Social Psychology: People in Groups
Voorbeeldsamenvatting

Psychology (ENG) | Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

2025 - 2026

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Information about the course

You are about to read the summary of the first course of the Bachelor psychology. In general, this profession is not that difficult. It's easy to apply to yourself and to society, but this is the first subject and it's always a matter of how everything works. But don't worry, we've written this summary with the aim of helping you through this profession. Several top students, who have recently taken this course, have shared their expertise and worked on this summary, to help you with the things that most students struggle with when studying People in Groups.

The exam
Your final grade for this course consists of 3 parts:

- Examination
- Professional behaviour
- Presence

For professional behaviour and presence, it is only important that you achieve a pass. The exam will therefore determine 100% of your final mark.

What is the best way to study?
Repeating is the key to a good grade for this exam. Because there are also many ways to ask questions in this course, with many possible variations, you should try to create as many practice questions as possible. This way you can answer the more complicated questions of the exam. You can find these exercises in this booklet.

Format of the summary
Our summary for this course consists of two parts. We made sure that we published the summary from the literature as early as possible at the beginning of the block. This allows you to prepare your lectures and start studying on time. In the lecture summary, we have summarised all the information from the lectures so that you can also clearly see what the teacher himself has emphasised.

For the latest lectures we will publish extra supplements, which you can download from our website www.slimacademy.nl.

Good luck studying!

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Problem 1. How do you feel today?

Introduction
This chapter corresponds to the study material as covered in the literature: Hogg & Vaughan 2022 p.89-91 & p.626-629; Kassin Fein & Markus 2021 p.62-64, p.110-113 & p.396-397; Gleitman et al. 2011 p.490-496. Literature for this problem was distributed in the working groups. In addition, there was an article: article by Dutton & Aron (1974): Some evidence for heightened sexual attraction under conditions of high anxiety.

Arousal and emotions
Before the various theories about *arousal* and emotions are discussed, we will discuss what *arousal* actually is. **Arousal** is a kind of physiologically activated state. This is expressed, for example, by a higher heart rate, trembling hands, or sweating. In addition, *arousal* has an effect on our emotions, as the experiments mentioned below show. *Arousal* can amplify emotions, and this can be both positive and negative. For example, it can ensure that someone judges an attractive person as even more attractive, but also that someone judges an unattractive person as even less attractive.

Social comparison theory suggests that individuals assess their own abilities and opinions by comparing themselves to others. This process helps people gauge their own standing and self-worth, often influencing their self-esteem and perceptions. By evaluating how they measure up to others, individuals can derive insights about their own capabilities and beliefs, which can impact their behaviour and attitudes.

The **Silent Language of Nonverbal Behavior** refers to how people communicate their feelings and attitudes without using words. This includes facial expressions, body language, and vocal cues. These nonverbal signals provide insight into a person's emotional state and inner thoughts, allowing others to understand their feelings and reactions even when they aren't explicitly stated. By interpreting these behavioural cues, one can gain a deeper understanding of a person's true sentiments and intentions.

People are able to accurately perceive and label emotions **cross-culturally**. Basic emotional expressions, such as happiness, sadness, anger, and fear, are recognized and understood across different cultures. This consistency suggests that these core emotions are rooted in biological processes rather than being entirely shaped by cultural norms. People from various cultural backgrounds can accurately perceive and label these fundamental emotions, indicating a shared human experience. While cultural contexts may influence how emotions are expressed and managed, the underlying emotional experiences remain largely the same, allowing for effective communication and empathy across diverse societies. This universality highlights the common emotional threads that connect people worldwide.

Theories about arousal and emotions
Several theories have been made about the relationship between *arousal* and emotions.

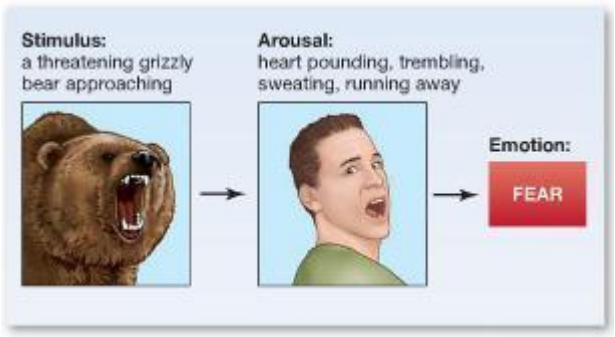
First, there is the **common sense theory.** According to this theory, a stimulus causes an emotion, which then causes a physical change. For example, someone sees a bear (*stimulus)*, feels fear (*emotion*), and this causes the person to vibrate (*arousal*).

Simply put, this is: stimulus → emotion → *arousal*.

Common sense theory. *Source: https://quizlet.com/235525797/ap-psychology-myers-8th-edition-chapter-13-flash-cards/*

A second theory is the theory of emotion from **James Lange**. This theory states that we must first be **aware** of a physical change before we feel an emotion. So a stimulus first causes a physical change, and this causes an emotion. In this case, someone sees a bear and vibrates because of this, becomes aware of the change in the body, which causes the emotion anxiety. So you feel fear, because you're going to vibrate.

Simply put, this is: stimulus → *arousal* → emotion.



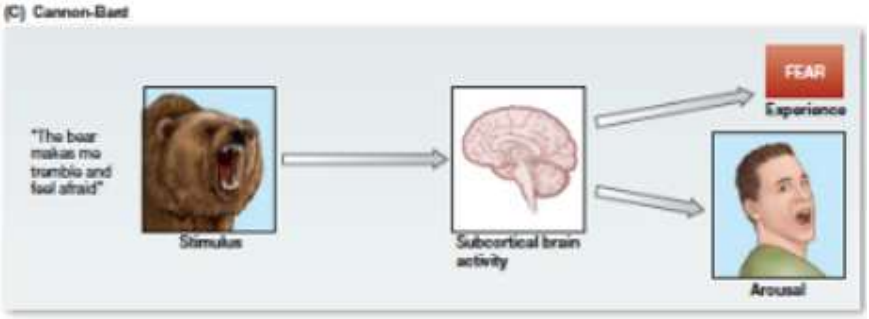
James Long theory. *Source: https://quizlet.com/235525797/ap-psychology-myers-8th-edition-chapter-13-flash-cards/*

Cannon Bard criticised James Lange's theory. James Lange's theory does not involve cognitive evaluation. To feel an emotion, not only a physical change, but also a cognitive interpretation would be needed. Cannon Bard came up with his own theory.

Another point of criticism on the James Lange theory derived from a study in which participants were given an adrenaline injection. The participants who knew they were receiving an adrenaline injection and were informed about the possible effects on the body did not feel anxious or angry the moment they became aware of their physical arousal. They knew where the arousal came from.

According to Cannon Bard's theory, a stimulus causes brain **activity**, which *simultaneously* causes physical changes and the emotion itself. According to this theory, it is not easy to distinguish between the different physical reactions that are associated with different emotions. For example, you can tremble out of fear, but also out of joy. In this case, seeing a bear causes brain activity, which then causes anxiety and trembling at the same time. In this theory, *arousal* and emotions arise independently of each other.

Simply put, this is: stimulus → brain activity → *arousal* and emotion.

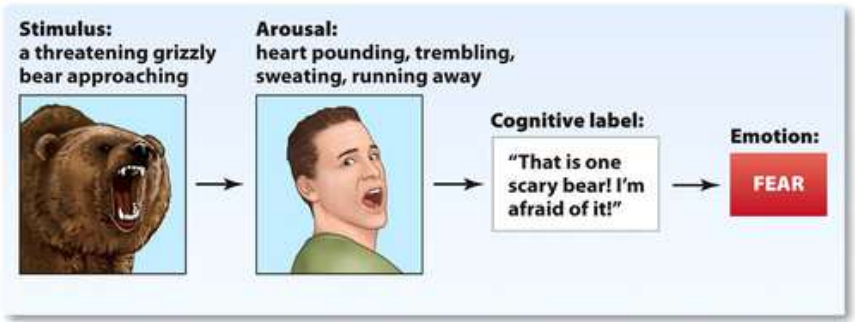


Cannon-Bard theory. *Source: https://quizlet.com/235525797/ap-psychology-myers-8th-edition-chapter-13-flash-cards/*

The **difference** between the James Lange **theory** and the **Cannon Bard theory** is that the **Cannon Bard theory** does not say that you feel an emotion by arousal. With James Lange, emotion depends *on* arousal and with Canon Bard arousal and emotion are *independent* of each other.

