

Kommunikation, Persuasion und Konflikt

Vorlesung MSc, 11. Sitzung
Wintersemester 2010/11

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Überblick

Teil II: Prinzipien und Techniken der Beeinflussung

1. Reziprozität
2. Verpflichtung (Commitment) und Konsistenz
3. Gehorsam und Autorität
4. Soziale Wahrheit (Konformität)
5. Sympathie / Zuneigung
6. Knappheit (von Objekten)

Literatur: Cialdini (2009); Smith & Mackie (2007)

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3. Autorität und Gehorsam

- „It makes so much sense [to comply with the wishes of properly constituted authorities], that we often do so when it makes no sense at all.“ (Cialdini, 2009, p. 181)

Milgram's Studies of Obedience

- originally designed as control condition (instruction to harm without group pressure; in a culture valuing independence and individualism)
- Would Americans unquestioningly obey destructive orders?
- Method
 - Cover story involved study of learning
 - Participants play role of teacher, induced to give shocks to “learner” who makes many errors

Milgram's Studies of Obedience



Source: Milgram (1974)

Public Announcement

WE WILL PAY YOU \$4.00 FOR ONE HOUR OF YOUR TIME

Persons Needed for a Study of Memory

*We will pay five hundred New Haven men to help us complete a scientific study of memory and learning. The study is being done at Yale University. Each person who participates will be paid \$4.00 for one hour of your time for appropriate help. We need you for only one hour; there are no further obligations. You may choose the time you would like to come (evenings, weekends, etc.).

*No special training, education, or experience is needed. We want:

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Factory workers | Businessmen | Construction workers |
| City employees | Clerks | Soldiers |
| Laborers | Professional people | White-collar workers |
| Barbers | Telephone workers | Others |

All persons must be between the ages of 20 and 50. High school and college students cannot be used.

If you are interested in qualifications, fill out the coupon below and mail it now to Professor Stanley Milgram, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven. You will be invited later at a specific time and place of the interview to take part in the study. You will be paid \$4.00 (plus 50¢ carfare) if I participate.

NAME (Please Print).....

ADDRESS.....

TELEPHONE NO. Best time to call you.....

AGE OCCUPATION SEX

CAN YOU COME:.....

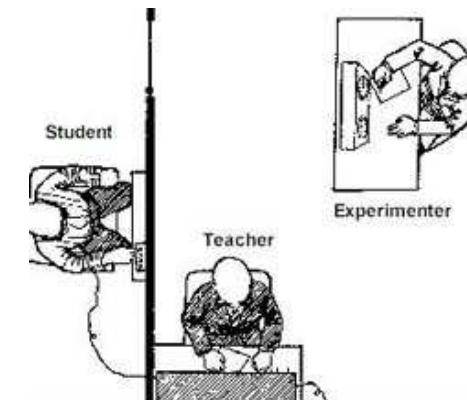
WEEKDAYS EVENINGS WEEKENDS.....

Fig. 1. Announcement placed in local newspaper to recruit subjects.

