SRIRAM'S IAS

GENERAL STUDIES

MAINS

ATTITUDE

PAPER-IV

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ATTITUDE

Syllabus:- Content, structure, function; its influence on thought and behavior.

Moral and political attitudes. Social influence and persuation.

An **attitude** is a learned and relatively enduring tendency or predisposition to evaluate a person, event, or situation in a certain way and to act in accordance with that evaluation. It constitutes, then, a social orientation-an underlying inclination to respond to something either favorably or unfavorably. As such, an attitude is a state of mind. Consequently, if we wish to influence other people's behavior, one way to go about it is to influence their state of mind. We may seek to win their support for programs of social change, to persuade them to favor the political candidates of our choice, to prefer our taste in television programs, to stop polluting the water, to quite smoking, or to donate money to our favored cause. And others likewise attempt to persuade us to adopt their views. Given the importance of some of these matters, it is hardly surprising that the process by which people go about forming, maintaining, and changing attitudes has attracted considerable research interest. In the past two decades more than 1,600 articles treating some aspect of the process have appeared in professional journals.

Components of Attitudes

Social psychologists distinguish three components of an attitude-the cognitive, the affective, and the behavioral. The **cognitive component** is the we perceive an objects, event, or situation-our thoughts, beliefs, and ideas about something. In its simplest form the cognitive element is a category that we employ in thinking. Thus the category car includes station wagons, convertibles, Jaguars, Hondas, Cadillacs, and so on. Statement of the form "cars are this or that" and "cars have this or that" express ideas that are a part of this component.

When a human being is the object of the attitude, the cognitive component is frequently a stereotype-the mental picture we have of a particular people. Walter Lippmann, to whom we owe the term **stereotype**, observed that since the world is filled with "so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations.....we have to construct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it". In brief, we find it virtually impossible to weigh every reaction of every person we encounter, minute-by-minute, in terms of its particular, individual meaning. Rather, we type individuals and groups in snap-judgment style: the "fighting Irish," the "Inscrutable Orientals," the "Stolid Swedes", the "grasping Jews", and the "Emotional Italians". Although stereotypes are convenient, they lack the important virtue of accuracy. They are the unscientific and hence unreliable generalizations that we make about people either as individuals or as groups.

The **affective component** of an attitude consists of the feelings or emotions that the actual objects, event, or situation or its symbolic representation evoke within an individual. Fear, sympathy, pity, bate, anger, envy, love, and contempt are among the emotions that may be excited by a given individual or group. The ideas of using the same washroom as someone of another race, of drinking from glasses handled by, or of shaking hands with, a Black, Jew, White, or Chinese produce disgust or discomfort in some individuals. The prospect of having

Blacks move into an all-White neighborhood may arouse fear and anxiety among some White. The social standing of Businessmen or doctors may elicit envy some Gentles. Although the emotional level is distinct from the cognitive, the two may appear together.

The **behavioral component** of an attitude is the tendency or disposition of act in certain ways with reference to some object, event, or situations. The emphasis falls upon the tendency to act, not upon the action itself. Some people may favor barring given groups from their social clubs, athletic associations, neighborhoods, and business and professional organizations-that is, they may be disposed toward discriminatory behavior. But as we shall shortly see, simply because people would like to act in certain ways does not necessarily mean that they in fact do act in these ways; they may fail to translate their inclinations into overt action. For example, some prejudiced individuals, recognizing the legal penalties attached to discriminations, may not in fact discriminate.

The Functions of Attitudes

All human beings harvor a wide variety of need. Some needs are primarily biological (such as hunger, thirst, and the needs for sex and sleep); other are social (the needs or status, recognition, privilege, power).

Daniel Katz has advanced a functionalist theory of attitudes that is premised upon this fact. He takes that view that our attitudes are determined by the functions they serve for us. In brief, people hold given attitudes because these attitudes help them achieve their basic goals. Katz distinguishes four types of psychological functions that attitudes meet:

- **The adjustment function**: Human beings typically seek to maximize rewards and minimize penalties. According to Katz, people develop attitudes that aid them in accomplishing this goal. We tend to favor a political party or candidate that will advance our economic lot-if we are businessperson, one that will hold the line on or lower corporate taxes; if we are unemployed, one that will increase unemployment and social welfare benefits. And we are likely to seek as a lover someone who provides us with a variety or rewards-a sense of self-worthy, recognition, security, and so on-while avoiding someone who produces the opposite effect.

- **The ego-defense function**: Some attitudes serve to protect us from acknowledging basic truths about ourselves or the harsh realities of life. They serve as defense mechanisms, shielding us from inner pain. Projection is such a device: we attribute to others traits that we find unacceptable in ourselves, and in so doing; we dissociate ourselves from the traits. To the alcoholic it may be the other fellow who overindulges; to the failing student it may be the teacher who is incompetent, to the hostile and aggressive child it may be the other child who started the fight.

- **The value-expressive function**: While ego-defensive attitudes prevent us from revealing unpleasant realities to ourselves, other attitudes help give positive expression to our central value and to the type of person we imaging ourselves to be. Such attitudes reinforce a sense of self-realization and self-expression. We may have a self-image of our-self as an "enlightened conservative" or a "militant radical" and therefore cultivate attitudes that we believe indicate such a core value, or we may see

our-self as a "swinger" or "someone really with it" and hence cultivate attitudes that reinforce this perspective.

- **The knowledge function**: In life we seek some degree of order, clarity and stability in our personal frame of reference; we search for meaning in and understanding of the events that impinge upon us. Attitudes help supply us with standards of evaluation. It provides us with order and clarity with respect to the great and bewildering complexities of life that are due to human differences.

Katz's functionalist theory also helps to explain attitude change:

The most general statement that can be made about the conditions conductive to attitude change is that the expression of the old attitude or its anticipated expression no longer gives satisfaction to its related need state. In other words, it no longer serves its function and the individual feels blocked or frustrated. Modifying an old attitude or replacing it with a new one is a process of learning, and learning always starts with a problem, or being thwarted in coping with a situation.

A case in point is an adjustment need. A Honda owner who undergoes a change to a higher social status may also undergo a change of attitude toward his old car. He may decide that he now wants a Mercedes, because he believes a Mercedes to be more in keeping with his new social status. Thus attitude change is achieved not so much by changing a person's information about or perception of an object, but rather by changing the person's underlying motivational and personality needs.

Formation of Attitudes

As mentioned earlier, we are not born with attitudes. A newborn baby has no attitude towards a snake. If not stopped by elders. It will have no problem in playing with a snake. Only when it grows little older than a child it learns to fear and avoid a snake. We can also ask a question, 'how do people acquire an attitude toward the Chinese food"? Can we acquire an attitude about something we are not exposed to? Why do people have different attitudes? The term attitude formation refers to the movement we make from having no attitude toward an attitude object to having a positive or negative attitude. Lets examine what factors contribute to the formation of attitudes.

The attitudes are acquired through different types of learning. You have already studied about the basic processes of learning in Class XI. Therefore, the relevance of learning process in relation to attitude formation is only briefly indicated. The three basic learning procedures involved in the acquisition of attitudes are as follows:

Classical Conditioning: As you know this kind of learning shows how a neutral object gets associated with an already established stimulus – response connection. Any attitude object, which is repeatedly associated with a stimuli capable of evoking positive or negative feeling, will acquire the ability to evoke a similar response. For example, you may develop a positive attitude about a person who has present whenever you won a match. Players often develop a strong liking for the bat by which they made good runs.

Instrumental conditioning: It applies to the situations when people learn attitudes which are systematically rewarded by significant others, such as parent, teachers or friends. In fact, children are taught certain attitudes and behaviors by controlling reward and punishment and systematically reinforcing certain kinds of attitudes. While the specific form of such rewards may vary greatly, ranging from praise, affection, approval to offering monetary rewards, jobs and positions. It has been observed that people quickly come to express specific point of views when they are rewarded for their expression.

Observational learning: It suggests that human beings are capable of acquiring new responses simply by observing the actions and their outcomes. Children are keen observers and learn a whole lot of things from their parents and other family members. They learn many of their attitudes about other ethnic groups, neighbours, and ideologies simply by observing the behaviors of adults.

Factors Influencing Formation of Attitudes

The formation of attitude takes place in our social environment. The different aspects of environment shape the development of attitudes. Some of the important aspects of environment, relevant to the formation of attitudes are described below.

Family: Parents have an all – encompassing influence on the way their children come to form attitudes. Children get their first exposure to the social world through their parents and other family members. They acquire initial knowledge about the people and places from their parents and very often imbibe their values and observation. The young children learn by observing and imitating their elders in the family. Parents provide categories, which their children pick up to form attitudes. Children often learn to categories supplied by their parents. They form attitudes about other social and religious groups on the basis of such categories defined by their parents. Thus, families constitute the primary source of information for children. Imagine how much young children learn about the world from the stories told by their grand parents!

Reference Groups: As the children grow older the diversity of influences on their lives increases. They form opinion about many more people and objects. They come in contact with teachers, policemen, vendors, and more importantly with peers. These groups constitute the reference groups for children. The children learn a great deal from these reference groups. They imbibe attitudes about occupations, social and religious groups, consumer products, national leaders, etc., which are endorsed by such references groups. If their reference group is biased about some religious group, probability is high that the child will also show similar kind of bias.

Direct Personal Experience: How do you form an attitude about an army personnel? It largely depends on your personal encounter with such a man in the past. If he was very kind and helpful to you, you tend to have a favourable attitude towards the army men. If an army man for trespassing has roughed you up, your attitude may not be favourable toward all army men. We tend to generalize.

Apart from day – day – day life experiences, there are other unique significant life events and situations. Meeting Ramkrishna Paramhans changed Narendra and his whole attitudes toward life and people. From a skeptic, he became a believer and went on to address the World

Religions' Congress and became a legend as Swami Vivekanand. We all have such turning points, which significantly shape our attitudes in a particular direction. It is understandable that those who are born in extreme poverty conditions and have had many bitter experiences, their attitudes about others are not likely to be positive. The victims of criminal assault and social discrimination can hardly be positive in their judgment of the groups to which the perpetrators belong.

Media Exposure: Today' s life media has assumed a prominent place. Think how many hours you and yours friends watch the T.V. On an average, urban middle school children watch T.V. for at least 4 – 5 hours and this exposure has become a potent way to learn about the world T.V. commercial tell us which products we should buy! Since children are more impressionable, they tend to believe what they see on the T.V. screen. They rarely question what they see on T.V. Several studies have reported that high – school children rate the mass media as their most important source of information.

Maintenance of Attitudes

Once formed, attitudes persist. The social environment including people, the pattern of interaction, and the distribution of reward and punishment, remains stable to a large extent. They help to maintain attitudes. People like to have consistency in their attitudes and they do this in many ways.

Motivational bias : We discount the contradictory information. If they are confronted with information, which is against their present attitude, they either consider that information as not very relevant or important, or believe that it is coming from a dubious source. One can thus ignore such information.

Rewards and Punishment: Our reference group may be exerting influence to maintain the attitude, which is important for the smooth functioning of the group. The reference group resists any change the people succumb to the group pressure. If the membership of the reference group is important to the person, he or she is more likely to retain his / her former attitude even in the face of contradictory information.

Maintaining a particular attitude may be beneficial for the person. For instance, if someone is very helpful to you in achieving your goals, even if you come to know about his negative qualities you justify his actions and maintain your existing attitude.

Once we make a public commitment, or take a position, it becomes very difficult to change that. For example, if someone has participated in a protest march against the reservation policy, it will be very difficult to take a favourable position about it. If one changes one's attitude in such a situation, he or she may find it difficulty to justify it.

Attitudes greatly shape our identify. One's identity is largely determined by the attitude one holds about people, issues, and objects that matter. Changing attitudes would, therefore, amount to changing one's notion of self and identify

The relationship between attitudes and behavior

The social psychologist Gordon W. Allport once observed that the concept of attitudes "is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology". The reason for this is not difficult to discern. Many investigators have assumed that attitudes occupy a crucial position in our mental makeup and as a result have consequences for the way we act. Viewed from this perspective, attitudes serve as powerful energizers and directors of or behavior-they ready us for certain kinds of action. Hence, to understand our attitudes is to understand our behavior. Indeed, the assumption is frequently made that our attitudes serve as rather accurate predictors of our actions.

To a considerable extent, however, this basic assumption has not been borne out by observation. In fact, many studies have revealed a lack of correspondence or, at best, a low correspondence between verbally expressed attitudes and overt behavior.

The findings of a classic study by Richard T. LaPiere are frequently cited as providing a striking example of such a discrepancy. LaPiere traveled throughout the United States-covering some 10,000 miles altogether-with a Chinese couple. He kept a list of hotels, auto camps, tourist homes, and restaurants where they were served and took notes on how they were treated. Only once were they denied service, and LaPiere judged that their treatment was above average in nearly half of the restaurants they visited. Several months later, he mailed questionnaires to the proprietors of these various establishments asking if members of the Chinese race would be accepted as guests. Approximately 92 percent indicated they would not accept Chinese, which was clearly in contradiction to their actual behavior.

Critics have faulted LaPiere's study because his presence with the Chinese couple undoubtedly had a biasing effect. Also, it is quite probable that, whereas the Chinese couple dealt with waitresses and desk clerks, the questionnaires were completed by proprietors. Since the time of LaPiere's study, however, a large number of additional studies have also failed to find a consistent relationship between people's attitudes and their behavior.

In one study undertaken in the period immediately prior to the civil rights movement, G. Saenger and E. Gilbert compared the attitudes of White customers buying from Black clerks with the attitudes of White customers buying from White clerks in a large New York department store. Customers were followed out of the store, where they were then interviewed. In both groups 38 percent either disapproved of Black clerks or wanted them excluded from some of the departments in the store. Despite this fact, a number of women who had insisted a short time previously that they would not buy from Blacks later returned to the store and were observed buying from Black clerks. Thus a considerable gap existed between what people said and what they did.

Various researchers have attempted to resolve these matters by suggesting that behavior is a function of at least two attitudes-an attitude toward the object and an attitude toward the situation. Indeed, multiple, diverse, and even contradictory attitude may be activated in given situations

Saenger and Gilbert, for instance, suggest a number of situational factors that might have accounted for the discrepancy between what White people in the study of department-store shoppers said about Black clerks and the way they acted toward them. First, prejudiced individuals were caught in a conflict between two contradictory motivations: their prejudice, on the one hand, and their desire to shop where they found it most comfortable and convenient, on the other. They tended to resolve their dilemma by acting contrary to their prejudice and completing their shopping as quickly as possible. Second, prejudiced individuals were caught in still another conflict: whether to follow the dictates of prejudice or to act in accordance with America's democratic ideals. Third, people prefer to conform with prevailing public opinion; the fact that Blacks were serving as clerk tended to suggest to many Whites that the public approved of their presence (and that, by the same token, the public would disapprove of "racist" acts). Thus because of the intervention of situational factors, there is no simple way in which the behavior of one person toward another can be accurately predicted solely on the basis of knowledge of that person's attitudes toward the other.

Other factors besides the situational interfere with prediction of behavior on the basis of attitudes alone. For example, Blacks differ from each other in such social properties as age, education, occupation, sex, and marital status; and attitudes toward these properties affect White behavioral interaction with Blacks. And attitudes vary not only in their direction-that is, in being either positive or negative-but also in extremity, intensity, and the extent of the person's ego involvement with the attitudes. Further, attitudes that we form on the basis of our own direct experience predict our actions better than those attitudes we form indirectly through hearsay.

Icek Ajzen and **Martin Fishbein** have proposed a further refinement for conceptualizing the relationship between attitudes and behavior. They say that our attitude toward an object influence our overall pattern of responses to the object. However, our attitude does not predict any specific action toward that object. Ajzen and Fishbein concern themselves with the behavioral intentions underlying our actions. They view our intentions as shaped by three factors: (1) our attitude toward performing the act in question; (2) the beliefs we hold about the like-hood that others expect us to perform the particular act; and (3) our motivation to comply with these beliefs.

Mark Snyder and **Deborah Kendzierski** direct our attention to still another matter. Before we can employ attitudes as guides to action, we first must activate these attitudes. More specifically, we must define certain attitudes as relevant to the action choices that confront us. In other words, we need to link mentally the elements in the situation in which we find ourselves with particular attitudes before we can bring these attitudes into play in guiding our action. For instance, we may have positive attitudes toward affirmative-action programs for minorities. Yet it may not occur to us that the under representation to minorities in our school or profession calls for the implementation to affirmative-action policies in these areas. We fail to see the relevance of the attitudes, for the situation at hand. Consequently, believing does not guarantee doing.

Social psychologists, then, are coming to see the relationship between attitudes and behavior in increasingly complex terms-as involving multiple factors and mediating variables. They no longer ask whether or attitudes can be used to predict our overt actions, but when. In any event, attitudes offer a convenient starting point for examining people's behavior as they enter situation and begin to construct their actions.