The last theory, the theory of **Schachter and Singer** states that emotions depend not only on physical reactions, but also on one's judgement of *why* these physical reactions arise (personal interpretation of arousal). As Schachter called it, a person must not only experience *arousal,* but must also interpret it before an emotion arises. This interpretation is made through cognition, so there is cognitive evaluation. According to Schachter and Singer, different reactions can have the same physical reaction (someone can tremble through fear or joy), but the person 'chooses' which emotion is felt according to the circumstances. Thus, in this case, seeing a bear causes trembling, when an interpretation is made (based on the environment: a bear can be dangerous), which then leads to fear.

Simply put, this is: stimulus → *arousal* → cognitive evaluation (about the *arousal)*→ emotion.



Schachter and Singer theory. *Source: https://quizlet.com/235525797/ap-psychology-myers-8th-edition-chapter-13-flash-cards/*

A nuance to Schachter and Singer's theory is that people do not always use the environment when interpreting their emotions.

Two-factor theory of emotion van Schachter and Singer
Schachter and Singer developed a theory called the **two-factor theory** of emotion. This theory implies that there are two factors that are necessary for an emotion. First, the person should experience symptoms of *physiological 'arousal'.* Examples of symptoms of this are adrenaline and an increase in heart rate. Secondly, the person must make a *cognitive interpretation* that explains the source of the *arousal.* So, the person has to link the symptoms (such as a higher heart rate) to something, which they believe would cause these symptoms. Thus, an event causes symptoms of *arousal*, the person interprets this in a certain way, and this leads to feeling a certain emotion.

The problem with this is that it can lead to **misattribution**. This means that the person misinterprets the source of the emotion. Schachter and Singer demonstrated the latter in their experiment, in which they injected people with adrenaline, causing *arousal.* In the experiment, part of the group knew what was causing their higher adrenaline, and another part did not know this. After the adrenaline injection, it was determined whether the behaviour of other people affected the behaviour of the subjects. The results showed that the people who did not know what caused their *arousal* were more influenced by the behaviour of others. For example, if the other people behaved happily, the subjects also behaved happily. Schachter and Singer explained this as follows: *when people feel insecure about their emotional state, they sometimes interpret how they feel by looking at others*.

Marshall and Zimbardo criticised the Two-Factor theory. In Marshall and Zimbardo's replicated studies, it had been found that euphoria itself had little effect on participants. A euphoric person did not produce more adrenaline than a neutral person. This showed that participants who had been injected with adrenaline were no more sensitive than placebo participants.

Other criticisms were that research had shown that unexplained physical arousal is more likely to induce negative emotions, regardless of the state of the participant. Also, research shows that before physical arousal occurs, other people must be present for interpretation. Despite having many criticisms, the research of the Two-Factor Theory remains relevant as a reminder that physical reactions partly influence how emotions are experienced.

Another example of misattribution was demonstrated in the **Capilano bridge experiment**, which can be read in the article by Dutton and Aron (1974). In this experiment, male participants had to walk either over a high, dangerous bridge (the Capilano bridge), or over a low, safe bridge. They then had to take a test, and then were given the phone number of the woman who took the test. It looked at how many of the participants called the woman after the study. The results showed that the men who had to walk over the dangerous bridge called the woman more often than the men who had to walk over the safe bridge. This can be explained by misattribution of *arousal*. The higher bridge caused more *arousal*, and the men wrongly attributed this to the woman, which made them feel more attracted to her.

The excitation-transfer model
Zillmann also came up with a model about emotions, the **excitation-transfer model**. In this model, it is stated that emotions, such as (in this example) aggression, are a function of three factors:

- Learned aggressive behaviour;
- *Arousal* from another source;
- One's interpretation of the *arousal*, so that an aggressive reaction seems appropriate.

This shows that the *arousal* that a person experiences in one situation can be transferred to a new situation, which causes an aggressive reaction in the second situation. For example, if someone has been to the gym (and is still experiencing *arousal* because of this), this person will be more aggressive in traffic (this is then the second source that causes *arousal).*

Difference between misattribution and excitation transfer
It is important to distinguish between misattribution (from Schachter and Singer) and excitation transfer (from Zillmann). The main difference is the *time*.

In *case of misattribution,* one stimulus *arousal* at the same time as the two causes the stimulus, and this is assigned to the second stimulus (example: the bridge experiment, because the participants simultaneously experienced arousal through the bridge and saw the woman).

In *excitation transfer,* the remaining *arousal* of the first stimulus is attributed to a second stimulus at a later time, or at a later time causes a reaction in a new situation (example: the roller coaster experiment, because the participants rated the people in the photos as more attractive after the rollercoaster ride, so at a different time).

Article: Dutton & Aron (1974)
The hypothesis of this research is that an attractive woman will be experienced as more attractive by men who feel a strong emotion (fear) when they encounter her, than by men who do not feel a strong emotion when they encounter her. Experiment 1 is performed in a natural setting, experiments 2 and 3 are sheets and lab experiments.

*Experiment 1**:***
How was the study conducted?
This experiment was conducted on 2 bridges over the Capilano River in Vancouver. The *experimental* bridge was the Capilano Canyon Suspension bridge, and the *control* bridge was a solid wood bridge.
The experimental bridge had arousal exciting features:

a) The tendency to tilt, wave and wobble which gives the impression that you are about to fall.
b) Whole lay handrails of cable wire.
c) The bridge was very high.

The control bridge was wider and sturdier than the experimental bridge, and was not attached as high above the river. Also, this bridge had higher handles. The participants were men between 18 and 35 years old and not in the company of a woman. A total of 85 men took part in the study.

Participants were approached as they crossed the bridges. The female interviewer explained that she had a project for her Psychology class. She asked the men to fill out a short questionnaire. On the other side of the questionnaire, she asked the men to write a short, dramatic story about a woman who covered her face with one hand and handed her the other hand. If the participant agreed to fill in the short questionnaire and write the story, he performed these tasks on the bridge.

The stories were later rated for sexual content and received scores that ranged between 1 (no sexual content) and 5 (heavy sexual content). After the men filled out their questionnaires, the interviewer thanked them and offered to explain the experiment in detail when she had the time. The interviewer tore off the corner of the paper, wrote her name and phone number on it, and invited each participant to call if he wanted to talk further. The participants on the *experimental* bridge were given the name Gloria and the participants on the *control* bridge were told the name Donna; so that the participants could easily be classified when they called.
A male interviewer followed the exact same procedure. The participants were given two fictitious names so that they could be classified when they contacted the interviewer.

What are the results?
In the case of the female interviewer
In the end, there were 20 valid questionnaires for the experimental bridge (some people filled out the questionnaires in another language or were incomplete) and for the control bridge 18. Participants in the experimental group had an average sexual rate of 2.47 and participants in the control group had an average sexual image score of 1.41. So the experimental hypothesis was verified with this data.

A second metre for sexual attraction was the *number* of participants who called the interviewer's number. 18 of the 23 participants who agreed to the interview accepted the woman's phone number. In the control group, this was 16 out of 22.
In the experimental group, 9 of the 18 participants called the woman. In the control group, 2 out of 16 called. If we take these data together (number of callers and sexual image scores) then this finding suggests that the participants in the experimental group were more attracted to the interviewer.

In the case of the male interviewer
There were 20 useful questionnaires for both the control bridge and for the experimental bridge. Participants in the experimental group had an average sexual picture score of 0.80 and participants in the control group 0.61. The pattern of results obtained by the female interviewer was not reproduced by the male interviewer.
In the experimental group, 7 of the 23 men accepted the interviewer's number. In the control group, this was 6 out of 22. In the *experimental group,* 2 participants called the interviewer. In the control group, this was 1.

What do the results mean?
There are a few criticisms.

- The main problem with the study is that **the participants could have been** tourists (because, tourist is the attraction) who then did not call the number of the female interviewer back because they would not see her again anyway;
- **Lack of sex** could also have played a role in the scores yielded in the presence of the female interviewer;
- There may also be differences between the **personality variables** of the participants on the control bridge and the participants on the experimental bridge; for example, people who like danger and adventure are more likely to go after the experimental bridge.

Experiment 2:
34 men who met the same criteria as in experiment 1 visited the suspension bridge. The participants who had crossed the bridge and then sat or walked in a small park were approached at least 10 minutes after crossing the bridge. This was done so that the remaining fear or elation that the participants felt immediately after crossing the bridge could no longer be a confusing factor in the study. In this experiment, there was no male interviewer. Furthermore, all the details in this experiment were identical to experiment 1.