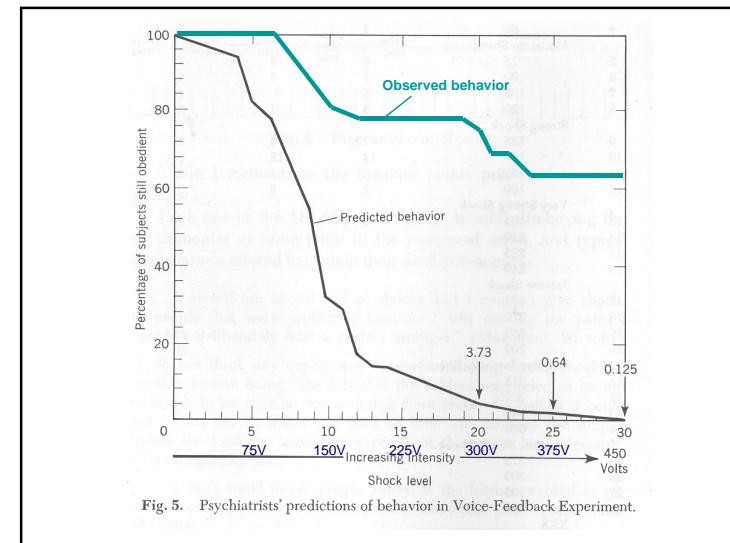
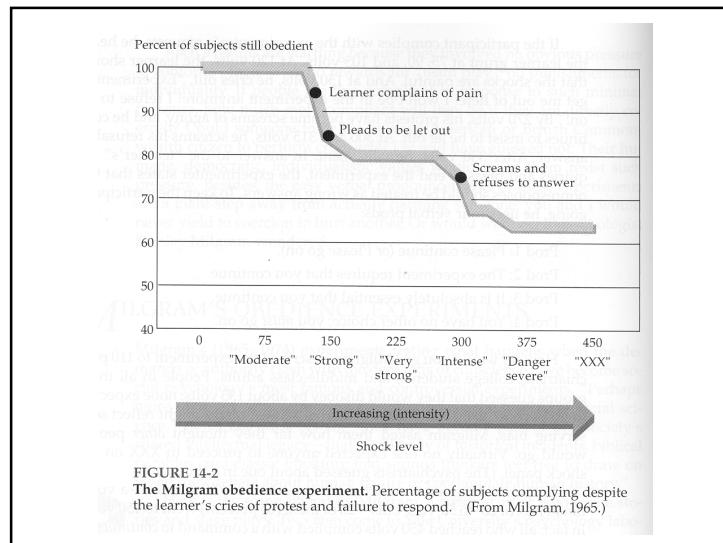
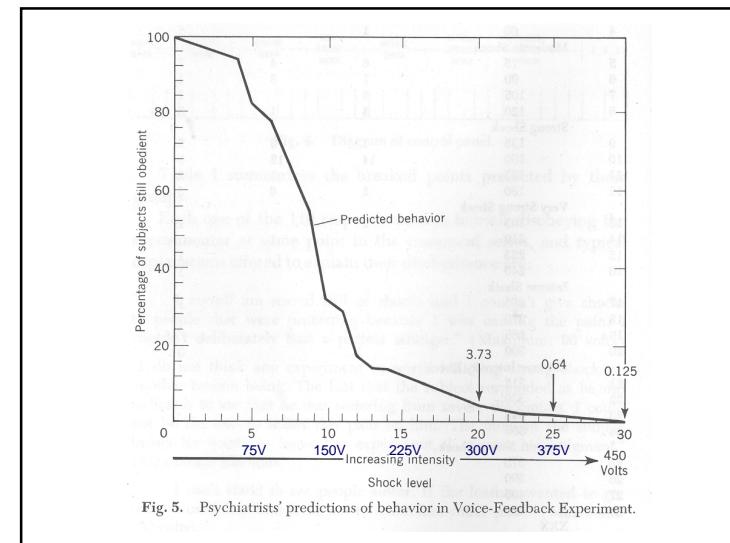
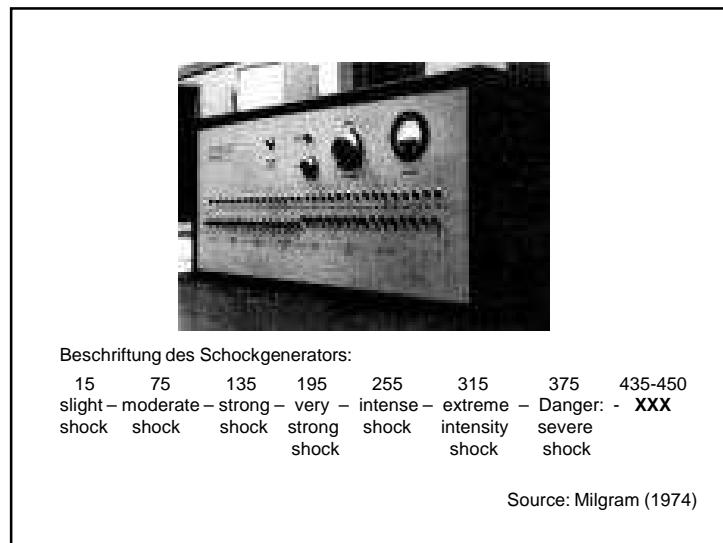
- Shock intensity rises, learner begins to cry out, then refuses to go on
- Experimenter says “The experimenter requires that you continue”
- In one version of the study, 65% of participants delivered shocks to the highest level



From the film *Obedience*. Copyright © 1965 by Stanley Milgram and distributed by Penn State Media Sales. Permission granted by Alexandra Milgram.