ORGANIZATION OF ATTITUDES

Underlying much social psychological theory and research is the notion of attitude consistency-the idea that people tend to organize their attitudes in a harmonious manner so that their attitudes are not in conflict. Thus civil-rights activists do not ordinarily contribute to the Ku Klux Klan; Christian Scientists do not usually enroll in medical schools; and liberal and radical reformers seldom vote for conservative Republican candidates. The concept of attitude consistency presumes and underscores human rationality. It assumes that people experience inconsistency as a noxious state that they are impelled to eliminate or reduce.

The basic prediction to be derived from the principle of attitudes consistency is that people typically seek to reconcile their conflicting attitudes-that the direction of attitude change will be from a state of inconsistency toward a state of consistency. Assume by way of example that you strongly support abortion laws, believing that a woman should have the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Indeed, you feel so strongly about the matter that you have recently begun to campaign for proabortion political candidates and to raise funds to support a local abortion clinic. Also suppose that your best friend vigorously opposes abortion, believing it to be an act of murder. How can you have deep and abiding ties with a person whose opinions about abortion are so different from you own? You may conclude that you really do not feel so strongly about pro-abortion legislation after all; or you may decide that you do no like your friend all that much; or you may attempt to delude yourself into thinking that your friend is not really opposed to abortion. In any event, the chances are that you will changes an attitude so as to bring about consistency.

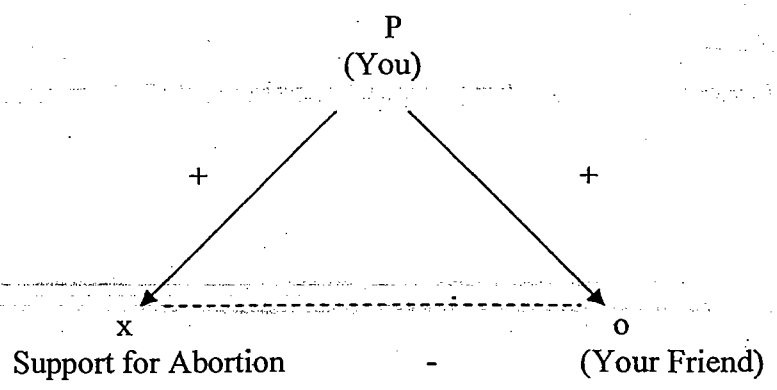
There are several varieties of consistency theory, three of which we shall review here: balance theory, congruity theory, and cognitive dissonance theory.

Balance Theory

The initial formulation of the principle of attitude consistency came from **Fritz Heider's balance theory of attitudes**. Heider was concerned with three elements in attitude change: (1) the person who was the focus of attention, labeled P; (2) some other person, labeled O; and (3) an impersonal entity-an object, idea, or event-labeled X. His primary interest was an discovering how relations among P, O, and X are organized by the person P.

Heider's theory can be applied to the illustration involving abortion. In the illustration you would be P, your friend would be O, and support for abortion legislation would be X. The situation can be diagrammed according to Heider's version of balance as follows:

INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL BEHAVIOR



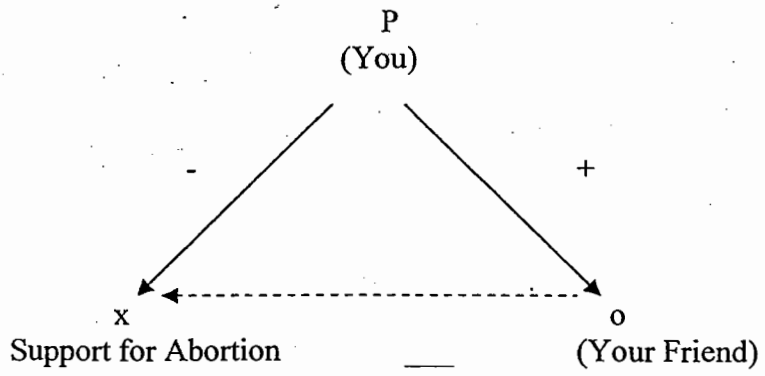
Since you favor abortion, the link between you and abortion has a positive value, indicated by a plus sign. Further, since you and your friend have a close relation, the link between you and your friend has a positive value (+). Finally, since your friend opposes abortion, the link between your friend and abortion has a negative, or minus, value (-).

In mathematics, the multiplication of two positives and one negative produces a negative:

+ x + x - = -

Heider terms a minus state of affairs imbalance. This state is characterized by stress, discomfort, and unpleasantness. Hence you would be motivated to reduce the imbalance.

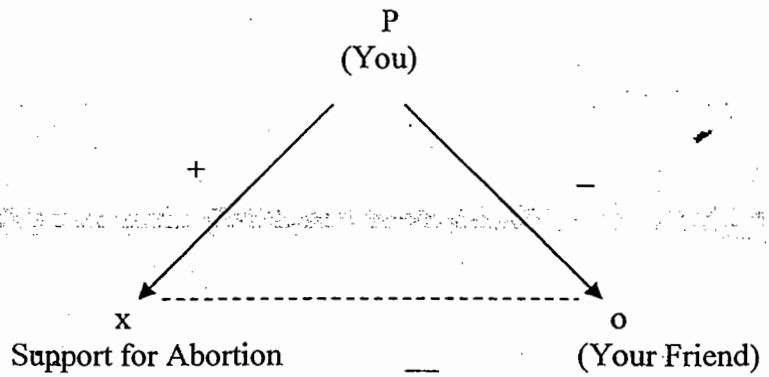
One way you might accomplish this would be to change your attitude toward abortion:



In this case you would multiply two negatives and one positive, which in mathematics gives you a plus sign:

+ x – x - = +

Since the sign is positive, balance has been restored.
Instead of changing your attitude toward abortion, you could reject your friend:



In this case you would also have restored balance:

- x - . x + = +

Cognitive dissonance theory

There are those who would misteach us that to stick in a rut is consistency- and a virtue, and that to climb out of the rut is inconsistency-and a vice. Mark Twain, Consistency

Few theories in social psychology have had the impact of Leon Festinger's theory of **cognitive dissonance**. Since its initial formulation in 1957, it has stimulated a vast amount of controversy, research, and theoretical development. And although severely challenged, the theory has overall shown considerable versatility, resilience, and predictive ability. In his theory Festinger replaces the concept of consistency or balance with that of consonance, and inconsistency or imbalance with that of dissonance. As viewed by Festinger, there is "pressure to produce consonant relations among cognitions and to avoid dissonance". A cognition is any bit of knowledge, belief, or opinion that people have about themselves, their behavior, or their environment.

Festinger developed his theory as a tool for interpreting some bizarre rumors that had appeared after an earthquake in India. Included among the rumors were the following: "There will be a severe cyclone in the next few days"; "There will be a severe earthquake arose in an area where people had felt tremors but had not experienced personal injury or destruction of property. This seemed to contradict the prevalent psychological notion that people seek to avoid unpleasant things, such as anxiety and the prospect of pain. interestingly enough, comparable data revealed that people in an actual disaster setting-an area of death and destruction –did not create rumors predicting further disaster.

The explanation arrived at by Festinger was that the rumors in the undamaged community had derived from cognitive dissonance. The people had a strong and persistent fear reaction to the tremors; yet in the absence of an adequate reason for fear was dissonant-nonfitting, or out of balance. The rumors of impending disaster provided explanation that were consonant with being afraid; the rumors functioned to justify fear and thus to reduce dissonance. The people, then, undertook to reduce dissonance by adding new consonant elements-the fear justifying rumors added new cognitions that were consistent with being afraid.

Still another method for reducing dissonance is to change given cognitions. Here Festinger uses the example of people who believe that cigarette smoking causes cancer and who simultaneously know that they themselves smoke. Such people experience dissonance.

The most efficient way to reduce dissonance would be to stop smoking, but many people find this the most difficult solution. Instead, they undermine the other cognition-that cigarette smoking causes cancer. They may belittle the evidence that links smoking to cancer. Festinger cites a survey which found that 29 percent of nonsmokers, 20 percent of light smokers, but only 7 percent of heavy smokers believed that a relationship had been established between smoking and lung cancer. Or dissonance-experience smokers might switch to filter-tipped cigarettes, deluding themselves that the filter traps all the cancer-producing materials. Or they might convince themselves that cigarette smoking is worth the price- "I'd rather have a short but enjoyable life than a long, un-enjoyable one." In taking any of these approaches, individuals seek to reduce dissonance by reducing the absurdity involved in making themselves cancer-prone. The boxed insert provides another account of a change in a cognition when the world was not destroyed as the members of a doomsday cult

believed it would be. Of interest, alcohol also reduces the unpleasant feelings associated with cognitive conflict, an effect that may reinforce alcohol consumption.

Reward and Dissonance: Pursuing this matter further, dissonance theory makes it prediction that is surprising because it runs counter to common sense thinking: the less the reward for engaging in behavior contrary to an attitude, the greater will be the resultant attitude change. And further, the less the coercion employed to force commitment, the greater the chance of attitude change. Presumably, the greater the chance of attitude change. Presumably, people who by virtue of a large reward or coercion behave in a way that conflicts with their attitudes can deny responsibility for their behavior by saying, "How could I refuse such a large reward?" or "They made me do it!"

This is illustrated by a classic experiment of **Festinger and J. Merril Carlsmith.** They had subjects perform an exceedingly boring task for two hours. After the subjects had completed the task, most of them were instructed by the experimenter to tell the subjects who replaced them that the experiment had been fun and exciting; others, who served as a control group, were not asked to lie. Some of the subjects who lied were paid $ 1 for their compliance; other received $ 20. The subjects were next referred to the psychology department office, where they evaluated the experiment. The evaluations were actually part of the experiment, although the subjects were led to believe that the experiment was finished.

Among other questions, the students were asked the degree to which they had enjoyed the task they performed. The subjects who were paid $1 rated the task more positively than those paid $20. These findings are in keeping with dissonance theory. The subjects who received only $2 found it necessary to rationalize their falsehood; for a trivial sum they had lied, and hence they undertook to resolve their dissonance by coming to believe that they really had liked the dull task. In contrast, the subjects who received the $20 experienced little dissonance and thus had little reason to alter their unfavorable attitudes toward the boring task.

Self Concept and Dissonance: Elliot Aronson (1968, 1969), among others, has suggested a still further refinement in dissonance theory. He indicates that Festinger mislocated the source of dissonance. What is critical, he argues, and what Festinger overlooks, is the conflict between people's self-conceptions and their cognitions about a behavior that violates these self-conceptions. According to this view, dissonance does not arise between just any two cognition; rather, it arises when one's behavior threatens to diminish the positive feeling one has about oneself.

Aronson argues that in the Festinger-Carlsmith experiment cited above, the dissonance did not occur, as Festinger anr Carlsmith insisted, between the cognition "I believed the task is "dull" and the cognition "I said the task is interesting". What instead was dissonant, according to Aronson, was the cognition "I am a good and decent human being" and the cognition "I have committed an indecent act; I have misled a person". Some of his research lends confirmation to this alternative view of dissonance, at least within the settings in which Aronson has studied it.

FACTORS INFLUENCING DISSONANCE:

Commitment and Volition: Research findings have led to various modifications of Festinger's original formulations. One of the most notable of these modifications has been proposed by Jack W. Brehm and A. R. Cohen. They note that the theory holds only under certain conditions. Two key conditions are commitment and volition. Commitment is a state of being bound to or locked into a position or a course of action. It implies that people, by closing the door to alternative behaviors, have to "live with" their decisions. Accordingly, they need to reduce any dissonant elements deriving from their irreversible commitment.

Assume, by way of illustration, that a high school student praises Ivy League schools and ridicules the scholarly attributes of state universities. Later, he finds that no Ivy League school will accept him, and he then decides to enter a state university. By his actions, he how committed himself to a state university. According to dissonance theory, it can be predicted that he will reduce dissonance by bringing by bringing his attitudes into line with his behaviors his attitudes toward state universities will become more favorable, and, possibly, his attitude toward Ivy League schools will become more negative.

Volition refers to the degree of freedom individuals believe they possess in making a decision or choice. For individual to experience dissonance, they must believe they acted voluntarily so that they feel responsible for the outcome of their decision. If, in contrast, they are compelled to act contrary to their beliefs, they can avoid dissonance by reasoning, "I was forced to do this; I really did not have any choice." If the student in the above illustration felt himself forced to attend the state university, he presumably would experience less dissonance-and thus less pressure to change his attitudes about state university-then if he saw himself making a free choice. Closely associated with the processes of commitment and volition is that of reactance, a matter examined in the boxed insert on the next page.

PERSUASION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Persuasion is a deliberate attempt on the part of one party to influence the attitudes or behavior of another party so as to achieve some predetermined end. Earlier in chapter communication requires that a sender and a receiver become. "tuned" together for a given message. Consequently, for permission to occur, three elements must be fitted together within some viable arrangement: the communicator, the message, and the target. The communicator sends a message to a target person hoping to evoke a particular response. Of course not all messages succeed in eliciting the desired outcome. Let us consider the communicator, the message, and the target in turn, examining the part each plays in persuasion and attitude change.

[A] The Communicator

Aristotle's observation is in keeping with common sense notions: we are inclined to believe people and be influenced by people whom we judge to be honorable and trustworthy. But what about social psychological research? Do social psychologists find that we take the characteristics of the communicator into account in assessing his or her message to us?

Additionally, what characteristics make a communicator more fully and more readily believable? Much research has been directed to these matters.

Trustworthiness: Marketing agencies seem to share the belief that the character to the communicator has a considerable effect on the persuasiveness of their appeals. Advertisers select consumers whom they feel typify the target audience to present testimonials on their satisfaction with the advertiser's product. Manufacturers often attempt to win the seal of approval from independent product-testing agencies to substantiate their product claims. And politicians running for office commonly solicit the endorsement of prestigious individuals.

Common sense also suggests that untrustworthy communicators are not effective as trustworthy ones. Presumably, if we think the communicators are attempting to advance their own self-interests, we view them as biased-as having ulterior motives-and, therefore, we are less inclined to be influenced by them. Yet research on this matter has produced mixed results. While high-credibility sources often produce more opinion change than low-credibility sources, the high or low credibility of the source has not been found to affect message learning. Neutral sources produce an amount of opinion change halfway between that produced by high-and low-credibility sources, but neutral sources produce more learning of the message content. When people know that the source is trustworthy, they can evaluate the conclusion without paying attention to the arguments; when people are unable to evaluate the source, they must evaluate the arguments themselves, and consequently are more likely to learn them.

Further, when the communicator is seen as arguing against his or her own best interests the person's influence may be increased. In one study social psychologists found that when a criminal argued in favor of more individual freedom and against greater police powers, he produced little attitude change in his listeners. But when he argued in favor of a stronger police force, he produced considerable attitude change.

Additionally, rapid speech functions are a credibility cue and as such enhances persuasion. Fast speakers are perceived as more knowledgeable and more trustworthy. And a message is perceived as more complex but clearer and easier to understand when presented by a fast speaker.

We should not assume, however, that a high credibility source is always superior to a low credibility sources. Under some circumstances high credibility may be a liability. Some evidence suggests that a low credibility sources induces grater persuasion than a high credibility source when the issue is one toward which we have a positive initial disposition. Presumably, when we encounter a highly credible source articulating a position we favor, we let the individual do all the work. We feel no need to retrieve supporting cognitive responses from our long-term memory. It is otherwise, however, when a low credibility source expounds our position. Under these circumstances we feel mentally compelled to seek arguments that will support the position, in the process strengthening our initial opinion.

Expertness: Research reveals that experts are more persuasive than nonexperts. Elliot Aronson and his colleagues had students who had negatively evaluated nine stanzas of poetry read the evaluation of someone who praised the poetry. The favorable evaluation read by one group of students was by the distinguished poet T.S. Elliot, the one read by the other group was by Agnes Stearns, "a student at Mississippi State Teachers College". The subjects then reevaluated the poetry. Perhaps it is not surprising that considerably more attitude change

occurred among those who read the evaluation by T.S. Elliot, the expert, than among those who read the one by Agnes Stearns, the nonexpert. Overall, studies that have been made of credibility suggest that the expertness or perceived competence of the communicator increases persuasive impact more than trustworthiness does.

Liking: Research reveals that the more we like the source of a persuasive message, the more likely we are to change our belief in accordance with that advocated by the source. This finding is in keeping with the predictions of Heider's balance theory and of Osgood's congruity theory. However, in some studies based on dissonance theory, the opposite relationship has been predicted and at times confirmed. As dissonance theorists explain this outcome, people who listen to a disliked person can find little justification for agreeing with the person. Accordingly, they are likely to have to justify their listening by saying that the message itself was worthy of attention and, hence, to be more influenced.