What were the results?
In the experimental group, 13 of the 20 people who had accepted the woman's number called her. In the control group, this number was 7 out of 23. So the result in behaviour in experiment 1 was confirmed again.

Criticism
Even though the woman did not behave differently in the control and in the experimental conditions, it may well be the case that she *came across differently* in these conditions. If the fact that she came across differently in a certain condition led to differences in sexual attraction, then the apparent link between emotion and sexual arousal may turn out to be artificial.

Experiment 3:
In this experiment, 80 male first-year students from a university participated. The actions of the female confederate were carefully rehearsed in order to avoid any possibility of coming across differently in different conditions.

How was the study conducted?
Participants entered an experimental room in which there were many electrical appliances. The experimenter welcomed the participant and asked him if he had met anyone who was also looking for the experimental room. The experimenter went looking for the other participant. He left behind some copies of studies examining the effects of administering electric shocks on learning and pain in general.

The experimenter entered the room with the other participant. This was an attractive female confederate. The confederate took off her coat and sat down on a chair, somewhat before the participant. The experimenter explained the study and then asked if there were people who ultimately did not want to participate in the experiment. He mentioned that two levels of shocks would be used. One is very painful and the other you don't feel much of it. Who would get which shock had to be determined randomly, so the participants had to do a coin flip.

The experimenter then said that the head was given the highest shock level and then explained how delivering the shocks would work. The experimenter asked the participants if there were any questions and then told him to prepare some stuff. He asked the participants if they wanted to fill in a questionnaire about their current feelings in the meantime. The confederate got up, walked in front of the contestant to her coat, searched for a pencil and sat down again on the chair. The experimenter then guided the participant and the confederate to the booths where they could fill in their questionnaires.

What were the results?

- In the conditions in which the participants anticipated receiving a strong shock, the participants were more afraid than in conditions in which they anticipated receiving a smaller shock.
- In conditions in which the participants anticipated receiving a strong shock in the presence of the female co-participant (confederate), the participants indicated that they were less afraid than if a male participant were present.
- There were no significant differences in fear among the participants when the confederate would get a strong vs. a slight shock.
- The participants' expectations of the administration of strong vs. light shock to the female confederate did **not produce a** significant increase in attraction; so the woman-in-distress effect did not appear in this study.
- Sexual image talk was higher when the participant was expecting not only a strong shock; but when the confederate could *also* expect a strong shock. No conclusion could be drawn from the results that came when the woman was expecting a slight shock.

What do the results mean?

The strong results from experiment 3 support the notion that strong emotion increases the attraction of the female confederate to the participant. The results also confirm, among other things, that arousal strengthens (sexual) emotions.

Slim Summarized!

- **Arousal** is a physiological state marked by reactions like increased heart rate and sweating; it can intensify both positive and negative emotions, influencing how people perceive others and themselves;
- **Social comparison theory** explains how people evaluate themselves by comparing with others, shaping self-esteem and behavior; **nonverbal communication**—through facial expressions and body language—reveals emotional states, often recognized cross-culturally due to biologically rooted **basic emotions** like happiness and fear;
- **Theories of emotion**:
    - **Common sense theory**: stimulus → emotion → arousal;
    - **James-Lange theory**: stimulus → arousal → emotion; emotion follows awareness of physical changes;
    - **Cannon-Bard theory**: stimulus → brain activity → simultaneous emotion and arousal; emotional experience and arousal are independent;
    - **Schachter & Singer (Two-Factor Theory)**: stimulus → arousal → cognitive evaluation → emotion; same arousal can lead to different emotions depending on interpretation;
- **Schachter & Singer's experiment** showed that uninformed participants (after adrenaline injection) mirrored others' emotions, supporting the role of **misattribution**—misidentifying the cause of arousal;
    - **Criticism** of the two-factor theory includes doubts about euphoria's physiological basis and the necessity of social context for emotion interpretation;
- **Dutton & Aron (1974)** demonstrated misattribution in the **Capilano Bridge experiment**:
    - Men crossing the high, wobbly bridge wrote more sexual stories and called the female interviewer more often than those on the stable bridge;
    - No such effect occurred with a male interviewer, supporting the idea that fear-based arousal was wrongly attributed to attraction;
    - **Experiment 2** replicated findings with delayed arousal dissipation;
    - **Experiment 3** (lab setting) showed higher attraction to a female confederate in high-arousal (shock-anticipation) conditions, reinforcing that **strong arousal intensifies emotional responses**;
- **Zillmann's excitation-transfer model** posits that arousal from one situation can carry over to another and intensify emotions like aggression, if the context supports it;
- **Difference** between misattribution and excitation transfer lies in **timing**: misattribution occurs when arousal and the emotional cue are simultaneous; excitation transfer involves delayed application of residual arousal to a new situation.

Problem 2. Obstacle

Introduction
This chapter corresponds to the study material as covered in the literature: Kassin, Fein & Markus p.430-446 & 450-455; Hogg & Vaughan p.526-553; and Article by Liebst & Philpot (2019): Social relations and presence of others predict bystander intervention: Evidence from violent incidents captured on CCTV.

Auxiliary behaviour
According to Darley and Latané, there are five steps that lead to providing help in a situation that requires it (or not offering help):

1. Noticing that something is going on;
2. Understand that this is an emergency;
3. Taking responsibility to help;
4. Deciding how to help;
5. Actually help (or not).

At every step, our help behaviour can be hindered by certain obstacles.

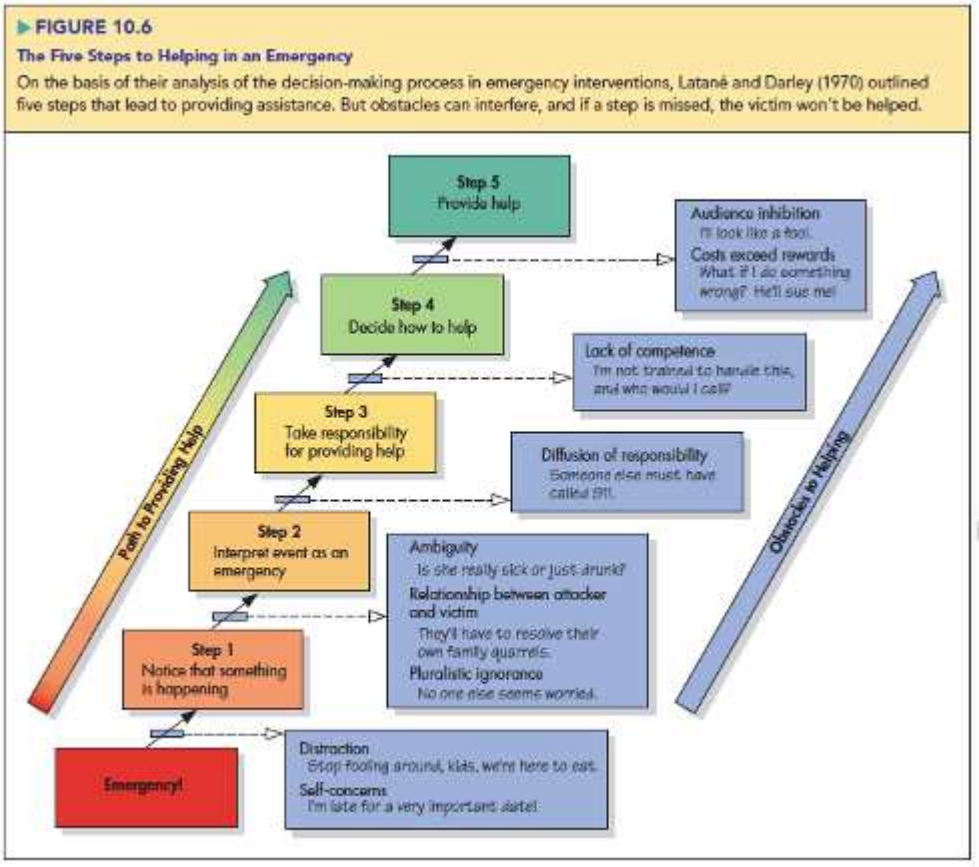
Noticing that something is going on
At the first step, distraction, *self-concern* (being busy with ourselves), and stimulus **overload** (the idea that in a busy city we don't get everything and what happens) ensure that we don't notice that something is going on.

