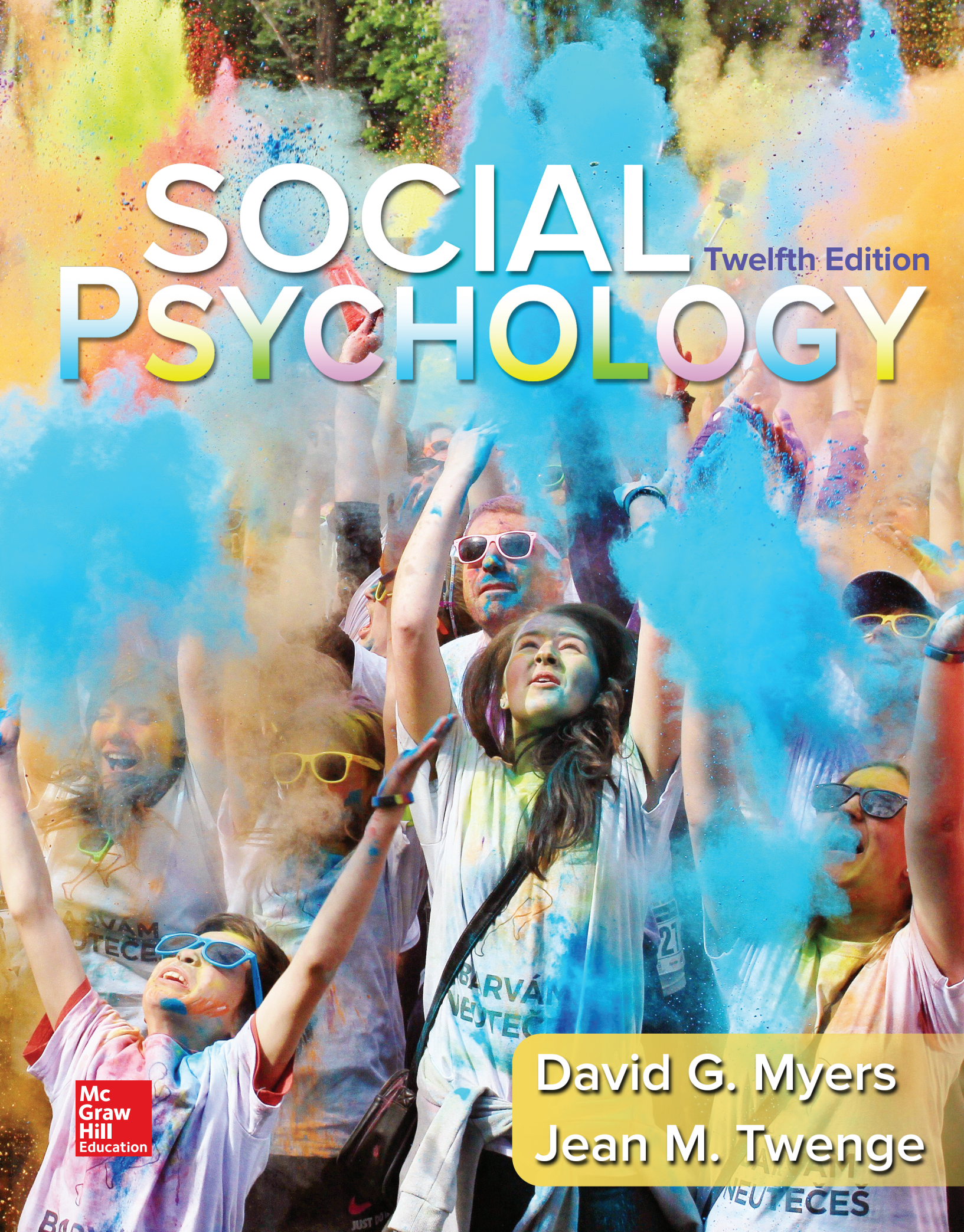
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
Twelfth Edition
David G. Myers
Jean M. Twenge
Mc Graw Hill Education

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

12e

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

12e

David G. Myers

Hope College

Jean M. Twenge

San Diego State University

Mc Graw Hill Education

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, TWELFTH EDITION

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For Kathy Adamski

With gratitude for 34 years of friendship and support

About the Authors

Since receiving his University of Iowa Ph.D., David Myers has professed psychology at Michigan's Hope College. Hope College students have invited him to be their commencement speaker and voted him "outstanding professor."

With support from National Science Foundation grants, Myers's research has appeared in some three dozen scientific books and periodicals, including *Science,* the *American Scientist, Psychological Science,* and the *American Psychologist*.

Hope College Public Relations

He has also communicated psychological science through his articles appearing in four dozen magazines, from *Today's Education* to *Scientific American,* and through his seventeen books, including *The Pursuit of Happiness and Intuition: Its Powers and Perils.*

Myers's research and writings have been recognized by the Gordon Allport Prize, by an "honored scientist" award from the Federation of Associations in the Brain and Behavioral Sciences, and by the Award for Distinguished Service on Behalf of Personality-Social Psychology.

He has chaired his city's Human Relations Commission, helped found a center for families in poverty, and spoken to hundreds of college and community groups. In recognition of his efforts to transform the way America provides assistive listening for people with hearing loss (see hearingloop.org), he has received awards from the American Academy of Audiology and the Hearing Loss Association of America.

He bikes to work year-round and plays pick-up basketball. David and Carol Myers have three children and one grandchild.

Sandy Huffaker, Jr.

As Professor of Psychology at San Diego State University, Jean M. Twenge has authored more than 120 scientific publications on generational differences, cultural change, social rejection, gender roles, self-esteem, and narcissism. Her research has been covered in *Time, Newsweek, The New York Times, USA Today, U.S. News and World Report,* and *The Washington Post,* and she has been featured on Today, Good Morning America, CBS This Morning, Fox and Friends, NBC Nightly News, Dateline NBC, and National Public Radio.

She summarized this research for a broader audience in the books *Generation Me: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled—and More Miserable Than Ever Before* and *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* (co-authored with W. Keith Campbell). She has written for general audiences on several websites and magazines, including a piece for *The Atlantic* that was nominated for a National Magazine Award. She frequently gives talks and seminars on generational differences to audiences such as college faculty and staff, military personnel, camp directors, and corporate executives.