Similarity: We tend to be influenced more by people who are similar to us than by people who are different. Presumably, If we perceive the communicator as being like ourselves we assume that he or she also shares with us common needs and goals. We conclude that what the source advocates is good for "our kind of people" and align our attitude accordingly. Further, similarity tends to produce liking for a source, and, as noted above, if we like a source, we are inclined to change our attitude to coincide with that advocated by the liked source. The impact is strengthened by an additional factor: liking also enhances our perception that the person is similar to us.

Multiple Sources: Common sense seemingly dictates that multiple sources are more persuasive than one source along. At political conventions, several noteworthy supporters typically nominate a candidate. Television and magazines advertisers frequently expose their audiences to multiple testimonials for their product. And in courtrooms, attorneys commonly present multiple witnesses to verify or dispute a defendant's good character. The social psychologists Stephan G. Harkins and Richard E. Petty find merit in these approaches. Their experiments reveal that people have to "gear up" anew each time they encounter a new speaker. Consequently, increasing the number of sources compels listeners to think more intently about the message. Should each of the communicators present compelling arguments for a position, listeners typically generate more positive thoughts about the position than they do when the same high-quality arguments are provided by a single person. But multiple sources can also boomerang. Should each communicator present weak arguments, listeners find the messages more negative and less persuasive then they do if the same weak arguments are supplied by one source.

[B] The Message

Central to the persuasive process is the message. A communicator wishes to achieve some goal-an attitude or behavior change. To be persuasive, the communicator must put some idea or feeling into a form in which it can be transmitted to the target. Social psychologists have been interested in the factors that contributed to a communication's effectiveness.

Fear appeals:- One of the most interesting and provocative lines of research dealing with message was initiated by the work of Irving Janis and Seymour Feshbach on fear appeals. Three groups of high school students were exposed to different forms of a communication on

dental hygiene. The first group received a strong a fear appeal, which emphasized the pain caused by tooth decay and gum disease; the second group received a more moderate appeal; and the third group received an appeal that focused on completely healthy teeth. Eight percent of the students who had been exposed to the fear appeal changed their dental-care practices, compared with 22 percent of those who had received the moderate appeal and 36 percent of those who received the low fear appeal. In sum, as the amount of fear arousing material increased, conformity to recommended actions decreased.

Stimulated by the Janis-Feshbach study, other researchers have investigated the fectiveness of fear appeals in promoting a wide variety of healthy and safety measures giving up smoking, obtaining tetanus injections, using auto seat belts, and so on. In most of these studies the findings have contradicted the Janis-Feshbach results: the higher the fear level of the appeal, the greater the acceptance of the recommendations.

This contradictory evidence suggests that other factors must be taken into account, especially the circumstances under which fear facilitates or inhibits persuasion. One consideration is that fear produces two parallel but independent reaction. One reaction is the strong emotional response of fear; the other is a readiness to cope with the danger. The arousal of fear in and of itself does not guarantee that people will undertake action to cope with the danger. Instead, they may think up counterarguments to the fear appeal, stop thinking about the danger, or develop various rationalization for not worrying. It appears that high-fear arousing messages result in greater persuasiveness than low-fear-arousing message if the high-fear message contains recommendation for reducing fear-that is, for coping with danger by stopping smoking, getting a tetanus injection, or wearing an auto seat belt. Indeed, the antismoking campaign has paid large dividends. Per capita cigarette consumption in the United States has declined annually since 1973. in the absence of the antismoking campaign, cigarette consumption in 1978 would have exceeded the 1973 level by a third.

Conclusion drawing: Is it more effective when presenting arguments to state the conclusion explicitly or to leave it unstated? Social psychologists have debated this matter. If the conclusion is stated, the possibility that the audience may misinterpret the argument is avoided. On the other hand, by not stating the conclusion, the speaker may give the impression of having no ulterior motive and, therefore, may appear more credible. Further, if the audience members draw the conclusion for themselves, they may be more strongly persuaded than if the conclusion is drawn for them.

On the basis of his survey of the literature, concludes: "In communication, it appears, it is not sufficient to lead the horse to water; one must also push his head underneath to get him to drink". There does appear, however, to be an exception to this general principle. With relatively well-informed, sophisticated audiences or where the issue is a very simple one, it is usually more effective to let the audience draw the conclusion for itself.

One-sided versus two-sided communications: Is it more effective for a speaker to acknowledge the opposing arguments and refute them or simply ignore the opposing view? If the message includes mention of arguments in support of the opposing view, the speaker has the advantage of appearing less biased, more knowledgeable, and les intent on trying to persuade. In brief, the speaker appears more credible, since the message comes across less like propaganda and more like a dispassionate talk. On the other hand, a one-sided communication is less complicated and easier for the hearer to grasp.

Research findings suggest that whether the one-sided or the two-sided communication is more effective depends partly on the audience. The one-sided communication appears more effective when the audience is poorly informed and poorly educated. To present such an audience with both sides of the issue serves merely to confuse the listeners and to provide them with counterarguments that they would not otherwise consider. One-sided communications appears to be more effective also when the audience already agrees with the message. Then such communication simplify matters and strengthen existing attitudes. But where audience are well informed and well educated or are initially opposed to the message, a two-sided communication appears to be the more effective.

Personal Involvement: **Richard E. Petty** and **John T. Cacioppo** distinguish between central and peripheral routes to persuasion. The central route aims to change people's attitudes by involving them in a diligent consideration of issues and arguments. This approach emphasizes comprehension, learning and retention of the message argument. In contrast, the peripheral route does not necessarily entail issue-relevant thinking. Instead, attitude change is promoted through "cues" that link the persuader to the issue. These cues are associated with the nature of the communicator; for instance, the communicator is credible, attractive, or powerful. Petty and Cacioppo find that changes that are induced through the central route and that activate personal involvement are more enduring and predictive of subsequent behavior than changes induced through the peripheral route.

[C] The Target

Our daily observations suggest that some people are gullible "pushovers" while others stubbornly "stick to their guns". Do people in fact differ in their susceptibility to persuasive communications? Evidence suggests that there is such a trait as general persuasibility-that there is some consistency in the degree to which a person can be persuaded by certain kinds of appeals and on certain kinds of issues. But although there appears to be an underlying general trait of susceptibility to certain kinds of influences, a host of situational factors nonetheless intervene to moderate the impact of any given appeal. Thus the relationship between personality and persuasibility cannot be determined without taking account of the source and nature of the appeal and the nature of the issue.

The more a person's attitude is "anchored" through linkage and integration with logically related beliefs, the more resistant is the individual to a change in the belief. And the grater the individual's involvement with the issue and stake in the outcome, the greater the person's resistance to persuasion.

Role Playing: Under some circumstances role playing appears to be an effective device for altering attitudes and behavior. Leon mann and Irving Janis had a sample of young women who were heavy cigarette smokers play the role of a cancer patient in an experimental group. After an eighteen-month interval, these young women smoked significantly less than the women in a control group who had not acted in the play.

Public Position: Making public one's position on an issue and then finding one's position attacked tends to make a person more resistant to counterpropaganda and more dedicated to the cause. In one study, women who favored the dissemination of birth control information and who had signed a petition in support of such a program were sent a leaflet attacking their stand. Follow-up investigation revealed that these women-when compared with a control

group who had signed the petition but who did not receive the leaflet-increased their commitment to the cause and were subsequently more willing to do volunteer work on its behalf.

Forewarning people of an upcoming communication that runs counter to their current position increase their resistance to persuasion. Warnings motivate people to consider more fully their own positions and to generate anticipatory counterarguments for the impending attack. A person forewarned is forearmed. However, over time some individuals either forget or dissociate the forewarning, thus permitting the full impact of the message to emerge. Social psychologists term this outcome the sleeper effect-a delay occurs before the impact of a communication is felt.

Voluntary exposure to information tends to be highly selective. We seek out information that supports our beliefs and avoid information that challenges our position. This behavior allows us to minimize dissonance. However, there are exceptions to this principle. For instance, our attention is also affected by the novelty and utility of the information. Additionally, norms of intellectual honesty and fairness can lead us to expose ourselves to information supporting the "other side" despite the dissonance aroused by such material.

People who hold strong opinions on social issues accept information confirming their own views at face value. Moreover, they remember it better than they do opposing information. Hence, individual respond to topics like compensatory education, water fluoridation, and energy conservation with biased mind sets. Indeed, a "rebound effect" often operates-people encountering opposing viewpoints and criticisms of their position not only stick with their original position but claim to be even more convinced than they were previously. Consequently, exposing contending factions in a dispute to an identical body of information may increase rather than decrease their polarization.

Clearly, the effectiveness of communications that are designed to persuade depends on a good many situational and other factors. As a consequence, overriding generalizations regarding an individual's susceptibility to persuasion are difficult to make.

Reactance

In the United States we place a premium upon freedom. For many Americans, freedom is what their country is all about- "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Anything that jeopardizes freedom is seen as a menace to the American way of life-as "un-American." We like to believe that we control our own destinies. We experience anything that lessens our freedom to act as highly unpleasant. Indeed, compelling us to act against our wishes often boomerangs-we become "contrary" and attempt to reassert our freedom. If we feel prevented from doing something, commonly we will want to do it even more; if forced to do something, we will want to do it even less than we did before.

Jack W. Brehm undertakes to analyze these matters with his theory of reactance. Reactance theory assumes that people view themselves as possessing a set of free behaviors, any one of which they might engage in at any given time. When any of these behavioral, freedoms is eliminated or threatened with elimination, psychological reactance is aroused. Reactance is a motivational state directed toward restoring or safeguarding the threatened freedom. The greater the importance of that freedom. The greater the magnitude of the aroused reactance. Many laboratory studies have shown that when reactance is aroused, people display an

increased appreciation of and desire for the threatened or eliminated freedom. Further, reactance leads to an increased tendency to exercise the threatened freedom.

Michael B. Mazis has tested reactance theory in a marketplace situation where consumer's freedom of choice was restricted by government action. Mazis was able to study this kind of situation of Miami, Florida. As an antipollution measure, the county is which Miami is situated prohibited the scale, possession, or use of laundry detergents containing phosphates. Only a small number of popular brands were available in no-phosphate form. Thus shoppers found their choice of detergents drastically reduced.
Seven to nine weeks after the antiphosphate statute became effective, interviews were conducted among a sample of housewives in a middle-class Miami neighborhood and a similar neighborhood in Tampa, Florida. As predicted by reactance theory, Miami housewives expressed more positive attitudes toward the eliminated alternative than women did in Tampa. Further, the women who were forced to switch brands expressed less favorable attitudes about their no-phosphate detergents than the women who did not have to switch (one leading manufacturer quickly began distributing no-phosphate versions of al its existing brands). This finding is also in accordance with reactance theory, since women who were compelled to switch brands should have experienced more psychological choice deprivation.
Thus reactance theory provides insight into violations of law and opposition to new laws restricting what people believe to be their freedom of action. A classic example is the dismal failure of Prohibition to prevent the manufacture, transportation, and scale of alcoholic beverages in the 1920s. Sometimes anti-pornography and anti-drug laws have also had boomerang consequences.

Immunization against Attitude Change

Following the Korean War, Senate investigator's were alarmed by the lack of resistance to Chinese Communist "brainwashing" that had been displayed by American prisoners of war. A congressional committee concluded that if Americans received more instruction in "Americanism" at home and at school, they would be less vulnerable to enemy propaganda in future wars. Various church groups have adopted a similar stance, calling for stepped-up training of young people in various moral precepts. Research by William McGuire, a psychologists, and his associates suggests, however, that a more effective approach would be to expose people to opposing viewpoints as an immunization device.

When we wish to develop people's biological resistance to disease agents, we inoculate them with a weakened form of the infectious material so as to stimulate their defense mechanisms prior to massive exposure. McGuire suggests that, analogously, individuals can be made immune to propaganda by being exposed to weakened forms of the oppositions arguments before they experience the main attack.

To test this hypothesis, McGuire had subjects participate in two experimental sessions. During the first session, they were exposed to four cultural truisms regarding various health measures, including frequent tooth brushing to prevent dental decay and the use of X-rays to detect tuberculosis. For example, the subjects were told that "Everyone should brush his teeth after every meal if at all possible.

In the initial session, one of the truisms was accompanied by supportive information-for example, that brushing teeth improves their appearance and eliminates decay-causing bacteria. A second truism was followed by the equivalent of inoculation-weak counterargument and its regulation: some people say that brushing injures the gums, but dental evidence suggests that brushing stimulates and improves gum condition. The counterargument was designed to be strong enough to threaten the individuals slightly and so stir up resistance, but not so strong as to overcome their weak defenses. The other two truisms were control truisms and were neither attacked nor supported.

In another experimental session a few days later, subjects were confronted with a strong attack against three of the truisms-the truism receiving supportive information. The truism with which inoculation was provided, and one control truism. A follow-up assessment of the subjects of attitudes revealed that the undefended truisms were highly vulnerable to the subsequent attack. In contrast, both supportive defense and inoculation defense helped subjects to resist the counter-attitudinal propaganda. But of most interest is that the inoculation defense conferred considerably more immunity that did the supportive defense. Apparently, as in the case of medical inoculation, people who experience an earlier weak attack bolster their defenses: they prepare arguments to support their position, construct counterarguments, belittle opposing views, and so on.

SRIRAM'S IAS

GENERAL STUDIES

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE
(PAPER-IV)

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Contents

A. INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence is a term that is difficult to define, and it can mean many different things to different people. In fact, it has divided the scientific community for decades and controversies still rage over its exact definition and form of measurement.

Intelligence is often defined as the general mental ability to learn and apply knowledge to manipulate your environment, as well as the ability to reason and have abstract thought. intelligence include adaptability to a new environment or to changes in the current environment, the ability to evaluate and judge, the ability to comprehend complex ideas, the capacity for original and productive thought, the ability to learn quickly and learn from experience and even the ability to comprehend relationships.

Researchers asked about the aspects of intelligence felt that factors like problem-solving ability, mental speed, general knowledge, creativity, abstract thinking and memory all played important roles in the measure and standard of intelligence. Most agree that intelligence is an umbrella term which covers a variety of related mental abilities.

While there are a number of different methods for measuring intelligence, one of the most widely accepted method is by measuring a person's 'intelligence quotient' or IQ.

Based on a series of tests which assess various types of abilities such a mathematical, spatial, verbal, logic and memory. The results from such tests done on a group that is representative of the wider popular shows the classic 'bell-shape' distribution, meaning that most people are of average intelligence with a few at the extreme ends of the scale.

IQ scores are used as predictors of educational achievement, special needs, job performance and income. They are also used to study IQ distributions in populations and the correlations between IQ and other variables.

IQ is the most researched attempt at measuring intelligence and by far the most widely used in practical setting. However, although IQ attempts to measure some notion of intelligence, it may fail to act as an accurate measure of "intelligence" in its broadest sense. IQ tests only examine particular areas embodied by the broadest notion of "intelligence", failing to account for certain areas which are also associated with "intelligence" such as creativity or emotional intelligence.

B. EMOTIONS

The emotion is defined as 'a strong mental or instinctive feeling such as love or fear' (Oxford English Dictionary, 1996) involving many bodily processes, and mental states. An emotion combines cognition, bodily arousal and behaviour in a readymade formula for responding in line with the way the situation has been interpreted. There is a huge difference in the ways of feeling emotions by human beings and animals although both of them experience anger, fear, sadness, and joy.

Emotion can be defined as the "feeling" aspect of consciousness, characterised by certain physical arousal, a certain behaviour that reveals the feeling to the outside world, and an inner awareness of feelings. Emotion is associated with mood, temperament, personality and disposition and motivation. The English word 'emotion' is derived from the French word émouvoir. This is based on the Latin emovere, where e-(variant of ex-) means 'out' and movere means 'move'. The related term "motivation" is also derived from movere. No aspect of our mental life is more important to the quality and meaning of our existence than emotions. They are what make life worth living, or sometimes ending. So it is not surprising that most of the great classical philosophers— Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza,

Descartes, Hobbes, Hume—had recognisable theories of emotion, conceived as responses to certain sorts of events of concern to a subject, triggering bodily changes and typically motivating characteristic behaviour.

Most psychologists would agree that an emotion is a complex pattern of changes that include physiological arousal, subjective feelings, cognitive processes and behavioural reactions, all in response to a situation we perceive to be personally significant.

Accordingly, an emotion has four components:

i) Physiological arousal: Emotions involve the brain, nervous system and hormones, so that when you're emotionally aroused the hormone secretion is more to give us instant energy. Each emotion has a specific characteristic of physiological aspects.

For example: When angry, the blood rushes to our hands in order to fight. When afraid, the blood rushes to our skeletal system and leg to facilitate the fight or flight responses.

ii) Subjective feelings: Emotions also include subjective awareness, or 'feeling' that involves elements of pleasure, liking and disliking. Thus, in studying emotion or knowing another person's feelings, we must rely heavily on that person's own self reports.

iii) Cognitive processes: Emotions also involve cognitive processes such as memorial, perceptions, expectations and interpretations. Our appraisal of an event plays an especially significant role in the meaning it has for us.

iv) Behavioural reactions: Emotions also involve behavioural reactions, both expressive and instrumental. Facial expressions such as smiles and frowns, as well as gestures and Lories of voice, all serve to communicate our feelings that may enhance our chances for survival.

