertising companies keep these four factors in mind while developing their advertising campaigns.

How easily influenced a person is will also be related to the way people tend to process information. In the **elaboration likelihood model** of persuasion (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), it is assumed that people either elaborate on what they hear (the facts of the message) or they do not elaborate at all, preferring to pay attention to the surface characteristics of the message (length, who delivers it, how attractive the message deliverer is, etc.). Two types of processing are hypothesized in this model: **central-route processing**, in which people attend to the content of the message, and **peripheral-route processing**, a style of information processing that relies on peripheral cues (cues outside of the message content itself) such as the expertise of the message source, the length of the message, and other factors that have nothing to do with the message content. This style of processing causes people not to pay attention to the message itself but instead to base their decisions on those peripheral factors (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Stiff & Mongeau, 2002). For example, one of the authors once participated on a jury panel in which one woman voted “guilty” because the defendant had “shifty eyes” and not because of any of the evidence presented. So which route lasts in longer-lasting attitude change? Attitudes that are formed through central-route processing tend to be persistent, longer-lasting, and more resistant to attacks.

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE: WHEN ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR CLASH

It said earlier in the chapter that sometimes what people say and what they do are very different. I once pointed this out to a friend of mine who was behaving this way, and he got really upset over it. Why did he get so upset? When people find themselves doing things or saying things that don’t match their idea of themselves as smart, nice, or moral, for example, they experience an emotional discomfort known as **cognitive dissonance** (Aronson, 1997; Festinger, 1957). Most people need to see themselves as smart, moral, and rational. When people are confronted with the knowledge that something they have done or said was a dumb move, immoral, or illogical, they suffer an inconsistency in cognitions. For example, they may have a cognition that says “I’m pretty smart” but also the cognition “That was a dumb thing to do,” which causes dissonance. (*Dissonance* is a term referring to an inconsistency or lack of agreement.)

13.8 What happens when a person’s attitudes don’t match the person’s actions?

When people experience cognitive dissonance, the result is unpleasant and the motivation is to change something so that the unpleasant feelings are reduced or eliminated. There are three basic things that people can do to reduce cognitive dissonance:

1. Change the conflicting behaviour to make it match the attitude.
2. Change the current conflicting cognition to justify the behaviour.
3. Form new cognitions to justify the behaviour.

Take the example of Larry, who is a college graduate and a cigarette smoker. On one hand, Larry is educated enough to know that cigarette smoking is extremely harmful, causing lung problems, cancer, and eventually death. On the other hand, Larry enjoys his smoking, feeling that it calms him and helps him deal with stress—not to mention the fact that he’s thoroughly addicted and finds it difficult to quit. His attitude (smoking is bad for you) doesn’t match his behaviour. Larry is experiencing cognitive dissonance and knows he needs to do something to resolve his dilemma.

If Larry chooses the first way of dealing with cognitive dissonance, he’ll quit smoking, no matter how difficult it is (Option One). As long as he is working at

elaboration likelihood model

model of persuasion stating that people will either elaborate on the persuasive message or fail to elaborate on it, and that the future actions of those who do elaborate are more predictable than those who do not.

central-route processing

type of information processing that involves attending to the content of the message itself.

peripheral-route processing

type of information processing that involves attending to factors not involved in the message, such as the appearance of the source of the message, the length of the message, and other non-content factors.

cognitive dissonance

sense of discomfort or distress that occurs when a person’s behaviour does not correspond to that person’s attitudes.

◀ It said earlier in the chapter that sometimes what people say and what they do are very different. I once pointed this out to a friend of mine who was behaving this way, and he got really upset over it. Why did he get so upset?

How the jurors in this courtroom interpret and process the information they are given will determine the outcome of the trial. Those who listen carefully to what is said by persons involved in the trial are using central-route processing. There may be some jurors, however, who are more affected by the appearance, dress, attractiveness, or tone of voice of the lawyers, defendant, and witnesses. When people are persuaded by factors other than the message itself, it is called peripheral-route processing.



changing the conflicting behaviour, his dissonance will be reduced. But what if he can't quit? He might decide that smoking isn't as bad as everyone says it is, which changes his original conflicting attitude (Option Two). He might also form a new attitude by deciding that if he smokes "light" cigarettes, he's reducing his risk enough to justify continuing smoking (Option Three).

In a classic experiment conducted at Stanford University, psychologist Leo Festinger and colleague James Carlsmith (1959) recruited male volunteers to participate in a study. Each participant was given an hour-long, incredibly boring task: sorting wooden spools into batches of 12 and turning wooden pegs about 90 degrees to the right. The experimenters then asked the participant to help out because a student assistant had failed to show up. Could the participant convince the female subjects in the waiting room that the task was fun and interesting? While half of the participants were paid only \$1 to try to convince the waiting women, the other participants were paid \$20. (In the late 1950s, \$20 was a considerable sum of money—the average income was \$5000, the average car cost \$3000, and gas was only 7 cents a litre.)

At the time of this study, many researchers would have predicted that the more the participant was paid to lie, the more the participant would come to like the task because the participant was getting more reinforcement (\$20) for doing so. But what actually happened was that those participants who were paid only \$1 for lying actually convinced themselves that the task was interesting and fun. The reason is cognitive dissonance: Participants who were paid only \$1 experienced distress at thinking that they would lie to someone for only a dollar. Therefore, they must not be lying—the task really was pretty interesting, after all, and fun, too! Those who were paid more experienced no dissonance because they knew exactly why they were lying—for lots of money—and the money was a sufficient amount to explain their behaviour to their satisfaction. Although most people don't want to be thought of as liars, getting paid enough money to fill the gas tank of one's car three or four times over was incentive enough to tell what probably seemed to be a harmless fib. The fact that those who were paid only \$1 had to change their attitude toward the task so that they would not really be lying and could maintain their self-image of honesty is a perfect example of the **insufficient justification effect**. (See Figure 13.4.)

Inducement	Attitude
\$1	+1.35
\$20	−0.50
Control	−0.45

*Based on a −5 to +5 scale, where −5 means "extremely boring" and +5 means "extremely interesting"

FIGURE 13.4 **Cognitive Dissonance: Attitude toward a Task**

After completing a boring task, some participants were paid \$1 and some \$20 to convince others waiting to do the same task that the task was interesting and fun. Surprisingly, the participants who were paid only \$1 seemed to change their own attitude toward the task, rating it as interesting, while those paid \$20 rated the task no differently than a control group.

Source: Adapted from Festinger and Carlsmith.

insufficient justification effect

when external justification is not sufficient, dissonance is reduced by internally justifying one's behaviour.

PRACTICE QUIZ: HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

- Which of the following represents the cognitive component of an attitude?
 - "I just love Italian food!"
 - "Tonight, we're going to that new Italian restaurant."
 - "Italian food is the best of the European cuisines."
 - "I'm going to make lasagna tonight."
- Lilly's mother always listens to the classic rock station on her car radio, so Lilly has grown up hearing that music and noticing how much her mother enjoys of it. Now Lilly says that classic rock is her favourite music, too. Lilly's attitude toward classic rock was most likely acquired through
 - direct contact.
 - direct instruction.
 - interaction with others.
 - vicarious conditioning.
- Physical attractiveness is most involved in which of the following aspects of persuasion?
 - the source
 - the message
 - the audience
 - the media
- Which of the following is not one of the elements of effective persuasion?
 - the source or communicator
 - characteristics of the message
 - presence of supporters
 - characteristics of the audience
- "I didn't like the sermon at all today. It was too long, and that preacher wasn't dressed up enough" would be an example of which type of processing?
 - central-route processing
 - peripheral-route processing
 - cognitive-route processing
 - visual-route processing
- In the famous Festinger experiment, participants were paid either \$1 or \$20 to lie to people in the waiting room about how interesting the task really was. The participants who convinced themselves that the task really was fun were the ones who were
 - paid immediately.
 - paid after one day.
 - paid only \$1.
 - paid \$20.

Answers: 1-c, 2-d, 3-a, 4-c, 5-b, 6-c.

Impression Formation and Attribution

When one person meets another for the first time, it is the first opportunity either person will have to make initial evaluations and judgments about the other. That first opportunity is a very important one in **impression formation**, the forming of the first knowledge a person has about another person. Impression formation includes assigning the other person to a number of categories and drawing conclusions about what that person is likely to do—it's really all about prediction. In a sense, when first meeting another person, the observer goes through a process of concept formation similar to that discussed in Chapter Eight. Impression formation is another kind of social cognition.

There is a *primacy effect* in impression formation. **LINK** to Chapter Six: *Memory*, p. 249. The first time people meet someone, they form an impression of that person that persists even though they may later have other contradictory information about that person (DeCoster & Claypool, 2004; Luchins, 1957). So the old saying is pretty much on target: First impressions do count.

Impression formation is one of a number of phenomena that are all part of **social cognition**, the mental processes that people use to make sense out of the social world around them.

SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION

13.9 What are social categorization and implicit personality theories?

One of the processes that occur when people meet someone new is the assignment of that person to some kind of category or group. This assignment is usually based on characteristics the new person has in common with other people or groups with whom the perceiver has had prior experience. This **social categorization** is mostly automatic and occurs without conscious awareness of the process (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). Although this is a

impression formation

the forming of the first knowledge that a person has concerning another person.

At this job fair in Shanghai, China, thousands of applicants wait hopefully in line for an opportunity to get a job interview. Making a good first impression is important in any job interview situation, but when the competition numbers in the thousands, the people who will most likely get interviews are those who are neatly dressed and well groomed.



It sounds as ►
though we'd be better
off if people didn't use
social categorization.

social cognition

the mental processes that people use to make sense of the social world around them.

social categorization

the assignment of a person one has just met to a category based on characteristics the new person has in common with other people with whom one has had experience in the past.

stereotype

a set of characteristics that people believe is shared by all members of a particular social category.

implicit personality theory

sets of assumptions about how different types of people, personality traits, and actions are related to each other.

natural process (human beings are just born categorizers, [LINK](#) to Chapter Eight: Cognition, pp. 323–324), sometimes it can cause problems. When the characteristics used to categorize the person are superficial ones that have become improperly attached to certain ideas, such as “red hair equals a bad temper,” social categorization can result in a **stereotype**, a set of characteristics that people believe are shared by all members of a particular social category (Fiske, 1998). Stereotypes are very limiting, causing people to misjudge what others are like and often to treat them differently as a result. Add the process of stereotyping to the primacy effect, and it becomes easy to see how important first impressions really are. That first impression not only has more importance than any other information gathered about a person later on but may include a stereotype that is resistant to change as well (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003).

It sounds as though we'd be better off if people didn't use social categorization. Social categorization does have an important place in the perception of others. It allows people to access a great deal of information that can be useful about others, as well as helping people to remember and organize information about the characteristics of others (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). The way to avoid falling into the trap of stereotyping someone is to be aware of existing stereotypes and apply a little critical thinking: “Okay, so he's a guy with a tattoo on his arm, driving a motorcycle. That doesn't mean that he's overly aggressive—it just means he has a tattoo and is driving a motorcycle.”

IMPLICIT PERSONALITY THEORIES

The categories into which people place others are based on something called an **implicit personality theory**. Implicit personality theories, which form in childhood, are sets of assumptions that people have about how different types of people, personality traits, and actions are all related (Dweck et al., 1995; Erdley & Dweck, 1993). For example, many people have an implicit personality theory that includes the idea that happy people are also friendly people. Although these assumptions or beliefs are not necessarily true, they do serve the function of helping to organize *schemas*, or mental patterns that represent (in this case) what a person believes about certain “types” of people. (The concept of schema here is similar to the complex patterns proposed by Piaget. [LINK](#) to Chapter Seven: Development across the Lifespan, p. 290.) Of course, the schemas formed in this way can easily become stereotypes when people have limited experience with others who are different from them, especially in superficial ways such as skin colour or other physical characteristics (Levy et al., 1998).

There is some evidence to suggest that implicit personality theories may differ from culture to culture as well as from individual to individual. For example, one study found that North Americans and Hong Kong Chinese people have different implicit personality theories about how much the personality of an individual is able to change. Whereas North Americans assume that personality is relatively fixed and unchanging, Chinese people native to Hong Kong assume that personalities are far more changeable (Chiu et al., 1997).

ATTRIBUTION

13.10 How do people try to explain the actions of others?

Another aspect of social cognition is the need people seem to have to explain the behaviour of other people. Have you ever watched someone who was doing something you didn't understand? Chances are you were going through a number of possible explanations in your head: “Maybe he's sick, or maybe he sees something I can't see,” and so on. It seems to be human nature to want to know why people do the

things they do, and if no obvious answer is available, people tend to come up with their own reasons. People also need an explanation for their own behaviour. This need is so great that if an explanation isn't obvious, it causes the distress known as cognitive dissonance. The process of explaining both one's own behaviour and the behaviour of other people is called **attribution**.