Dr. Twenge grew up in Minnesota and Texas. She holds a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Chicago and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. She completed a postdoctoral research fellowship in social psychology at Case Western Reserve University. She lives in San Diego with her husband and three daughters.

Brief Contents

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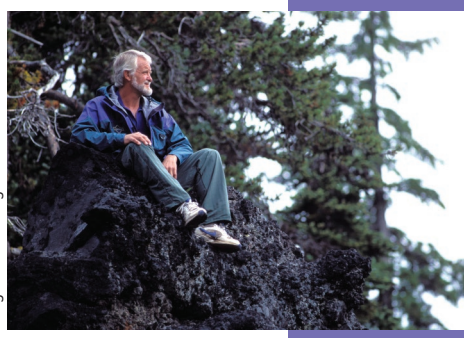

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Connecting the Human Experience, Research, and Results

Social Psychology introduces students to the science of *us*; how our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the world we live in. In this edition, esteemed author David Myers is joined by respected psychology professor and generational differences researcher Jean Twenge in presenting an integrated learning program designed for today's students.

Written in the tradition of the liberal arts, *Social Psychology*'s style allows any student to access the rich teachings of this young and exciting science. Whether students are interested in business, teaching, law, psychology, or other areas that invite exploring our social world, the program is accessible and easy to understand.

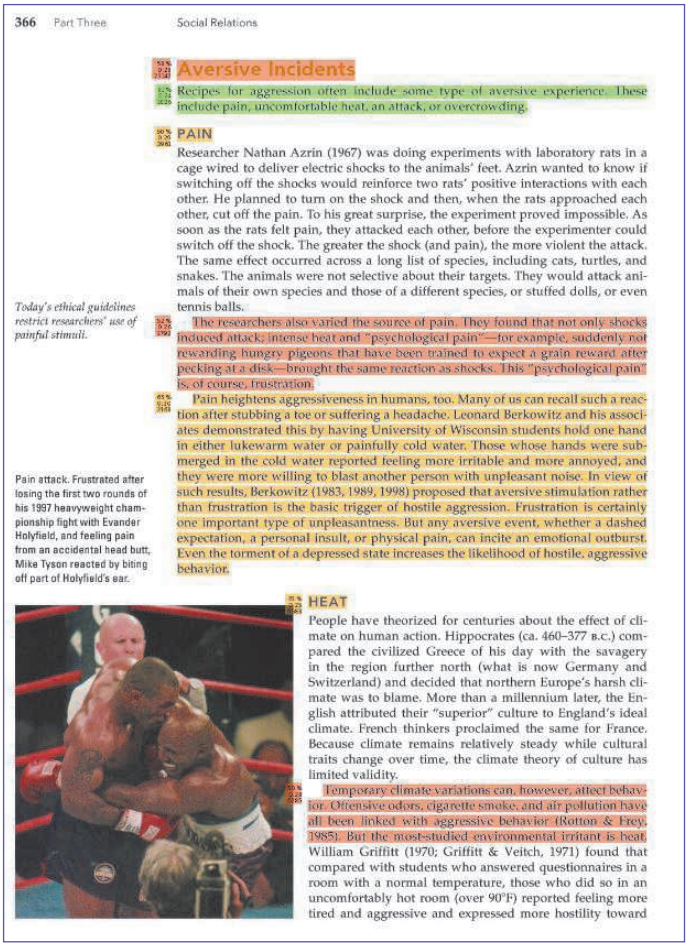
The new edition integrates SmartBook, a personalized learning program, offering students the insight they need to study smarter and improve classroom results.

Better Data, Smarter Revision, Improved Results

Students helped inform the revision strategy:

STEP 1. Over the course of three years, data points showing concepts that caused students the most difficulty were anonymously collected from McGraw-Hill Education Connect for Social Psychology's LearnSmart® data.

STEP 2. The authors were provided with data from LearnSmart that graphically illustrated hot spots in the form of a "Heat Map" that impacted student learning (see image).



366 Part Three Social Relations

Aversive Incidents

Recipes for aggression often include some type of aversive experience. These include pain, uncomfortable heat, an attack, or overcrowding.

PAIN

Researcher Nathan Azrin (1967) was doing experiments with laboratory rats in a cage wired to deliver electric shocks to the animals' feet. Azrin wanted to know if switching off the shocks would reinforce two rats' positive interactions with each other. He planned to turn on the shock and then, when the rats approached each other, cut off the pain. To his great surprise, the experiment proved impossible. As soon as the rats felt pain, they attacked each other, before the experimenter could switch off the shock. The greater the shock (and pain), the more violent the attack. The same effect occurred across a long list of species, including cats, turtles, and snakes. The animals were not selective about their targets. They would attack animals of their own species and those of a different species, or stuffed dolls, or even tennis balls.

Today's ethical guidelines restrict researchers' use of painful stimuli.

The researchers also varied the source of pain. They found that not only shocks induced attack; intense heat and "psychological pain"—for example, suddenly not rewarding hungry pigeons that have been trained to expect a grain reward after pecking at a disk—brought the same reaction as shocks. This "psychological pain" is, of course, frustration.

Pain heightens aggressiveness in humans, too. Many of us can recall such a reaction after stubbing a toe or suffering a headache. Leonard Berkowitz and his associates demonstrated this by having University of Wisconsin students hold one hand in either lukewarm water or painfully cold water. Those whose hands were submerged in the cold water reported feeling more irritable and more annoyed, and they were more willing to blast another person with unpleasant noise. In view of such results, Berkowitz (1983, 1989, 1998) proposed that aversive stimulation rather than frustration is the basic trigger of hostile aggression. Frustration is certainly one important type of unpleasantness. But any aversive event, whether a dashed expectation, a personal insult, or physical pain, can incite an emotional outburst. Even the torment of a depressed state increases the likelihood of hostile, aggressive behavior.

Pain attack. Frustrated after losing the first two rounds of his 1997 heavyweight championship fight with Evander Holyfield, and feeling pain from an accidental head butt, Mike Tyson reacted by biting off part of Holyfield's ear.

HEAT

People have theorized for centuries about the effect of climate on human action. Hippocrates (ca. 460–377 B.C.) compared the civilized Greece of his day with the savagery in the region further north (what is now Germany and Switzerland) and decided that northern Europe's harsh climate was to blame. More than a millennium later, the English attributed their "superior" culture to England's ideal climate. French thinkers proclaimed the same for France. Because climate remains relatively steady while cultural traits change over time, the climate theory of culture has limited validity.