The various theories of emotion differ mostly is regard to which of these various components is given priority. In much the same way, authorities differ about how emotions are activated or triggered.

According to Paul Ekman there are seven basic emotions, viz., Fear, Sadness, Anger, Joy, Surprise, Disgust and Contempt. Emotions were found to be developed from environmental and genetic influences. The sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system plays a significant role in emotions.

C. EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

The modern concept of emotions focuses on Emotional competency and emotional intelligence. The term emotional intelligence has been widely used by many people. It was first brought into focus that intelligence is not just the general ability but has three different levels of functioning i.e., abstract intelligence, mechanical intelligence and social intelligence.

Later Gardner(1983), has brought about the concept of multiple intelligence. Mayer and Solovey(1990) had coined the term "Emotional Intelligence", being aware of the previous work on non-cognitive aspects of intelligence. They described emotional intelligence as a form of social intelligence. In the early 1990's Daniel Goleman became aware of Salovey and Mayer's work and eventually led into the study in his book "Emotional Intelligence". Goleman has tried to make a distinction between emotional intelligence and emotional competencies. It is referred in relation to emotions. The merging of emotion and intelligence as a cognitive ability under the caption of 'Emotional intelligence' was proposed by a Yale Psychologist (Salovey, Woolery, &Mayer, 1990) of university of New Hampshire.

The Emotional Intelligence and EQ concept argues that Intelligence Quotient, or conventional intelligence, is too narrow; that there are wider areas of Emotional Intelligence that dictate and enable how successful we are. Success requires more than IQ (Intelligence Quotient), which has tended to be the traditional measure of intelligence, ignoring essential behavioural and character elements. We've all met people who are academically brilliant and yet are socially and inter-personally inept. And we know that despite possessing a high IQ rating, success does not automatically follow.

Emotional intelligence may be more clearly distinguished from general intelligence as involving the manipulation of emotions and emotional content. Emotional intelligence determines our potential for learning the practical skills based on the five elements: self awareness, motivation, self regulation, empathy and adeptness in relationships. Emotional intelligence involves striking a balance between emotion and reason in which neither is completely in control.

Emotionally intelligent people know when it is right to control their emotions and when it is right to be controlled by them. Emotional intelligence also involves the ability to read other people's emotions correctly.

C.1 Definitions

Substantial disagreement exists regarding the definition of EI, with respect to both terminology and operationalizations. Currently, there are three main models of EI:

1. Ability model
2. Mixed model (usually subsumed under trait EI)
3. Trait model

Different models of EI have led to the development of various instruments for the assessment of the construct. While some of these measures may overlap, most researchers agree that they tap different constructs.

C.2 Ability model

Salovey and Mayer's conception of EI strives to define EI within the confines of the standard criteria for a new intelligence. They defined EI as "The ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth."

The ability-based model views emotions as useful sources of information that help one to make sense of and navigate the social environment. The model proposes that individuals vary in their ability to process information of an emotional nature and in their ability to relate emotional processing to a wider cognition. This ability is seen to manifest itself in certain adaptive behaviors. The model claims that EI includes four types of abilities:

In the first tier of this "mental ability model" is the complex of skills that allow an individual to perceive, appraise, and express emotions. Abilities here include identifying one's own and other's emotions, expressing one's own emotions, and discriminating the expressions of emotion in others.

The second tier abilities involve using emotions to facilitate and prioritize thinking: employing the emotions to aid in judgment, recognizing that mood swings can lead to a consideration of alternative viewpoints, and understanding that a shift in emotional state and perspective can encourage different kinds of problem solving.

In the third tier are skills such as labeling and distinguishing between emotions (differentiating liking and loving, for instance), understanding complex mixtures of feelings (such as love and hate), and

formulating rules about feelings: for example, that anger often gives way to shame and that loss is usually accompanied by sadness.

The fourth tier of the model is the general ability to marshal the emotions in support of some social goal. In this more complex level of emotional intelligence are the skills that allow individuals to selectively engage in or detach from emotions and to monitor and manage emotions in themselves and in others.

C.3 Mixed model

The model introduced by Daniel Goleman focuses on EI as a wide array of competencies and skills that drive leadership performance. Goleman's model outlines five main EI constructs ("What Makes A Leader" by Daniel Goleman, best of Harvard Business Review 1998):

1. **Self-awareness** - the ability to know one's emotions, strengths, weaknesses, drives, values and goals and recognize their impact on others while using gut feelings to guide decisions.
2. **Self-regulation** – involves controlling or redirecting one's disruptive emotions and impulses and adapting to changing circumstances.
3. **Social skill** – managing relationships to move people in the desired direction
4. **Empathy** – considering other people's feelings especially when making decisions and
5. **Motivation** – being driven to achieve for the sake of achievement.

Goleman includes a set of emotional competencies within each construct of EI. Emotional competencies are not innate talents, but rather learned capabilities that must be worked on and can be developed to achieve outstanding performance. Goleman posits that individuals are born with a general emotional intelligence that determines their potential for learning emotional competencies.

C.4 Trait model

Soviet-born British psychologist Konstantin Vasily Petrides proposed a conceptual distinction between the ability based model and a trait based model of EI and has been developing the latter over many years in numerous scientific publications. Trait EI is "a constellation of emotional self-perceptions located at the lower levels of personality." In lay terms, trait EI refers to an individual's self-perceptions of their emotional abilities. This definition of EI encompasses behavioral dispositions and self perceived abilities and is measured by self report, as opposed to the ability based model which refers to actual abilities, which have proven highly resistant to scientific measurement. Trait EI should be investigated within a personality framework. An alternative label for the same construct is trait emotional self-efficacy.

The trait EI model is general and subsumes the Goleman and Bar-On models discussed above. The conceptualization of EI as a personality trait leads to a construct that lies outside the taxonomy of human cognitive ability. This is an important distinction in as much as it bears directly on the operationalization of the construct and the theories and hypotheses that are formulated about it.

C.5 EI versus IQ as a Predictor of Workplace Performance

Does EI predict success more strongly than IQ? In one sense, this question is purely academic: in life, cognitive abilities and emotional intelligence always interplay.

But in another sense, it has practical implications for significant workplace decisions. For example, Claudio Fernández-Aráoz offers qualitative data suggesting that basing the selection of high-level executives solely on their academic intelligence and business expertise and ignoring their emotional

intelligence often leads to poor choices that can be disastrous for an organization. Data establishing the relative contribution of EI and IQ to effective performance would be of both theoretical and practical importance—for instance, providing a scientific rationale for making more balanced decisions in hiring and promotions.

IQ would be a much stronger predictor than EI of which jobs or professions people can enter. Because IQ stands as a proxy for the cognitive complexity a person can process, it should predict what technical expertise that person can master. Technical expertise, in turn, represents the major set of threshold competencies that determine whether a person can get and keep a job in a given field. IQ, then, plays a sorting function in determining what jobs people can hold. However, having enough cognitive intelligence to hold a given job does not by itself predict whether one will be a star performer or rise to management or leadership positions in one's field.

Analysis of competency data for outstanding performers within a given field, an emphasis on emotional intelligence–based abilities emerged. These data were gathered from several hundred organizations (Goleman, 1998b). Mostly proprietary and so not typically shared outside companies, they reveal the competencies that a given organization has concluded distinguish star performers from average ones in a specific job or role. Such studies are undertaken for competitive, strategic reasons: companies want to identify these key capabilities so that they can hire and promote people who have them or develop them in their employees (Spencer & Spencer, 1993).

The competencies in these models generally fall into one of three domains: technical skills (for example, software programming), purely cognitive abilities (for example, analytical reasoning), and abilities in the EI range (such as customer service or conflict management abilities). These EI-based competencies combine both cognitive and emotional skills, and so are distinguished from purely cognitive abilities like IQ and from technical skills, which have no such emotional component.

Comparing the three domains, emotional competencies were twice as prevalent among distinguishing competencies as were technical skills and purely cognitive abilities combined (Goleman, 1998b). In general the higher a position in an organization, the more EI mattered: for individuals in leadership positions, 85 percent of their competencies were in the EI domain. These competency models reflect the perceived value of EI competencies relative to technical and cognitive abilities and so are highly consequential. They already guide decisions about who is hired, who is put on a fast track for promotion, and where to focus development efforts— particularly for leadership—in many of the largest organizations throughout the world (Spencer & Spencer, 1993).

EI may so strongly outstrip intellect alone in this context because those in the pools that were evaluated had had to clear relatively high entry hurdles for IQ and technical competence. For most positions, particularly those at the higher levels of an organization, competencies in technical and cognitive realms are threshold skills, essential requirements for entry into fields like engineering, law, or the executive management of an organization. Because everyone in a given field has its threshold skills, these basic abilities lose their power as distinguishing competencies, the capabilities that set outstanding performers apart from average.

IQ, then, mainly predicts what profession an individual can hold a job in—for instance, it takes a certain mental acumen to pass the bar exam or the CATs. Estimates are that in order to pass the requisite cognitive hurdles such as exams or required coursework or mastery of technical subjects and enter a profession like law, engineering, or senior management, individuals need an IQ in the 110 to 120 range (Spencer & Spencer, 1993). That means that once one is in the pool of people in a profession, one competes with people who are also at the high end of the bell curve for IQ. This is why, even though IQ

is a strong predictor of success among the general population, its predictive power for outstanding performance weakens greatly once the individuals being compared narrow to a pool of people in a given job in an organization, particularly at its higher levels (Goleman, 1998b).

In contrast, there is less systematic selection pressure for emotional intelligence along the way to entering the ranks of such professions. Of course some minimal level of EI is needed to be successful in school and to enter a profession, but because there is no specific EI hurdle one must clear to enter a profession, there is a much wider range of EI abilities among those one competes with in one's field. For that reason, once people are in a given job, role, or profession, EI emerges as a more powerful predictor of who succeeds and who does not—for instance, who is promoted to the upper echelons of management and who passed over.

In short, IQ will be a more powerful predictor than EI of individuals' career success in studies of large populations over the career course because it sorts people before they embark on a career, determining which fields or professions they can enter. But when studies look within a job or profession to learn which individuals rise to the top and which plateau or fail, EI should prove a more powerful predictor of success than IQ.

C.6 EMOTIONAL COMPETENCY

Emotional Competency is "A learned capability based on emotional intelligence that results in outstanding performance at work" (Cary & Goleman, 2005). **Emotional Competencies are job skills that can, and indeed must be learned.**

An underlying Emotional Intelligence is necessary, though not sufficient, to manifest competency in any one of the four Emotional Intelligence domains, or clusters. Although our emotional intelligence determines our potential for learning the practical skills that underlie the four Emotional Intelligence clusters, our emotional competency shows how much of that potential we have realised by learning and mastering skills and translating these skills into coping strategies of practical life. Emotional Competency is "A learned capability based on emotional intelligence that results in outstanding performance at work."

Let us take an example, Let us say that an individual travelling in the bus accidentally stamps another man's leg and immediately says sorry for that. But the other person whose leg was stamped could not control the anger because of pain and starts shouting at the person and makes a fuss of that. If we take this person into consideration who had stamped, even though knowing that the other person is provoking to fight, he simply ignores and continues to move on his way by handling the situation intelligently without being affected.

Emotional competency thus is an efficiency to deal effectively with several dissociable but related processes. It is a blending of five competencies (Coleman, 1970):

i) **Adequate Depth of Feeling:** It is feeling capable with all reality assumptions associated with effective judgment and personality integration ensuring vigorous participation in living. Example: Having very slight impact of day to day events on oneself.

ii) **Adequate Expression and Control of Emotions:** It is to accept emotions and have adequate control over them marked by adequate emotional expressiveness based on fulsome expression and control of emotions. To give an example of this we can say that a person does not lose control at all even on major life incidents.

iii) **Ability to Function with Emotions:** It refers to the ability of an individual not to get affected by emotional situations. He maintains adequate mode of functioning in performing daily routine actions properly. For example, even in the conditions of feelings like fear, anxiety, anger the individual will be able to take decisions and does his job properly.

iv) **Ability to cope with Problem Emotions:** It is to have understanding of the role of sensitivity and the detrimental effects of problem emotions and resist their harmful effects. To give an example, it may be stated that the fear of strange circumstances does not remain or linger onin the individual.

v) **Encouragement of positive Emotions:** It is to have a high proportion of positive emotions, which show a constructive influence in the dynamics of behaviour to ensure a meaningful and fairly well integrated life. To take an example, let us say that an individual never misses an opportunity to be happy.

An individual is said to be emotionally competent when they possess competent ways of handing the emotions as described in the above components of emotions.

C.7 MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONS

To handle emotions and manage emotions effectively, it is very essential to know about emotions, which involve the meaning of emotions and biological basis of emotions, the nature of emotions, types of emotions and effects of emotions on health of an individual.

The most important aspect of managing emotions primarily focuses on the emotional intelligence of the individual and to become emotionally competent.

Some of the common means of handling emotions include:

- Identify the emotion which you are feeling at the moment. Example: if you had a fight with your friend then it is very important to know how you are feeling at that point of time. Ask yourself whether you are angry with your friend or sad for the thing which had happened.
- Accepting the emotions without denying them. Example: If you are angry or jealous or sad, then let yourself know that you are jealous etc., and say to yourself that you are angry or jealous rather than denying by not accepting.
- Not hanging on too much by thinking excessively about the unpleasant emotions if being experienced. Example: If you are sad because of the thing which happened, then do not keep thinking about it again and again all the time keeping away all the things which you have to do. Try to do something which diverts your mind from the thought that makes you feel sad by remembering the incident.
- Sharing the feelings with someone whom you trust rather than piling up them within one self. Example: It is very essential to vent out your feelings to the right person whether it is your friend, partner or parents on whom you have confidence. You feel lightened and released. This does not allow the emotions to get piled up within yourself leading to frustration and stress which may further lead to mental disturbances.
- Expressing out your emotions when you experience them. Example: When you experience sadness express your feeling by letting the other person know how you are feeling or weep so as to get relief from your emotion. If being happy share your happiness to express either in words or acts. Do not express too much of your emotions or too less of them. Express them appropriately.
- Cultivate regular habits of exercising, taking good diet. A good diet and exercises keeps you both physically and mentally healthy.

- Think optimistically always and do not forget to laugh. Always think positively. This keeps you charged and motivates you to do your deeds.
- Change the things which you can change. Things which we can change need to be worked out and implemented for bringing changes. Ex. If I want to secure good percentage of marks, then I need to work hard by motivating myself.
- Identify the things which you can change and which you cannot change by knowing the difference between these two. Life and death are not in our hands and there are few things which happen in our lives are not in our control and cannot change them. Those things only have to be accepted.
- Listening to happy and joyful songs and avoiding being isolating when being sad or low.

Social Influence

During the times of year that the Supreme Court is in session, Monday is the day that it announces its decisions. Men and women of the press from the world over await the release of these announcements. Sometimes the Court's decisions are momentous, and much is said and written about their impact on our lives. Other times its decisions seem esoteric and trivial. In either case, the way the nine members of the Court reach their judgment is hidden from public view. All that we know s that the individual justices must combine their various points of view and attempt to make a decision, sometimes unanimous, more often split. How do individual justices respond to the opinions and personalities of other members of the Court? How does the group as a whole decide the way to act?

The area of psychology that considers the ways individuals influence each other and the ways groups make decisions is social influence, the subject of this chapter. Throughout our lives we are influenced by others in many ways. Some of these ways are direct and obvious; others are quite subtle. We will consider the full range of influences that act on us as individuals and as members of groups.

In the first section we will consider the strong and direct pressures of group standards and authority figures, which lead individuals to conform and comply. This type of influence is quite obvious.

At the times, social influence is indirect and barely noticeable. However, these more subtle influences exert a strong impact on many kinds of individual behaviors. Two important behaviors that are strongly affected by social influence are aggression and altruism, or hurting and helping others.

Next, we will discuss how some of the influence processes that affect individual, as well as several additional ones, also affect important aspects of group functioning. We will consider how decision – making occurs in groups. Of special interest will be a discussion of recently discovered group processes that give insight into how people make choices, good and bad, that can affect entire nations. In the final section, we will consider how leaders influence followers, and the problem of coordinating and directing individuals in groups.

Conformity and Compliance

Experiments by social psychologists Solomon Asch and Stanley Milgram subjected people to strong influence pressures. In one experiment subjects were pressured. In one experiment subjects were pressured to conform to the judgments of other group members. In the other, subjects were pressured to obey the somewhat disturbing commands of an authority figure. The results of these studies have revealed a great deal about how human beings act and react to each other.