Understand that it is an emergency
In the second step, there may be *ambiguity* (the situation can be interpreted in several ways) or *pluralistic ignorance*, which may not make us realise that it is an emergency. **Pluralistic ignorance** is a misunderstanding when people in a group do not realise that others have the same perception as them. As a result, people start to change the behaviour of others, because they think that they will know how the situation works. Thus, often no one intervenes in the event of an emergency. Suppose there is an emergency, and you see that the neighbours are not responding to the situation, you copy this behaviour because you are in the right place and your neighbours have assessed it correctly. While the neighbours are probably also looking at you for help (and the thoughts are therefore the same). As a result, both the neighbours and you do not intervene.

Taking responsibility to help
The obstacle to the step-in is **diffusion of responsibility.** This means that people feel that others will (or should) take responsibility by offering help.

Deciding how to help
In the fourth step, little competence (or the feeling that one is not competent) can be an obstacle. If someone thinks that he will not be able to offer help in a situation, he will not make this decision quickly, either. For example, a strong man is more likely to intervene in a violent quarrel than a young, insecure woman.

Actually help (or not)
The obstacles in the last step are: fear of the consequences (for example, someone may be afraid that he will put himself in danger by helping) and an **audience inhibition**. The latter means that people do not want to help because they are afraid that they will make a bad impression on other spectators (for example, because they are fooling themselves). These obstacles can hinder us in every step, and ultimately cause us not to provide help.



The five steps for helping with an emergency according to the model of Latané and Darley. *Source: Social psychology, 8th Edition, Hogg & Vaughan.*

What factors influence helping behaviour?

Several situational factors significantly influence an individual's willingness to help others. These factors include:

- **Mood:** A positive mood can enhance helping behaviour, making individuals more inclined to assist others. Conversely, the negative state relief model—also known as the image-reparation hypothesis—suggests that people experiencing guilt or a negative mood may seek to alleviate their feelings by helping others, thus improving their self-image.
- **Attraction**: Bystanders are more likely to offer assistance if they find the victim physically or interpersonally appealing. This tendency is rooted in the human inclination to connect with those we perceive as attractive or relatable. Studies show that individuals, particularly males, are more inclined to help attractive females, although this tendency isn't solely driven by the desire to form romantic relationships.

- **Identification:** Individuals are more likely to help those they can identify with, especially if the victim shares similar social, cultural, or economic backgrounds. This sense of commonality fosters empathy and increases the likelihood of intervention.
- **Just-World Hypothesis:** Many people hold a belief in a just world, where individuals deserve their outcomes. As a result, bystanders are more inclined to assist if they perceive the victim's situation as exceptional or temporary, rather than a reflection of broader societal issues.
- **Cultural Background:** Research indicates that individuals from affluent countries with fast-paced lifestyles may be less likely to engage in helping behaviour. This could be attributed to a focus on personal achievement and a decreased sense of community. Not all cultures encourage helping strangers. Collectivist cultures tend to prioritise assisting those within their close circles, while individualist cultures often promote helping strangers and engaging in charitable acts.
- **Demographics:** Urban environments often inhibit helping behaviour, with larger cities correlating to a decreased likelihood of assistance. The anonymity and fast pace of city life can diminish personal connections and the urge to help. Anonymity in urban settings may discourage helping behaviours, while closer social ties in rural areas promote assistance. Economic Factors: Higher economic status may correlate with greater willingness to help, though this varies significantly across contexts.
- **Gender**: In situations requiring direct intervention, males are generally more likely to step in and help. However, in scenarios involving reporting or indirect assistance, research indicates no significant gender differences in helping behaviour.
- **Competence and Occupation:** Individuals who perceive themselves as capable of providing assistance—such as doctors, nurses, firefighters, or trained first aid responders—are more inclined to act in emergency situations. Additionally, those in leadership roles are often more likely to intervene and offer help, driven by a sense of responsibility and authority.
- **Time Pressure:** Individuals may hesitate to assist others due to personal schedules or urgent commitments.
- **Size of the Crowd:** The larger the crowd, the more likely individuals feel shared responsibility, which can lead to inaction. More people present can heighten the perception of danger, causing individuals to withdraw instead of intervene.
- **Type of Situation:** The bystander effect diminishes when emotions are low or when perceived risks are minimal. Research shows that calling out someone’s name can increase the likelihood of receiving help in emergency situations.
- **Context of Help Request:** Self-help group environments foster a sense of community, making individuals more likely to assist one another.
- **Biological and Evolutionary Factors:** Evolutionarily, people may be predisposed to help those who share similar genes or appearances. Empathy often arises from a combination of emotional arousal and understanding others' feelings.
- **Egoism vs. Altruism:** Altruism represents a specific form of helping behaviour that is often costly and reflects genuine concern for others without the expectation of personal gain.
- **Influence of Peers:** Males may exhibit increased helping behaviour when surrounded by other males, particularly in situations requiring physical assistance.
- **Scrooge Effect:** As you are near the end of your life/as your death is imminent, you display more protocol behaviour.

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The bystander effect
After the murder of Kitty Genovese (this is later discussed in more detail), Darley and Latané came up with the **bystander effect**. This means that people are less likely to help if others are present. The more people present, the less likely they are to receive help.
According to Darley and Latané, there are several **causes** for the *bystander effect:*

- *Audience inhibition*: people do not react for fear of a negative reaction from the other bystanders;
- *Normative influence*: we have learned that we should not interfere with others, so we do not do this quickly either;
- *Social influence*: people first look at how others react (because the situation is ambiguous), which can lead to *pluralistic ignorance*;
- *Diffusion of responsibility*: people think that someone else can also take responsibility. It does not arise when there is only one bystander, and it is reduced when bystanders know the victim or each other.

Factors affecting the *bystander* effect
There are several factors that can determine whether the *bystander effect* exists:

- The danger of the situation: the more dangerous the situation is, the less the *bystander effect* takes place. This is because dangerous situations are more easily interpreted as an emergency and are therefore less ambiguous. In addition, the presence of others provides physical support, which is necessary in dangerous situations and some dangerous situations can only be solved by working together with others;
- Ambiguity/ambiguity of the situation: the more unclear the situation is, the more the *bystander effect* increases. If it is not immediately clear that it is an emergency, people are less likely to offer help;
- Consequences: the *bystander effect* increases if the provision of aid has more consequences, for example, if it is more dangerous to help;
- Environment: the *bystander effect* decreases if the person knows the environment;
- Similarity with the victim: the *bystander effect* decreases when the person identifies with the victim;
- Relationship with the victim: the *bystander effect* decreases if the person knows the victim;
- Relationship with the other spectators: the *bystander effect* decreases when spectators know each other;
- Cultural differences: these can lead to the *bystander effect*, for example, if the victim is part of another group;
- *Diffusion of responsibility*: the *bystander effect* increases when more people are present to shift the responsibility to;
- Personal: the *bystander effect* decreases when the victim specifically asks someone for help by name;
- Group size: the *bystander effect* increases in a larger group, because there are also more people to shift the responsibility to.

What is special is that *priming* also plays a role: the *bystander effect* increases when someone only thinks, or imagines, that others are present, even if they are not. In addition, people's personal problems play a role in whether the *bystander effect* arises. For example, people who are relatively humble and 'corresponding' (*agreeable*) generally show more helping behaviour. Other personal factors that play a role are: empathy, altruism (selflessness), culture and cultural norms. A person's status or sense of competence also plays a role (if someone has a higher status or more sense of competence, the chance of helping is greater). In addition, a person's mood plays a role (for example, people are more likely to help if they are in a good mood, or if they feel guilty).

The bystander-calculus model

Finally, there is the **bystander-calculus model**, by Piliavin, which plays a role in whether we offer help or not. When we see someone in need, we get unpleasant *arousal*, and we want to do something to reduce it. People then weigh the cost of helping against the cost of not helping, and the rewards. The model consists of three phases:

- ➔ Physiological *arousal*: the greater the emergency of the victim, the more unpleasant physical *arousal* is. It is therefore the more *arousal*, the greater the chance that the spectator will help. This contradicts Liebst's article, Philpot et al. (2019), this article will be discussed later on.
- ➔ Labelling the *arousal*: the *arousal* itself does not produce a specific emotion, but the cognition and thoughts of people play an important role in determining the nature of the emotions they feel. For example, spectators may experience empathy when they identify with the victim.
- ➔ Evaluating the consequences: the spectator will evaluate the consequences of helping before action is taken. This, to ultimately opt for action that will reduce the *arousal* and with the lowest cost. The main drawbacks in this consideration are time and effort. The greater these disadvantages, the less likely it is that the person will help.