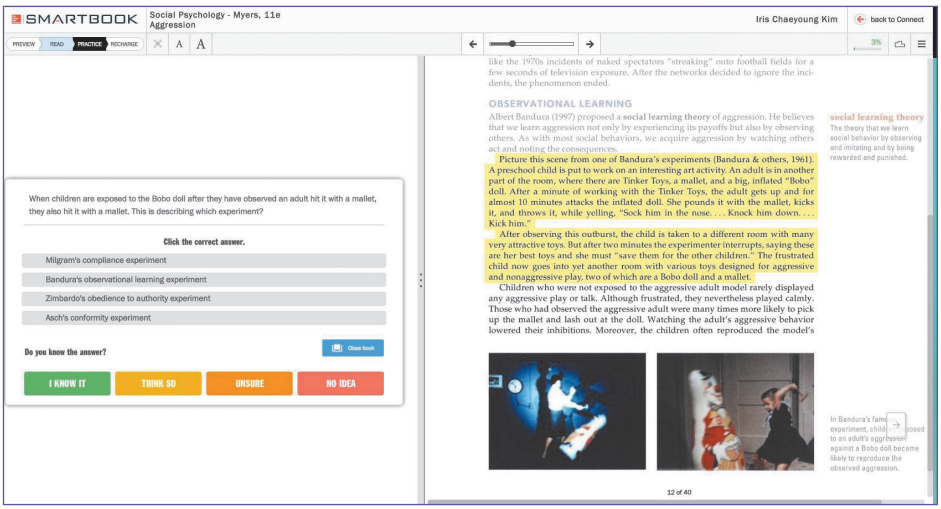
Temporary climate variations can, however, affect behavior. Offensive odors, cigarette smoke, and air pollution have all been linked with aggressive behavior (Rotton & Frey, 1985). But the most-studied environmental irritant is heat. William Griffitt (1970; Griffitt & Veitch, 1971) found that compared with students who answered questionnaires in a room with a normal temperature, those who did so in an uncomfortably hot room (over 90°F) reported feeling more tired and aggressive and expressed more hostility toward

STEP 3. The authors used the Heat Map data to refine the content and reinforce student comprehension in the new edition. Additional quiz questions and assignable activities were created for use in Connect for Social Psychology to further support student success.

RESULT: With empirically based feedback at the paragraph and even at the sentence level, the authors developed the new edition using precise student data to pinpoint concepts that caused students to struggle.

LearnSmart® is an adaptive learning program designed to help students learn faster, study smarter, and retain more knowledge for greater success. Distinguishing what students know from what they don't, and focusing on concepts they are most likely to forget, LearnSmart continuously adapts to each student's needs by building an individual learning path. Millions of students have answered more than a billion questions in LearnSmart since 2009, making it the most widely used and intelligent adaptive study tool that's proven to strengthen memory recall, keep students in class, and boost grades.

SMARTBOOK®



Fueled by LearnSmart, SmartBook is the first and only adaptive reading experience currently available.

- **Make It Effective.** SmartBook creates a personalized reading experience by highlighting the most impactful concepts a student needs to learn at that moment in time. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is returned to the student as the most value-added minute possible.
- **Make It Informed.** Real-time reports quickly identify the concepts that require more attention from individual students—or the entire class.

Personalized Grading, On the Go, Made Easier

Connect Insight® is a one-of-kind visual analytics dashboard—now available for both instructors and students—that provides at-a-glance information regarding student performance. Designed for mobile devices, Connect Insight empowers students and helps instructors improve class performance.

- **Make it intuitive.** Instructors receive instant, at-a-glance views of student performance matched with student activity. Students can receive at-a-glance views of their own performance and how they are doing compared to the rest of the class.
- **Make it dynamic.** Connect Insight puts real-time analytics in instructors' and students' hands, so they can take action early and keep struggling students from falling behind.
- **Make it mobile.** Connect Insight is available on-demand wherever and whenever it's needed.

The **Instructor Resources** have been updated to reflect changes to the new edition; these can be accessed by faculty through Connect for Social Psychology. Resources include the test bank, instructor's manual, PowerPoint presentation, and image gallery.

Easily rearrange chapters, combine material, and quickly upload content you have written, such as your course syllabus or teaching notes, using **McGraw-Hill Education Create™.** Find the content you need by searching through thousands of leading McGraw-Hill Education textbooks. Arrange your book to fit your teaching style. Create even allows you to personalize your book's appearance by selecting the cover and adding your name, school, and course information. Order a Create book, and you will receive a complimentary print review copy in three to five business days or a complimentary electronic review copy via e-mail in about an hour. Experience how McGraw-Hill Education empowers you to teach your students your way: http://create.mheducation.com

Capture lessons and lectures in a searchable format for use in traditional, hybrid, "flipped classes" and online courses by using **Tegrity** (http://www.tegrity.com). Its personalized learning features make study time efficient, and its affordability brings this benefit to every student on campus. Patented search technology and real-time Learning Management System (LMS) integrations make Tegrity the market-leading solution and service.

McGraw-Hill Education Campus (www.mhcampus.com) provides faculty with true single sign-on access to all of McGraw-Hill Education's course content, digital tools, and other high-quality learning resources from any LMS. This innovative offering allows for secure and deep integration, enabling seamless access for faculty and students to any of McGraw-Hill Education's course solutions, such as McGraw-Hill Education Connect® (all-digital teaching and learning platform), McGraw-Hill Education Create (state-of-the-art).

Taking Sides: Clashing Views in Social Psychology

This debate-style reader both reinforces and challenges students' viewpoints on the most crucial issues social psychology today. Each topic offers current and lively pro and con essays that represent the arguments of leading scholars and commentators in their fields. *Learning Outcomes,* an *Issue Summary,* and an *Issue Introduction* set the stage for each debate topic. Following each issue is the *Exploring the Issue* section with *Critical Thinking and Reflection* questions, *Is There Common Ground?* commentary, *Additional Resources,* and *Internet References* all designed to stimulate and challenge the student's thinking and to further explore the topic. Customize this title via **McGraw-Hill Create** at http://create.mheducation.com.