The Asch Experiments

We define **conformity** as going along with other people's attitudes and behaviors as a result of real of imagined pressure. How strong are the pressures in a group to make an individual conform to group ideas and standards for behavior? This is one of the foremost questions about group behavior. Can people think independently, make rational judgements, and plan effective action in groups, or do they respond unthinkingly and irrationally to group pressures? When

Solomon Asch became a social psychologist in the 1940s, a prevalent view was that people, like rats, were easily influenced by simple rewards and punishments. This view was influenced by Freud's claim that much of human behavior was irrational and by Watson's behaviorist persective that conditioning could mechanically influence people to do or become anything. Asch, on the other hand, believed that people were rational and deliberative. Research that seemed to suggest otherwise was, he thought, open to alternative interpretations. Even though earlier work by Muzafer Sherif had shown that people would conform in an ambiguous situation, as when they were judging the apparent movement of a stationary point of light, Asch felt that individuals would not conform when reality was clear. To show that people would not be influenced by others when they could rely on their own good sense and jugments, Asch devised a now – classic experiment.

In Asch's experiment, the only advance information given to the male subjects was that they would be participating in a study of "visual discrimination." Let us describe the experience of a typical subject in this experiment.

He arrives at the laboratory to find several other subjects waiting for the experiment. When it is time to get started, the experimenter seats the subjects around a table and explains the purpose of the study. It concerns people's ability to make visual discriminations by matching one of three comparison lines shown on one board to a standard line shown on another. The subject's job will be to say which of the three comparison lines – 1, 2, or 3 – is the same as the standard.

The experimenter remarks that, since the task is easy, he will save time and simply ask subjects to announce their judgments out loud in order of their seating position. Beginning on his left, the experimenter asks the first person for his judgments on the first trial. Our subject sees that he will be announcing his decision next to last and awaits his turn. The first two trials are routine. The judgments are easy and everyone agrees on the answers. On the third trials, however, our subject hears the first person give what clearly seems to be the wrong answer. Quickly, the next four people all say the same seemingly wrong number. The subject is completely baffled, but he feels positive that the others are wrong. Yet when his turn to state his decision comes, he feels panicked. He asks the experimenter if he should say what he thinks is really the right answer or just how it looks to hi. The experimenter replies that the subject should just say which line he thinks is the same as the standard. The subject gives the answer he thinks is correct – the one that is different from all the others. Then the last person agrees with the rest of the subjects. Our subjects feels that he's sticking out like a sore thumb. He wishes he could understand why the others gave such an odd answer.

On the next trial the subject looks carefully to form his own judgments before he hears anyone else give theirs. But it happens again. The first subject gives an answer which seems wrong, and the others calmly report the same. Our subject doesn't want everyone to think he's playing games or losing his mind, and he wishes that he could sit in the others' chairs or see the board differently. If you were in our subject's place, what would you say?

Although our subject wasn't able to figure out why the other participants were giving such implausible answers, you might have guessed what was really happening. The subject we have been discussing was the only real subject in the entire experiment. The others were confederates of the experimenter and were instructed to give correct answer on the first two trials and then incorrect answers on 12 of the next 16 trials. Asch's main concern was how many subjects would go along with the unanimous and incorrect majority on the "conformity trials." In a control group, where subjects had made judgments in isolation, there had been

virtually no errors. Asch therefore had hypothesized the experimental groups would show very little conformity.

The results were quite surprising, both to Asch and to other people who had overestimated the individual's independence. About 37 percent of the responses in the conformity trails agreed with the majority, even though these responses were incorrect. However, this does not mean that everyone conformed about a third of the time. There were large individual differences. About a quarter of the subjects were completely independent and never "yielded" to the majority. On the other hand, about a third of the subjects conformed on half the trials or more.

It is often tempting to conclude from these results that Asch's research identified two types of people, conformers and nonconformers. But as Asch discovered in interviews with subjects after the experiment, people conformed or defied the majority for many different reasons. For example, sometimes subjects actually "saw" what the majority reported, sometimes they believed that their own deviant perception was wrong, and sometimes they believed that they were correct but conformed anyway. Overall, Asch found a great deal more conformity than he had predicted, great variation in how people behaved, and even more variation in why the subjects acted as they did and how they felt about it.

Conformity, Nonconformity, and Rejection

Asch's original experiments had a great impact on the of social psychology. There seemed to be an unending series of questions about when and why people conformed in the line – judgment situation and what all this meant about human nature and social interaction. Subsequent research showed that majorities as small as 3 or 4 produced as much conformity as groups as large as 16, but conformity dropped sharply if the incorrect majority was not unanimous. These and other follow – up studies quickly began to get at the basic questions of why people conform at all, what kinds of people are likely to conform more or less than average, and what kinds of situations elicit the most conformity. The issue of foremost importance was why people conform at all.

Asch's post-experimental interviews and later research led social psychologists to consider two key motives for conformity. One is people's need to be correct. The other is their need to be accepted by others. Both of these needs operated in the original Asch experiment.

Because we are often not sure of the right thing to do, say or believe, we often rely on other people's judgments and actions to guide our own behavior. In the interviews after Asch's experiment, some of the conforming subjects reported they were so used to relying on others that they decided the others must be correct, no matter how the lines looked.

Still, analyses of Asch's interviews showed that the main reason subjects conformed in the line – judgment situation was that they were worried about what others might think of them for deviating from the majority. Additional evidence for this explanation was that when subjects wrote their responses on a piece of paper rather than announcing their responses out loud, conformity – induced errors dropped drastically. During 12 conformity trials subjects averaged only 1.5 errors when the responses were written. When they were announced publicly, however, the average number of errors rose of 4.4.

Is the fear that others will reject, dislike, or mistreat us simply for holding different opinions actually warranted? A famous experiment by Stanley Schachter suggests it may be. Schachter

investigated group reactions to individuals who conformed or deviated from the majority's opinion. In this study, groups of male college students read and discussed the case of a troubled delinquent boy named Johnny Rocco. Johnny had had a very difficult childhood, growing up in an urban slum, and he often got into trouble. Subjects in the experiment were asked to recommend that Johnny receive either a great deal of love and affection, harsh discipline and punishment, or some combination of the two. The case was written sympathetically and the subjects made lenient recommendations. To study the consequences of nonconformity, Schachter included in each discussion group a confederate who sometimes agreed with the real subjects and sometimes recommended that Johnny needed severe punishment. When the confederate took the deviant opinion, he maintained it and defended it as best he could. How did the majority treat this deviant?

The results were quite clear. The subject's communications were immediately directed at the deviating confederate in an effort to get him to agree to a lenient recommendation. When it became clear that the deviant would stick to his position, communication dropped off sharply. He was largely ignored. After the discussion, when subjects had a chance to assign group members to tasks and to recommend who should be included in the group, the nonconforming confederate was clearly rejected. However, in groups where the same confederate took the majority opinion, he was viewed positively and not rejected. Thus, holding to an unpopular opinion even in a short discussion of a case study caused an individual to be ostracized. At least under some circumstances, fear of rejection due to nonconformity is justified.

Compliance with Authority

Compliance is agreeing to another person's direct requests or commands to behave in specific ways. To study the extent to which people will comply and why they comply, Stanley Milgram conducted some ingenious but highly controversial experiments on "obedience to authority".

The subjects in Milgram's experiments were adult men of various ages, occupations, and social positions in the area of New Heaven, Connecticut. They had answered advertisement requesting participants in an experiment on learning. When each subject arrived at the laboratory, he was introduced to another participant in the study. The experimenter explained that one of the two would play the role of "learner" and the other "teacher". According to the experimenter, the focus of the experimenter explained that one of the two would play the role of "learner" and the other "teacher". According to the experimenter, the focus of the experiment was the effect of punishment on learning. Whenever the learner made a mistake, he was to be punished with an electrical shock. Then the subjects were shown the apparatus that was to be used to administer the punishment. This shock – generating machine had thirty switches on it, the first delivering 15 volts, the second 30, and so on up to 450 volts where the switches were labeled "Danger – Severe Shock – X X X." At this point names were drawn from a hat and one subject discovered he was to be the teacher and the other person the learner. The learner was taken to a different room, strapped into a chair, and wired the electrodes. The teacher then returned to the shock generator, where he could not see the learner, and was instructed to move up the row of switches every time the learner made a mistake, thereby giving the learner an increasingly severe shock.

Finally, the experiment started. It quickly became bizarre and frightening. The learner made many mistakes and the experimenter told the teacher to give increasingly severe shocks. At 75 volts the teacher could hear the learner grunting in the next room. At 150 volts the learner

shouted, "Let me out", and said his heart couldn't stand the pain. He began to yell. He let out an agonizing scream at 285 volts and refused to answer after that. Then there was nothing.

Most teachers became very upset. Some asked the experimenter if they should continue, and others told him they wanted to stop. Sometimes they asked the experimenter to look in on the learner and sometimes asked if he would take complete responsibility for what happened. No matter what the teacher asked or how he protested, the experimenter only said, "The experiment requires that we go on," or "please continue, teacher," or "Although the shocks may be painful, they are not dangerous," or "Go on to the next trial, please," or "It is absolutely essential that you go on." The experimenter mechanically continued to give these replies, assuring the teachers that they would not be responsible. If the teacher adamantly refused to continue, the experimenter said, "You have no choice but to go on." Milgram wanted to know how many subjects would defy the orders of the experimenters and stop. How would you behave in this situation?

As you might have guessed, the "learner" in Milgram's experiments was not a real subject but a confederate, and the shock machine did not really deliver shocks. After the experiment, the real subjects, the teachers, were told the truth. However, during the experiment they were convinced that the learner was another subject just like themselves.

Of those who knew about Milgram's proposed work before he started, few felt that he would learn very much. They felt that no one would continue shocking the learner once it was clear he was suffering. Infact, 40 psychiatrists at a leading medical school predicted that les than one tenth of 1 percent of the subjects would comply completely.

We now know how wrong these experts were. In an earlier version of this experiment, the learner did not complain or scream. It never occurred to Milgram that this embellishment would be necessary to make some teachers stop. However, if the teacher was completely out of contact with the learner, obedience was nearly total. In a variation called the remote condition, the subject could hear pounding on the walls but could not hear the learner's voice. Under these conditions 65 percent of the subjects were fully obedient. In the previously described voice feedback condition, 62.5 percent of the teachers continued to the end.

What happens when the victim is positioned closer to the teacher? In the proximity condition, the learner, portrayed by a professional actor who kicked and screamed, was seated only 1 ½ feet away. Here, 40 percent of the subjects were fully obedient. Going one step further, Milgram conducted a touch – proximity condition, where the teacher actually had to push the learner's arm down on an electric grid. In this situation, obedience dropped to 30 percent.

How can we best explain the totally unexpected degree to obedience in this research? While there are particular aspects of Milgram's situation, such as the gradual increase in the level of shock that entrap its subjects, recent research has shown that obedience to authority is actually quite general. It occurs in different cultures, affecting children as well as adults. A key factor in obedience to authority is the concept of responsibility. In Milgram's experiments subject after subject raised the issue of responsibility should harm come to the learner. Although the experimenter did not always discuss it, when he did say," I'm responsible for what goes on here," the subjects showed visible relief. Thus the idea that "I am not responsible" is crucial in convincing subjects to obey. Other studies show that obedience in sharply reduced when the authority tells subjects that they are responsible for any negative consequences. What is surprising is that subjects will so readily assign responsibility to someone else and deny it

themselves. This process is called the **diffusion of responsibility** defined as the phenomenon whereby being part of a group lowers each person's sense of responsibility. Milgram believed that diffusion of responsibility is crucial in understanding the murder of six million Jews in Europe during World War II. Individual involved in this massacre often stated that they were just "Carrying our orders." The Jonestown massacre in 1978 shows, again, the extremes that people will go to in following orders.

The Reverend Jim Jones started his People's Temple Full Gospel Church in Indiana during the 1960s. He was known as a flamboyant and charismatic leader who performed seemingly miraculous feats of faith healing and contributed large amounts of money to civil – rights and other liberal causes in the Midwest. In 1965 Jones took his church to California. He became an important figure in San Francisco, providing a refuge for minorities, the elderly, drug addicts, and others who needed help and protection. The People's Temple had an important impact on many election in the Bay Area and was responsible for turning out large crowds for political rallies. But after rumors started to spread about beatings, forced marriages, and staged faith healings, Jones and his followers decided to leave the United States and establish the People's Temple in Jonestown, Guyana.

Jim Jones demanded unquestioned obedience to his authority. Trouble began when people tried to leave the temple. Jones resisted all such challenged to his supremacy. By 1978 there was enough concern about Jonestown that Congressman Leo Ryan of California decided to investigate firsthand.

We don't know what Leo Ryan was going to report to the Congress and the press about his findings. We do know that he offered to take back to the United States anyone who wanted to go. Several people said they wanted to return, and none of Jim Jones' exhortations could change their minds. However, neither Ryan nor the defector ever left South America. A group of Jones' lieutenants shot them down at the airstrip. Then came the ultimate horror.

Jones had maintained a high level of fear in his colony. He kept preaching that outside forces threatening the work of the People's Temple and that its members had to be prepared for the worst. He said they must die rather then let outsiders subvert their work. Several times Jones ordered his followers to "rehearse" a mass suicide, in which they were to drink Kook-Aid laced with cyanide and prepare to die within 5 minutes. After Ryan had been shot, Jones ordered his followed to line up and drink the poisoned Kool – Aid. This time it was no rehearsal or practice run. Most people obeyed Jones's orders freely and conformed with the group, but some apparently tried to resist or escape. Most of them were forced to join the mass death ritual. More than 900 people died in the mass murder – suicide at Jonestown.

The Guyana incidents show the extreme destruction that powerful authority can direct when people turn responsibility for their actions to others. We will see that diffusion of responsibility has been used to explain several others kinds of group behavior including the decision on whether to help a person in need.

Compliance Without Pressure

Milgram's research shows us that people can be induced to comply with the directives of authority even when the behavior required is against their wishes and values. In our day-to-day experience, however, we re seldom exposed to such direct pressure to perform such disagreeable acts. Often the pressure to conform or comply is more subtle. In this section we

shall consider research on three subtle yet powerful techniques that can lead people to comply without feeling pressured.

The Foot – in – the – Door Technique

One method of obtaining compliance, sometimes used by salespeople, is called the **foot-in-the-door technique**. This technique involves getting people to comply with small requests before asking them to comply with larger ones. For example a life insurance salesperson may ask you to discuss your financial plans, sign a form to make a small change in your policy, or give some information. After you have agreed to these small requests, the salesperson may ask you to purchase more insurance. Are you more likely to buy after the salesperson has gotten a "foot in the door" by obtaining your compliance with small requests?

An experiment designed to answer this question showed that people were more likely to agree to a large request after they had agreed to a small one. The subjects in this experiment were housewives who lived in a suburban area of California. There were two groups. Subjects in one group were simply asked to put up a huge sign on their front lawns that said, "DRIVE CAREFULLY." Subjects in the second group were first asked to put up a small sign in a window of their home encouraging people to drive safely. Most of the women in the second group complied with this request. Whether or not they had complied, several days late they were asked to put up the large lawn sign.

Only 16.7 percent of the subjects in the first group, who were not asked to put up the small sign, agreed to put up the large sign. However, 76 percent of those in the second group, who were first asked to put up the small sign, put up the large one. Thus, complying with a small request made people more likely to agree to a large one.

One reason for this might be that agreeing to the first request makes people feel committed to being nice to the person making that request. A second reason might be that agreeing to the first request makes people feel committed to the specific cause of safe driving. However, Freedman and Fraser showed that neither of these reasons is a sufficient explanation. Even when people who had been asked to comply with a small request were later approached by an entirely different person to comply with an entirely unrelated large request, they were much more likely to agree to this large request than were people who had not been asked to agree to some small request.

What, then is the explanation for the foot – in – the – door findings? Recent studies emphasize self – perception theory. Self – perception theory says that we infer our attitudes and traits from our behavior, as long as we eel that our behavior has been freely chosen. For example, we know that we like spinach if we freely eat it. How does this work with the foot – in – the – door situation? When people agree to a small request, they come to see themselves as the kind of person who helps out and gets involved in causes. To act consistently with this new self – image, they agree to the subsequent large requests.

The Door – in – the – Face Technique

Foot – in – the – door research shows that people are more likely to comply with a large request if they have previously complied with a smaller one. Therefore it may surprise you to learn that people are also more likely to comply with a request if they have previously turned down a larger request.

Consider the following situation. A person collecting money for a charity you support asks you to make a $100 donation. Most of us would probably gasp and say no. suppose the person then said, "Well, all right, can you give us $10?" What would happen then? You would probably sign with relief and say yes. You have just been caught by the **door – in – the – face,** a technique a which a person who has refused to comply with a large request is more likely to comply with a small or moderate one. Later research has shown that this result occurs only when the same person makes the second request and when he or she makes it immediately.