This model is similar to the **arousal cost-reward model.**

Experiments on the bystander effect

There are several experiments that have looked at the *bystander* effect. For example, an experiment was conducted in which students had to take a test; they were either alone or with two other students, or with two *confederates (confederates* are people who belong to the experiment, but do not show this). Then, smoke was pumped into the room (the *confederates* did not respond to this). The results showed that students only reported the smoke if they were there on their own in the comb. No matter how bad the smoke got, if other people were there, they didn't do anything about it. This can be explained by the above-mentioned factors of the *bystander effect*. Another experiment is elaborated below.

Three-in-one experiment
In this experiment, the participants were in a closed booth with two TV monitors and a camera. Monitor 1 showed a control room with a shock device, monitor 2 could show a fellow participant and the camera could show them to the fellow participant. There were five conditions, during which they got to see how much help was given to the person in the shock room:

1. Being alone. The camera is aimed at the ceiling, and so is the neighbour's camera. The participant does not see anyone, and no one sees the participant. The participant has the idea that there is no co-participant;
2. *Diffusion of responsibility.* The participant now knows that a fellow participant is present, but still cannot see this person and no one can see the participant;
3. *Diffusion* + social influence. The participant sees the co-participant on monitor 2, but the camera is off, so the participant cannot be seen by anyone.
4. *Diffusion* + *audience inhibition.* The camera is on, and the participant can therefore be seen by the co-participant, but monitor 2 is off, so the participant does not see the co-participant himself;
5. *Diffusion* + social influence + audience *inhibition.* The camera and monitor are both on, so the participants can see each other.

The results of the experiment showed that the more communication was possible, with the latter condition offering the most communication, the less help was given. So, the most help was offered with the condition with the least communication. In other words, when they thought they were alone. There was no difference between the condition with social influence and *audience inhibition.* This means that it does not matter whether the participant is seen or the participant can only see the other person.

Article 1: Liebst, Philpot et al. (2019)
This article examines whether social relations between the victim and the spectator influence the *bystander effect* and whether there is a difference between violent emergencies and situations that are less urgent. There are three hypotheses: The first hypothesis states that there is an inverted *bystander effect* in violent emergencies, this is ultimately not true, there is actually an enhanced *bystander effect* in violent emergency situations. The second hypothesis states that the *bystander effect* decreases if the victim has a social relationship with a spectator, later it turns out that this is true. The third hypothesis states that the effect that the number of social relationships on the *bystander effect* is greater than the effect that the number of spectators has on the *bystander effect*, this hypothesis is correct. There are three limitations to this research, the first is that the accidents used come from the police archive, the disadvantage of this is that they often only contain violent accidents, which can have an effect on the outcome. The second limitation is that the situations have been viewed via camera images, this can ensure that a situation cannot be seen in its entirety, so that the situations can be misjudged. The last limitation is that it is possible that the coding people (the people who viewed the images and wrote down the situation in codes so that it could be processed) unconsciously distracted the relationship between the victim and the spectators on the basis of whether they helped or not, so the research into hypothesis 2 would not be reliable.

Slim Summarized!

- **Helping behaviour** follows five steps according to Darley & Latané:
  - Noticing the event;
  - Recognizing it as an emergency;
  - Taking responsibility;
  - Deciding how to help;
  - Actually helping.

  Each step is subject to obstacles like **distraction**, **pluralistic ignorance**, **diffusion of responsibility**, **lack of competence**, **fear of consequences**, and **audience inhibition**;
- **Situational factors** influencing help include: good mood (increases helping), bad mood (may also increase help via guilt relief), **attraction** (especially towards appealing victims), **identification** with the victim, **belief in a just world**, and **cultural background** (collectivist cultures help in-groups; individualist cultures help strangers more);
- **Demographics** and **context** play a role: urban environments reduce helping due to anonymity and overload, while rural settings enhance it; **gender**, **perceived competence**, **social status**, **peer influence**, **time pressure**, and **group size** also affect likelihood of intervention;
- The **bystander effect** states that people are less likely to help when others are present, due to factors like **normative and social influence**, **diffusion of responsibility**, and **audience inhibition**; the effect weakens when the situation is clearly dangerous, when people know each other or the victim, or when the victim personally addresses someone;
- **Priming** the presence of others—even just imagining them—can induce the bystander effect; personal traits such as **empathy**, **altruism**, **agreeableness**, **competence**, **status**, and **mood** influence helping likelihood;
- The **bystander-calculus model** (Piliavin) proposes that people help to reduce uncomfortable arousal caused by witnessing suffering; they evaluate the **costs and benefits** of helping versus not helping before deciding to act;
- **Classic experiments** show that people are more likely to help when alone (e.g., students reporting smoke only when alone); the **three-in-one experiment** revealed that increased communication and visibility between participants **reduced** helping behaviour, confirming that **being observed or observing others inhibits action**;
- **Liebst & Philpot (2019)** examined CCTV footage of real violent incidents:
  - Violent situations **do not reverse** the bystander effect; rather, they **intensify** it;
  - **Social relationships** between victim and bystander **increase** intervention;
  - The **presence of social ties** has more influence on helping than the **number of bystanders**;
  - Limitations: only violent cases studied, limited camera angles, and possible coder bias in interpreting social relationships.

Problem 3. I spy…….

Introduction
This chapter corresponds to the study material as covered in the literature: Kassin, Fein, & Markus p.270-285, p.294-311; Hogg & Vaughan p.244-275; article by Haun & Tomasello (2011): Conformity to peer pressure in preschool children; article by Doliński, Grzyb, Folwarczny, Grzybala, Krzyszycha, Martynowska, & Trojanowski (2017): Would You Deliver an Electric Shock in 2015? Obedience in the Experimental Paradigm Developed by Stanley Milgram in the 50 Years Following the Original Studies.

Social influence
Social influence is the way people are influenced (their thoughts and behaviour) by social pressure. This social pressure can be real, but also imagined. This includes, for example, *minority* and majority *influence.*

There are four types of *social influence*:
- *Mindless/automatic social influence;*
- *Conformity;*
- *Compliance;*
- *Obedience* (this is dealt with in a later problem, with the Milgram *experiment).*

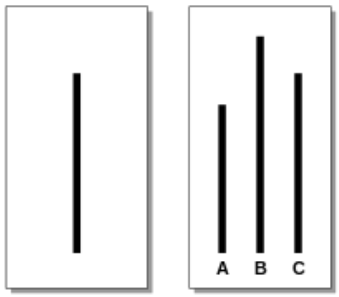
Automatic social influence
The first form of social influence is *automatic* (or *mindless) social influence.* Sometimes people are influenced involuntarily or unconsciously, as a reflex. An example is when you move your foot when someone else does too. The **chameleon effect** means that people automatically imitate people and subconsciously copy their movements. There are several causes for this imitation. First, people imitate others when they want to join these people. They do this because they see similarity in the other people, or because they feel left out. In addition, it has a different social function: it is the case that people who are 'in sync' with each other, so perform the same movements or adopt posture, get along better with each other. This was demonstrated in an experiment, in which participants had to talk to someone, and some participants were imitated by this person and others were not. The results showed that the people who were imitated liked the other person more than the people who were not imitated. In another experiment, people saw a video of a drawn person who had to tell them of something. These results showed that the people were more likely to be convinced if the person in the video imitated their movements.

Conformity
The next form of social influence is **conformism** (*conformity*). This means that people adjust their visions, opinions or behaviour so that they match the group norms. So we go along with what other people say and do. Several experiments have been done on conformism. First came Sherif's research. In this experiment, participants were shown a light in a dark room and then had to estimate together how far the light had moved, when in reality it had not moved. This showed that people conformed to what the other people in the group said. There was ambiguity in the physical reality in this experiment. This allows you to look at others for clarification. They can then serve as a source of information.

This was followed by Asch's experiment, which is also explained in the article by **Hornsey (2017)** where it was a clear, easy situation. A participant was sitting in a room with other people, who belonged to the experiment (*confederates*). The group was then shown a line with three other lines next to it. They had to say which of the three lines corresponded to the first line. The *confederates* all gave the wrong answer, when it was clear that this was wrong. Finally, the participant had to give the answer. In 36.8%, the participant also got the wrong answer and went along with the group. So a majority did not go along with the group. The ones who gave the obvious wrong answer did this not because they thought the group was right, but because they did not want to deviate from what the others were saying.