CAUSES OF BEHAVIOUR **Attribution theory** was originally developed by social psychologist Fritz Heider (1958) as a way of not only explaining why things happen but also why people choose the particular explanations of behaviour that they do. There are basically two kinds of explanations—those that assume an external cause and those that assume an internal cause.

When the cause of behaviour is assumed to be from external sources, such as the weather, traffic, educational opportunities, and so on, it is said to be a **situational cause**. The observed behaviour is assumed to be caused by whatever situation exists for the person at that time. For example, if John is late for class, his lateness might be explained by heavy traffic or car problems.

On the other hand, if the cause of behaviour is assumed to come from within the individual, it is called a **dispositional cause**. In this case, it is the person's internal personality characteristics that are seen as the cause of the observed behaviour. Someone attributing John's behaviour to a dispositional cause, for example, might assume that John was late for class because he is lazy and unmotivated.

There's an emotional component to these kinds of attributions as well. When people are happy in a marriage, for example, researchers have found that when a spouse's behaviour has a positive effect, the tendency is to attribute it to an internal cause ("He did it because he wanted me to feel good"). When the effect is negative, the behaviour is attributed to an external cause ("She must have had a difficult day"). But if the marriage is an unhappy one, the opposite attributions occur: "He is only being nice because he wants something from me" or "She's being mean because it's her nature to be crabby" (Fincham et al., 2000; Karney & Bradbury, 2000).

FUNDAMENTAL ATTRIBUTION ERROR But what else determines which type of cause a person will use? For example, what determines how people explain the behaviour of someone they don't already know or like? The most well-known attributional bias is the **fundamental attribution error** (also called the *actor-observer bias*), which is the tendency for people to overestimate the influence of another person's internal characteristics on behaviour and underestimate the influence of the situation. In other words, people tend to explain the actions of others based on what "kind" of person they are rather than looking for outside causes such as social influences or situations (Harman, 1999; Jones & Harris, 1967; Weiner, 1985). (For example, people hearing about Milgram's "shock" study tend to assume that something is wrong with the "teachers" in the study rather than explaining their behaviour within the circumstances of the situation.)

But why do we do that? Why not assume an external cause for everyone? When people observe themselves, they are very aware of the situational influences on their own behaviour. For example, Tardy John was actually the one driving to school, and he knows that heavy traffic and a small accident made him late to school—he was *there*, after all. But someone else looking at John's behaviour doesn't have the opportunity to see all of the possible situational influences and has only John himself in focus and, thus, assumes that John's tardiness is caused by some internal personality flaw.



The people involved in this accident are likely to be late for classes or work. This is a good example of a genuine situational cause for tardiness.

attribution

the process of explaining one's own behaviour and the behaviour of others.

attribution theory

the theory of how people make attributions.

But what else

determines which type of cause a person will use? For example, what determines how people explain the behaviour of someone they don't already know or like?

But why do we

do that? Why not assume an external cause for everyone?



situational cause

cause of behaviour attributed to external factors, such as delays, the action of others, or some other aspect of the situation.

dispositional cause

cause of behaviour attributed to internal factors such as personality or character.

fundamental attribution error

the tendency to overestimate the influence of internal factors in determining behaviour while underestimating situational factors.

self-serving bias

the tendency to see and represent oneself in the most positive way possible.

Other research has shown that when students are given an opportunity to make attributions about cheating, they make the fundamental attribution error: If others are cheating, it's because they are not honest people, but if the students themselves were cheating it would be because of the situation (Bogle, 2000). This happens because of the **self-serving bias**. People tend to choose attributions that make themselves look better as a person, taking credit for when they are successful or do something good for someone (a dispositional attribution) but blaming the situation when they are unsuccessful or do something bad.

Can the tendency to make these errors be reduced? There are several strategies for making errors in attribution less likely. One is to notice how many other people are doing the same thing. As college professors, the authors often have students who come in late. When it is only one student and it happens frequently, the assumption is that the student is not very careful about time (dispositional cause). But when a large number of students come straggling in late, the assumption becomes "there must be a wreck on the bridge," which is a situational attribution. In other words, if a lot of people are doing it, it is probably caused by an outside factor.

Another trick is to think about what you would do in the same situation. If you think that you might behave in the same way, the cause of behaviour is probably situational. People should also make the effort of looking for causes that might not be obvious. If John were to look particularly "stressed out," for example, the assumption might be that something stressed him out, and that "something" might have been heavy traffic.

Although the fundamental attribution error has been found in North American culture (Jones & Harris, 1967), would the same error occur in a culture that is very different from North American culture, such as in Japan? A summary of the research in cross-cultural differences in attribution provides support for the idea that the fundamental attribution error is not a universal one (Peng et al., 2000). The work of Miller (1984) and many other researchers (Cha & Nam, 1985; Choi & Nisbett, 1998; Choi et al., 1999; Lee et al., 1996; Morris & Peng, 1994; Morris et al., 1995; Norenzayan et al., 1999) strongly suggests that in more interdependent, collectivist cultures found in Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea people tend to assume that external situational factors are more responsible for the behaviour of other people than are internal dispositional factors—a finding that is exactly the reverse of the fundamental attribution error so common in individualist Western cultures such as Canada.

Part of the reason why cultural differences in the fundamental attribution error have been found may be that cultural differences have been found in the tendency to self-serve. Steven Heine and Takeshi Hamamura of the University of British Columbia have found great differences between East Asians and Westerners in terms of self-enhancement. They looked at 91 different studies comparing East Asians and Westerners and found that, overall, Westerners showed a clear self-serving bias while East Asians did not (Heine & Hamamura, 2007).

PRACTICE QUIZ: HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

- Which of the following statements about stereotypes is false?
 - Stereotypes are forms of social categories.
 - Stereotypes are sets of characteristics that people believe are true for all members of a particular social category.
 - Stereotypes are governed by the recency effect.
 - Stereotypes are very limiting and can cause discrimination.
- Mental patterns that represent what a person believes about certain types of people are called
 - schemas.
 - stereotypes.
 - attributions.
 - attitudes.

3. Elizabeth's room is almost always a mess. Her parents attribute this to Elizabeth's laziness. This is an example of a _____ cause.
 - a. situational
 - b. dispositional
 - c. dispensational
 - d. superficial
4. John was late to class, and his friend Eddie assumes that John simply doesn't care about being on time. But when Eddie is late the next day, he blames it on heavy traffic. Eddie has made the
 - a. egocentric error.
 - b. fundamental attribution error.
 - c. assumption error.
 - d. false consensus error.
5. In Asian cultures, people tend to explain the behaviour of others as a result of
 - a. bad genes.
 - b. internal dispositions.
 - c. situational factors.
 - d. personality traits.

Answers: 1-c, 2-a, 3-b, 4-b, 5-c.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Social influence and social cognition are two of three main areas included in the field of social psychology. The third major area has to do with social interactions with others, or the relationships between people, both casual and intimate. Social interactions are all too often affected by the prejudices that people hold about other groups of people.

13.11 What is the difference between prejudice and discrimination?

In talking about attitudes, the idea that some beliefs—stereotypes—can be formed by using only superficial information about a person or group of people was discussed. When a person holds an unsupported and often negative attitude about the members of a particular social group, it is called **prejudice**. When prejudicial attitudes cause members of a particular social group to be treated differently than others in situations that call for equal treatment, it is called **discrimination**. Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination relate to the previous discussion of the ABC model of attitudes. Prejudice is the affective component of the attitude, discrimination represents the behavioural component of the attitude, and stereotyping represents the cognitive component. Although laws can be made to minimize discriminatory behaviour, it is not possible to have laws against holding certain attitudes. In other words, discrimination can be controlled and in some cases eliminated, but the prejudicial attitude that is responsible for the discrimination cannot be so easily controlled or eliminated.

TYPES OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

There are many kinds of prejudice. There are also many kinds of discrimination that occur as a result of prejudice. There's ageism, or prejudicial attitudes toward people because of their age; sexism; racism, or prejudice toward those from different ethnic groups; prejudice toward those from different religions, those from different economic levels, those who are overweight, those who are too thin, and so on. Prejudice can also vary in terms of what types of people or groups make the most likely targets. In any society, there will always be **in-groups** and **out-groups**, or "us" versus "them." The in-group is all the people with whom a particular person identifies and the out-groups are everyone else (Brewer, 2001; Hewstone et al., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The formation of in-groups and out-groups begins in childhood (Ruble et al., 2004) and continues as children become adults.

Once an in-group is established, prejudice toward and discriminatory treatment of the out-group or groups soon follow (Brewer, 2001). Members of the out-groups are usually stereotyped according to some superficial characteristic, such as skin

prejudice

an unsupported and often negative attitude about the members of a particular social group.

discrimination

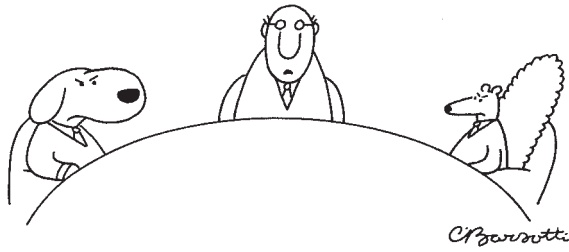
behaving differently toward people based solely or primarily on their membership within a social group.

in-groups

social groups with whom a person identifies; "us."

out-groups

social groups with whom a person does not identify; "them."



"First, can we agree that it's a big back yard?"

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colour or hair colour, and getting rid of a stereotype once formed is difficult at best (Cameron et al., 2001; Hamilton & Gifford, 1976).

The **realistic conflict theory** of prejudice describes the formation of prejudice and the onset of discriminatory treatment that are closely tied to the degree of conflict between the in-group and the out-group (Horowitz, 1985; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Because the examples of this from history and modern times are so numerous, it is possible to list only a few: the conflict between the early Crusaders and the Muslims, between the Jewish people and the Germans, the hatred between the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants, and the conflict between the native population of you-name-the-country and the colonists who want that land.



CLASSIC STUDIES IN PSYCHOLOGY

Brown Eyes, Blue Eyes

In a small town in Iowa in 1968, a few days after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a grade 2 teacher named Jane Elliot tried to teach her students a lesson in prejudice and discrimination. She divided her students into two groups, those with blue eyes and those with brown eyes.

On the first day of the lesson, the blue-eyed children were given special privileges, such as extra time at recess and getting to leave first for lunch. She also told the blue-eyed children that they were superior to the brown-eyed children, telling the brown-eyed children not to bother taking seconds at lunch because it would be wasted. She kept the blue-eyed children and the brown-eyed children apart (Peters, 1971).

Although Elliot tried to be critical of the brown-eyed out-group, she soon found that the blue-eyed children were also criticizing, belittling, and were quite vicious in their attacks on the brown-eyed children. By the end of the day, the blue-eyed children felt and acted superior, and the brown-eyed children were miserable. Even the lowered test scores of the brown-eyed children reflected their misery. Two days later, the brown-eyed children became the favoured group and the effects from the first two days appeared again but in reverse this time: The blue-eyed children began to feel inferior and their test scores dropped.

The fact that test scores reflected the treatment received by the out-group is a stunning one, raising questions about the effects of prejudice and discrimination on the education of children who are members of stereotyped out-groups. That the children were so willing to discriminate against their own classmates, some of whom were their close friends before the experiment, is also telling. In his book about this classroom experiment, *A Class Divided*, Peters (1971) reported that the students who were part of the original experiment, when reunited 15 years later to talk about the experience, said that they believed that this early experience with prejudice and discrimination helped them become less prejudiced as young adults.

Questions for Further Discussion

1. Is there anything about this experiment that you find disturbing?
2. How do you think adults might react in a similar experiment?
3. Are there any ethical concerns with what Elliot did in her classroom?
4. What kinds of changes might have occurred in the personalities and performances of the children if the experiment had continued for more than two days with each group?

realistic conflict theory

theory stating that prejudice and discrimination will be increased between groups that are in conflict.



Reporters and school workers inspect the damage at the United Talmud Torah elementary school in Montreal on April 5, 2004. The school's library was firebombed overnight and anti-Semitic literature was left at the scene. Fortunately, because the school was closed for passover, there were no injuries. Jewish people have often served as scapegoats for many of society's ills for many centuries.

SCAPEGOATING Conflicts between groups are usually greater when there are other pressures or stresses going on, such as war, economic difficulties, or other misfortunes. When such pressures exist, the need to find a *scapegoat* becomes stronger. A scapegoat is a person or a group, typically a member or members of an out-group, who serves as the target for the frustrations and negative emotions of members of the in-group. (The term comes from the ancient Jewish tradition of sending a goat out into the wilderness with the symbolic sins of all the people on its head.)