This pattern of findings can be explained in terms of self – perceptions and considerations of fairness and equity. By giving up on the large request and asking for a smaller favor, the asker has, so to speak, met you halfway. People usually feel that it seems only fair to agree to the small request since the asker has made a concession and not pushed them to comply with the big favor. However, these "equity" consideration operate only if the same person makes the second request. Furthermore, if several days go by, the asker's concession is forgotten, and self – perception ("I am not the kind of person who agrees to this kind of favor") sets in.

Lowballing

A third technique for gaining compliance without pressure in referred to as the lowball technique. Suppose you have agreed to take part in a psychological experiment, without knowing too much about the details. Then you are informed that you have to show up at 7 A.M. to participate. Would you still do it? Research has indicated that people are more likely to show up at 7 A.M. if they had first made a general agreement to participate than if they were told about the 7 A.M. starting time at the beginning. Getting people to participate in a 7 A.M. experiment by getting a general commitment and then giving them the bad news about the starting time is an example of the lowball technique. In general, **lowballing** can be defined as getting people to agree to an action and then changing the agreement by telling them that the action will be less rewarding or more costly than was originally stated or implied. An auto salesman might use this technique to sell a car by agreeing on a favorable price and then changing it to a higher price, perhaps telling the customer that his manager had disapproved the deal, or that some of the options the customer had wanted wouldn't be available at the agreed – on price. Why does the lowball technique work? Some evidence suggest that people form a commitment to performing an action, such as buying a car or showing up for an experiment, and that the commitment makes them carry through even when the desirability of performing the action is reduced. Another possibility is that the initial commitment crest an obligation to a specific person rather than to a specific action. Consistent with this hypothesis is a study showing that lowballing only works if the person who presents the later "bad news" that changes the agreement is the same person who elicited the original commitment.

In this study, subjects wee asked to participated in a study even though extra course credit that had been promised originally was suddenly made unavailable. This attempt at lowballing only worked when the person who explained that the extra credit would no longer be available was the same person who had elicited the original commitment. When a different person explained that there would be no extra credit but asked subjects to participate anyway, very few of them complied. Thus, like the door-in-the-face technique, lowballing is only successful when a person is able to create an obligation through his or her interaction with another person. In all three of these compliance – without – pressure technique, apparently people's initial agreement – or refusal – to comply with a request makes them more likely to agree to perform a subsequent, distinctly more costly behavior.

Aggression and Altruism

During the recent conflict between Israeli settlers and Palestinian residents in occupied Arab territory, world opinion was outraged when several Israeli soldiers buried alive a young Palestinian. At about the same time a man in the United States was killed when he stepped into the path of an oncoming truck to rescue two children. Taking lives and saving lives are our most dramatic examples of aggression and altruism. They make us wonder how the same creature, the human being, could be capable of both actions, and they call to mind William Blake's haunting lines in his poem about the deadly tiger:

"Did he smile his work to see? Did he who made the Lamb make thee?"

how is it possible for living beings to be created so differently, and how could individuals of one species, homo sapiens, display such divergent behavior? Even more puzzling, how can we account for the fact that a single person, for example, U.S. Army General and President Andrew Jackson, can lead a life full of acts of both barbarous cruelty as well as tenderness, self – sacrifice, and sensitivity? Although we may never be able to fully answer these questions, social psychological research on aggression and altruism gives us some important insights.

Aggression can be defined as behavior that one person enacts with the intention of harming or destroying another person or object. Psychologists have debated the causes of aggression for many years. These debates have centered around the nature – nurture question: is aggression innate, that is, programmed into human being from birth, or is it learned from various environmental influences? Older theories of aggression suggested in one way or another that aggression suggested in one way or another that aggressive behavior is innate. Later study has emphasized the way the environment influences us to be aggressive. We shall present both views and attempt to tie together some of the strands of evidence.

Instinct Theories of Aggression

Seventeenth – century political philosopher Thomas Hobbes argued that people are naturally competitive and hostile. They are interested only in their own power and in advantage over others. For this reason, they need government to prevent constant conflict and mutual destruction.

Sigmund Freud's theories echoed Hobbes pessimistic view of human nature. For many years Freud's writings emphasized eros, the human drive for pleasure. However, after observing the unprecedented and seemingly interminable carnage of World War I, Freud postulated a second drive, thanatos, directed toward self – destruction and death. Freud felt that this drive to return to an inanimate, life-less state, conflicted with the pleasure drive and was satisfied by being turned outward. The result was aggression toward others. Unless there was a more acceptable way to express thanatos, Freud felt people would act aggressively from time to time. Thus Freud implied that people need to express hostile and destructive impulses periodically, just as they need to eat, drink and express sexual needs.

Freud was not the only person propose that aggression in inborn. In his well – known book On Aggression, Koard Lorenz proposed that aggression in all animals, human beings included, is instinctive. He argued that because aggressive behavior is adaptive for animals, they evolved with an inborn tendency to aggress. He noted, however, that most animals have "built – in safety devices". These include rituals, such as exposing their throats, which signal submission and end conflicts. These safety devices prevent animals from killing members of their own

species when they fight for territory or dominance. Human beings, Lorenz argued, are biologically weaker, "basically harmless," and therefore do not have strong, compensation safety devices. However, once we acquire the ability to kill other human beings through our weapons technology, we have no compensating biological safety devices to stop us short of using those weapons. We do not, for example, follow submission gestures form our fellow human beings by stopping our attacks.

There are many difficulties with instinct theories of aggression. First, there is considerable evidence that learning plays a very important role in aggression. One classic study showed that kittens who were not permitted to observe their mothers hunting rats or who were raised with rats would not attack these animals. Furthermore, it may be that animals are reinforced for aggressive behavior by gaining dominance and sexual privileges in their group. Thus their fighting could be explained by external rewards rather than internal drives. Finally, instinct theories do not explain why aggression is more prevalent in some situations than others. One approach that does try to explain when people will be aggressive is the frustration – aggression hypothesis.

The Frustration – Aggression Hypothesis

In 1939, the year of Freud's death, psychologist John Dollard and his colleagues at Yale University published a book entitled Frustration and Aggression. This well – known work was influenced both by Freudian thinking and by developments in learning theory. The authors proposed the **frustration aggression hypothesis,** the view that "frustration always to leads to aggression" and that "aggression is always a consequence of frustration". Thus the authors argued that while aggression was an innate response, it would be elicited only in specific situations. Whenever an important need, such as for food, water, recognition, or achievement, is thwarted, the resulting frustration produce an aggressive response.

Research conducted soon after the publication of Frustration and Aggression showed some evidence that aggression does increase under frustrating circumstances. In one study, young children were shown an attractive set of toys but were prevented from playing with them. After an agonizing period of frustration, the children were eventually allowed access to the toys, which they threw, stomped, and smashed. In comparison, children who had not been frustrated did not throw, stomp, or smash the toys. In this case, frustration did lead to aggression.

The research on frustration and aggression suggested many hypotheses about both how and when people will behave aggressively. For example, the aggressive response may not always be directed at the person or objects causing the frustration. This may be too dangerous or inconsistent with moral values. Instead, the aggression may be temporarily held in and later displaced against someone or something else in a safe and socially approved way. The target of this displaced aggression is called a scapegoat. The concept of displaced aggression, or scapegoating, is often used to account for racial or ethnic discrimination. People who are frustrated by economic or other circumstances, this view point holds, will express their anger against certain groups who are powerless and who are deemed to deserve hostile treatment. A correlational study of lynchings of blacks is consistent with this view. Hovland and Sears found that from 1882 to 1930 the number of lynchings per year in southern states was highly correlated with the price of cotton. When prices were low, indicating frustrating economic conditions, the number of lynchings increased.

Later research has qualified the frustration – aggression hypothesis. Leonard Berkowitz has suggested that frustration produces anger and a readiness to aggress. However, Berkowitz has

also shown that certain cues are needed to convert this readiness into actual aggression. These cues are environmental stimuli associated either with aggressive behavior or with the frustrating object or person. In one study, for example, subjects were insulted and berated by a confederate for failing to complete a jigsaw puzzle. Then the subjects watched a film in which the actor Kirk Douglas was brutally beaten. After the film the subjects were given an opportunity to show aggression by electrically shocking the confederate. By this time the subjects had learned that the confederate's name was either Bob or Kirk. Subjects used higher intensity shocks against the confederate if his name turned out to be Kirk. Because of its association with the brutality in the film, the name Kirk served as a cue to aggressive behavior.

Although the results of this and other studies lend powerful support to the frustration aggression hypothesis, other research has revealed shortcomings. For example, some research has shown that frustration does not always lead to aggression. Other studies have shown that frustration can produce different responses in different people in different responses in different people in different situations. Overall, research suggests that frustration and aggression are related. Frustration does not always lead to aggression, and many non-frustrating circumstances and situations can also elicit aggression. For example, as we will see in the next section, arousal due to a variety of sources can, at times, lead to aggression.

Arousal and Aggression

Suppose you are out riding a bicycle, a attempting to get to the top of a steep hill without getting off your bike and walking. You are already breathing hard from a strenuous ride as you pedal with all your strength to get to the top. You are feeling exhilarated and proud of yourself until a motorist yells at you to get out of the road. Naturally, the motorist makes you angry, but much to your surprise, you uncharacteristically yell back and say something distinctly aggressive. Why would you react in such a way? It may be that the arousal from your had bike riding was transferred or channeled into your aggressive reaction to the motorist. This transferred arousal may increase the probability that your anger will cause you to act aggressively or it may magnify whatever aggressive response you make. The idea that arousal can be transferred from one source to another is called the theory of excitation transfer. The basic concept is that arousal fro one source is channeled into the energizes some other response. For example, a young woman might react more joyously to a beautifully symphony if she is already aroused by romantic feelings for her date. There is evidence that aggression can be fueled by the arousal generated from exercise, playing competitive games, or certain kinds of music. Aggression does not always follow such arousal. The person must have some disposition to react aggressively to the situation, and he or she must incorrectly attribute the arousal to the aggression producing event rather than to the correct source, such as exercise.

Sexual arousal is of particular concern to excitation transfer researchers and others. Can sexual arousal be channeled into aggressive behavior? This question has taken on increased importance with the debate over the effects of pornography. Some opponents of pornography have argued that in addition to degrading women, pornography may have the harmful consequence of creating arousal in its observes, an arousal which is subsequently transferred into aggressive behavior. Is this true?

Research on the effects of watching sexually explicit films has yielded contradictory results. Some studies have indicated that exposure to erotica decreases aggression; others have indicated the opposite. At present, social psychologists believe that mild forms of erotica, such as nudes from Playboy magazine, decrease or have no effect on aggression and do not have a

significant effect on attitudes or beliefs about women. However, there is also evidence that violent pornography, including the type seen in R – rated slasher movies, can lead to a desensitization to violence and an increase in aggressive behavior. Since desensitization can lead people to become less inhibited from behaving aggressively, it may be responsible for the increase in aggression.

One research study in this area indicates how complex the relationship between sexually arousing films are aggression can be. Male subjects were shown one of four films: a neutral film of a talk show, an erotic but nonviolent film depicting a couple making love, or one of two violent, aggressive films in which two men assaulted and had sex with a woman. In one version of the violent film, the woman suffered throughout the assault. In the other, she was shown to become a willing participant in the violent sex. After seeing one of these four films, a second condition was introduced: subjects in one group were insulted and angered by a female confederate; subjects in a second group were not. Finally, all subjects were presented with the opportunity to retaliate against the female confederate. There was little aggression following the neutral film, and no increased aggression following the nonviolent erotic film – for either angered or nonangered subjects. However, both groups of subjects, angered and nonangered, behaved more aggressively when they had seen the violent film in which the woman seemed to enjoy the sexual assault. And when subjects had seen the violent film in which the woman suffered throughout the sexual assault, nonangered subjects did not have more aggressively but angered subjects did. In short, viewing violent sexual film increased aggression for all subjects if the woman seemed to enjoy the violence and had the same effect for angered subjects, even when the assaulted women was obviously suffering. From these studies, researchers concluded that sexual excitement, when combined with the observation of aggressive behavior in the sexually arousing material, can lead to an increase in aggression. In the next section we will examine the social learning theory explanation of why the observation of violence leads to aggression.

Social Learning and Aggression

The social learning theory explanation for aggression is quite different from the instinct and frustration – aggression approaches. Social learning theory rejects the idea that aggressive behavior is inborn. Instead, social learning theory attempts to specify just how people learn aggressive behavior and which social conditions produce and maintain aggressiveness.

Social learning theorists have suggested that aggressive behaviors are learned through reinforcement and the imitation of aggressive models. People may be reinforced or rewarded for aggressive behavior in a number of ways. Children who succeed in getting to the head of a line or in playing with the most desirable toys by being pushy will quickly learn to act aggressively. In this case, aggressive behavior is directly reinforcement.

Children also learn through the process of imitation, a type of learning called observational learning. This involves observing other people who serve as models for behavior. For example, an adult who is successful in being aggressive may become a model for a child, and the child's own aggressive tendencies will be strengthened through vicarious reinforcement. The child will come to expect reinforcement or a reward for behaving like the aggressive model. In a classic study by Albert Bandura and his colleagues, children observed models attacking an inflated plastic Bobo doll. Later the children were allowed to play with the doll themselves. Those who had observed an aggressive model were aggressive toward the doll and directly imitated many of the model's specific behaviors.

One consistent finding in later research was that children will imitate the behavior of live models, filmed humans, and cartoon characters all to about the same degree. These findings relate to a crucially important social issue: what are the effects of frequently watching televised violence? Is it possible that children are being taught to express aggressiveness? Over 2500 research studies have tried to answer these questions.

Television and Aggression

In 1982 the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) released its analysis of more than 10 years of research into the effect of watching television. The major conclusion is by now a familiar one. Watching violence on television causes children and adolescents to behave more aggressively. The response of the television network is also familiar. They claim that the report is filled with inaccuracies and the NIMH's review of the 2500 studies was biased and uncritical. We should recognize from the outset that people are of two minds about this issue.

First, let us consider some basic data about what is on television on how much people watch it. Since 1967, the percentage of television shows containing violent episodes has remained about the same, but the number of violent episodes has remained about the same, but the number of violent episodes per show has steadily increased. Prime – time shows that portray violence currently average about 5 violent acts per hour. On children's weekend shows, mostly cartons, the count in 18 violent acts per hour. In 1979 the networks agreed to a code limiting the amount of violence in cartoons. However, a recent study by Cramer and Mechem found no decrease in the amount of violence shown in cartoons. If any thing, the newer cartoons are even more violent and less entertaining.

A steady increase in television viewing closely parallels the rising proportion of violence. In 1965- 66, the Nielsen ratings reported that the average American household watched television 5 hours and 30 minutes a day. By 1980 – 81, the daily average had risen to 6 hours and 44 minutes. In 1987 twelve – year – old children alone watched about 4 hours of television every day.

It certainly is not implausible, then, to think that people – adults and children might be influenced by the violence they watch on television. In other domains, certainly, television producers claim that their medium does influence behavior. For example, they sell 30 – second segments of air time for many thousands of dollars, based on their claim that commercials influence behavior. But what evidence is there that televised violence influence children and adolescents to become aggressive?

Essentially, two kinds of studies address this issue. First are laboratory studies, whose crucial contribution is to show a casual relationship between watching televised violence and behaving aggressively. The study by Liebert and Baron discussed in chapter 1 is a good example. Subjects were randomly assigned to two groups. One group watched a violent television show, "The Untouchables," while a second group watched an equally engaging and arousing, but nonviolent, sports competition. Afterwards the children were allowed to play, while observers recorded their aggressive acts. The children who had watched the violent program behaved more aggressively than those who had watched the sports competition. This kind of study shows that televised violence does lead directly to aggressive behavior.

The second kind of study, the field study, tells us whether there is a correlation between televised violence and aggression outside the lab. Hundreds of these studies generally show the same results: children who watch more televised violence at home are reported to behave more aggressively. One important study of this kind was conducted on several hundred subjects over a 10 – year period. Lefkowitz and his colleagues showed that boys who watched more violet television in the third grade were rated as more aggressive by their peers and teachers at age 19 – ten years later. Follow – up studies with these same subjects showed that the group of third – graders that was more likely to watch violent television at age 8 was also more likely to be convicted of a serious crime by age 30. Another study demonstrated that during the 1970s homicide rates in the United States increased during the week after a heavyweight championship fight. These findings suggest the long-term effect of watching televised violence. Because they are correlational, these studies do not prove that televised violence causes aggressive behavior. A review of these studies concludes that we need more evidence before deciding that viewing televised violence causes people in natural settings to be more aggressive.

The reason the debate continues is that no study can combine the best features of both kinds of study, the demonstration of cause and effect found in the laboratory experiments and the demonstration of a general, real – world relationships found in field studies. Just as no experimenter can ethically investigate the connection between smoking and lung cancer by randomly assigning some people to smoke two packs of cigarettes a day for 15 years and others to abstain completely from smoking, the television – watching habits of children cannot be controlled. Thus there will be continued debate. Eventually parents will have to decide if the results of laboratory experiments and field studies give sufficient support to the idea that violence on television is harmful. Then parents will have to decide whether they want to do anything about it, such as controlling the kind and amount of television their children watch.