Preface

What Else Is New in *Social Psychology*, Twelfth Edition?

Building on prior editions, this twelfth edition combines scientific rigor with an accessible voice. The text is updated throughout, with more than 750 new citations. From cover to cover, Myers and Twenge introduce social psychology's big ideas and apply them to everyday life by helping students think critically about their own and others' social behavior.

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

Chapter 1 Introducing Social Psychology

- Expanded two levels of dual processing, intuitive and deliberate, to include System 1 and System 2
- New material and examples on wording of questions in surveys
- *"Random Assignment"* section moved before "Control: Manipulating Variables"
- New section titled "Replication: Are the Results Reproducible?"

Chapter 2 The Self in a Social World

- Chapter reorganized to bring together topics related to positive self-views (self-esteem, narcissism, self-serving bias) and to cover self-control separately
- New material on social comparison and self-presentation on Facebook
- New material on differences in individualism by region and class, and through cultural change
- New material on self-compassion vs. the pursuit of self-esteem
- New material on whether narcissists realize they are narcissistic

Chapter 3 Social Beliefs and Judgments

- Updated chapter opener example on same-sex marriage
- Updated coverage of System 1 and System 2 to explain unconscious, fast thinking compared with conscious, slow thinking
- Reorganized topics to bring together coverage of System 1 thinking (priming, intuitive judgments)
- Updated coverage on embodied cognition
- New Inside Story feature titled "Joseph P. Forgas: Can Bad Weather Improve Your Memory?"

Chapter 4 Behavior and Attitudes

- New research on effects of sustained role playing of "risk-glorifying" video games
- "The Foot-in-the-Door Phenomenon" section moved to Chapter 7, "Persuasion"
- New discussion about the inspiration for the cognitive dissonance theory

Chapter 5 Genes, Culture, and Gender

- New coverage of epigenetics
- Updated statistics on gender equality and gender-role attitudes
- New material on cultural similarities in emotional expression on Facebook
- New figure showing gender differences in language use on Facebook
- New material on precarious manhood
- New material on social norms across cultures
- Updated material on gender differences in sexuality

Chapter 6 Conformity and Obedience

- New coverage of acceptance
- Revised definitions and new figure illustrating the concepts acceptance, compliance, and obedience
- New material on mood linkage on Facebook
- New coverage of mass hysteria
- New examples of mass hysteria
- New material on cultural change in conformity
- Added modern interpretations of Milgram's obedience studies
- Updated and streamlined discussion of personality and conformity
- New material on pathogen prevalence and conformity
- New discussion of ways to prevent binge drinking on college campuses

Chapter 7 Persuasion

- New material on facial expressions and advertising persuasiveness
- New research on the trustworthiness of the communicator
- New examples of user-generated advertising
- New examples of fear appeals
- New discussion of consumer engagement as a key part of online advertising
- New material on persuading children toward healthier eating
- Discussion of the effects of advert-games on children

Chapter 8 Group Influence

- New discussion of social facilitation affecting home-game advantage, with a new bulleted list
- Expanded discussion of group polarization on the Internet, and introduction and example of "Dark Web" forums
- New research on creative innovation and leaders as minority influence

Chapter 9 Prejudice: Disliking Others

- Added research on microaggression
- Updated research on underreported feelings of prejudice
- Updated research on the Implicit Association Test (IAT)
- Updated data on changing gender attitudes
- New section titled "Gay-Lesbian Prejudice"
- New research on intervention for reducing implicit prejudice
- New research on values affirmation

Chapter 10 Aggression: Hurting Others

- New coverage of bullying and cyberbullying
- New information on sexual assault in the opener
- New coverage of physical aggression and social aggression
- New material on sleep and aggression
- New material on the effects of testosterone
- New material on diet and aggression
- New example of heat and aggression based on events in Ferguson, Missouri

- New material on media exposure and aggression/bullying
- New material on violent video games and aggression
- New strategies on how to reduce aggression

Chapter 11 Attraction and Intimacy: Liking and Loving Others

- Revised definitions of secure, anxious, and avoidant attachment
- Key term insecure attachment changed to anxious attachment.
- New material on mere exposure
- New research on the effects of physical attractiveness
- More thorough discussion of the correlates of avoidant attachment
- New discussion of couples' compatibility based on attachment styles

Chapter 12 Helping

- New bulleted list with examples expanding on the do-good/feel-good effect
- New bulleted list and discussion of the effect of personality on altruism, including individual differences, network of traits, and particular situations

Chapter 13 Conflict and Peacemaking

- New research citations added to "Does Contact Predict Attitudes?" section
- New research on interracial roommates, and interracial adoption
- New bulleted list and discussion of intergroup contact reducing prejudice
- More discussion of and examples of prejudice against and between Muslims

Chapter 14 Social Psychology in the Clinic

- Updated coverage on school shootings
- New bulleted list and discussion of studies comparing clinical and statistical predictions
- Updated discussion on the vicious circle of depression
- Updates in the discussion of loneliness
- New bulleted list and discussion of marital quality predicting health

Chapter 15 Social Psychology in Court

- New chapter opener, featuring events in Ferguson, MO
- New court examples, including the interrogation of Amanda Knox
- New material on false confessions
- New material on court rulings on eyewitness testimony
- New material on racial discrepancies in sentencing

Chapter 16 Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future

- Four new figures showing: (1) rise of CO_2, (2) rise in annual temperature, (3) average monthly Arctic Sea ice decline, (4) "Five Principles of Sustainable Development"
- New discussion of studies revealing spikes in *conflict* related to climate change
- New section called "Persuasion," discussing how to overcome resistance to climate science
- New Inside Story feature called "Janet Swim on Psychology's Response to Climate Change"
- New discussion about estimating income inequality gaps added to "Our Wanting to Compare" section

Acknowledgments

Although only two names appear on this book's cover, the truth is that a whole community of scholars has invested itself in it. Although none of these people should be held responsible for what we have written—nor do any of them fully agree with everything said—their suggestions made this a better book than it could otherwise have been.