Scapegoats are going to be the group of people with the least power, and the newest immigrants to any area are typically those who have the least power at that time. That is why many social psychologists believe that the rioting that took place in Los Angeles, California, in the spring of 1992 occurred in the areas it did. This was the time of the infamous Rodney King beating. Rodney King was an African American man who was dragged out of his car onto the street and severely beaten by four police officers. The beating was caught on tape by a bystander. At the trial, the officers were found not guilty of assault with a deadly weapon. This decision was followed by a series of violent riots (Knight, 1996).

The puzzling thing about these riots is that the greatest amount of rioting and violence did not take place in the neighbourhoods of the mostly white police officers or in the African American neighbourhoods. The rioting was greatest in the neighbourhoods of the Asian Americans, and Asians who were the most recent immigrants to the area. When a group has only recently moved into an area, as the Asians had, that group has the least social power and influence in that new area. So the rioters took out their frustrations *not* on the people seen as directly responsible for those frustrations but on the group of people with the least power to resist.

social cognitive theory

theory in which cognitive processes are used in relation to understanding the social world.

social identity theory

theory in which the formation of a person's identity within a particular social group is explained by social categorization, social identity, and social comparison.

social identity

the part of the self-concept that includes one's view of self as a member of a particular social category.

social comparison

the comparison of oneself to others in ways that raise one's self-esteem.

stereotype vulnerability

the effect that people's awareness of the stereotypes associated with their social group has on their behaviour.

self-fulfilling prophecy

the tendency of one's expectations to affect one's behaviour in such a way as to make the expectation more likely to occur.

contact hypothesis

Gordon Allport's (1954) hypothesis that intergroup contact will reduce prejudice under four conditions: those coming into contact with each other must have equal status, common goals, no competition, and an authority overseeing the contact.

superordinate goals

shared goals that can only be achieved through cooperation and that can override people's differences from one another.

equal status contact

contact between groups in which the groups have equal status, with neither group having power over the other.

HOW PEOPLE LEARN PREJUDICE**13.12 Why are people prejudiced, and how can prejudice be stopped?**

As was seen in the short discussion of the brown eyes–blue eyes experiment, even children have their prejudiced attitudes. Is all prejudice simply a matter of learning, or are there other factors at work? Several theories have been proposed to explain the origins and the persistence of prejudice. In **social cognitive theory**, prejudice is seen as an attitude that is formed as other attitudes are formed, through direct instruction, modelling, and other social influences on learning.

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY In **social identity theory**, three processes are responsible for the formation of a person's identity within a particular social group and the attitudes, concepts, and behaviour that go along with identification with that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The first process is *social categorization*, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Just as people assign categories to others (such as Black, white, student, teacher, and so on) to help organize information about those others, people also assign themselves to social categories to help determine how they should behave. A *reference group* is a group of people to whom people compare themselves, and one's social category determines the reference group that will be used. The second element of social identity theory is *identification*, or the formation of one's **social identity**. A social identity is the part of one's self-concept that includes the view of oneself as a member of a particular social group. This identification process includes the idea of the in-group. The third aspect of social identity theory is **social comparison**, Festinger's (1954) concept in which people compare themselves to others to improve their own self-esteem: "Well, at least I'm better off than that person."

With respect to prejudice, social identity theory helps to explain why people categorize or stereotype others, the in-group sense of "us versus them" that people adopt toward out-groups, and people's need to increase their own self-esteem by looking down on others.

STEREOTYPE VULNERABILITY As discussed previously, stereotypes are the widespread beliefs a person has about members of another group. Not only do stereotypes affect the way people perceive other people, but stereotypes can also affect the way people see themselves and their performance (Snyder et al., 1977). **Stereotype vulnerability** refers to the effect that a person's knowledge of another's stereotyped opinions can have on that person's behaviour (Steele, 1992, 1997). Research has shown that when people are aware of stereotypes that are normally applied to their own group by others, they feel anxious about behaving in ways that might support that stereotype. This fear results in anxiety and self-consciousness that have negative effects on their performance in a kind of **self-fulfilling prophecy**, or the effect that expectations can have on outcomes.

Stereotype vulnerability is highly related to *stereotype threat*, in which members of a stereotyped group are made anxious and wary of any situation in which their behaviour might confirm a stereotype (Hyde & Kling, 2001; Steele, 1999). In one study, Margaret Walsh and colleagues at Memorial University of Newfoundland at Corner Brook investigated whether undergraduate women would fall prey to stereotype threat when faced with a standardized test of mathematical problem solving (Walsh, Hickey, & Duffy, 1999). When women were led to believe that the math test had previously revealed gender differences (i.e., when women were led to believe that men performed better than women), they performed worse than men. In contrast, when they were led to believe that the test was merely comparing performance of Canadian students with that of American students, there were no gender differences

found. According to Walsh and colleagues (1999), the findings of their study suggest that stereotype threat could be a key factor in explaining gender differences in mathematical problem solving. Similar effects of stereotype threat on performance also have been found with other groups. For example, this phenomenon has been implicated in the poor performance of Black participants relative to white participants on complex verbal tasks (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

OVERCOMING PREJUDICE

The best weapon against prejudice is education: learning about people who are different from you can help in many ways. The best way to learn about others is to have direct contact with them and learn to see them as people rather than as “outsiders or strangers.” *Intergroup contact* is very common in college and university settings, for example, where students and faculty from many different backgrounds live, work, and study together. Because they go through many of the same experiences (midterms, finals, and so on), people from these diverse backgrounds find common ground to start building friendships and knowledge of each other’s cultural, ethnic, or religious differences.

EQUAL STATUS CONTACT In the **contact hypothesis**, Allport (1954) recognized that intergroup contact will lead to reduced prejudice, but only under certain conditions. First, the individuals or groups coming into contact with one another must have equal status (i.e., one must not have power or control over the other); second, they must share common goals; third, there must not be any competition between the individuals or groups; and finally, there must be an authority who is overseeing the contact (Allport, 1954). These conditions, according to Allport (1954), must be met in order to effectively reduce intergroup prejudice.

The idea that contact between social groups can backfire under certain circumstances is illustrated in a famous study (Sherif et al., 1961) called the “Robber’s Cave.” In this experiment conducted at a summer camp called Robber’s Cave, 22 white, well-adjusted 11- and 12-year-old boys were divided into two groups. The groups each lived in separate cabins and were kept apart from each other for daily activities. During the second week, after in-group relationships had formed, the researchers scheduled highly competitive events pitting one group against the other. An example of such an event was a tug-of-war. Intergroup conflict quickly occurred, with name-calling, fights, and hostility emerging between the two groups. It is obvious that competing for limited resources (e.g., the boys fought for control over the baseball diamond) and, in fact, competition in general, elicited very strong feelings of prejudice from the boys.

The third week involved making the two groups come together for pleasant, non-competitive activities, in the hopes that cooperation would be the result. Instead, the groups used the activities of the third week as opportunities for more hostility. The experimenters deliberately created a series of crises to force the boys to work together. It was only after several weeks of working together on shared goals, called **superordinate goals**, that the boys lost the hostility and formed friendships between the groups. When dealing with the crises, the boys were forced into a situation of **equal status contact**, in which they were all in the same situation with neither group holding power over the other. Once equal status contact is achieved, working on superordinate goals helps to decrease the prejudice and conflict between groups.



Intergroup contact is one of the best ways to combat prejudice. When people have an opportunity to work together, as the students in this diverse classroom do, they get to know each other on common ground. Can you think of the first time you had direct contact with someone who was different from you? How did that contact change your viewpoint?



The creation of superordinate goals, such as having to work together to fix the water supply, was found to reduce prejudice and discrimination in the two conflicting groups of boys in Sherif’s experiment.



Progressive Conservative leader John Tory lost to Liberal Education Minister Kathleen Wynne in the October 2007 Ontario provincial elections. Polling indicated that the Progressive Conservative party was close to the Liberal party going into the campaign, but Tory's proposal to extend public funding to private religious schools was rejected by the voters.

"jigsaw classroom"

educational technique in which each individual is given only part of the information needed to solve a problem, causing the separate individuals to be forced to work together to find the solution.

After a review of research done between 1989 and 1991, James Olson of the University of Western Ontario and Mark Zanna of the University of Waterloo concluded that equal status contact has been shown to reduce prejudice and discrimination. It appears that personal involvement with people from another group must be cooperative and occur when all groups are equal in terms of power or status to have a positive effect on reducing prejudice (Olson & Zanna, 1993; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Robinson & Preston, 1976).

Also, research by Frances Aboud and Morton Mendelson (2003) of McGill University in Montreal has found that children's intergroup peer relations in school support the idea that equal status contact can reduce prejudice. Aboud and Mendelson (2003) have found that being engaged socially with many cross-race friends and having higher quality friendships led to less prejudice.

THE "JIGSAW CLASSROOM" One way to ensure that contact between people from different backgrounds will occur in a cooperative fashion is to make success at a task depend on the cooperation of each person in a group of people of mixed abilities or statuses. If each member of the group has information that is needed to solve the problem at hand, a situation is created in which people must depend on one another to meet their shared goals (Aronson et al., 1978). Ordinarily, school classrooms are not organized along these lines but are instead more competitive and, therefore, more likely to create conflict between people of different abilities and backgrounds.

In a "**jigsaw classroom**," students have to work together to reach a specific goal. Each student is given a "piece of the puzzle," or information that is necessary for solving the problem and reaching the goal (Aronson et al., 1978; Clarke, 1994). Students then share their information with other members of the group. Interaction between diverse students is increased, making it more likely that those students will come to see each other as partners and form friendly relationships rather than labelling others as members of an out-group and treating them differently. This technique works at the post-secondary level as well as in the lower school grades (Johnson et al., 1991; Lord, 2001).

The issue of extending public funding to private religious schools was a major issue in the 2007 Ontario provincial elections. One party supported it, but the others were opposed. According to the opposition, if the proposal had been accepted, more division along religious lines would have been the result. Because psychologists have shown that equal status contact reduces prejudice and discrimination, allowing for more religious diversity in schools (and not segregation) is believed to be an important step in Canada's future. A related issue, Black-focused schooling in Toronto, is discussed in the Psychology in the News section.

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE NEWS



The Controversy Surrounding Black-Focused Schools

13.13 What effects would Black-focused schools have on prejudice and discrimination?

Although many people are not aware of it, the controversy surrounding Black-focused schools in Canada has been going on for quite some time. Although the controversy has been occurring across Canada, the Toronto District School Board has been in the media spotlight. In 1992, Lloyd McKell, the Toronto District School Board's equity officer, was

quoted in the *Toronto Star* (one of Toronto's major newspapers) as saying he was in favour of Black-focused schools. The next year, the Royal Commission on Learning recommended Black-focused schools in Toronto as a possible remedy to the high dropout rates among Black students. Ten years later, in 2003, a parent named Angela Wilson learned of the Alternative School Policy of the Toronto District School Board, which defines an alternative school as a unique school that provides an educational experience suited to individual learning styles, preferences, and/or needs. Wilson paired up with another activist named Donna Harrow and together they have fought for the creation of a new alternative school—a school that is Black-focused. The Africentric Advisory Committee of the Toronto District School Board endorsed this proposal, which is now under debate.

There are many people who support the idea of creating a Black-focused alternative school, claiming that such a school will keep Black students engaged and prevent them from dropping out. There are also many people who oppose the idea, saying that it will lead to more isolation and segregation, and ultimately, more prejudice and discrimination in Canada.

Questions for Further Discussion

1. What positive effects might a Black-focused school have?
2. What negative effects might the creation of such a school have?
3. Is there something that the government can do in “regular” schools to appease both sides of the debate?
4. If a Black-focused school is indeed created in Toronto, what effect might this have on other minorities?

PRACTICE QUIZ: HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

1. The behavioural component of prejudice is
 - a. discrimination.
 - b. stereotyping.
 - c. implicit personality theorizing.
 - d. holding a negative attitude toward a person.
2. The most likely predictor of the development of prejudice and discrimination between two groups is the degree of _____ between the groups.
 - a. differences
 - b. conflict
 - c. distance
 - d. emotionality
3. In teacher Jane Elliot's classic study, the most startling finding was that the
 - a. blue-eyed children were kinder to their brown-eyed peers.
 - b. brown-eyed children were less prejudiced.
 - c. both blue-eyed and brown-eyed children performed worse when they were labelled as the inferior group.
 - d. children were unwilling to discriminate with respect to the others.
4. Which of the following is not an element of social identity theory?
 - a. reference group
 - b. social identity
 - c. social comparison
 - d. superordinate goals
5. Which situation would be least likely to result in a decrease of prejudice?
 - a. asking people to work on separate projects but in the same room
 - b. asking people to work on a common task
 - c. giving each person a piece of information to share with the others to solve a problem
 - d. people of various backgrounds helping rescue others from a flood

Answers: 1-a, 2-b, 3-c, 4-d, 5-a.