In the meantime some other findings of the NIMH study can be pondered. People who watch television very frequently are more likely to view the world as a "mean and scary" place and to trust other people less. Also, children who watch more television than their peers have lower reading and IQ scores. In one town, children's reading scores fell sharply two years after television was first introduced. Cause and effect have not been conclusively demonstrated, but these findings must give us pause.

Helping and Altruism

Altruism is defined as the unselfish helping of other people. We have seen that people can be influenced to behave aggressively merely by observing other people behave aggressively. Can observing other's unselfish behavior also influence people to behave altruistically? Unlike the case for aggression, no comprehensive general theories have been proposed to explain altruism. Nevertheless, psychologists remain interested in altruism partly because helping others is often seen as an ideal. Ironically, the modern study of altruism began with a distressing instance of people's failure to help.

In 1964, a woman named Kitty Genovese was brutally stabbed to death near her apartment in Queens, New York. At one point, the assailant ran away and then came back to stab her again to make sure she was dead. During the 30 minutes that the attack took place, Kitty Genovese cried out for help and begged for someone to intervene. Out of the 38 people who heard or watched from their apartments, not one even called the police. The incident gained national publicity. People wondered how the apparent indifference and apathy of so many people in our society could be explained. Are we really that uncaring?

Two social psychologists, John Darley and Bibb Latane, felt that the best way to understand situations like the Kitty Genovese murder is to find out why normally helpful people might not intervene and help in specific situations. One of the factors that Darley and Latane thought was important in the Kitty Genovese incident was the number of bystanders. While the news media focused on the number of people who didn't help as the most astonishing aspect of the case, Darley and Latane felt that perhaps Kitty Genovese was not helped precisely because there were so many bystanders. Their research has considered several ways in which the presence of other people can inhibit helping. For example, other people's behavior can lead us to define an ambiguous situations as not serious or dangerous. In addition, the presence of other bystanders in an emergency situation can lead to the diffusion of responsibility.

Defining the Situation

When a potential emergency occurs, people must clarify what is happening. Is the situation dangerous? Does that person need help? These critical questions have a substantial impact on how people respond. Several studies by Darley and Latane have shown that people are less likely to define a situation as dangerous if other people are present.

In one study, subjects were shown into a room to fill out some questionnaires. In some cases they were along, in other cases other subjects were present. Then, as part of the experiment, steam, which resembled smoke, began to pour through a vent in the wall. Darley and Latane measured how quickly subjects reacted to what was happening. They found that subjects reacted most quickly when they were alone. The more people there were in the room, the slower anyone was to act. Sometimes no one reacted until the steam was so thick that it was difficult to see the questionnaire. In another study, subjects heard a female experimenter fall, cry out, and moan for nearly a minute. Sometimes the subjects were alone, sometimes they were with one other person. Again, subjects were slower to respond and offer help when they were with another person.

How can we account for these results? Subjects unintentionally influenced each other to define the situation as not dangerous. In post experimental interviews, the subjects reported feeling very hesitant about showing anxieties and uncertainties. Most subjects looked to others to see if they seemed upset. Of course, the others were trying to conceal their own concerns and so they

appeared calm. It looked as if they were not worried and did not think the situation was an emergency. Thus the individual defined the situation as safe. In this way each subject influenced the others to think there was no cause for alarm.

Diffusing Responsibility

Even if people define a situation as an emergency, they still may decide that they have no responsibility to take action. This is especially likely to take place if there are other people around who could help. People may reason that someone else should and probably will intervene. Thus no single individual feels responsible for helping. As we have seen before, the term for this phenomenon is diffusion of responsibility.

Darley and Latane conducted an experiment to see whether the number of bystanders in an emergency situation can create diffusion of responsibility and thus reduce the frequency of help given to a victim in need. In this study, female subjects participated in a group discussion with other men and women. The subjects were isolated from one another and communicated over an intercom system. One of the participants, who was actually a confederate of the experimenter, mentioned that he had epilepsy. Later in the discussion, this same person began to have a mock seizure and begged for help. The independent variable in the study was the number of other people the subjects believed were of other people the subjects believed were involved in the discussion. Some women thought they were the only other person, others thought there was one other person besides themselves and the victim. A third group thought there was a total of six people: themselves, the victim, and four others. Darley and Latane measured the number of subjects who had responded by the end of the seizure and the average amount of time it took them to respond in each of the three conditions. Quite clearly, subjects generally responded and responded quickly when they thought they were the only potential helper. Here there could be no diffusion of responsibility. If there was one or four other potential helpers, subjects responded neither as frequently nor as quickly.

Arousal and Reward / Cost Analysis

Even when a bystander defines a situation as dangerous and accepts responsibility, he or she may not necessarily take action. An emergency situation can be defined as a frightening, arousing event. According to one recent theory, how people act in the emergency depends on how they appraise the rewards and costs associated with various ways of reducing their arousal. Let us consider the two aspects of what has come to be called the arousal theory of behavior in emergencies, and second, how do rewards and costs affect emergency behavior?

Arousal theory proposes that the arousal generated by seeing an emergency situation becomes more and more unpleasant the longer it continues; the bystander becomes motivated to reduce this arousal. The way a person chooses to reduce the arousal varies according to the rewards and costs in the situation, but in many case helping directly is the best way to reduce the arousal quickly and completely. Consistent with the arousal theory, a recent study demonstrated that the more physiologically aroused that subjects in an emergency situation become, the more likely they are to help – and that when they do help, they help more quickly.

While high arousal generates rapid helping in many situations, the precise method of reducing emergency – produced arousal depends on rewards and costs. What are the rewards and costs involved in helping and not helping? The rewards of helping would include good feelings about yourself and perhaps praise from others. The costs of helping might include getting involved in what could be an embarrassing, distasteful, or even dangerous situation. The reward of not

helping would be the freedom to go about your normal business; the costs would be guilt or the disapproval of others. Psychologists have learned about the importance of rewards and, particularly, costs, in emergencies from several fascinating studies done on the subway systems of New York City and Philadelphia.

In the first study, student experimenters pretended to collapse in subway cars moderately full of people. They would simply fall to the floor and wait to see if they were helped. In some cases the students collapsing carried a cane, suggesting that he collapsed because he was lame. In other cases the student wore a jacket reeking of liquor and carried a bottle in a brown paper bag. In this case there was a different, but equally obvious, cause of the student's collapse. Observers who were part of the experiment watched to see what happened. As predicted by the reward – cost analysis, help was offered much less often in the "drunk" trials than in the "lame" trails. A full 90 percent of the "lame" victims were helped within 70 seconds. Only 20 percent of the "drunk" victims were helped within 70 seconds. It is easy to see how passengers on the subway might think that the costs of not helping a drunk person would be low (who would really blame me for not getting involved with a drunk?) and the costs of helping as relatively high (he might get physically ill, make a fuss, or act violently).

In two – follow – up studies, the effect of other personal characteristics on helping was investigated. In one, the person who collapsed bit off a capsule of red dye resembling blood and let it trickle down his chin. Here the rate of helping was reduced from about 90 to 60 percent. People were much more likely to try to get someone else to help, perhaps someone who was more knowledgeable and competent in emergency situations. An interesting but depressing result emerged from a second follow – up study. When the victim had an ugly facial birthmark, help was significantly reduced, from about 86 to 61 percent. Interacting with a stigmatized person is very costly for some individuals, which can lead them to ignore these people.

The data from these and other studies suggest that the rewards an costs involved in specific emergency situations greatly affect whether help is forthcoming. When the costs of helping are low (there's no danger or difficulty) and the costs of not helping are high (others would blame and criticize you), people are likely to intervene directly and help. When the costs of both helping (this might be dangerous or this person seems very strange) and not helping (something needs to be done) are high, the most likely response is to help indirectly, usually by getting someone who is trained to act in such situations. An alternative response is to redefine the situation in ways that make it less costly not to help. When the costs of helping are high (this drunk might be violent) and the costs of not helping are low (no one will blame me for not helping this person), people generally will ignore the victim or leave the scene. When the costs of both helping and not helping are low, the norms of the situation will determine what people do. Responses can vary greatly here.

Helping: Egoism or Altruism?

One of the critical questions in the research on helping is, why exactly do people help in emergency situations. What is the motivation? Most researchers agree the emergency situations create negative emotional states, but they disagree about why these feelings lead to helping. Some argue that the reason people help is basically selfish or egoistic – they help the person in trouble to relieve their own negative feelings, such as moods of sadness or anxiety. Others argue that people are genuinely altruistic – they want to help even though they receive no benefit in return. This "empathy – altruism" theory holds that people feel empathic concern

when other people are in difficult and help to relive the distress of the person in trouble, not to relieve their own emotional distress.

Research addressing the question of whether altruistic or egoistic motives influence people to help is continuing and it is difficult to say at present which theory is correct. The most recent research supports the empathy – altruism theory, but the final answer is not yet in. One important factor seems to be whether people respond to emergency situations predominantly with reactions of personal distress or reactions of empathic concern. People who respond with reactions of empathic concern are more likely to help. That is, concern for the other person rather than one's own distress seems to be a more powerful motivation to help.

What then can we conclude about helping and altruism? When people do help, they usually feel very good about themselves. The anticipation of such feelings motivates the giving of assistance in many circumstances. Still, we have seen that often people do not help because they are unsure and afraid. They are fearful of acting inappropriately and they are fearful of getting involved in something that might be time – consuming, dangerous, or upsetting. As Maslow suggests our need for safety takes precedence over our need for esteem. We would rather be safe than a Good Samarithan. This does not mean that people have little capacity for goodness and kindness. It does mean that this capacity can be deflected by concerns with safety and, to some extent, convenience. The impulse to help does not flourish in a busy, demanding, and often threatening world.

Decision Making in Groups

In the preceding sections we considered how individual are influenced by other people. In this section we will consider how a group of people as a whole is influenced by several processes that occurs within the group, including some of the processes we have already discussed, such as conformity pressures and the tendency to act aggressively.

Our major concern is how individuals in groups combine their various perspectives and talents to make decisions. How do they construct a single policy or plan out of their individual concerns and biases? Does the group output reflect the best of the individual inputs or do pressures to conform and to obey the orders of authority figures lead to poor collective decision making?

Some of the very early thinking about groups was extremely negative. For example, in his book The Crowd, Gustave Le Bon argued that human beings had a two-part personality. The top, conscious part was unique to the individual. The bottom part was unconscious and was the same for everyone. This unconscious half of the personality was thought to contain base desires and instincts. Only the conscious part of the human psyche contained any semblance of dignity and virtue.

Ordinarily, according to Le Bon, the conscious aspect of the personality guided behavior. But in a large group or a crowd, this layer of functioning is somehow striped away and the seething instinct from below take over.

Accounts of persons in panic situations, such as theatre fires, makes us think that LeBon was right. So does the violence, such as in lynchings, occasionally observed in certain large crowds. On the other hand, some studies show that even large groups can coordinate work effectively

and correct for individual biases and errors. How exactly do individuals in groups work together?

Group Polarization

During the Korean War, President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, and General Mac-Arthur met in the Pacific to discuss military strategy. All there were known to oppose a certain tactic that might draw the Chinese into the war. However, after discussing the options, they chose that particular tactic. As a result, the war expanded, dragged on for several more years, and ended inconclusively. How can their decision be understood? It may have resulted from what is known as a "shift to risk" or "risky shift". A **risky shift** is defined as the tendency of a group to make decisions that are riskier than those that the members of the group would recommend individually. Recent research shows that just as groups sometimes become more risky, they can in other instances become more cautious, and in still other situations become more extreme in any of a number of directions. For example, a group of environmentalists might make a decision favoring stricter, that is, more extreme, air pollution standards than they had favored individually. The risky shift and other instances of groups making extreme decisions are all examples of "group polarization" or "choice shifts". **Group polarization** occurs when a group of people, each member taking a moderate stance on an issue related to a shared value, discusses that issue and in the end takes an extreme stance. In this section we will consider how psychologists, essentially by accident, discovered the risky shift, and later discovered that it was best understood as a specific instance of a group polarization.

Several years ago there was considerable interest in the relationship between risk taking and other personal characteristics such as self – esteem and creative thinking. To explore these issues, psychologists Michael Wallach and Walter Kogan developed a questionnaire to measure how much risk individuals were willing to take in a variety of situations. The measuring device was called the Choice Dilemma Questionnaire or the CDQ. It posed problems such as the one. Subjects were asked to indicate the lowest odds (1, 3, 5, 7, or 9 out of 10) they would accept and still recommend that Mr. J. attempt the escape. Subjects could also decide not to take the risk. Subjects who recommended the risky move, even if the odds a making it were only 3 in 10, took a greater risk than those who demanded a 5 in 10, or 50 – 50 chance of success.

A second example involved an engineer with a heart ailment who could either curtail his activities or undergo a heart operation, which might restore him to perfect health or might kill him. A third example described a college student who had to choose between going to graduate school at a very prestigious university, where the degree would be difficult to achieve but would be very valuable, and another university where the student would be guaranteed a degree but the degree would have much less value. Kogan and Wallach devised 12 dilemmas in all. In every case, subjects were asked to indicate the lowest chances of success they would require before they would recommend the riskier but potentially more rewarding course of action.

Kogan and Wallach originally predicted that groups asked to make unanimous recommendations about risk would simply hit on a compromise position or perhaps make a decision that was slightly more conservative than the average individual recommendation. These predictions were based on books such as William Whyte's The Organization Man, which emphasized how cautious and uncreative people become in groups. However, when people met in groups to discuss and decide the CDQ items, their decision were riskier than the average of their individual recommendations. This "risky shift" has been shown to occur in many different situations. If we look back at the Truman, Acheson, and MacArthur decision about Korea, we

see that they collectively chose a course of action that was riskier than what they individually would have recommended before their meeting. Their decision is an instance of the risky shift with historical importance.

At first researchers thought that "diffusion of responsibility" within the group accounted for the shift to risk. Later, psychologists proposed that risky individuals are dominant and lead the group toward risk. It is now evident that the risky shift occurs because taking risks is valued in our culture. This value lead to two kinds of pressures toward groups shifts to risk.

The first kind of pressure is social comparison. Since people think that it is good to be risky, they compare their recommendations. To some degree they compete to become at least as risky as the others, or slightly more so. The second kind of pressure stemming from the value on risk is in the form of persuasive arguments. Because risk is valued, the arguments most often raised in group discussion favor the risky alternative. Thus group members hear more new arguments favoring risk than caution. The predominance of those arguments helps persuade people to become riskier. Both of these pressures probably operate together. People are motivated by comparison and competition to become riskier. This motivation makes them receptive to the arguments favoring risk that are likely to dominate the discussion.

The risky shift was an important discovery in the attempt to understand decision – making in groups. We know now that the risky shift is jut one instance of the more general phenomenon called group polarization. Let us first consider the fact that there can be group polarization, or choice shifts, towards cautions as well as toward risk. Then we will show that group can polarize toward other values as well.

Two of the items on the original CDQ did not consistently produce shifts to risk. In addition, several investigators have written dilemmas that regularly produce shifts in the direction of cautions. Whether there is a shifts to risk or cautions seems to depend on the values made salient or important in specific dilemmas. Since risk is a general value in the culture, it is usually salient. However, when life or the security and welfare of dependent children are at stake, risk can seem foolhardy. Then a value toward protecting others can predominate and produce a shift toward caution.

Other values can also lead to group polarization. A study was conducted with secondary – school students in France who admired Charles de Gaulle disliked Americans. After the discussions their attitude were again assessed. The students who discussed de Gaulle became more positive toward him. The students who discussed Americans became more negative. In a similar study conducted in the United States, prejudiced high – school students became more prejudiced after group discussion of racial issues. Unprejudiced students became less prejudiced. Whenever a group makes a decision involving a cherished value, whether it be risk, care for others, the environment, or its own rights, the chances are that the decision will be extreme. No individual wants to be in the position of not being as risky, patriotic, or concerned as his or her peers.

The tendency towards group polarization can lead to irrational decisions in groups. The group might take a biased look at the problems they face and ignore important issues that conflict with its values. Can this happen in real groups, and are there other self-defeating, group decision – making tendencies? We will consider these questions in the following.

Groupthink

Irving Janis, a psychologist at Yale University, has written some disheartening analyses of group processes and decision making. Janis notes that many of the "fiascoes" of United States foreign policy during the last several decades resulted from sloppy decision making by people who fell victim to groupthink. Janis, who coined the term, defines making market by "deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment that results from ingroup pressures". These pressures include the tendency to preserve friendly relations and to seek complete group consensus on important topics. In other words, there is often mindless conformity as shown in the Asch experiments and collective misjudgment of risk as shown by demonstrations of the risky shift. We can define **groupthink** more simply as a mode of group decision making in which group coherence takes precedence over efficiency. Groupthink occurs because members tend to boost each other's self – esteem and protect each other's ego by seeking concurrence, especially if the stakes are high and there is stress. This drive to seek concurrence, which we saw so clearly in Schachter's Johnny Rocco study, causes groupthink and, in many cases, disastrous policy recommendations and decisions.