This new edition still retains many of the improvements contributed by the dozens of consultants and reviewers who assisted with the first eleven editions, and now to these esteemed colleagues who contributed their wisdom and guidance for this new edition:

Daria Bakina, SUNY Oswego
Doris G. Bazzini, Appalachian State University
Steven G. Buzinski, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Dr. Deborah Conway, Community College of Allegheny County
Tracey Craig, University of South Carolina, Lancaster
Michael M. Denunzio, Baruch College and The Graduate Center, CUNY
Nao Hagiwara, Virginia Commonwealth University
Mahzad Hojjat, Ph.D., University of Massachusetts Dartmouth
Lindsay J. Holland, PhD, Chattanooga State Community College
Chad Keller, Lewis and Clark Community College
Yuthika Kim, Oklahoma City Community College
Philip Lemaster, West Virginia University
Terry Miller-Herringer, California State University, Chico
Christopher Ostwinkle, Northeast Iowa Community College, Peosta
Shannon Pinegar, Ohio University
Hilmar von Strunck, Central Community College, Columbus, Nebraska
Ryan J. Winter, Florida International University

Hope College, Michigan, has been wonderfully supportive of these successive editions. Both the people and the environment have helped make the gestation of *Social Psychology* a pleasure. At Hope College, poet Jack Ridl helped shape the voice you will hear in these pages. Kathy Adamski has again assisted with obtaining much of the new research. And Kathryn Brownson did online research, edited and prepared the manuscript, managed the paper flow, and proofed the pages and art. All in all, she midwifed this book.

At San Diego State, colleagues including David Armor, Jeff Bryson, Thierry Devos, David Marx, and Radmila Prislin shared their knowledge of teaching social psychology. Social psychology friends and co-authors also provided insight, including W. Keith Campbell, Julie Exline, Benita Jackson, Tim Kasser, and Kathleen Vohs.

At McGraw-Hill, senior brand manager Nancy Welcher envisioned this new edition and its author team. Lead product developer Dawn Groundwater commissioned and oversaw its creation. With diligence and sensitivity, our editor, Sue Ewing, gently nudged and expertly guided its development. Barbara Hacha fine-tuned the final manuscript. Sandy Wille coordinated the transformation of our manuscript into your finished book. After hearing countless dozens of people say that this book's supplements have taken their teaching to a new level, we also pay tribute to the late Martin Bolt (Calvin College), for pioneering the extensive instructor's resources with their countless ready-to-use demonstration activities, and then to Jon Mueller (North Central College) as author of the instructor's resources for the eighth through tenth editions. We extend our thanks to Diane Willard (Iowa Central Community College) for updating and extending these resources. To all in this supporting cast, we are indebted. Working with all these people has made the creation of this book a stimulating, gratifying experience.

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Jean M. Twenge
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A Letter from the Authors

We humans have a very long history, but social psychology has a very short one—barely more than a century. Considering that we have just begun, the results are gratifying. What a feast of ideas social psychology offers! Using varied research methods, we have amassed significant insights into belief and illusion, love and hate, conformity and independence.

Much about human behavior remains a mystery, yet social psychology can now offer partial answers to many intriguing questions:

- How does our thinking—both conscious and unconscious—drive our behavior?
- What leads people sometimes to hurt and sometimes to help one another?
- What creates social conflict, and how can we transform closed fists into helping hands?

Answering these and many other questions—our mission in the pages to come—expands our self-understanding and sensitizes us to the social forces that work upon us.

We aspire to offer a text that

- is solidly scientific and warmly human, factually rigorous, and intellectually provocative,
- reveals important social phenomena, as well as how scientists discover and explain such phenomena, and
- *stimulates students' thinking*—their motivation to inquire, to analyze, to relate principles to everyday happenings.

We cast social psychology in the intellectual tradition of the liberal arts. By the teaching of great literature, philosophy, and science, liberal arts education seeks to expand our awareness and to liberate us from the confines of the present. Social psychology contributes to these goals. By focusing on humanly significant issues, we aim to offer the core content to pre-professional psychology students in ways that also are stimulating to all students. And with close-up looks at how the game is played—at the varied research tools that expose the secrets of our social nature—we hope to enable students to think smarter.

To assist the teaching and learning of social psychology is a great privilege, but also a responsibility. So please never hesitate to let us know how we are doing, and what we can do better.

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Introducing Social Psychology

CHAPTER 1

© Lifesize/Getty RF

There once was a man whose second wife was a vain and selfish woman. This woman's two daughters were similarly vain and selfish. The man's own daughter, however, was meek and unselfish. This sweet, kind daughter, whom we all know as Cinderella, learned early on that she should do as she was told, accept ill treatment and insults, and avoid doing anything to upstage her stepsisters and their mother.

But then, thanks to her fairy godmother, Cinderella was able to escape her situation for an evening and attend a grand ball, where she attracted the attention of a handsome prince. When the love-struck prince later encountered Cinderella back in her degrading home, he failed to recognize her.

Implausible? The folktale demands that we accept the power of the situation. In the presence of her oppressive stepmother, Cinderella was humble and unattractive. At the ball, Cinderella felt more beautiful—and walked and talked and smiled as if she were. In one situation, she cowered. In the other, she charmed.

The French philosopher-novelist Jean-Paul Sartre (1946) would have had no problem accepting the Cinderella premise. We humans are "first of all beings in a situation," he wrote. "We cannot be distinguished from our situations, for they form us and decide our possibilities" (pp. 59–60, paraphrased).

WHAT IS SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY?

Define social psychology and explain what it does.

social psychology
The scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another.

Social psychology is a science that studies the influences of our situations, with special attention to how we view and affect one another. *More precisely, it is the scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another* (Figure 1).

Social psychology lies at psychology's boundary with sociology. Compared with sociology (the study of people in groups and societies), social psychology focuses more on individuals and does more experimentation. Compared with personality psychology, social psychology focuses less on individuals' differences and more on how people, in general, view and affect one another.