Source: Milgram (1974)



The Milgram Paradigm: Variations

Milgram defined an obedient participant as one who delivered the maximum level of shock, 450 volts. In Milgram's initial study, 26 of 40 participants were obedient; that is, 26 of 40 followed instructions completely and delivered what they thought was 450 volts of electric shock.

Here are some brief descriptions of follow-up studies that Milgram conducted using the same basic design.

For each follow-up, state whether you think the level of obedience would be **greater, less, or about the same** as in the original study.

1. Verbal protests were introduced. As in the original study, the learner was placed in an adjacent room, but his complaints could be heard clearly through the walls of the laboratory.
2. The learner mentions he has a slight heart condition. His verbal protests include complaints about his heart.
3. The learner is placed in the same room as the participant, a few feet from him. He is visible as well as audible.
4. The learner, who receives a shock only when his hand rests on a shock plate, refuses to place his hand on the plate after the 150-volt level. The experimenter requires that the participant hold the learner's hand on the shock plate from the 150-volt level on.

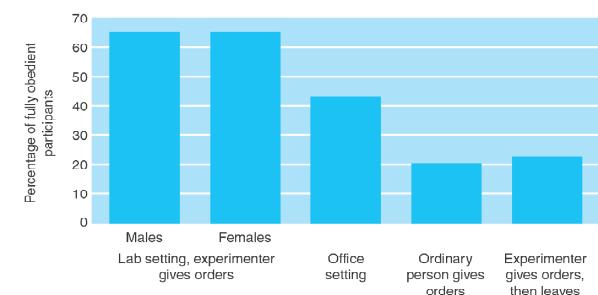
5. Women are the participants (the teachers, the ones giving the shocks) rather than men. The learner in this variation, and all subsequent variations, is in an adjacent room.
6. The study is conducted in an office building in Bridgeport, Connecticut, rather than at Yale.
7. The experimenter does not stay in the room with the participants. He gives all of his instructions over the telephone.
8. A real participant and two confederates serve as teachers. Another confederate, as usual, is the learner. One teacher reads the word pairs, another informs the learner whether he is correct or incorrect, and the third (the real participant) delivers the shock. At the 150-volt level, one confederate-teacher refuses to continue. At the 210-volt level, the second confederate-teacher rebels, too. The experimenter tells the real participant to go on.
9. A confederate and a real subject serve as teachers. This time, the confederate teacher pulls the shock levers, while the real participant performs subsidiary tasks.
10. The participant chooses what level of shock to give the learner. He may choose any voltage he wants and is not obligated to go higher each time. (Here, you are not really estimating obedience, but instead, how many participants would choose the 450-volt level.)

Based on data from Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to Authority*. New York: HarperCollins.

Correct Answers

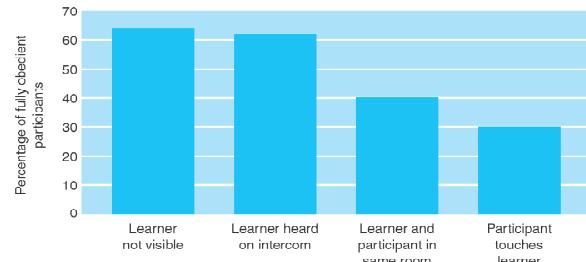
| Variation Number | Compared to Original Study | Specific Number of Obedient Subjects |
|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | about the same | 25/40 |
| 2 | about the same | 26/40 |
| 3 | less | 16/40 |
| 4 | less | 12/40 |
| 5 | about the same | 26/40 |
| 6 | less | 19/40 |
| 7 | less | 9/40 |
| 8 | less | 4/40 |
| 9 | greater | 37/40 |
| 10 | less | 1/40 |

Conditions for obedience



(Data from Milgram, 1974)

Undermining obedience



(Data from Milgram, 1974)

The Norm of Obedience to Authority

- The norm that people should obey commands from legitimate authorities
- Obedience may be formally enforced but more often is privately accepted
- Cues to authority increase obedience
 - Clothes (uniforms), tone of voice, posture, height and spatial superiority (“Your highness” on a throne)

- Norm of obedience must be **accessible**
 - Authority figure physically present
 - Authority figure focuses person on obedience, downplaying other issues

- Incompatible norms must be suppressed
 - Norm of social responsibility: Help those who need help
 - Closeness of suffering victim increases **accessibility** of that norm, decreases obedience
 - Considering that victim deserves his/her suffering can disengage that norm
 - ⇒ “Just world” beliefs (Lerner, 1980); blaming victims protects perceivers

Attempting to Explain Obedience: Was it the Time, the Place, the People?