How can a group know when it is becoming a victim of groupthink? Janis mentions several symptoms. First, there is an illusion of invulnerability. Because each member in the group supports everyone else, individuals believe they are all smart and talented. Thus they feel they can do anything. Nothing can stop them. Le Bon observed these same feelings in crowds. Second and perhaps most important, there is an illusion of unanimity. Individual decision makers who have doubts about an idea don't mention them so as to preserve the consensus and hot hurt other group member's feelings. Other symptoms include stereotyping opponents or enemies and seeing them as ineffectual and morally inferior, a fear of disapproval, an unquestioned belief in the group's moral superiority, and a shared effort to rationalize and dismiss negative feedback from the outside.

What is the evidence that groupthink has been a problem for decision makers in the United States? Janis discusses several foreign policy fiascoes, including the failure to anticipate the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the Bay of Pigs disaster in 1961, and the escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s. in his analyses of these decisions, Janis finds much evidence of groupthink.

Consider, for example, the Bay of Pigs. This occurred in the first three months of John F. Kennedy's administration. The plan was to overthrow the Cuban government of Fidel Castro by landing a group of Cuban exiles at a spot known as the Bay of Pigs and having them lead a mass uprising against Castro. The invasion force was destroyed by the Cuban army. The affair humiliated the United States and might have led to war with Soviet Union. How could the United States have undertaken such all ill – advised action?

The group in charge of planning made several erroneous assumptions. First, they believed no one would ever know that the United States was responsible the Cuban air force was responsible for the invasion. Second, they thought the Cuban air force was totally ineffective. They also assumed the landings would touch off popular uprisings against Castro. And finally, they believed the invaders could retreat into the mountains if they were strongly opposed. All of these assumptions were totally false and all could have been discredited with only a limited investigation. For example, most newspapers knew the United States government was planning some kind of move against Cuba. CIA polls showed Castro to be very popular. And by simply looking at a good map, the planners would have realized that the invaders would be trapped

trapped if they met with resistance. Although the Kennedy administration blamed the failure on its own inexperience and the difficulties involved in executing an operation planned in the previous administration, it is clear that many of the symptoms of groupthink were present. Consequently, alternatives were not discussed, expert opinion was not consulted, and alternative plans – should there be problems – were not made. Instead the urge to protect each other's ego's and not disturb the consensus led the people in the group to feel they had might the right on their side. The conformity that we saw in Solomon Asch's laboratory at the beginning of the chapter made its way into the highest decision – making centers of the United States government.

Janis thinks that groupthink can be prevented, although policymakers rarely take the necessary steps. One instance where groupthink was avoided again involved the Kennedy administration and Cuba.

In October 1962, spy planes and Cuba revealed that Soviet technicians and engineers were deploying offensive nuclear weapons aimed at the United States. The Soviet foreign minister had promised the United States that this was not happening and that the Soviet Union had no intention of using Cuba as a base from which to threaten America. When the evidence of the Russian actions became known to President Kennedy, he began a series of meetings with his top advisers to plan an appropriate response to the Soviet actions. Because of the Bay of Pigs experience, Kennedy was concerned about the sloppy decisions that can evolve in group policymaking bodies. Consequently, several steps were taken to avoid a recurrence of the Bay of Pigs disaster. These steps were successful. After several days of extreme tension, the Russians agreed to take their missiles from Cuba. In return, the United States promised not to invade Cuba. The situation was resolved in a successful way from the American point of view. The missile crisis represents the Kennedy administration at its best, just as the Bay of Pigs showed it at its worst.

How was groupthink avoided in the missile crisis? There were four major changes. First, there was a new definition of roles for those involves in the planning. No one was regarded as an expert and everyone was responsible for each issue being discussed. In addition, each member of the group was to play "devil's advocate" and challenge other statements to make sure they were sound. Second, there were procedural changes. The group did not isolate itself and adopt a self-confident attitude. New people were brought in to challenge what the group had decided thus far and to offer new suggestions. Third, President Kennedy did not attend all sessions. During these leaderless sessions, participants did not have to deter to his authority or conform to his suggestions to avoid being rejected. Finally, moral considerations were discussed. Instead of just stereotyping the adversary as weak and evil, the group recognized that the Russians were powerful and that it would be inconsistent with American values to launch a surprise attack on Cuba. These steps made the discussions very uncomfortable and tense. Group members were constantly challenged and repeatedly forced to rethink their positions. However, the result was a thorough consideration of the alternatives, their advantages and disadvantages, and various contingency plans. Overall, the quality of decision making was much higher.

Minority Influence on Group Decisions

The tendency to seek concurrence in groups and the illusions of unanimity that results from it lie at the heart of groupthink doubters must be willing to express their views. Individuals who don't agree with the evolving group consensus must make their voices heard. At least in fiction the isolated individual can affect, and even change, the group decision. In the movie Twelve Angry Men, a long juror, portrayed by Henry Fonda, changed the guilty votes of the eleven

others jurors and persuaded them to acquit the defendant. While Twelve Angry Men is not based on fact, in his portrayal Henry Fonda actually performed a number of behaviors which recent research on minority influences shows to be important in group decision making.

If a minority in a group wants to have an impact it must do two things. First, it must become visible, and second it must create tension. That is, it must take a position that other people are aware of. This means overcoming the illusion of unanimity that is so crucial in producing groupthink. Minorities must take themselves heard and make themselves head and make others take notice. Second, the minorities must create tension that will motivate those in the majority to try to deal with their ideas. In *Twelve Angry Men* Henry Fonda made himself noticed by raising his hand to vote not guilty, and he created tension by continuing to press his arguments. Other research on minority influence identifies other important factors. It is essential for the minority to be *consistent* in its stand. It cannot simply take a variety of positions that disagree with the majority. Finally, the minority must be *firm* and *unyielding*. It has to be willing to dig in its heels and be uncompromising.

When a minority makes itself noticed and creates tension by taking an uncompromising and consistent position, it can have a strong impact on the group and stop the typical pattern of conforming to the majority. Recent studies suggest that the minorities have their effect through different processes than the majority. The majority typically influences through overt conformity. As we discussed earlier in this chapter, people often go along with the majority, even if they do not believe it, due to their fear of being rejected. On the other hand, people do not fear the minority. When they are confronted with a consistent, firm minority other people begin to listen carefully to its arguments, to focus on the issues. They try to understand why the minority feels the way it does. As the group begins to think about the issues and the problems it faces, without fear of rejection, it is more likely to thing of novel solutions to problems and to consider a broad range of options. Even if the minority does not persuade the group of its own position, it is likely to make it think carefully, and help it avoid the pitfalls of groupthink.

Leadership

People in groups influence each other in many ways. Le Bon's theory of crowds and the research on groupthink suggest that influence in groups often leads people to aggression, self – destruction, and chaos. Yet we know that groups can also function well, sometimes as a result of minority influence, and often as a result of one person leading the group in productive directions. Leaders come in many shapes and sizes, and they influence groups in extremely varies ways. There are few similarities between communist Ann Landers and politician Jessee Jackson, but they were both leaders. So were Queen Elizabeth and Mikail Gorbachev. What is that these leaders have and do in common? We can define a **leader** as the person who exerts the most influence in a group. And **leadership** as the exercise of influence or power over others. One particularly interesting kind of leader has been identified recently by psychologists and political scientists who have studies the Untied States presidency. These are "transformational leaders", people who can sense and express the unexpressed desire of the nation and change the political system. Both Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan were transformational leaders. Despite the fact that there are many different kinds of leaders, they all have in common the characteristic of exerting the most influence in their groups.

In this section we consider four key questions about leaders and leadership. First, what are the characteristics of successful leaders? Second, what precisely do leaders do? Third, are there

different kinds of leaders, or do they all fit a common mold? Finally, what kinds of leaders are the most effective or successful?

Characteristics of Leaders

Psychologists have studied leaders and leadership for many years. They started with the most direct question: what kinds of people rise to the top and become leaders? They assumed a "great person" or trait theory of leadership when they began with this question. The trait theory holds that most leaders are likely to have certain traits that make them "natural leaders." Is this assumption correct?

Hundreds of studies have investigated the trait of leaders in myriad situations, including the military, Indian tribes, nursery schools, factories, political parties, and nations. The traits that are generally associated with leadership are quite interesting. One is height. Leaders are typically taller than other people. Sheer stature seems to give people authority. Leaders are also older and more intelligent. An especially strong finding is that leaders are verbally fluent and more talkative than followers. Leaders are also generally sociable highly motivated, and energetic. They must combine these various characteristics into the ability to persuade and motivate followers.

A number of recent studies have added to our understanding of leader characteristics. For example, people who emerge as leaders combine an orientation toward success with an orientation toward affiliating with other people. They also score high on measures of self – confidence, achievement, and dominance. In addition, like the transformational leader discussed above, they must be able to perceive the needs and goals of their group members, and then adapt their behavior accordingly. One important question is whether, in most instances, leaders are male. While there are numerous examples of outstandingly successful women leaders, is it true that people generally expect leaders, to be men, and that it is difficult for women to become leaders? A number of studies have addressed this question.

Twenty years ago both men and women expected leaders to be males, and women were less likely to view themselves as potential leaders. The expectation that leaders should e men makes it extra difficult for women to succeed as leaders. They must "be like gold to be seen as silver". However, recent studies show that expectations are changing solely. In a 1980 study of men and women leaders among cadets at the United States Military Academy at West Point, women performed as well as men and had equally good morale in their units, but their success was attributed to luck. The men's success were attributed to ability. However, a 1984 study showed some differences. Women's successes were no longer attributed to luck, though there remained a stubborn pattern where women subordinates rated female leaders negatively. While stereotypes of leaders as male continue to hamper women leaders, the data do suggest that gender discrimination in the area of leadership is waning.

The research on the personal characteristics associated with leadership has generated some consistent findings. Hwoever, there are plenty of expectations. For example, Napoleon was very short and Calvin Coolidge was far from talkative. Because of these expectations many psychologists believe that the trait approach is limited. They argue that different kinds of leaders are needed in different situations. This situational theory assumes that the demands of the situation will determine the characteristics of the leader. If, at a particular time, a group needs a leader who can give rousing speeches, the leader who emerges will be a charismatic orator. In recent years both the trait and situational theory have given way to the transactional

theory. This theory assumes that both the characteristics of persona and the demands of the situation determine who will become a leader. We will seen an example of the transactional theory when we discuss leadership effectiveness at the end of the section.

The Behavior of Leaders

As psychologists became frustrated with trying to identify the particular traits of leaders, they began to ask a different question. What do leaders - actually - do? Greater progress in understanding was made by considering this question rather than the traits of leaders.

In one of the largest studies of leadership ever conducted, individuals in many different kinds of groups were asked to indicate what they felt were the most important leadership behaviors. This and many other studies of leaders show two major categories of behavior. The first category is called initiating structure. This means that leaders define the goals of the group, plan how to achieve them, indicate how each member will participate, and, in general, direct the action of the group. The second category of leader behavior is called showing consideration. This means communicating with individual followers, showing trust, explaining actions, and demonstrating positive regard for group members.

Threes two leadership behaviors, initiating structure and showing consideration, can be difficult, though not impossible, for one person to manifest. They are inherently incompatible with each other. Initiating structure involves giving orders, telling people what to do, getting them moving, and, perhaps, ruffling their feathers. Showing consideration means listening and explaining, making people feel better, and perhaps, smoothing their feathers. This incompatibility, along with the findings that leader have somewhat different traits in different situations, raises an important question. Can we identify different types of leaders, perhaps according to whether they primarily initiate structure or show consideration? Research by Bales and Slater indicated this was possible.

Types of Leaders

Robert Bales and Philip Slater were interested in the leadership patterns that emerged in small, unstructured groups. They studies a group of college students who spent approximately an hour a day for about five days discussing and trying to resolve labor-management conflicts. At the end of each day subjects were asked to indicate which member in the group had the best ideas, who had most effectively guided the discussion, and how much they liked each group member.

At the end of the first day, the person who was rated as having the best ideas and as having been most helpful in moving the group toward a solution was also most liked. However, the tendency for the same person to be best liked and rated as having the best ideas dropped sharply after the first day. In subsequent days, it seemed as if two leaders emerged, one referred to as the task leader, who specialized in making suggestions, giving information, and expressing opinions, and the other referred to as the socio-emotional leader, who helped others express themselves, made jokes, released tension, and expressed positive feelings for others. Thus, leadership split into two channels.

The relation between the two kinds of leaders in interesting. Although some rivalry might be expected between them, they get along very well and cooperate extensively. In a family, one parent might be the task leader and the other the socio-emotional leader. Together they might very effectively lead the family group. In an army platoon, the commanding officer and the chaplain might also make a good leader combination. In former heavyweight champ

Muhammad Ali's training camp, manager Angelo Dundee was the task leader who saw that Ali got his work done and that the camp ran smoothly. But Ali's friend Bundini Brown was the socioemotional leader, keeping everyone lose and relaxed.

The general tendency to split leadership in unstructured groups has one qualification. Bales and Slater found the split happens only after the task leader is identified and agreed upon. Once it has been decided who will lead the group in its pursuit of external goals, the group can afford the luxury of a socio-emotional leader.

Leadership Effectiveness

When we think of the range of people who have been successful leaders, it seems hard to make any generalizations about what kind of leader is the most effective. However, we do know that there are task leaders, who often initiate structure. This style of leadership is often called directive leadership. We also know that there are socioemotional specialists, who show consideration. This style is called democratic leadership. In most situations where a single leader is elected or appointed, he or she will adopt either a directive or a democratic style.

An early experiment conducted by Kurt Lewin and his colleagues attempted to show which style was more effective – directive leadership, democratic leadership, or a third style. Three groups of 10-year-old boys worked on different tasks and club activities. Each group was led by an adult. In one group, the adult behaved in an autocratic, directive style. In a second group, the leader behaved in a democratic style. In the final group, the leader acted in a laissez – faire style, in which he passively watched the boys and permitted them to do as they pleased. He was "hands off". The directive leaders produced apathetic or rebellious group atmospheres, neither of which was enjoyable or productive. The Laissez – faire groups, lacking adult supervision, were cheerful enough, but they were not at all productive. The groups led by democratic leaders were, however, both happy and productive. This study suggested that democratic leaders are more effective.

In recent years other studies have shown that the situation is much more complicated. Some studies indicate that democratic leaders are more effective, while other studies show that directive leaders are more effective. After reviewing many of these studies, Shaw suggests the following conclusion. It is clear that followers are happier in groups with democratic leaders. If we consider group productivity, however, we find that one the average directive leaders are more successful. But this conclusion needs to be qualified. The productivity of groups with democratic leaders are highly variable. Both the most productive and the least productive groups have democratic leaders. Thus, we can conclude that being a democratic leader is risky. If a democratic leader can show regard for personal and interpersonal relations and at the same time coordinate, direct, and give structure, that is, if the leader can combine initiating structure and showing consideration, he or she will be highly effective. Although this is very difficult, it is what the best leaders do.

Because some studies show democratic leaders to do be more effective and others show directive leaders to be more effective, psychologists have explored the possibility that each style may be more advantageous in different circumstances. An intriguing transactional theory, offered by Freud Fiedler, suggests that one needs first to consider how favorable the group situation is for the leader. Favorability is determined by three factors in the situation: the quality of leader – followers relations; the clarity of the task; and the authority of the leader's position. A highly favorable situation occurs when relations with followers are good, the

requirements of the task and clear, and the leader's position is one of great authority and prestige. An unfavorable situation would be the opposite.

Fiedler has studied leadership in groups such as postal workers, basketball players, Belgian naval officers, store managers, research chemists, furnace workers, and bomber crews. After classifying the situation in these groups as favorable or unfavorable to leadership, Fiedler predicted and found that when the situation is either very favorable or very unfavorable to leadership, the directive or task – oriented leader is most effective. If the situation is very favorable, the leader can be assertive and commanding without upsetting anyone. Group members can see that what the leader is asking is necessary and that success will result. When the situation is very unfavorable, chaos is likely to rule. Here a strong – minded, directive, authoritative person is needed to "take over" and guide the group away from disaster. In the middle range of situations, which are the most common, the democratic leader is more effective. In such situations, in which there is usually some tension and people need to be treated with respect, the careful coordination of interpersonal relations characteristic of democratic leadership is necessary.

Fiedler's theory is very complex, as are the data collected to test it. Recent reviews of the research suggest that the original theory was well – grounded in data when it was proposed. Subsequent tests of the theory suggest that it is well – supported by laboratory studies but not as clearly supported by field studies. While it has a great deal of merit and is fundamentally correct, there are variables other than leadership style and favorability of the situations that must be considered before we fully understand leadership effectiveness.