The difference between Asch and Sherif's experiment is that with Sherif they didn't do it to belong to the group, but because it was an ambiguous situation. Whereas in Asch's experiment, the answer was obvious.

After Asch's investigation, Crutchfield did another investigation. He removed the face-to-face element of Asch's research by pigeonholing the participants in boxes, who then had to give their answer with a button. One difference with Asch's experiment was that Crutchfield was able to investigate in a more efficient way by testing multiple people at once. In the end, the experiment showed that fewer people conformed and therefore that no face-to-face contact ensures less influence of the group.



Experiment Asch. *Source: https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Overeenstemmingsexperimenten_van_Asch*

There are three main **causes** for conformism, which are clearly evident in the mentioned experiments:

- ➔ **Normative influence**: we imitate others for fear of being excluded, because we are afraid of the negative consequences of a dissent (such as rejection);
- ➔ **Informational influence**: we imitated others because we want to be right, and because we think that the other people are right;
- ➔ **Interpersonal influence:** this includes verbal and non-verbal tactics such as complaining, demanding, threatening, begging, negotiating, manipulating to create the change.

In groups, there is often normative and informational influence. The Asch experiment was mainly about normative influence. In an unclear situation, as in the Sherif experiment, there will be more of an informational influence.

Conformism also comes in two forms: *private* and *public*.

Private conformity (of **conversion**) is caused by informational influences. In doing so, we not only change our behaviour, but also really our opinion of others. So we really believe that the group is right. This is the case with the Sherif experiment.

The second form is **public conformity** (or **compliance).** There is a more superficial change in behaviour. People respond to normative influences by pretending to agree with the group, when in fact they do not, to be liked. This form of conformism is mentioned in the Asch experiment. If there was a reward in the experiments, such as money, the results changed. In uncertain, difficult experiments (such as the Sherif experiment), a reward led to more conformism. In clear, easy experiments (such as the Asch experiment), a reward actually ensured that people stuck to their own answer and that conformism decreased enormously.

People who do not conform are made fun of by a group. Group members who threaten the norm will be treated more negatively than someone who is not a group member and exhibits the same behaviour. We also call this the *black-sheep effect.*

Factors that play a role in conforming
Several factors can determine whether conformism occurs or not.

- The **size** of the group: a larger group causes more conformism up to a certain level (there is talk of the **lightbulb effect**: the size of the group first creates more conformism, but from a certain point - about four people - more people do not necessarily cause more conformism);
- **Reward** and **importance** of the situation: in a difficult task a reward will provide more conformism, in an easy task for less;
- Focus on **social norms**: if people focus more on social norms (for example, if they see other people polluting) they themselves are more likely to adapt to those norms and thus conform faster (by polluting themselves);
- **Presence** of an *ally*: if someone is present who does not conform (for example, someone who just gives the right answer in the Asch experiment) someone is less likely to conform;
- **Culture:**in individualistic cultures less conformism takes place, in collectivist cultures this takes place more;
- **Gender**: in public situations, women will conform more than men (men with a female personality are also more likely to conform);
- **Social influence**: the social *impact theory* is explained later;
- **Personal characteristics**: there are several personal qualities that can cause someone to conform earlier;
    - Conservative people, people who do not want to confront authority, and people with lower intuition conform faster:
    - People who are self-aware and insecure, who would like to belong, who have an interest in others and who are accommodating will be more likely to conform;
    - People who would like to be different or people with a high status are less likely to conform;
    - Age: conformism increases until adolescence, and then decreases to adulthood;
    - Feelings: people are more likely to conform because of guilt, or if they are in a good mood.

In addition, there are factors of the group and of the environment that can lead to more or less conformism. For example, there will be conformism if the opinion of the majority is plausible.

There is also a greater chance of conformism if opinions have to be expressed publicly, and a small chance of conformism if this is done anonymously. Even if people in the group like each other and if there is a lot of cohesion in the group, or if the group will exist for a longer period of time, they will be more likely to conform. If the task is important and difficult, there is more conformism; if a task is unimportant, or important and easy, there is less conformism.

The social impact theory
According to Latané's **social impact theory,** the power of influence depends on three factors:

- ➔ *Strength*: the strength of the influencer (someone with a higher status can influence others more easily);
- ➔ *Immediacy*: the proximity of the influencer (people are more easily influenced if the one who wants to influence them is close to them);
- ➔ *Number*: the number of influencers (a large group has, up to a certain point, more influence).

These factors were also highlighted in the Asch experiment. People were influenced because the group members looked slim and of high status (S), because the people were close by, in the same room (I) and because the group consisted of several people (N).

A variation on this theory is the **dynamic social impact theory**, which means that influence is a function of Strength (S), Immediacy (I) and Number of sources (N) and that this influence can lead to four things:

- *Consolidation*: when people interact a lot with each other, their actions and opinions become more equal;
- *Clustering*: because people are most influenced by the people closest to them, clusters of people with the same opinion arise;
- *Correlation*: after a while, opinions in a group become equal, also on topics that are not discussed;
- *Continuing diversity*: through *clustering,* the dissenting views of minorities can continue to exist within the group.

Majority and minority influence
Conformism works both ways: a large group can influence an individual or a smaller group (as in the Asch experiment) and then there is **majority influence***,* or an individual or a small group can influence a large group, so that there is minority **influence**. Moscovici did research on *minority influence*. According to him, disagreement within the group (because a minority does not agree with the majority) leads to group members being motivated to resolve this conflict.
Minorities have influence through the **validation process**— if people don't agree with the larger group, group members look closely at the minority group's arguments. This can lead to *conversion*, because the larger group is convinced by the arguments and the group members actually change their opinion.

Majorities, on the other hand, have influence through the **comparison process***:* Group members want to belong to the group, which leads to *compliance*, because the opinions of the minority are not really changed. *Validation* leads to real change and is long-lasting. *Comparison* is a faster process, but the effects are less long-lasting. *Majority influence* is therefore created by normative pressure, and minority *influence* by informational pressure. A majority draws its strength from the size of the group, which leads to *public conformity*, but a minority draws its strength from the persuasiveness of the arguments, and can thus achieve private *conformity.*

Achieving minority influence
An important factor in *minority influence* is consistency. According to Moscovici, someone who disagrees with the group must be consistent to cause a change. This is because consistency draws attention away from the opinion of the large group, since it makes the minority seem inflexible (allowing a compromise to be made), and because people think that someone who maintains an unpopular opinion may have a point. For example, in an experiment by Moscovici, groups were shown different shades of blue, while two *confederates* claimed to see green. Because the minority said this in every trial, and was thus consistent, some participants actually changed their opinions to match the minority opinion. Hollander also came up with the **idiosyncrasy model**. This means that a minority must first conform to the majority, in order to earn *idiosyncrasy credits* (so they are accepted and liked by the majority). They can only deviate later, as the minority influence will be more effective after having gained the respect of the majority. This is a counterpart to the consistency Moscovici emphasised. Minorities also have more influence in subjective situations (e.g. opinions) and majorities in objective situations (e.g., facts). Further, majorities have more influence in public situations.

Forms of social response
There are several ways to respond to social influences:

- *Compliance* (or *public conformity):* people do not actually agree with the group, but they do pretend to share this opinion (often due to majority *influence*);
- *Conversion* (or *private conformity*): people change their own opinion because they truly think that the other opinion is correct (often due to minority *influence*);
- *Congruence* (or *uniformity):* this occurs when someone agrees with the group from the beginning, and therefore does not have to react to the social influences;
- *Independence:* people continue to keep their own beliefs, even if they are not the same as those of the group;
- *Anti conformity:* people deliberately go against the group, not because of their own opinion, but to make the group think about and consider alternative opinions.

In the Asch experiment, there was *compliance* (if participants changed their opinion) and *independence* (when a significant number of the participants did not adjust their opinion).

Article 1: Haun & Tomasello (2011)
An experiment was conducted that resembled the Asch experiment in order to investigate conforming behaviour in primary school children. The children were shown pictures of three animals and had to say which of the three animals matched the animal on another picture. Before they gave their answer, other children gave an answer that did not match the picture that the child saw. It was examined whether the children would change their opinion as a result, or say which animal they actually saw. The results showed that the children conformed in order to be a part of the group, even if the other children in the group gave obviously incorrect answers. However, they only did this if they had to make their answer public (i.e. say it out loud in a group with other children). If they were allowed to give the answer privately, they would stick to their own opinion (the correct answer). It later transpired that the children did not change their answer out of a belief that the group was right, but in order to not deviate from the rest of the group. Thus, it can be concluded that even young children tend to display *public conformity.* This arises through *peer pressure*.