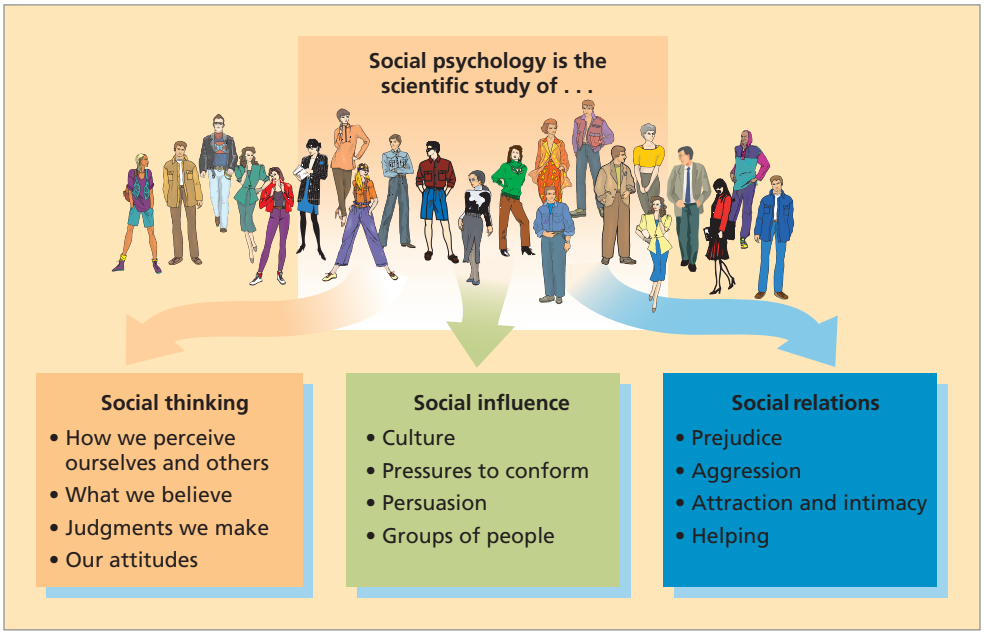
Throughout this book, sources for information are cited parenthetically. The complete source is provided in the reference section.

Social psychology is a young science. The first social psychology experiments were reported barely more than a century ago, and the first social psychology texts did not appear until approximately 1900 (Smith, 2005). Not until the 1930s did social psychology assume its current form. Not until World War II did it begin to emerge as the vibrant field it is today. And not until the 1970s and beyond did social psychology enjoy accelerating growth in Asia—first in India, then in Hong Kong and Japan, and, recently, in China and Taiwan (Haslam & Kashima, 2010).

Social psychology studies our thinking, influences, and relationships by asking questions that have intrigued us all. Here are some examples:

- *Does our social behavior depend more on the objective situations we face or how we construe them?* Our construals matter. Social beliefs can be self-fulfilling. For example, happily married people will attribute their spouse's acid remark ("Can't you ever put that where it belongs?") to something external ("He must have had a frustrating day"). Unhappily married people will attribute the same remark to a mean disposition ("Geesh, what a hostile person!") and may respond with a counterattack. Moreover, expecting hostility from their spouse, they may behave resentfully, thereby eliciting the hostility they expect.
- *Would people be cruel if ordered?* How did Nazi Germany conceive and implement the unconscionable slaughter of 6 million Jews? Those evil acts occurred partly because thousands of people followed orders. They put the prisoners on

FIGURE :: 1
Social Psychology Is . . .



trains, herded them into crowded "showers," and poisoned them with gas. How could people engage in such horrific actions? Were those individuals normal human beings? Stanley Milgram (1974) wondered. So he set up a situation in which people were ordered to administer increasing levels of electric shock to someone who was having difficulty learning a series of words. Nearly two-thirds of the participants fully complied.

- *To help? Or to help oneself?* As bags of cash tumbled from an armored truck one fall day, $2 million was scattered along a Columbus, Ohio, street. Some motorists stopped to help, returning $100,000. Judging from the $1,900,000 that disappeared, many more stopped to help themselves. (What would you have done?) When similar incidents occurred several months later in San Francisco and Toronto, the results were the same: Passersby grabbed most of the money (Bowen, 1988). What situations trigger people to be helpful or greedy? Do some cultural contexts—perhaps villages and small towns—breed less "diffusion of responsibility" and greater helpfulness?

These questions focus on how people view and affect one another. And that is what social psychology is all about. Social psychologists study attitudes and beliefs, conformity and independence, love and hate.

Tired of looking at the stars, Professor Mueller takes up social psychology.
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WHAT ARE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY'S BIG IDEAS?

Identify and describe the central concepts behind social psychology.

In many academic fields, the results of tens of thousands of studies, the conclusions of thousands of investigators, and the insights of hundreds of theorists can be boiled down to a few central ideas. Biology offers us natural selection and adaptation. Sociology builds on concepts such as social structure and organization. Music harnesses our ideas of rhythm, melody, and harmony.

Similarly, social psychology builds on a short list of fundamental principles that will be worth remembering long after you forget the details. Our short list of "great ideas we ought never to forget" includes these (Figure 2), each of which we will explore further in chapters to come.

We Construct Our Social Reality

People have an irresistible urge to explain behavior, to attribute it to some cause, and therefore to make it seem orderly, predictable, and controllable. You and I may *react* differently to a situation because we *think* differently. How we react to a friend's insult depends on whether we attribute it to hostility or to a bad day.

A Princeton–Dartmouth football game famously demonstrated how we construct reality (Loy & Andrews, 1981). The game lived up to its billing as a grudge match; it was rough and dirty. A Princeton All-American was gang-tackled, piled on, and finally forced out of the game with a broken nose. Fistfights erupted, with injuries on both sides. The game hardly fit the Ivy League image of gentility.

Not long afterward, two psychologists, one from each school, showed game films to students on each campus. The students played the role of scientist–observer, noting each infraction as they watched and who was responsible for it. But they could not set aside their loyalties. The Princeton students, for example, saw twice as many Dartmouth