Liking and Loving: Interpersonal Attraction

Prejudice pretty much explains why people don't like each other. What does psychology say about why people like someone else? There are some “rules” for those whom people like and find attractive. Liking or having the desire for a relationship with

interpersonal attraction

liking or having the desire for a relationship with another person.

proximity

physical or geographical nearness.

someone else is called **interpersonal attraction**, and there's a great deal of research on the subject. (Who wouldn't want to know the rules?)

THE RULES OF ATTRACTION13.14 *What factors cause people to be attracted to each other?*

Several factors are involved in the attraction of one person to another, including both superficial physical characteristics, such as physical beauty and proximity, as well as elements of personality.

PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS When people think about what attracts them to other people, one of the topics that usually arises is the physical attractiveness of the other person. Some research suggests that physical beauty is one of the main factors that influence people's choices for selecting people they want to know better, although other factors may become more important in the later stages of relationships (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; White, 1980).



Proximity and similarity are two of the powerful forces governing interpersonal attraction. This woman and man are getting married in a traditional cowboy wedding ceremony. They met because of working in similar careers, and they share similar values as a result.

PROXIMITY—CLOSE TO YOU The closer together people are physically, such as working in the same office building or living in the same dorm, the more likely they are to form a relationship. **Proximity** refers to being physically near someone else. People choose friends and lovers from the pool of people available to them, and availability depends heavily on proximity.

One theory about why proximity is so important involves the idea of repeated exposure to new stimuli. The more people experience something, whether it is a song, a picture, or a person, the more they tend to like it. The phrase “it grew on me” refers to this reaction. When people are in physical proximity to each other,

repeated exposure may increase their attraction to each other. This occurrence is referred to as the *mere exposure effect*, which is quite simply defined as “the more we are exposed to something, the more we tend to like it” (Zajonc, 1968).

BIRDS OF A FEATHER—SIMILARITY Proximity does not guarantee attraction, just as physical attractiveness does not guarantee a long-term relationship. People tend to like being around others who are *similar* to them in some way. The more people find they have in common with others—such as attitudes, beliefs, and interests—the more they tend to be attracted to those others (Hartfield & Rapson, 1992; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982; Neimeyer & Mitchell, 1998). Similarity as a factor in relationships makes sense when seen in terms of validation of a person's beliefs and attitudes. When other people hold the same attitudes and beliefs and do the same kinds of actions, it makes a person's own concepts seem more correct or valid. Where children are concerned, Canadian researchers Frances Aboud and Morton Mendelson (1998) have found that when it comes to making friends in childhood, similarities in sex, age, race, and preferred activity were more important than values and attitudes.

WHEN OPPOSITES ATTRACT Isn't there a saying that “opposites attract”? Aren't people sometimes attracted to people who are different instead of similar? There is often a grain of truth in many old sayings, and “opposites attract” is no exception. Some people find that forming a relationship with another person who has *complementary* qualities, or characteristics in the one person that fill a need in the other, can be very rewarding (Carson, 1969; Schmitt, 2002). However, the majority

Isn't there a saying
that “opposites
attract”? Aren't people
sometimes attracted to
people who are
different instead of
similar?

of research shows that similarity tends to draw people together and helps them stay together more so than complementarity (Berscheid & Reis, 1998; McPherson et al., 2001).

RECIPROCITY OF LIKING Finally, people have a very strong tendency to like people who like them, a simple but powerful concept referred to as **reciprocity of liking**. In one experiment, researchers paired college students with other students (Curtis & Miller, 1986). Neither student in any of the pairs knew the other member. One member of each pair was randomly chosen to receive some information from the experimenters about how the *other* student in the pair felt about the first member. In some cases, target students were led to believe that the other students liked them and, in other cases, that the targets disliked them.

When the pairs of students were allowed to meet and talk with each other again, they were friendlier, disclosed more information about themselves, agreed with the other person more, and behaved in a warmer manner *if they had been told* that the other student liked them. The other students came to like these students better as well, so liking produced more liking.

The only time that liking someone does not seem to make that person like the other in return is if a person suffers from feelings of low self-worth. In that case, finding out that someone likes you when you don't even like yourself makes you question his or her motives. This mistrust can cause you to act unfriendly to that person, which makes the person more likely to become unfriendly to you in a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy (Murray et al., 1998).

LOVE IS A TRIANGLE—ROBERT STERNBERG'S TRIANGULAR THEORY OF LOVE

13.15 *What is love, and what are the different forms that love can take?*

Dictionary definitions of love refer to a strong affection for another person due to kinship, personal ties, sexual attraction, admiration, or common interests.

But those aren't all the same kind of relationships. I love my family and I love my friends but in different ways. Psychologists generally agree that there are different kinds of love. One psychologist, Robert Sternberg, outlined a theory of what he determined were the three main components of love and the different types of love that combinations of these three components can produce (Sternberg, 1986, 1988, 1997).

THE THREE COMPONENTS OF LOVE According to Sternberg, love consists of three basic components: intimacy, passion, and commitment.

Intimacy, in Sternberg's view, refers to the feelings of closeness that one has for another person or the sense of having close emotional ties to another. Intimacy in this sense is not physical but psychological. Friends have an intimate relationship because they disclose things to each other that most people might not know, they feel strong emotional ties to each other, and they enjoy the presence of the other person.

Passion is the physical aspect of love. Passion refers to the emotional and sexual arousal a person feels toward the other person. Passion is not simply sex; holding hands, loving looks, and hugs can all be forms of passion.

Commitment involves the decisions one makes about a relationship. A short-term decision might be, "I think I'm in love." An example of a more long-term



The concept of romantic love, in which two people first feel a passionate attraction for each other and then develop an intimate relationship, is a relatively new one and more typical of Western cultures. In many other cultures marriages are arranged by the parents of the young couple and based on similarity of personality and commitment, as in this Hindu wedding taking place in Jaipur, India. It is assumed that intimacy and passion will develop over the course of their marriage.

◀ But those aren't all the same kind of relationships. I love my family and I love my friends but in different ways.

reciprocity of liking

tendency of people to like other people who like them in return.

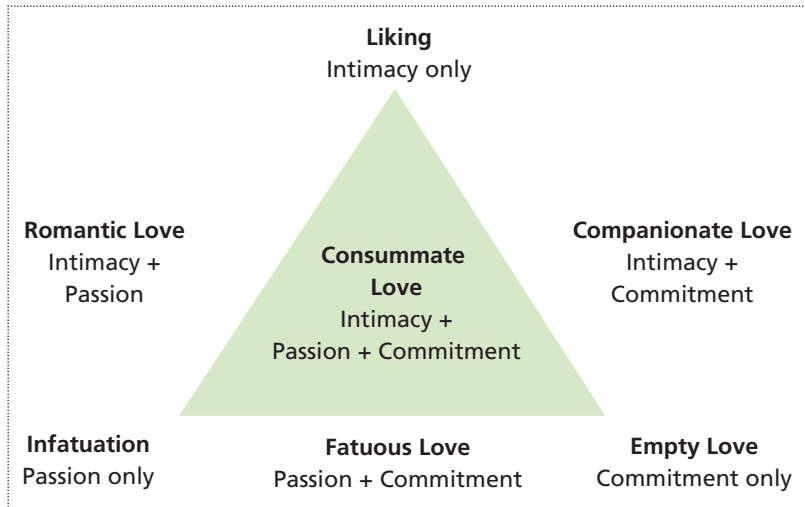


FIGURE 13.5 Sternberg's Triangular Theory of Love This diagram represents the seven different kinds of love that can result from combining the three components of love: intimacy, passion, and commitment. Notice that some of these types of love sound less desirable or positive than others. What is the one key element missing from the less positive types of love?

Source: Adapted from Sternberg (1986).

romantic love

type of love consisting of intimacy and passion.

companionate love

type of love consisting of intimacy and commitment.

decision is, "I want to be with this person for the rest of my life."

THE LOVE TRIANGLES A love relationship between two people can involve one, two, or all three of these components in various combinations. The combinations can produce seven different forms of love, as can be seen in Figure 13.5.

Two of the more familiar and more heavily researched forms of love from Sternberg's theory are romantic love and companionate love. When intimacy and passion are combined, the result is the more familiar **romantic love**, which is sometimes called passionate love by other researchers (Bartels & Zeki, 2000; Diamond, 2003; Hartfield, 1987).

Romantic love is often the basis for a more lasting

relationship. In many Western cultures, the ideal relationship begins with liking, then becomes romantic love as passion is added to the mix, and finally becomes a more enduring form of love as a commitment is made. Kenneth and Karen Dion, of the University of Toronto, have found that romantic love is more likely to be the basis of Western relationships than of non-Western relationships (Dion & Dion, 1993).

When intimacy and commitment are the main components of a relationship, it is called **companionate love**. In companionate love, people who like each other, feel emotionally close to each other, and understand one another's motives have made a commitment to live together, usually in a marriage relationship. Companionate love is often the binding tie that holds a marriage together through the years of parenting, paying bills, and lessening physical passion (Gottman & Krokoff, 1989; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1987). In many non-Western cultures, companionate love is seen as more sensible. Choices for a mate on the basis of compatibility are often made by parents or matchmakers rather than the couple themselves (Dion & Dion, 1993; Duben & Behar, 1991; Hortaçsu, 1999; Jones, 1997; Thornton & Hui-Sheng, 1994).

Finally, when all three components of love are present, the couple has achieved *consummate love*, the ideal form of love that many people see as the ultimate goal. This is also the kind of love that may evolve into companionate love when the passion lessens during the middle years of a relationship's commitment.



CLASSIC STUDIES IN PSYCHOLOGY

Dutton and Aron

13.16 How can we be "tricked" into believing we're in love?

Researchers have shown that physiological arousal intensifies passionate feelings as long as the person believes the arousal is the result of a specific romantic stimulus (e.g., another person who is nearby). Donald Dutton and Arthur Aron of the University of British Columbia (1974) first had young men cross a narrow, wobbly, long walkway that was 75 metres above a river in British Columbia so that they would be physiologically aroused. As they crossed the walkway, they were approached by an attractive young woman, who

asked them to fill out a questionnaire for her class. When the questionnaire was complete, the woman gave each man her name and phone number and told him to call if he wanted more information about her project. The number of phone calls to the interviewer for this group was compared to that for another group of men who went through the same experience, but who had crossed a low, solid bridge, and also to that for a third group of men who were approached on a high bridge by a male interviewer. It was found that almost half of the men in the aroused condition called the female interviewer, whereas the men in the other two conditions rarely called.

In a follow-up study, Dutton and Aron (1989) asked male students to participate in a learning experiment. After being introduced to attractive female partners, one group of the participants were scared to find out that they would be receiving “quite painful” electric shocks (which resulted in physiological arousal). The men were then given a questionnaire that was said to be necessary in order to determine how they would react to the learning task. On the questionnaire, they were asked how much they would like to date and kiss their female partners. The men in the “scared” (physiologically aroused) condition reported feeling more intense attraction toward their female partners.

It is obvious from both of these studies that physical arousal *may* lead people to falsely believe they are attracted to someone.

Question for Further Discussion

1. How can the results of these experiments explain why you may find yourself attracted to the stranger next to you on the roller coaster at Canada's Wonderland or in the West Edmonton Mall?
2. How might the results of the bridge study be different if the participants were all a group of professional mountain climbers?
3. How do Dutton and Aron's results relate to the previously discussed attribution theory?
4. How does this experiment relate to Schachter and Singer's (1962) cognitive-arousal theory and to the Classic Studies in Psychology section discussed in Chapter 9 (p. 392)?

PRACTICE QUIZ: HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

1. Which of the following is not one of the reasons given by the text for interpersonal attraction?
 - a. physical attractiveness
 - b. similarity
 - c. personality
 - d. proximity
2. The more you see someone, the more likely you are to _____.
 - a. dislike
 - b. like
 - c. grow tired of
 - d. be annoyed by
3. A person who is very low in self-worth is less likely to be affected by the
 - a. halo effect.
 - b. mere exposure effect.
 - c. need complementarity effect.
 - d. reciprocity of liking effect.
4. According to Sternberg, the emotional and physical arousal a person feels for another is the _____ component of love.
 - a. intimacy
 - b. passion
 - c. commitment
 - d. psychological
5. If you are interested in dating someone and you are scared to ask them out for fear of being rejected, when should you approach them if you finally do get the courage?
 - a. after watching a very scary horror movie
 - b. after listening to a boring lecture at school
 - c. after waking up from a nap
 - d. after listening to classical music

**aggression**

behaviour intended to hurt or destroy another person.