- Were participants heartless and uncaring?
- Did they see through the deception and realize no shocks were actually delivered?
- No: Participants' evident distress rules out both of these ideas

- Is obedience limited to males or to Americans?
No, many replications across the globe find similar results
- Is obedience limited to social contexts that lack today's more liberal and less authoritarian mentality (US in 1950s/early 1960s)?
No, replicated recently in the US (Burger, 2009)
- Is obedience found only in the research lab?
No, also in the workplace: obedience to medical doctors or company executives (e.g., Meeus & Raaijmakers, 1986, 1987)

Escalating obedience (gradual entrapment)

- Part of Milgram study's power came from the sequential nature of demands on participants
 - Early acts were benign (weak shocks), participating up to a point made it hard to quit later ("when I give 45 volts, why should I refuse to give 60 volts?")
 - Terrible nature of situation only became evident later
 - Participants were low-balled
 - Actions created dissonance (I tortured him but I am a good person)
 - Dissonance reduced by rationalizing act (He deserves it)

Normative Trade-Offs: The Pluses and Minuses of Obedience

- Complex societies and institutions could not function without obedience.
- Obeying authorities has advantages: As children we experience that authorities know more (access to information) and have control over rewards (power).
- As a result, the norm of obedience has a strong hold over each of us
 - Difficult to escape power of social situations that invoke that norm

4. Soziale Wahrheit (Konformität)



Examples



- Effect of canned laughter on reactions of television viewers to a comedy.
- Littering the environment when seeing the environment littered (e.g., sprayed with graffiti; Keizer, Lindenberg & Steg, 2008).
- Walking by a victim in need for help because all other people continue walking.

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Social Proof

- Principle of social proof: We view a behavior as correct in a given situation to the degree that we see others performing it.
- Others' actions and behaviors are important guides for deciding what to believe & do.
- Can be used as social influence technique: increase compliance with a request by making the person aware that many other people are complying with it.
- Underlying mechanism: conformity

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Conformity

- Definition:
The convergence of individuals' thoughts, feelings, or behavior toward a social norm

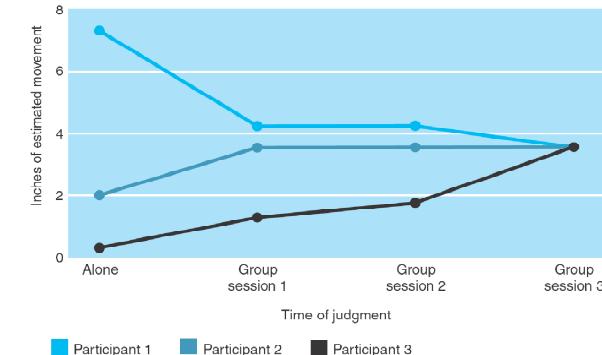
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The Formation of Social Norms

- Norms (accepted ways to think, feel, act) form in face-to-face interacting groups when group members observe each other's attitudes or behaviors
- Sherif (1936)
 - “Autokinetic effect” (illusory motion)
 - Group members spoke judgments aloud
 - Members tended to converge

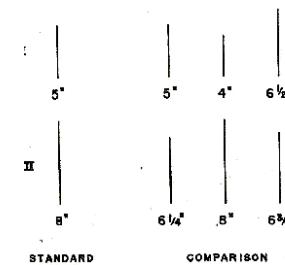


Sherif (1936)



Role of ambiguity

- Perhaps people conformed because situation was ambiguous, uncertain.
- But see Asch (1951)
 - Clear, unambiguous perceptual judgments
 - Confederates posing as participants gave wrong judgments on some trials



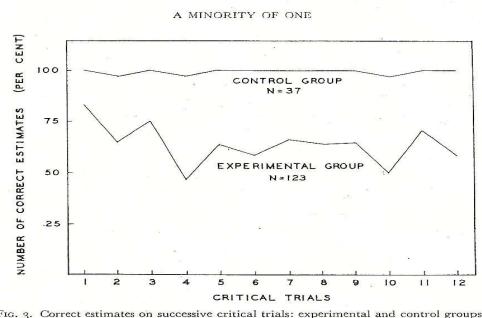
Asch (1951)



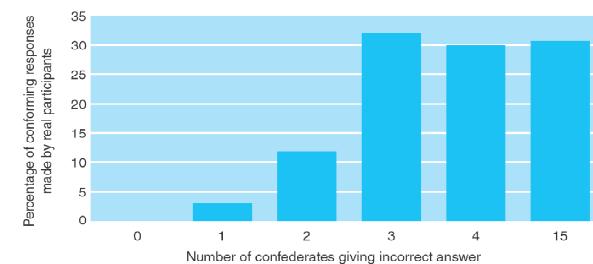
Some actual participants were surprised, and so was Solomon Asch. He had hypothesized that social influence would be reduced with unambiguous judgments...