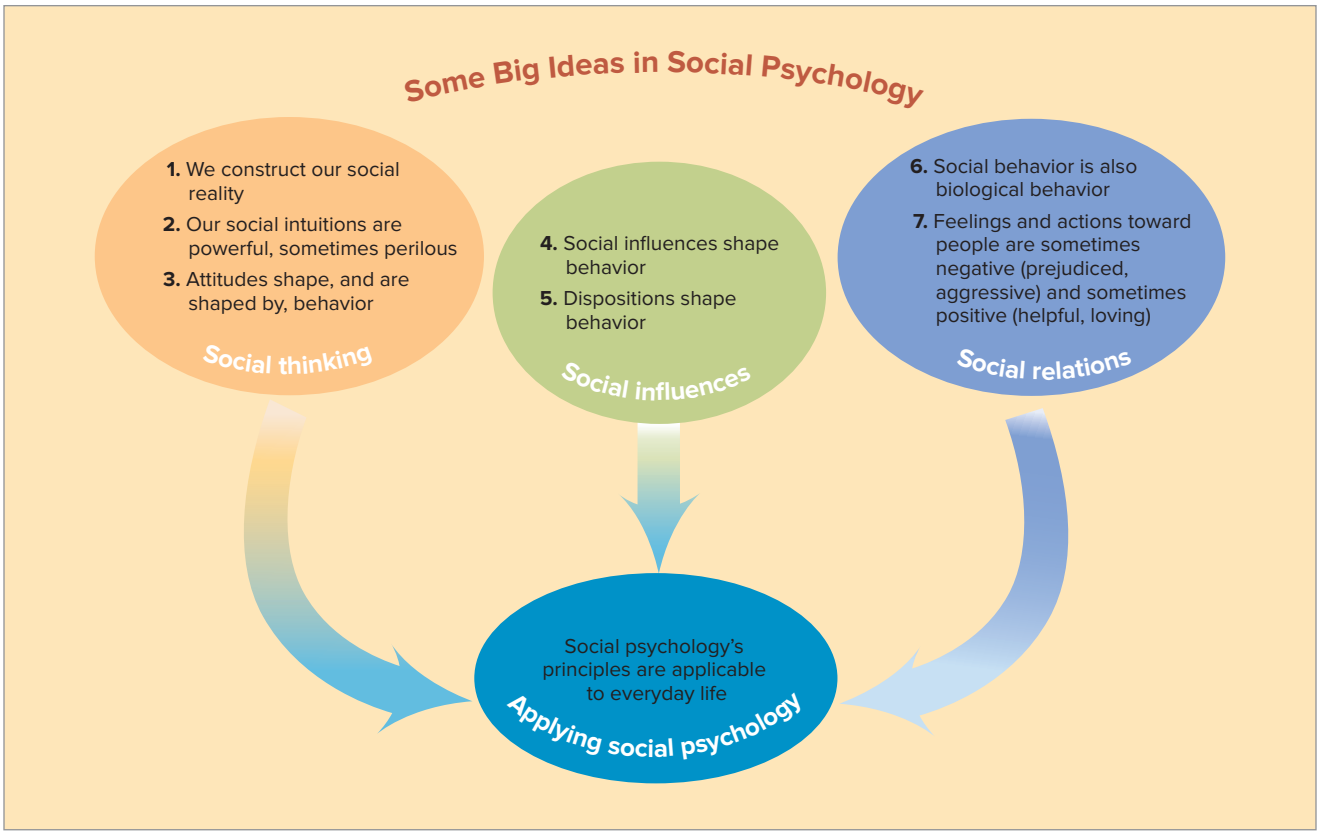

FIGURE :: 2
Some Big Ideas in Social Psychology

violations as the Dartmouth students saw. The conclusion: There *is* an objective reality out there, but we always view it through the lens of our beliefs and values.

We are all intuitive scientists. We explain people's behavior, usually with enough speed and accuracy to suit our daily needs. When someone's behavior is consistent and distinctive, we attribute that behavior to his or her personality. For example, if you observe someone who makes repeated snide comments, you may infer that this person has a nasty disposition, and then you might try to avoid the person.

Your beliefs about yourself also matter. Do you have an optimistic outlook? Do you see yourself as in control of things? Do you view yourself as relatively superior or inferior? Your answers influence your emotions and actions. *How we construe the world, and ourselves, matters.*

Our Social Intuitions Are Often Powerful but Sometimes Perilous

Our instant intuitions shape fears (Is flying dangerous?), impressions (Can I trust him?), and relationships (Does she like me?). Intuitions influence presidents in times of crisis, gamblers at the table, jurors assessing guilt, and personnel directors screening applicants. Such intuitions are commonplace.

Indeed, psychological science reveals a fascinating unconscious mind—an intuitive backstage mind—that Freud never told us about. More than psychologists realized until recently, thinking occurs offstage, out of sight. Our intuitive capacities are revealed by studies of what later chapters will explain: "automatic processing," "implicit memory," "heuristics," "spontaneous trait inference," instant emotions, and nonverbal communication. Thinking,

memory, and attitudes all operate on two levels—one conscious and deliberate, the other unconscious and automatic. Today's researchers call it "dual processing." We know more than we know we know. We think on two levels—"intuitive" and "deliberate" (Kruglanski & Gigerenzer, 2011)—some call these "System 1" and "System 2." A book title by Nobel laureate psychologist Daniel Kahneman (2011) captures the idea: We do *Thinking, Fast and Slow.*

Intuition is huge, but intuition is also perilous. For example, as we cruise through life, mostly on automatic pilot, we intuitively judge the likelihood of things by how easily various instances come to mind. We carry readily available mental images of plane crashes. Thus, most people fear flying more than driving, and many will drive great distances to avoid risking the skies. Actually, we are many times safer (per mile traveled) in a commercial plane than in a motor vehicle (in the United States, air travel was 170 times safer between 2009 and 2011, reports the National Safety Council [2014]).

"He didn't actually threaten me, but I perceived him as a threat."

Social cognition matters. Our behavior is influenced not just by the objective situation but also by how we construe it.

Even our intuitions about ourselves often err. We intuitively trust our memories more than we should. We misread our own minds; in experiments, we deny being affected by things that do influence us. We mispredict our own feelings—how bad we'll feel a year from now if we lose our job or our romance breaks up, and how good we'll feel a year from now, or even a week from now, if we win our state's lottery. And we often mispredict our own future. When selecting clothes, people approaching middle age will still buy snug ("I anticipate shedding a few pounds"); rarely does anyone say, more realistically, "I'd better buy a relatively loose fit; people my age tend to put on pounds."

Our social intuitions, then, are noteworthy for both their powers and their perils. By identifying our intuition's gifts and pitfalls, social psychologists aim to fortify our thinking. In most situations, "fast and frugal" snap judgments serve us well. But in others, in which accuracy matters—such as when needing to fear the right things and spend our resources wisely—we had best restrain our impulsive intuitions with critical thinking. *Our intuitions and unconscious information processing are routinely powerful and sometimes perilous.*

Social Influences Shape Our Behavior

We are, as Aristotle long ago observed, social animals. We speak and think in words we learned from others. We long to connect, to belong, and to be well thought of. Matthias Mehl and James Pennebaker (2003) quantified their University of Texas students' social behavior by inviting them to wear recording devices. Once every 12 minutes during their waking hours, the device would imperceptibly record for 30 seconds. Although the observation period covered only weekdays (including class time), almost 30 percent of the students' time was spent in conversation. Relationships are a big part of being human.