Aggression and Prosocial Behaviour

All you have to do is turn on the television or open a newspaper to see the number of violent acts taking place in society today. It seems as though school shootings, armed robberies, and other violent crimes are taking place more and more each day. However, if you were to pay attention to the world around you, you would also see that people are often inclined to help others. From picking up dropped papers, to holding the door for someone, to more extreme acts such as jumping in front of a car to rescue a child—helping, a form of *prosocial behaviour*, is also all around us. Researchers have been looking into when and why these aggressive and prosocial acts occur. Their findings will be discussed in the next sections.

13.17 What is aggression and what causes it?

Unfortunately, violence toward others is another form of social interaction. When one hurts or tries to destroy another, either with words or with physical behaviour, psychologists call it **aggression**. Aggression does not only occur between people—it is common among other animals as well. Researchers have separated the causes of aggression into three separate categories: aggression as a result of biology, aggression as a result of frustration, and aggression as a learned social behaviour.

AGGRESSION AS A RESULT OF BIOLOGY

INSTINCT THEORY Many early researchers, including Sigmund Freud (1930), believed that aggression was a basic human instinct. In Freud's view, aggression was part of the death instinct that drove human beings to destroy both others and themselves, and he believed that if aggression were not released it would cause illness. But if aggression is an instinct present in all humans, it should occur in far more similar patterns across cultures than it does. Instinctual behaviour, as often seen in animals, is not modifiable by environmental influences.

GENETIC INFLUENCES There is some evidence that human aggression has at least partially a genetic basis. Studies of twins have shown that if one identical twin has a violent temper, the identical sibling will most likely also have a violent temper. This agreement between twins' personalities happens more often with identical twins than with fraternal twins, showing support for the idea that genetics are involved (Miles & Carey, 1997; Rowe et al., 1999). It may be that some gene or combination of genes makes certain people more susceptible to aggressive responses under the right environmental conditions.

NEURAL INFLUENCES As discussed in Chapter Two, certain areas of the brain seem to control aggressive responses. The amygdala and other structures of the limbic system have been shown to trigger aggressive responses when stimulated in both animals and humans (Adams, 1968; Albert & Richmond, 1977; LaBar et al., 1995; Scott et al., 1997). Charles Whitman, the Tower of Texas sniper, who in 1966 killed his mother, his wife, and then shot and killed 12 more people before finally being killed by law enforcement officers, left a note asking for an examination of his brain. An autopsy did reveal a tumour that was pressing into his amygdala (Lavergne, 1997).

BIOCHEMICAL INFLUENCES There are also chemical influences on aggression. Testosterone, a male sex hormone, has been linked to higher levels of aggression in humans (Archer, 1991). This may help to explain why violent criminals tend to be young, male, and muscular. They typically have high levels of testosterone and low levels of serotonin, another important chemical found in the brain that was

discussed in Chapter Two (Alexander et al., 1986; Brown & Linnoila, 1990; Coccaro & Kavoussi, 1996; Dabbs et al., 2001; Robins, 1996).

Don't some people get pretty violent after drinking too much? Does alcohol do something to those brain chemicals? Alcohol does have an impact on aggressive behaviour. Psychologically, alcohol acts to release inhibitions, making people less likely to control their behaviour even if they are not yet intoxicated. Biologically, alcohol affects the functioning of many neurotransmitters and in particular is associated with a decrease in serotonin (Virkkunen & Linnoila, 1996). In one study, volunteers were asked to administer electric shocks to an unseen "opponent" in a study reminiscent of Milgram's shock experiment. The actual responses to the shock were simulated by a computer, although the volunteers believed that the responses were coming from a real person. The volunteers were told it was a test of reaction time and learning (Bushman, 1997). Volunteers participated both before consuming alcohol and after consuming alcohol. Participants were much more aggressive in administering stronger shocks after drinking. It should also be noted that the effects of alcohol on aggression are also mediated by situational factors, such as the person's frustration level, which is discussed in the next section.

AGGRESSION AS A RESULT OF FRUSTRATION

One common cause of aggressive behaviour is frustration, which occurs when a person is prevented from reaching some desired goal. The concept of aggression as a reaction to frustration is known as the *frustration-aggression hypothesis*. This hypothesis was originally proposed by John Dollard and colleagues in 1939. According to the original hypothesis, frustration always leads to some sort of aggression *and* aggression is always the result of frustration. As you have probably already realized, this hypothesis was criticized. Later researchers, namely Len Berkowitz, reformulated the frustration-aggression hypothesis, saying that frustration is just one of the many factors that can cause a negative emotional response (Berkowitz, 1993). Pain, for example, produces negative sensations that are often intense and uncontrollable, leading to frustration and often aggressive acts against the nearest available target (Berkowitz, 1993). Loud noises, excessive heat, the irritation of someone else's cigarette smoke, and even awful smells can lead people to act out in an aggressive manner (Anderson, 1987; Rotton et al., 1979; Rotton & Frey, 1985; Zillmann et al., 1981).

AGGRESSION AS A LEARNED SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Although frustration, genetics, body chemicals, and even the effects of drugs can be blamed for aggressive behaviour to some degree, much of human aggression is also influenced by learning. The social learning theory explanation for aggression states that aggressive behaviour is learned by watching aggressive models get reinforced for their aggressive behaviour (Bandura, 1980; Bandura et al., 1961). **LINK** to Chapter Five: Learning, p. 215. Aggressive models can be parents, siblings, friends, or people on television.

There is some evidence to suggest that even taking on a particular *social role*, such as that of a soldier, can lead to an increase in aggressive behaviour. A **social role** is the pattern of behaviour that is expected of a person who is in a particular social position. For example, "doctor" is a social role that implies wearing a white coat, asking certain types of questions, and writing prescriptions, among other things. A deeply disturbing experiment was conducted by famed social psychologist Philip Zimbardo at Stanford University in 1971. The experiment was recorded on film from the beginning to a rather abrupt end: About 70 young men, most of whom were college students, volunteered to participate for two weeks. They were told that they

◀ Don't some people get pretty violent after drinking too much? Does alcohol do something to those brain chemicals?



social role

the pattern of behaviour that is expected of a person who is in a particular social position.



This photograph shows a “guard” searching a “prisoner” in Zimbardo’s famous Stanford prison experiment. The students in the experiment became so deeply involved in their assigned roles that Zimbardo had to cancel the experiment after only six days—less than half the time originally scheduled for the study.

A U.S. soldier threatens an Iraqi prisoner at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Investigators into alleged abuses at this prison found numerous sadistic and brutal acts committed by U.S. military personnel upon the prisoners. Many of these personnel have been tried and convicted and are spending time in prison because of their involvement in the abuse. Others have been otherwise punished, such as being removed from duty or being demoted.



would be randomly assigned the social role of either a guard or a prisoner in the experiment. The “guards” were given uniforms and instructions not to use violence but to maintain control of the “prison.” The “prisoners” were booked at a real jail, blindfolded, and transported to the campus “prison,” actually the basement of one of the campus buildings. On day two, the prisoners staged a revolt (not planned as part of the experiment), which was quickly crushed by the guards. The guards then became increasingly more aggressive, using humiliation to control and punish the prisoners. For example, prisoners were forced to clean out toilet bowls with their bare hands. The staff observing the experiment had to release five of the prisoners who became so upset that they were physically ill. The entire experiment was cancelled on the sixth day, after one of the prisoners reported to Zimbardo that what the experimenters were doing to the young men was terrible (Zimbardo, 1971). For more information on

the experiment, go to www.prisonexp.org.

The conclusions of Zimbardo and his colleagues highlighted the influence that a social role, such as that of “guard,” can have on perfectly ordinary people. Although history is full of examples of people behaving horribly to others while filling a particular role, one need not travel very far into the past to find an example. In 2003, during the war in Iraq, a U.S. army reserve general was suspended from duty while an investigation into reported prisoner abuses was conducted. Between October and December 2003, investigators found numerous cases of cruel, humiliating, and other startling abuses of the Iraqi prisoners by the army military police stationed at the prison of Abu Ghraib (Hersh, 2004). Among the cruelties reported were pouring cold water on naked detainees, beating them with a broom handle or chair, threatening them with rape, and one case of actually carrying out the threat. American soldiers are not the only ones guilty of crimes such as these. A potent Canadian example happened in Somalia in March 1993, when soldiers from the Canadian Airborne Regiment tortured and beat 16-year-old Shidane Arone to death. How could any normal person have done such things? The “guards” in the Stanford prison study were normal people, but the effect of putting on the uniform and taking on the social role of guard changed their behaviour radically. Is it possible that a similar factor was at work at Abu Ghraib and in Somalia? The behaviour of the guards at Abu Ghraib and the

Canadian soldiers in Somalia was not part of a formal, controlled study, so further research will be needed to determine to what degree the social roles at work in situations like this influence the kind of behaviour seen in these real-life examples.

No one can deny that abused children are exposed to powerful models of aggression. Their abusing parents get reinforced for their aggressive behaviour when they get what they want from the child. No one can deny that there are people who were abused who go on to become abusers. However, contrary to popular belief, most children who suffer abuse do *not* grow up to become abusers themselves—in fact, only one-third of abused children do so (Kaufman & Zigler, 1993; Oliver, 1993). Instead of becoming abusers themselves, some abused children receive help and overcome the damage from their childhood, whereas others withdraw, isolating themselves rather than becoming abusive (Dodge et al., 1990).

VIOLENCE IN THE MEDIA AND AGGRESSION I've heard that violent television programs can cause children to become more aggressive. How true is that? An early study, by Canadian Albert Bandura, on the effects on small children of an aggressive model viewed over a movie screen was one of the first attempts to investigate the effect of violence in the media on children's aggressive behaviour (Bandura et al., 1961). **LINK** to *Chapter Five: Learning*, p. 215. Since then, researchers have examined the impact of television and other media violence on the aggressive behaviour of children of various ages. The conclusions have all been similar: Children who are exposed to high levels of violent media are more aggressive than children who are not (Baron & Reiss, 1985; Bushman & Huesmann, 2000; Centerwall, 1989; Geen & Thomas, 1986; Huesmann & Miller, 1994; Huesmann et al., 1997; Huesmann et al., 2003; Villani, 2001). These studies have found that there are several contributing factors involving the normal aggressive tendencies of the child, with more aggressive children preferring to watch more aggressive media, as well as the age at which exposure begins: the younger the child, the greater the impact. Parenting issues also have an impact, as the aggressive impact of television is lessened in homes where aggressive behaviour is not tolerated and punishment is not physical.

Violent video games have also come under fire as causing violent acting-out in children, especially young adolescents. The tragic shootings at schools in Canada and the United States have, at least in part, been blamed on violent video games that the students seemed to be imitating. This was especially a concern in the Littleton, Colorado, shootings because the adolescent boys involved in those incidents had not only played a violent video game in which two shooters killed people who could not fight back but also had made a video of themselves in trench coats, shooting school athletes. This occurred less than a year before these same boys killed 13 of their fellow students at Columbine High School and wounded 23 others (Anderson & Dill, 2000). A video game called Super Columbine Massacre, which recreates the details of the Columbine shooting, was a favourite of Kimveer Gill, the 25-year-old who killed one person and wounded more than a dozen others at Montreal's Dawson College in September 2006.

In one study, grade 2 boys were allowed to play either an aggressive or a non-aggressive video game. After playing the game, the boys who had played the aggressive video game demonstrated more verbal and physical aggression both to objects around them and to their playmates while playing in a free period than boys who had played the non-aggressive video game (Irwin & Gross, 1995).

In a massive meta-analysis of research into the connection between violent media and aggressive behaviour in children, social psychologist Craig Anderson and colleagues found clear and consistent evidence that even short-term exposure to violent media significantly increases the likelihood that children will engage in both physical and verbal aggression as well as aggressive thoughts and emotions (Anderson et al., 2003). Clearly, violent video games do correlate with increased aggression levels of the children who play them, both young children and adolescents (Anderson, 2003; Anderson & Bushman, 2001).

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Another and far more pleasant form of human social interaction is **prosocial behaviour**, or socially desirable behaviour that benefits others rather than bringing them harm.

13.18 *What is altruism?*

ALTRUISM One form of prosocial behaviour that almost always makes people feel good about other people is **altruism**, or helping someone in trouble with no expectation of reward and often without fear of one's own safety. Although no one is

◀ I've heard that violent television programs can cause children to become more aggressive. How true is that?



prosocial behaviour

socially desirable behaviour that benefits others.

altruism

prosocial behaviour that is done with no expectation of reward and may involve the risk of harm to oneself.

social-responsibility norm

social expectation that people will help those who are dependent on them for help.

bystander effect

referring to the effect that the presence of other people has on the decision to help or not help, with help becoming less likely as the number of bystanders increases.

surprised by the behaviour of a mother who enters a burning house to save her child, some people are often surprised when total strangers step in to help, risking their own lives for people they do not know.