Article 2: Doliński, Grzyb, Folwarczny, Grzybala, Krzyszycha, Martynowska, & Trojanowski (2017)

This experiment was central to investigating the effects of gender on obedience. It was not yet clear whether the behaviour of the participants would be different in conditions in which the researcher instructed the participant to administer shocks to a female pupil. Why do we think the gender of the student could be important? Because women are, on average, physically weaker and cultural norms dictate that women should be treated kindly and with respect. Women are more likely to receive help from others than men.

How was the study conducted?

Participants were paid to participate for an hour in psychological research that they were told was dedicated to memory and learning. Some participants were approached on the street near the university and other participants were recruited by the help of students (these participants were acquaintances of the students and if these potential participants were students then they were not studying at the same university). Students with a psychology background or who were familiar with the Milgram experiment were removed from the selection procedure. Also, candidates who had once sought psychological help, experienced trauma and/or had a history of drugs or alcohol abuse were excluded from the research. The age of the participants ranged between 18 and 69 years.

The participants were asked to sign an informed consent form for participation in the experiment. The form stated that the participant could stop the process at any time. It was stressed that stopping the experiment would not require the participants to return the payment they received for participation in the experiment.

The participants completed questionnaires, and the researcher then explained that the study would investigate the impact of punishments in the field of memory processes. The participants, together with the confederate, drew names to determine who would have which role. On each name, however, was the role of teacher, but the confederate said that they had been assigned the role of student.
The student (confederate) had to learn by heart the connections between syllables. The task of the teacher (the real participant) was to read one syllable and then wait for the student's answer. If the answer was correct, the teacher switched to the next syllable. If the answer was wrong, the teacher had to wait for the investigator's instruction.

The researcher attached electrodes to the student's wrists and asked the teacher to sit behind the generator. The researcher was about 3 metres away from the teacher. The ‘student’ made no mistakes until the seventh syllable. Here the learner made a mistake and the researcher instructed the teacher to pull the first lever. On the second error, the teacher had to pull the second lever and at the third error on the third lever and so on. The shocks became more violent with every lever. The student screamed in pain at one point (this scream was recorded beforehand and played at the appropriate times).

When the teacher hesitated, the researcher insisted that the participant should continue. After the teacher had pulled the tenth lever, the researcher asked the teacher: "Do you think it hurts?". This was a way to make sure that the teacher was aware of the actual pain they were inflicting on the person in the room next door.

Afterwards, each participant was informed by a clinical psychologist about the exact details of the study, apologised for the fact that the participants had been misled at the start of the study and were given an explanation as to why the procedure was carried out in this way.

What are the results of the experiment?
A large majority (90%) continued to the last lever of the generator. When a woman was given shocks, the participants were three times more likely to withdraw from the experiment, regardless of their own gender.

What do the results mean?
Despite the many years that have passed since the Milgram experiment, the amount of people in the study who admit themselves to the authority of the researcher has remained high. We cannot draw any conclusions from the fact that participants withdrew earlier when the shocks were administered to a woman. The difference is too small to be able to draw a conclusion from it; it is not statistically significant.
The results of this study do not lead to definitive conclusions about the sex of the student in the experiment.

Factors that play a role in the Milgram experiment
In the experiment, there were several factors that changed the outcomes.

- *Voice feedback condition*: the participant could hear the student through the wall. After 330 volts, you could no longer hear the student. If a person did not obey, they were more likely to comply with the student's demand to be released than with the pupil's leed experience.
  → 62.5% obeyed up to 450 volts.
- *Heart-problem condition*: at the time the experimenter attached the wires to the arm of the confederate, the confederate explained that they had a heart condition and asked if there would be any complications following the experiment. The experimenter said there would be no permanent damage.
  → 65% went through to 450 volts.
- *Proximity condition*: the proximity of the victim ensured less obedience;
  → 40% of the participants obeyed if the victim was in the same room (now participants could not distance themselves from their actions);
- *Touch-proximity condition*: the participant had to put the student's hand on the shock plate
  → Obedience dropped to 30%
- *Low surveillance condition*: experiment leader was not in the same room and communicated over the phone
  → 25% stopped when the student was allowed to be released at 150 volts.
  → 20% went through to 450 volts.
- *Office-building condition*: Milgram conducted the study in a shopping mall.
  → Obedience dropped to 48%. There were 2 individuals who gave no shocks at all.
- *Ordinary-man variation*: if a *confederate* gave the orders and not the experiment leader.
  → Obedience dropped to 20%
- *Two peers rebel condition*: if there were two *confederates* posed as participants, and refused to continue with the experiment and left.
  → Obedience dropped to 10%

- *Peer administers shock conditions*: if the participant only had to read the words or give feedback and someone else gave the shocks, there was *more* obedience.
  → Obedience was 92.5% (this is because even now the responsibility is on someone else can be pushed off);
- *Authority as victim condition*: Experimenter took on the role of student in order to convince the teacher that the shocks were not harmful. After 150 volts, however, the experimenter (now apprentice) wanted to stop and urged the confederate to continue. In any case, participants released the experimenter.
  → Obedience to torment authority was 0.

Factors such as gender, age and culture do not make a big difference. However, personality is important. The **F-Scale** (*Fascist-Scale*) plays a role in this: people obey more quickly if they are inflexible, dogmatic, sexually oppressed, and ethnocentric. They are also more likely to obey if they do not like dissent, have little empathy, and have an uncritical attitude towards authority.

What also played a role in why people continued to give the shocks was a *slippery slope*. The shocks started relatively mildly and only went up by 15 volts, so it was not difficult to start. However, it was difficult to stop because of this. Participants could have thoughts such as: does it really make a difference to increase the shock by 15 volts more?

So the most important factors in obedience are: the victim (and the proximity), the authority (the proximity, the legitimacy), the procedure (gradual escalation, responsibility for giving the shocks or not), the location / environment, one's personality, and limited sources (was there only an experiment leader, or were there also *confederates*?).

Criticism of the Milgram experiment
The Milgram experiment, conducted in 1960, was often criticised. Later, people tried to imitate his experiment. First, of course, there are ethical concerns: the participants showed clear signs of distress, and so the experiment was not ethical. In addition, it is sometimes criticised that the participants knew that the experiment was not real. However, this was rejected because the participants did show severe signs of distress.
Later, in 2006, the experiment was carried out again by Burger. However, the highest volt percentage was now 150 instead of 450. The difference in results was small: now 70% went beyond 150 volts, while this was 82.5% at first.

Meeus and Raaijmakers also did a similar experiment. In this research, people had to hurt someone psychologically, rather than physically. A *confederate* had to take a test to get a job, and the participant had to distract the person with increasingly nasty comments. The *confederate* asked if the contestant wanted to stop, got angry, and failed the test. When there was no experiment leader, no participant went through. When there was an experiment leader, as many as 92% went ahead.

Ethical considerations
One of the reasons that Milgram's research hasn't been done similarly is because the research is seen as unethical. There are three questions that can be asked to see if an experiment is ethical:

- Is the research important?
- Can the participant leave the study at any time?
  - According to Milgram, they could basically do whatever they wanted, but the goal of the experiment was to keep the participants staying.

- Does the participant participate voluntarily?
    - According to Milgram, the participants participated voluntarily, but the true nature of the experiment was not explained.

As a result of unethical experiments, guidelines have been drawn up for experiments:
- Participation must be based on full consent;
- Participants must be explicitly informed that they can stop at any time, without consequences;
- Participants must be fully and honestly informed about the true nature of the study at the end of the experiment.

Power bases
French and Raven came up with six sources of *social power*, the **power bases**.
First, there is **reward power.** This is power based on one's ability to give rewards. These rewards can be personal (such as a compliment or a promotion) or impersonal (such as money). When only one person has these resources, this person has more influence because the group depends on them and will obey them to get these rewards.

On the other hand, there is **coercive power**. This is based on one's ability to punish or threaten people who disobey. It can be personal (for example, by insulting someone or getting angry) and impersonally (for example, by firing people). Authority figures who have a sense of little power are more likely to use this form of power.

Legitimate power is based on one's legitimate right to give orders (e.g., security personnel or a professor). These people have the right to give orders to others, and others have the duty to obey. Obedience is not forced, but voluntary (as long as the authority is fair).