Asch (1951)

Actual participants frequently went along:
Only 25% never conformed



Varying numbers of confederates (Asch, 1955)



Reasons for going along

- Avoid criticism, ridicule from others (**connectedness**)
- Assume others are correct (**mastery**) and some kind of optical illusion makes my perception erroneous

Public Versus Private Conformity

- Convergence of individuals' thoughts, feelings, or behavior toward a group norm
 - **Private conformity:** Personally convinced that group is correct; conform even when group is not present
 - **Public conformity:** Behave consistently with norms that are not privately accepted as correct

- Conformity found even in individualistic Western cultures (Sherif; Asch)
- Even stronger in interdependent Asian cultures
 - People see themselves as part of the group, conformity as holding the group together

Facilitating Conditions for Conformity

(1) Uncertainty

When people are unsure, when the situation is ambiguous, they are more likely to accept the actions of others as correct.

(2) Similarity of others

People are more likely to follow the lead of similar others.

(Cialdini, 2009, pp. 109-131)

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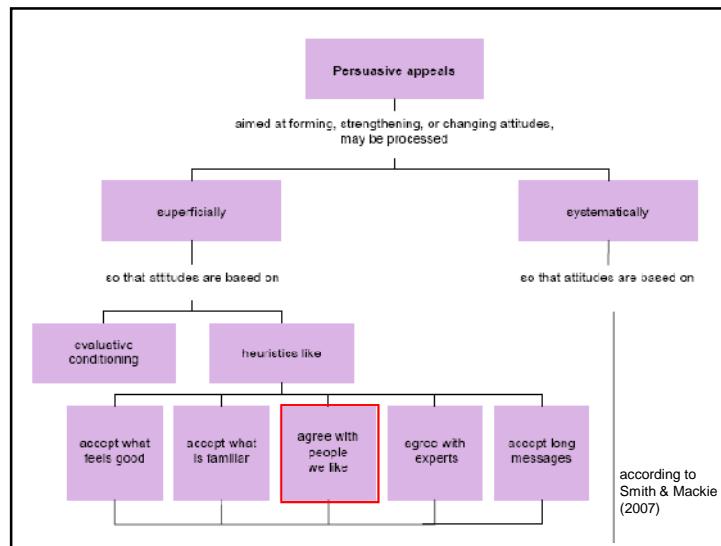
Pluralistic Ignorance: The failure of groups of bystanders to help victims



- Key condition: **Uncertainty** about how to interpret the situation
- Social proof: others' lack of help

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5. Sympathie / Zuneigung



Using liking to make others comply

- „The main work of a trial attorney is to make a jury like his client.“ (Clarence Darrow, berühmter US-amerikanischer Rechtsanwalt, 1857-1938)
- **Principle:** People prefer to comply with requests of others they like.
- Has been realized by sales professionals and other compliance agents.
- Just mentioning a friend's name can be sufficient („endless chain“ method: customer gives names of friends who may be interested in product, and so on).

Examples



- The formula of Joe Girard from Detroit, the world's „Greatest Care Salesman“ (*Guiness Book of Records*): a salesperson whom customers like, plus a fair price
- Tupperware home parties: buy from a friend rather than from an unknown salesperson



Sales manual of a door-to-door sale corporation:

„Being able to say that Mr. So-and-so, a friend of his, felt he would benefit by giving you a few moments of his time is virtually as good as a sale of 50% made before you enter.“

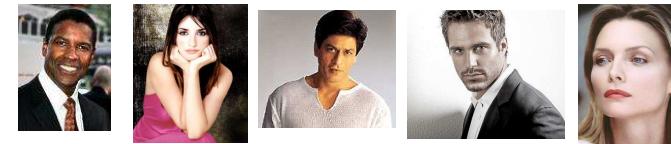
Factors of Liking

- (a) physical attractiveness
- (b) similarity
- (c) receiving compliments from the other
- (d) familiarity (contact, especially cooperation)
- (e) association with positive objects
(conditioning)