WHY PEOPLE HELP Sociobiologists, scientists who study the evolutionary and genetic bases of social organizations in both animals and humans, see altruistic behaviour as a way of preserving one's genetic material, even at the cost of one's own life. This is known as the *kin selection theory* and is why the males of certain species of spiders, for example, seem to willingly become "dinner" for the female mates they have just fertilized, ensuring the continuation of their genes through the offspring she will produce (Koh, 1996). It also explains the mother or father who risks life and limb to save a child. But why do people risk their own lives to help total strangers? Sometimes something within us tells us that we ought to help another person, even if he or she is a stranger.

Two social norms have been identified as explanations for this feeling of needing to help someone. The *norm of reciprocity*, which was discussed in relation to compliance techniques earlier in the chapter, is also applicable when it comes to helping. According to sociologist Alvin Gouldner (1960), we should help people who help us. For example, if you are taking part in the Terry Fox Run and people from school pledge money, the next time they are collecting pledges for a charity, you will feel as though you ought to support them in return. The second norm is the **social-responsibility norm**, which is the belief that we should help people who are in need of help, without consideration of future interactions (Berkowitz, 1972; Schwartz, 1975). For example, when on your way to class you see a person on crutches drop some books, you will most likely feel as though you ought to help. Because the person on crutches is in need of help and cannot easily pick up the books, the norm dictates that we ought to help.

Now that we know why people will help others, even strangers, why do people sometimes refuse to help when their own lives are not at risk, as in the case of Kitty Genovese presented below?

WHY PEOPLE WON'T HELP At 3:15 a.m. on March 13, 1964, Catherine "Kitty" Genovese had driven into the parking lot of the apartment building in which she lived, where a man was waiting in the darkness. Kitty spotted him and ran for the safety of her apartment building, but the man was faster and jumped on her back, stabbing her repeatedly. Kitty was heard to scream, "Oh my God! He stabbed me! Please help me!" But none of the estimated 38 witnesses came to help. At one point, the man was scared off by someone shouting from a window above, but because not one of the witnesses stepped in or called the police, the man returned, raped her, and then stabbed her to death. The entire attack took nearly half an hour.

Kitty Genovese's murder shocked most people when reported in the news in March 1964. People were outraged by the apparent indifference and lack of sympathy for the poor woman's plight. Why did those people simply stand by and watch or listen? Social psychologists would explain that the lack of response to Kitty Genovese's screams for help was not due to indifference or a lack of sympathy but instead to the presence of other people. When other people are present at the scene or are assumed to be present, individuals are affected by two basic principles of social psychology: the bystander effect and diffusion of responsibility.

13.19 What is the bystander effect?

Bystander Effect The **bystander effect** refers to the finding that the likelihood of a bystander (someone observing an event and close enough to offer help) helping someone in trouble decreases as the number of bystanders increases. If only one

person is standing by, that person is far more likely to help than if there is another person, and the addition of each new bystander decreases the possibility of helping behaviour even more (Darley & Latané, 1968; Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Latané & Darley, 1969). In the case of Kitty Genovese, there were 38 “bystanders” at the windows of the apartment buildings, and none of them helped.

After the Kitty Genovese murder, psychologists became curious about why the bystanders did not call the police right away or try to help in some other way. Two social psychologists, Bibb Latané and John Darley, began a series of research projects to determine the different conditions under which help might or might not be given. In their classic 1968 study, they conducted several experiments, one of which involved pumping smoke into a room where people were filling out questionnaires. Some participants were alone in the room, some were with two other participants, and in a third condition, one participant was in the room with two confederates of the experimenter, who were instructed to notice the smoke but ignore it afterward. It was found that more participants got up and reported the smoke when they were alone than in the other two conditions (Latané & Darley, 1968). Figure 13.6 illustrates their findings.

But why does the number of bystanders matter? **Diffusion of responsibility** is the phenomenon in which a person fails to take responsibility for either action or inaction because of the presence of other people who are seen to share the responsibility (Leary & Forsyth, 1987). Diffusion of responsibility is a form of attribution in which people explain why they acted (or failed to act) as they did because of others. “I was just following orders,” “Other people were doing it,” and “There were a lot of people there, and I thought one of them would do something” are all examples of statements made in such situations. Kitty Genovese received no help because there were too many potential “helpers,” and not one of the people listening to her cries for help took the responsibility to intervene—they thought surely someone else was doing something about it.

A 16-year-old was robbed and knifed by seven young men as he was walking through a downtown park in a major Canadian city (Canadian Safety Council, 2004). No one helped him and no one called the police. Numerous incidents like this happen all over Canada. According to the Safety Council, only about one of every 10 swarmings such as this one is reported to the police.

13.20 What decisions have to be made before a person will help someone else?

FIVE DECISION POINTS IN HELPING BEHAVIOUR In all of the experiments reported in the preceding section, there were people who did try to help in every condition. What kind of decision-making process might they have gone through before deciding to help? What are the requirements for deciding when help is needed? Darley and Latané (1968) identified several decision points that a bystander must face before helping someone in trouble. These decision points are outlined in Table 13.3.

Aside from the factors listed in the table, there are other influences on the decision to help. For example, the more ambiguous the situation, the less likely it becomes that the situation will be defined as an emergency. If there are other people nearby, especially if the situation is ambiguous, bystanders may rely on the actions of the others to help determine whether the situation is an emergency or not. Since all the bystanders are doing this, it is very likely that the situation will be seen as a non-emergency because no one is moving to help.

diffusion of responsibility

occurring when a person fails to take responsibility for actions or for inaction because of the presence of other people who are seen to share the responsibility.

But why does the number of bystanders matter?

FIGURE 13.6 Elements Involved in Bystander Response As you can see in the accompanying graph, the time taken to report smoke and the percentage of people reporting smoke both depended upon how many people were in the room at the time the smoke was observed. If a person was alone, he or she was far more likely to report the smoke and report it more quickly than when there were three people (Latané & Darley 1968).

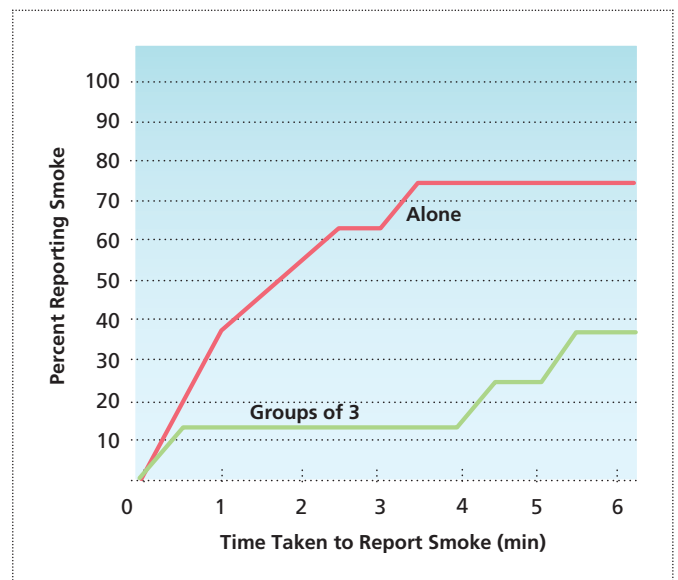


TABLE 13.3 **HELP OR DON'T HELP: FIVE DECISION POINTS**

Decision Point	Description	Factors Influencing Decision
Noticing	Realizing that there is a situation that might be an emergency	Hearing a loud crash or a cry for help
Defining an Emergency	Interpreting the cues as signalling an emergency	Loud crash is associated with a car accident; people are obviously hurt.
Taking Responsibility	Personally assuming the responsibility to act	A single bystander is much more likely to act than when others are present (Latané & Darley, 1969).
Planning a Course of Action	Deciding how to help and what skills might be needed	People who feel they have the necessary skills to help are more likely to help.
Taking Action	Actually helping	Costs of helping (e.g., danger to self) must not outweigh the rewards of helping.

Another factor is the mood of the bystanders. People in a good mood are generally more likely to help than people in a bad mood, but oddly enough, they are not as likely to help if helping would destroy the good mood. Gender of the victim is also a factor, with women more likely to receive help than men if the bystander is male, but not if the bystander is female. Physically attractive people are more likely to be helped. Victims who look like “they deserve what is happening” are less likely to be helped. For example, a man lying on the side of the street who is dressed in shabby clothing and appears to be drunk will be passed by, but if he is dressed in a business suit, people are more likely to stop and help. Racial and ethnicity differences between victim and bystander also decrease the probability of helping (Richards & Lowe, 2003; Tukuingtona & Bindman, 2002).

PRACTICE **QUIZ:** HOW MUCH DO YOU REMEMBER?

Pick the best answer.

1. Which of the following has not been studied as a cause of aggressive behaviour?
a. frustration
b. pain
c. alcohol
d. marijuana

2. The area of the brain that is most involved in aggression is the
a. amygdala.
b. pineal gland.
c. cerebellum.
d. cortex.

3. Which of the following statements is true?
a. Abused children always grow up to become abusers.
b. Abused children rarely grow up to become abusers.
c. Abused children grow up to become abusers about one-third of the time.
d. Children who were not abused do not grow up to become abusers.
4. According to the bystander effect, Leshan is more likely to get help if there is (are)
a. no other people standing nearby.
b. only one other person standing nearby.
c. several people standing nearby.
d. a crowd of people standing nearby.

5. In the Latané and Darley experiment, subjects were most likely to help when
a. they were alone in the room.
b. they were with a friend.
c. there were three other people in the room.
d. there was one stranger in the room.

6. Once a situation has been defined as an emergency, the next step in the decision-making process is
a. noticing.
b. taking action.
c. taking responsibility.
d. planning a course of action.

Applying Psychology to Everyday Life: Anatomy of a Cult

13.21 *Why do people join cults?*

The term **cult** literally refers to any group of people with a particular religious or philosophical set of beliefs and identity. In the strictest sense of the word, the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism are cults within the larger religion of Christianity. But most people associate the term *cult* with a negative connotation: A group of people whose religious or philosophical beliefs and behaviour are so different from that of mainstream organizations that they are viewed with suspicion and seen as existing on the fringes of “normal” behaviour. Although many cults exist without much notice from more mainstream groups, at times members of cults have horrified the public with their actions.

One of the most well-remembered and often cited examples of a cult gone horribly wrong was that of the People’s Temple in Jonestown, Guyana, headed by Jim Jones. Originally a Christian offshoot, the People’s Temple became a cult under Jones’s dictatorial leadership. In 1978, when Jones felt threatened by reporters coming to Guyana, he instructed the entire cult of over 900 people to commit suicide by either drinking cyanide-laced drinks or shooting each other. A total of 914 people died, including 274 children (WorldIQ.com, 2002).

More recently, 74 followers of the Solar Temple cult died as a result of their involvement with the group. In 1994, 53 members died in Switzerland and Quebec; in 1995, another 16 people died in France; and in 1997, another 5 members died in Quebec. These members believed that one of their leaders, Luc Jouret, was a Knight Templar (a knight endorsed by the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages) who was going to lead them to a planet orbiting Sirius (the dog star). They believed that life was an illusion and that they would be going on to better things once they left the planet Earth.

Why would any person get so caught up in cult beliefs that suicide, and, in some cases, murder becomes a desired behaviour? What kind of person joins a cult in the first place? Although there is no particular personality profile associated with cult membership, cult members do appear to have been in some psychological distress at the time of recruitment by the cult. People who are under a lot of stress, dissatisfied with their lives, unassertive, gullible, dependent, feel a desire to belong to a group, and who are unrealistically idealistic (“We can solve all the world’s problems if everyone will just love each other”) are the most likely targets of cult recruitment (Langone, 1996). Young people rebelling against parental authority or trying to become independent of families are prime targets.

Cult leaders also have certain techniques of persuasion that are common to most cult organizations. The first step is usually something called “love-bombing” by current cult members, who shower the recruit with affection and attention and claim to understand just how the potential cult member feels. Then efforts are made to isolate the recruit from family and friends who might talk them out of joining. This is accomplished in part by keeping the recruits so busy with rigid rituals, ways of dress, meditations, and other activities that they do not allow the recruit time to think about what is happening. All of these activities also serve to

cult

any group of people with a particular religious or philosophical set of beliefs and identity.

In 1978, Reverend Jim Jones, leader of the People’s Temple in Jonestown, Guyana, ordered his followers to drink poisoned drinks or shoot each other. Of the cult members, 640 adults were dead and 274 children were either killed by their own hands or by their parents.





wear down the resistance of the recruits. Cults also teach their members how to stop questioning thoughts or criticisms, which are typically seen as sins or extremely undesirable behaviour. Access to people and information outside the cult is either kept to a well-guarded minimum or totally shut off (Singer & Lalich, 1995; Zimbardo & Hartley, 1985).