Referent power is based on group members' identification with, attraction to, or respect for the person in power. If group members like the person, or identify with them, they want to follow that person.
Expert power is about a person's skills. This form of power is based on the assumption of the subordinates that the person with the power has certain superior skills and abilities (such as a doctor or a teacher). The person doesn't necessarily have to have these abilities, the other people simply have to believe that they do.

Finally, there is **informational power**, which is based on one's potential use of information (such as a rational argument, belief, or fact). Demand can turn information into power by giving it to people who need it, withholding it from others, organising, increasing or falsifying it. An example is a person who knows the answers to a test.

Milgram in power bases
In Milgram's experiment, the *power bases* of French and Raven clearly come back.
- *Reward power*: the authority gave money and positive reviews to the participants;
- *Coercive power*: the authority used phrases such as ‘you have no choice' and 'you must continue' to warn of possible negative consequences of disobedience;
- *Legitimate power*: participants thought that the experimenter is in a position of authority and thus has the legitimate right to influence their actions;
- *Referent power*: participants respected the prestigious Yale University and the importance of scientific research;

- *Expert power*: participants saw the authority as an expert;
- *Informational power*: the authority convinced the participants by saying that the research gives information about how people learn.

Power tactics

Power tactics are specific strategies that are used to influence others to take advantage of them.

- Soft and hard tactics
    - Soft: the goal is to get compassion out of it by strengthening the relationship. Befriending, socialising and personal rewards are examples of this.
    - Hard: use of impersonal rewards and threats. Hard tactics don't work any better than soft tactics.
- Rational and non-rational tactics
    - Rational: trying to persuade someone by consulting
    - Non-rational: responding to emotion, giving misinformation.

Defiance

Defiance is when people refuse to obey. This happens more often when people are in groups. That's because synchrony in behaviour (doing things simultaneously with other people) creates a sense of unity between people, which leads to a tendency to follow what others are doing. This was also evidenced in the Milgram experiment. If there were two other *confederates* who did not want to continue (and the participant was therefore in a group), only 10% of the participants continued to give shocks.

Slim Summarised!

- **Social influence** refers to changes in thoughts or behaviour due to real or imagined social pressure and occurs in forms like **automatic influence**, **conformity**, **compliance**, and **obedience** (discussed separately through Milgram's work);
- **Automatic influence** includes the **chameleon effect**, where individuals unconsciously mimic others' behaviours, often to build rapport or out of a desire to belong;
- **Conformity** means adapting to group norms and can stem from **informational influence** (to be correct) or **normative influence** (to be accepted); Sherif's experiment showed informational conformity in ambiguous situations, while Asch's experiment showed normative conformity in clear situations where individuals still conformed to avoid standing out;
- Conformity occurs both **privately** (genuine belief, e.g., Sherif) and **publicly** (superficial agreement, e.g., Asch); presence of **allies**, **group size** (up to ~4 people), **task difficulty**, **culture**, **gender**, **status**, and **individual traits** (e.g., insecurity, agreeableness) influence conformity levels;
- **Social impact theory** (Latané) posits influence depends on **strength**, **immediacy**, and **number** of sources; the **dynamic** version adds effects like **clustering** and **continuing diversity**;
- **Majority influence** works through **normative pressure** and often leads to **public compliance**; **minority influence**, studied by **Moscovici**, works through **informational pressure** and leads to **private conversion** when the minority is **consistent** or has gained **credibility** (Hollander's idiosyncrasy credits);
- **Forms of social response** include: **compliance**, **conversion**, **congruence**, **independence**, and **anti-conformity**; Haun & Tomasello (2011) showed preschoolers conform due to **peer pressure**, especially when answers are public;
- **Milgram's obedience studies** showed that most people obey authority figures even when it means harming others; **90%** of participants in Doliński et al. (2017) delivered shocks up to the maximum level, regardless of the victim's gender, though slightly more participants quit when the victim was female;
- Variations in Milgram's experiments revealed factors reducing obedience: **proximity** to victim (e.g., same room or physical contact), **lack of authority presence**, **non-lab environment**, **rebel peers**, or **shift in responsibility**; highest obedience occurred when participants merely facilitated, not delivered, the shocks;
- Obedience was reinforced through gradual escalation (**slippery slope**) and shifting responsibility; **personality** traits such as **dogmatism**, **low empathy**, and **submission to authority** increased obedience; **demographics** like age and gender had little effect;
- **Ethical concerns** about deception and participant distress led to stricter research guidelines (informed consent, withdrawal rights, full debriefing); replications (e.g., Burger 2006) still showed high obedience rates at lower voltage levels;
- **Power bases** by **French and Raven** explain obedience through: **reward**, **coercive**, **legitimate**, **referent**, **expert**, and **informational power**; all were present in Milgram's setup;
- **Power tactics** vary as **soft** (relationship-based) or **hard** (threat-based), and **rational** (logical appeals) or **non-rational** (emotional/misinformation);
- **Defiance** occurs more when people act **in groups**, as collective dissent provides moral support; in Milgram's study, only 10% obeyed when two others refused to continue.

Epilogue

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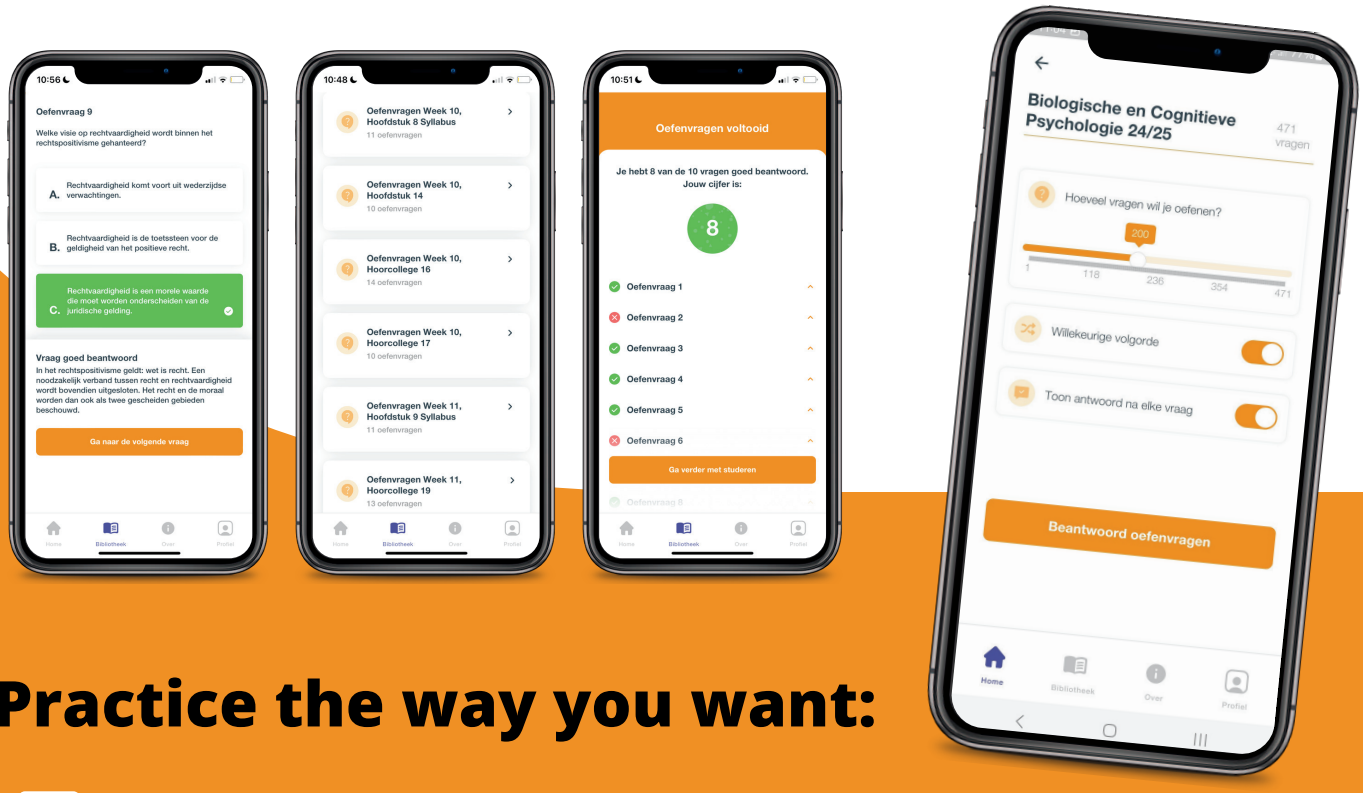

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