Factors of Liking

- (a) **physical attractiveness**
- (b) **similarity**
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- (d) familiarity (contact, **interaction**, cooperation)
- (e) **association** with positive objects (conditioning)

(a) physical attractiveness



- We automatically assign good-looking individuals positive traits like kindness, honesty, intelligence (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991)
- ⇒ Halo effect: one characteristic dominates impression on other characteristics (⇒ in religious iconography: glow of light around head)
- Stereotype can become self-fulfilling (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977).

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Relevant Features

- Perceptions of what is attractive are culturally shaped. In 200 non-Western societies there was not one characteristic that was considered attractive everywhere (Ford & Beach, 1951).
- Beauty ideals also vary across time within the same culture (see Marilyn Monroe vs. today's models).
- Some evidence for symmetry and averageness as features of facial attractiveness, but explanation (evolutionary?) unclear (Fink & Penton-Voak, 2002)

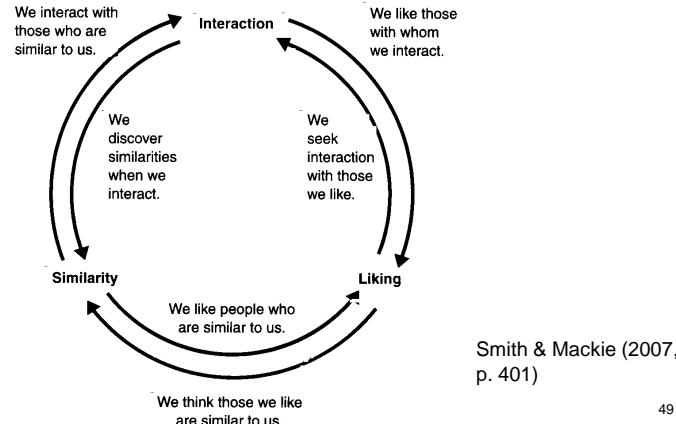
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Real-world effects

- In the 1974 Canadian federal elections, attractive candidates received > 2.5 times as many votes as unattractive candidates; but 73% of the surveyed voters denied the bias resolutely (Efran & Patterson, 1976).
- Attractive employees receive 12-14 % more pay than less attractive coworkers (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994).
- Good-looking defendants receive lighter sentences at court (jailed less than 50%) (Stewart, 1980)

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(b & d) Liking, similarity, interaction (contact): A cycle of mutual reinforcement



(e) Positive association

- Principle: An innocent association with either good or bad things influences how people feel about us (Lott & Lott, 1965).

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Examples



- Blaming-the-messenger effect: The quality of bad news infects the teller (Manis, Cornell, & Moore, 1974).
- Linking of celebrities to products / people.
- The mere presence of credit-card stimuli (positive: immediate benefit, delayed costs) can increase spending (Feinberg, 1986).

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6. Knapheit

Scarcity

- Principle: Opportunities seem more valuable when they are less available.
- Psychological mechanisms
a heuristic: shortcut to quality
 - reactance: defending or retaining our freedom when it is threatened (Brehm, 1966); response: wanting to have items when they become less available.
- Also applies to access to messages / information; limited information is even more persuasive (e.g., study on coed dorm speech by Worchel, Arnold, & Baker, 1975)!



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Tactics

- Limited numbers:
A product, that the compliance professional asks us to buy, is presumably in short supply.
- Time limit:
An official time limit is placed on the opportunity to comply with request (buying an item).
⇒ „Don't wait!“



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Optimal Conditions

- (1) Novelty / recency: Restriction of availability is recent
- (2) Competition with others

Illustration: Cookie studies by Worchel, Lee, & Adewole (1975)

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1. Reziprozität

- Cialdini discussing reciprocity:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tkyGOAWoYxA>

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Konflikt

- „perceived incompatibility of goals“ (Smith & Mackie, 2007, p. 474)
- wahrgenommene Unvereinbarkeit von Zielen, Bedürfnissen, Werten oder Interessen (vgl. Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993; Smith & Mackie, 2007)
- Setting: in einem Individuum, zwischen Individuen, zwischen größeren sozialen Einheiten (Gruppen, Organisationen, Regierungen oder Kulturen)

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