Commitments to the cult are small at first, such as attending a music concert or some other cult function. Eventually, a major step is requested by the cult, such as quitting one's job, turning over money or property to the cult, or similar commitments. Leaving a cult is quite difficult, as members of the cult in good standing will often track down a "deserter." Parents, friends, and other family members have been known to hire special "deprogrammers" to help their loved one recover from cult membership, willingly or unwillingly. Sometimes people actually have to "kidnap" their loved one out of the cult environment. Nevertheless, as difficult as it is to leave, 90 percent or more of cult members do eventually get out (Barker, 1983; Galanter, 1983).

Cults have existed all through recorded history and will probably continue to exist in the future. Most cults do not pose a physical threat to their members or others, but the examples of the followers of Jim Jones, Luc Jouret, and Osama bin Laden clearly demonstrate that cults, like any group of people, can become deadly.

Questions for Further Discussion

1. In what ways are the methods used by cults on new recruits similar to the methods used by the military when training new soldiers?
2. Is it ethical for the family members of an adult to "kidnap" and deprogram a cult member?
3. Think back to the various compliance techniques discussed earlier in the chapter. Which methods of compliance do cults seem to use to recruit new members?

13



CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Social psychology is the scientific study of how a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour are influenced by the real, imagined, or implied presence of other people.

Social Influence: Conformity, Compliance, and Obedience

13.1 What makes people want to conform to the actions of others?

- Asch used a set of comparison lines and a standard line to experiment with conformity, finding that subjects conformed to group opinion about one-third of the time, increasing as the number of confederates rose to four, and decreasing if just one confederate gave the correct answer.
- Cross-cultural research has found that collectivistic cultures show more conformity than individualistic cultures. Gender differences do not exist in conformity unless the response is not private, in which case women are more conforming than men.

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Social Influence (1) (SIMULATION)

How would you respond if you were a participant in Asch's study?

(pp. 529–530)

13.2 What is groupthink?

- Groupthink occurs when a decision-making group feels that it is more important to maintain group unanimity and cohesiveness than to consider the facts realistically.
- Minimizing groupthink involves impartial leadership, seeking outside opinions, stating problems in an objective manner, breaking large groups into subgroups, encouraging questions and alternate solutions, using secret ballots, and holding group members responsible for the decisions made by the group.
- Compliance occurs when a person changes behaviour as a result of another person asking or directing that person to change.

13.3 What are four common ways to gain the compliance of another?

- Four common ways of getting compliance from others are the foot-in-the-door technique, the door-in-the-face technique, the lowball technique, and the that's-not-all technique.

13.4 What makes people obey the instructions or orders of others?

- Milgram did experiments in which he found that 65 percent of people obeyed the authority figure of a psychology professor even if it meant hurting, injuring, or possibly killing another person with an electric shock.

13.5 How does the presence of other people affect a person's performance on a task?

- When the performance of an individual on a relatively easy task is improved by the presence of others, it is called social facilitation. When

the performance of an individual on a relatively difficult task is negatively affected by the presence of others, it is called social impairment.

- When a person who is lazy is able to work in a group of people, that person often performs less well than if the person were working alone, in a phenomenon called social loafing.

Attitudes

- Attitudes are tendencies to respond positively or negatively toward ideas, persons, objects, or situations.

13.6 What are the three components of an attitude and how are attitudes formed?

- The three components of an attitude are the affective (emotional) component, the behavioural component, and the cognitive component.
- Attitudes are often poor predictors of behaviour unless the attitude is very specific or very strong.
- Direct contact with the person, situation, object, or idea can help form attitudes.
- Attitudes can be formed through direct instruction from parents or others.
- Interacting with other people who hold a certain attitude can help an individual form that attitude.
- Attitudes can also be formed through watching the actions and reactions of others to ideas, people, objects, and situations.
- Attitudes formation can also be affected by biological and genetic influences

13.7 How can attitudes be changed?

- Persuasion is the process by which one person tries to change the beliefs, opinions, position, or course of action of another person through argument, pleading, or explanation.
- The key elements in persuasion are the source of the message, the message itself, the target audience, and the way the message is communicated.
- In the elaboration likelihood model, central-route processing involves attending to the content of the message itself, whereas peripheral-route processing involves attending to factors not involved in the message, such as the appearance of the source of the message, the length of the message, and other non-content factors.

13.8 What happens when a person's attitudes don't match the person's actions?

- Cognitive dissonance is an emotional disturbance that occurs when a person's actions do not match the person's attitudes.
- Cognitive dissonance is lessened by changing the conflicting behaviour, changing the conflicting attitude, or forming a new attitude to justify the behaviour.

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Cognitive Dissonance (SIMULATION)

What happens when our attitudes and our behaviour don't match?

(pp. 541–542)

Impression Formation and Attribution

- Impression formation is the forming of the first knowledge a person has about another person.
- The primacy effect in impression formation means that the very first impression one has about a person tends to persist even in the face of evidence to the contrary.
- Impression formation is part of social cognition, or the mental processes that people use to make sense out of the world around them.

13.9 What are social categorization and implicit personality theories?

- Social categorization is a process of social cognition in which a person, upon meeting someone new, assigns that person to a category or group on the basis of characteristics the person has in common with other people or groups with whom the perceiver has prior experience.
- One form of a social category is the stereotype, in which the characteristics used to assign a person to a category are superficial and believed to be true of all members of the category.
- An implicit personality theory is a form of social cognition in which a person has sets of assumptions about different types of people, personality traits, and actions that are assumed to be related to each other.
- Schemas are mental patterns that represent what a person believes about certain types of people. Schemas can become stereotypes.

13.10 How do people try to explain the actions of others?

- Attribution is the process of explaining the behaviour of others as well as one's own behaviour.
- A situational cause is an explanation of behaviour based on factors in the surrounding environment or situation.
- A dispositional cause is an explanation of behaviour based on the internal personality characteristics of the person being observed.
- The fundamental attribution error is the tendency to overestimate the influence of internal factors on behaviour while underestimating the influence of the situation.

Prejudice and Discrimination

13.11 What is the difference between prejudice and discrimination?

- Prejudice is an unsupported and often negative attitude that a person holds about the members of a particular social group. Discrimination occurs when members of a social group are treated differently because of prejudice toward that group.
- There are many forms of prejudice, including ageism, sexism, racism, and prejudice toward those who are too fat or too thin.
- In-groups are the people with whom a person identifies, whereas out-groups are everyone else at whom prejudice tends to be directed.
- Conflict between groups increases prejudice and discrimination according to realistic conflict theory.
- Scapegoating refers to the tendency to direct prejudice and discrimination at out-group members who have little social power or influence. New immigrants are often the scapegoats for frustration and anger of the in-group.

13.12 Why are people prejudiced, and how can prejudice be stopped?

- Social cognitive theory views prejudice as an attitude acquired through direct instruction, modelling, and other social influences.
- Social identity theory sees a person's formation of a social sense of self within a particular group as being due to three things: social categorization (which may involve the use of reference groups), social identity (the person's sense of belonging to a particular social group), and social comparison (in which people compare themselves to others to improve their own self-esteem).

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Prejudice and Discrimination (SIMULATION)

What are some of the sources of prejudice?

(pp. 547–552)

- Stereotype vulnerability refers to the effect that a person's knowledge of the stereotypes that exist against that person's social group can have on that person's behaviour.
- People who are aware of stereotypes may unintentionally come to behave in a way that makes the stereotype real in a self-fulfilling prophecy.
- Intergroup contact is more effective in reducing prejudice if the groups have equal status.
- Prejudice and discrimination can also be reduced when a superordinate goal that is large enough to override all other goals needs to be achieved by all groups.
- Prejudice and discrimination are reduced when people must work together to solve a problem because each person has an important key to solving the problem, creating a mutual interdependence. This technique used in education is called the "jigsaw classroom."

Psychology in the News: The Controversy Surrounding Black-Focused Schools

13.13 *What effects would Black-focused schools have on prejudice and discrimination?*

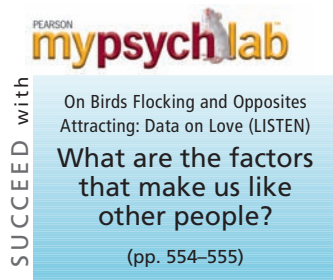
- Alternative schools are unique schools that provide an educational experience suited to individual learning styles, preferences, and/or needs.
- Supporters for the creation of Black-focused alternative schools believe that these schools will be more engaging for Black students and thus reduce the dropout rate.
- People who oppose the creation of Black-focused alternative schools believe that these schools will create more isolation and segregation and, as a result, more prejudice and discrimination.

Liking and Loving: Interpersonal Attraction

- Interpersonal attraction refers to liking or having the desire for a relationship with another person.

13.14 *What factors cause people to be attracted to each other?*

- People tend to form relationships with people who are in physical proximity to them.
- People are attracted to others who are similar to them in some way.
- People may also be attracted to people who are different from themselves, with the differences acting as a complementary support for areas in which each may be lacking.
- People tend to like other people who like them in return, a phenomenon called the reciprocity of liking.



13.15 *What is love, and what are the different forms that love can take?*

- Love is a strong affection for another person due to kinship, personal ties, sexual attraction, admiration, or common interests.
- Sternberg states that the three components of love are intimacy, passion, and commitment.
- Romantic love is intimacy with passion, companionate love is intimacy with commitment, and consummate love contains all three components.
- Love is often experienced differently in different cultures.

Classic Studies in Psychology: Dutton and Aron

13.16 *How can we be "tricked" into believing we're in love?*

- Physiological arousal can intensify any emotional reaction, including feelings of being attracted to someone or being in love.

Aggression and Prosocial Behaviour

13.17 *What is aggression and what causes it?*

- Aggression is behaviour intended to hurt or destroy another person, which may be physical or verbal. Frustration is a major source of aggression.
- Biological influences on aggression may include genetics, the amygdala and limbic system, and testosterone and serotonin levels.
- Frustration often results in aggression, but it is not the sole cause. Instead, it is one of many aversive experiences that may lead to increased aggression.
- Social roles are powerful influences on the expression of aggression. Social learning theory states that aggression can be learned through direct reinforcement and through the imitation of successful aggression by a model.
- Studies have concluded that violent television, movies, and video games stimulate aggressive behaviour, both by increasing aggressive tendencies and providing models of aggressive behaviour.
- Prosocial behaviour is behaviour that is socially desirable and benefits others.

13.18 *What is altruism?*

- Altruism is prosocial behaviour in which a person helps someone else without expectation of reward or recognition, often without fear for his or her own safety.

13.19 *What is the bystander effect?*

- The bystander effect means that people are more likely to get help from others if there are one or only a few people nearby rather than a larger number. The more people nearby, the less likely it is that help will be offered.
- When others are present at a situation in which help could be offered, there is a diffusion of responsibility among all the bystanders, reducing the likelihood that any one person or persons will feel responsibility for helping.

13.20 *What decisions have to be made before a person will help someone else?*

- The five steps in making a decision to help are noticing, defining an emergency, taking responsibility, planning a course of action, and taking action.

Applying Psychology to Everyday Life: Anatomy of a Cult

13.21 *Why do people join cults?*

- People who join cults tend to be under stress, unhappy, unassertive, gullible, dependent, want to belong, and idealistic. Young people are also likelier to join cults than are older people.
- Cults use love-bombing, isolation, rituals, and activities to keep the new recruits from questions and critical thinking. Cults also use the foot-in-the-door technique.

13

KEY TERMS

- aggression 558
- altruism 561
- attitude 537
- attribution 545
- attribution theory 545
- bystander effect 562
- central-route processing 541
- cognitive dissonance 541
- companionate love 556
- compliance 531
- conformity 529
- consumer psychology 531
- contact hypothesis 550
- cult 565
- diffusion of responsibility 563
- discrimination 547
- dispositional cause 546
- door-in-the-face technique 532
- elaboration likelihood model 541
- equal status contact 550
- foot-in-the-door technique 531
- fundamental attribution error 546
- groupthink 531
- implicit personality theory 544
- impression formation 543
- in-groups 547
- insufficient justification effect 542
- interpersonal attraction 554
- “jigsaw classroom” 552
- lowball technique 532
- norm of reciprocity 532
- obedience 533
- out-groups 547
- peripheral-route processing 541
- persuasion 540
- prejudice 547
- prosocial behavior 561
- proximity 554
- realistic conflict theory 548
- reciprocity of liking 555
- romantic love 556
- self-fulfilling prophecy 550
- self-serving bias 546
- situational cause 546
- social categorization 544
- social cognition 544
- social cognitive theory 550
- social comparison 550
- social facilitation 535
- social identity 550
- social identity theory 550
- social influence 528
- social loafing 536
- social psychology 528
- social-responsibility norm 562
- social role 559
- stereotype 544
- stereotype vulnerability 560
- superordinate goals 550
- that’s-not-all technique 532

TEST YOURSELF

Pick the best answer.

1. Studies have found the degree of conformity to be greater in _____ cultures.
 - a. collectivistic
 - b. individualistic
 - c. Western
 - d. European
2. To prevent groupthink, members of a group should do all but which of the following?
 - a. Have the leader of the group remain impartial.
 - b. Seek outside opinions.
 - c. Discourage questions and alternate solutions.
 - d. Use secret ballots.
3. Maria’s fellow professor asked her to teach an honours class in the spring. Maria agreed only to find out after agreeing that teaching such a course also meant that she would have to attend meetings of the honours professors, go to honours-oriented conventions, and take on special advising duties. Maria had fallen victim to the _____ technique.
 - a. foot-in-the-door
 - b. door-in-the-face
 - c. lowball
 - d. that’s-not-all
4. Some researchers believe that Milgram’s results were a form of the _____ technique of persuasion.
 - a. foot-in-the-door
 - b. door-in-the-face
 - c. lowball
 - d. that’s-not-all
5. Sandy loves to play pool and has become quite good at the game. Lately, she has noticed that she seems to play better when there are people watching her than when she is playing alone. This difference in Sandy’s playing is most likely the result of
 - a. social facilitation.
 - b. social impairment.
 - c. social loafing.
 - d. social laziness.
6. Jerry goes to a lot of dog races because he enjoys them and loves to see the dogs run. For Jerry, going to the dog races a lot represents the _____ component of an attitude.
 - a. psychological
 - b. behavioural
 - c. cognitive
 - d. affective

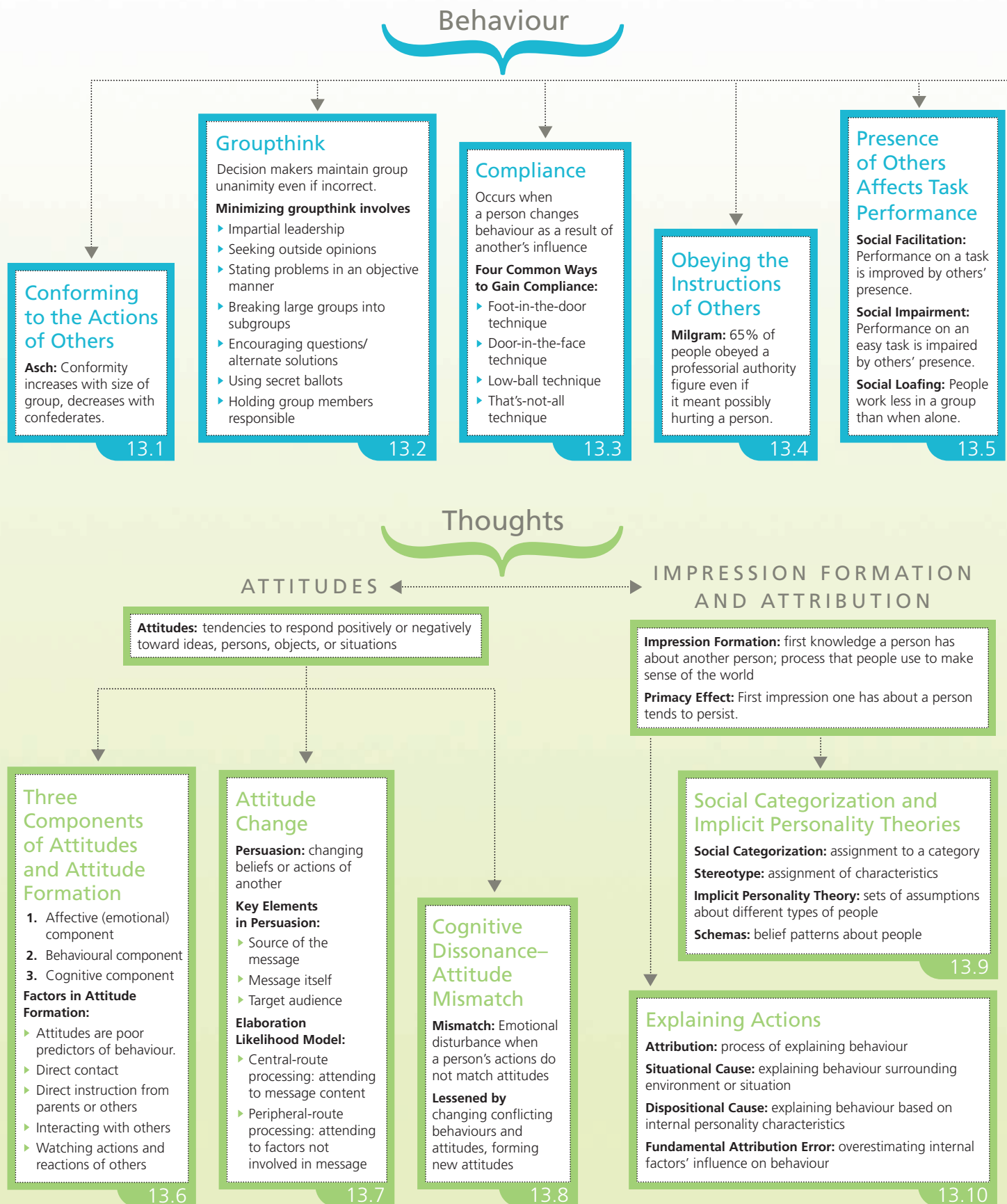
7. Researchers have found that a _____ degree of fear in a message makes it more effective, particularly when it is combined with _____.
 - a. maximum; information about how to prevent the fearful consequences
 - b. minimum; threats
 - c. moderate; threats
 - d. moderate; information about how to prevent the fearful consequences
8. Sandy was a juror in the trial for a man accused of stealing guns from a sporting goods store. The defendant was not very well-spoken and came from a very poor background, but Sandy listened carefully to the evidence presented and made her decision based on that. Sandy was using _____ processing.
 - a. central-route
 - b. peripheral-route
 - c. cognitive-route
 - d. visual-route
9. Which of the following is not one of the three things people do to reduce cognitive dissonance?
 - a. change their behaviour
 - b. change their attitude
 - c. form a new attitude
 - d. ignore the conflict
10. If behaviour is assumed to be caused by internal personality characteristics, this is known as
 - a. a situational cause.
 - b. a dispositional cause.
 - c. a fundamental attribution error.
 - d. actor-observer bias.
11. The people with whom a person identifies most strongly are called the
 - a. referent group.
 - b. in-group.
 - c. out-group.
 - d. "them" group.
12. Prejudice and discrimination are least likely to develop in which of the following situations?
 - a. two different groups of immigrants competing for jobs
 - b. two different religious groups, in which each believes that its religion is the right one
 - c. two different groups, with one group being blamed for the economic difficulties of the other
 - d. two different groups dealing with the aftermath of a hurricane
13. The _____ explanation of prejudice assumes that the same processes that help form other attitudes form prejudiced attitudes.
 - a. scapegoat
 - b. authoritarian
 - c. social cognitive
 - d. psychodynamic
14. Patrick is very proud of his Irish heritage and thinks of himself as an Irish Canadian. Patrick has a strong
 - a. social identity.
 - b. reference group.
 - c. social category.
 - d. stereotype vulnerability.
15. The self-fulfilling prophecy is a negative outcome of
 - a. social identity.
 - b. reference grouping.
 - c. scapegoating.
 - d. stereotype vulnerability.
16. The "Robber's Cave" experiment showed the value of _____ in combating prejudice.
 - a. "jigsaw classrooms"
 - b. equal status contact
 - c. subordinate goals
 - d. stereotyping vulnerability
17. Sarah found her soulmate, Jon, when she moved to a small town in Nova Scotia. According to research in interpersonal attraction, the most likely explanation for them to "find" each other is
 - a. karma.
 - b. personal attractiveness.
 - c. fate.
 - d. proximity.
18. According to Sternberg, married (committed) people who also have intimacy and passion are in the form of love called _____ love.
 - a. companionate
 - b. romantic
 - c. affectionate
 - d. consummate
19. Romantic love is more likely to be the basis of long-term relationships in Canada than in _____.
 - a. England.
 - b. France.
 - c. India.
 - d. the United States.
20. The concept of aggression as a basic human instinct driving people to destructive acts was part of early _____ theory.
 - a. humanistic
 - b. behavioural
 - c. psychoanalytical
 - d. cognitive
21. The neurotransmitter that seems most involved in aggression is
 - a. testosterone.
 - b. serotonin.
 - c. dopamine.
 - d. norepinephrine.
22. Violent video games have been blamed for all but which of the following?
 - a. increased levels of aggression in children
 - b. increased levels of aggression in adolescents
 - c. increased levels of altruism in children
 - d. increased incidents of school shootings
23. To which two processes do most social psychologists attribute the failure of Kitty Genovese's neighbours to help her?
 - a. bystander effect and altruism
 - b. aggression and diffusion of responsibility
 - c. altruism and diffusion of responsibility
 - d. bystander effect and diffusion of responsibility

24. Cries for help, shouting, and loud noises all help with which step in the decision process for helping?
- a. noticing
 - b. defining an emergency
 - c. taking responsibility
 - d. taking action
25. Cults use all of the following except _____ to gain new members.
- a. love-bombing
 - b. isolation
 - c. "foot-in-the-door" technique
 - d. talking with parents of the recruit

Answers: 1-a, 2-c, 3-c, 4-a, 5-a, 6-d, 7-d, 8-a, 9-d, 10-b, 11-b, 12-d, 13-c, 14-a, 15-d, 16-b, 17-d, 18-d, 19-c, 20-c, 21-a, 22-c, 23-d, 24-b, 25-d.

To access more tests and your own personalized study plan that will help you focus on the areas you need to master before your next class test, be sure to go to www.MyPsychLab.com, Pearson Education Canada's online psychology website, available with the access code packaged with your book.

Social Psychology: study of thoughts, feelings, and behaviour influenced by real, imagined, or implied presence of other people



Aggression

Behaviour intended to hurt others

Biological Factors: genetics, amygdala and limbic system, testosterone/serotonin

Learned Factors

- ▶ **Social Learning Theory:** reinforcement and imitation of successful aggression
- ▶ **Media:** Violent television, movies, and video games can stimulate aggressive behaviour.
- ▶ **Frustration:** may be linked to aggression

13.17

Altruism

Prosocial behaviour in which a person helps someone else without expectation of reward or recognition, often without fear for one's own safety

13.18

Bystander Effect

- ▶ Presence of others can cause a diffusion of responsibility among all the bystanders.
- ▶ This diffusion of responsibility leads to a decreased chance of receiving help in an emergency situation.

13.19

The Helping Decision—Five Steps

1. Noticing
2. Defining an emergency
3. Taking responsibility
4. Planning a course of action
5. Taking action

13.20

Feelings

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice and Discrimination

Prejudice: negative attitudes

Discrimination: differential treatment

In-groups: group person identifies with

Out-groups: treated with prejudice

13.11

Race-Based Schools

- ▶ Supporters believe that race-based schools will be more engaging and thus reduce dropout rates.
- ▶ Opposers believe that race-based schools will create more isolation and segregation, and as a result, more prejudice and discrimination.

13.13

Causes of Prejudice

- ▶ **Social Cognitive Theory:** acquired through instruction, modelling, and social influences
- ▶ **Social Identity Theory:** sense of self from social categorization, identity, comparison
- ▶ **Stereotype Vulnerability:** Stereotypes may become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Reducing Prejudice

- ▶ **Equal Status-Contact:** no group holds power over the others; reduces prejudice
- ▶ **Jigsaw Classroom:** mutual problem solving

13.12

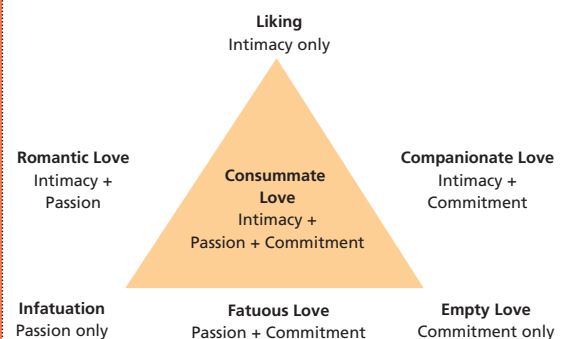
LIKING AND LOVING

Factors in Attraction

- ▶ Proximity
- ▶ Similarity
- ▶ Complementary differences
- ▶ Reciprocity of liking

13.14

Sternberg's Triangular Theory of Love



13.15