As social creatures, we respond to our immediate contexts. Sometimes the power of a social situation leads us to act contrary to our expressed attitudes. Indeed, powerfully evil situations sometimes overwhelm good intentions, inducing people to accept falsehoods or comply with cruelty. Under Nazi influence, many decent people became instruments of the Holocaust. Other situations may elicit great generosity and compassion. Often after major natural disasters, such as the hurricane that hit the Philippines in 2013, affected countries are overwhelmed with donated items and offers of assistance.

The power of the situation also appears in widely different views of same-sex relationships. Tell us whether you live in Africa or the Middle East (where people overwhelmingly oppose such relationships) or in western Europe, Canada, or Australia/New Zealand, and we will guess your attitude. We will become even more confident in our guess if we know your educational level, the age of your peer group, and the media you watch. Our situations matter.

Our culture helps define our situations. For example, our standards regarding promptness, frankness, and clothing vary with our culture.

- Whether you prefer a slim or a voluptuous body depends on when and where in the world you live.
- Whether you define social justice as equality (all receive the same) or as equity (those who earn more receive more) depends on whether your ideology has been shaped more by socialism or by capitalism.
- Whether you tend to be expressive or reserved, casual or formal, hinges partly on your culture and your ethnicity.
- Whether you focus primarily on yourself—your personal needs, desires, and morality—or on your family, clan, and communal groups depends on how much you are a product of modern Western individualism.

Social psychologist Hazel Markus (2005) sums it up: "People are, above all, malleable." Said differently, we adapt to our social context. *Our attitudes and behavior are shaped by external social forces.*

Personal Attitudes and Dispositions Also Shape Behavior

Internal forces also matter. We are not passive tumbleweeds, merely blown this way and that by the social winds. Our inner attitudes affect our outer behavior. Our political attitudes influence our voting behavior. Our smoking attitudes influence our susceptibility to peer pressure to smoke. Our attitudes toward the poor influence our willingness to help them. (As we will see, our attitudes also *follow* our behavior, which leads us to believe strongly in those things we have committed ourselves to or suffered for.)

Personality dispositions also affect behavior. Facing the same situation, different people may react differently. Emerging from years of political imprisonment, one person exudes bitterness and seeks revenge. Another, such as South Africa's Nelson Mandela, seeks reconciliation and unity with his former enemies. *Attitudes and personality influence behavior.*

Social Behavior Is Biologically Rooted

Twenty-first-century social psychology provides us with ever-growing insights into our behavior's biological foundations. Many of our social behaviors reflect a deep biological wisdom.

Everyone who has taken introductory psychology has learned that nature and nurture together form who we are. Just as the area of a rectangle is determined by both its length and its width, biology and experience both shape us. As *evolutionary psychologists* remind us, our inherited human nature predisposes us to behave in ways that helped our ancestors survive and reproduce. We carry the genes of those whose traits enabled them to survive and reproduce. Our behavior, too, aims to send our DNA into the future. Thus, evolutionary psychologists ask how natural selection might predispose our actions when dating and mating, hating and hurting, caring and sharing. Nature also endows us with an enormous capacity to learn and to adapt to varied environments. We are sensitive and responsive to our social context.

If every psychological event (every thought, every emotion, every behavior) is simultaneously a biological event, then we can also examine the neurobiology that underlies

social behavior. What brain areas enable our experiences of love and contempt, helping and aggression, perception and belief? Do extraverts, as some research suggests, require more stimulation to keep their brain aroused? When shown a friendly face, do socially secure people, more than shy people, respond in a brain area concerned with reward? How do brain, mind, and behavior function together as one coordinated system? What does the timing of brain events reveal about how we process information? Such questions are asked by those in **social neuroscience** (Cacioppo & Cacioppo, 2013; Cikara & Van Bavel, 2014).

social neuroscience
An interdisciplinary field that explores the neural bases of social and emotional processes and behaviors, and how these processes and behaviors affect our brain and biology.

Social neuroscientists do not reduce complex social behaviors, such as helping and hurting, to simple neural or molecular mechanisms. Each science builds upon the principles of more basic sciences (sociology builds on psychology, which builds on biology, which builds on chemistry, which builds on physics, which builds on math). Yet each discipline also introduces new principles not predicted by the more basic sciences (Eisenberg, 2014). Thus, to understand social behavior, we must consider both under-the-skin (biological) and between-skins (social) influences. Mind and body are one grand system. Stress hormones affect how we feel and act: A dose of testosterone decreases trust, and a dose of oxytocin increases it (Bos et al., 2010). Social ostracism elevates blood pressure. Social support strengthens the disease-fighting immune system. *We are bio-psycho-social organisms.* We reflect the interplay of our biological, psychological, and social influences. That is why today's psychologists study behavior from these different levels of analysis.

Social Psychology's Principles Are Applicable in Everyday Life

Social psychology has the potential to illuminate your life, to make visible the subtle influences that guide your thinking and acting. It also offers many ideas about how to know ourselves better, how to win friends and influence people, how to transform closed fists into open arms.

Scholars are also applying social psychological insights. Principles of social thinking, social influence, and social relations have implications for human health and well-being, for judicial procedures and juror decisions in courtrooms, and for influencing behaviors that will enable an environmentally sustainable human future.

As but one perspective on human existence, psychological science does not answer life's ultimate questions: What is the meaning of human life? What should be our purpose? What is our ultimate destiny? But social psychology does give us a method for asking and answering some exceedingly interesting and important questions. *Social psychology is all about life—your life: your beliefs, your attitudes, your relationships.*

The rest of this chapter takes us inside social psychology. Let's first consider how social psychologists' own values influence their work in obvious and subtle ways. And then let's focus on this chapter's biggest task: glimpsing how we *do* social psychology. How do social psychologists search for explanations of social thinking, social influence, and social relations? And how might we use these analytical tools to think smarter?

Throughout this book, a brief summary will conclude each major section. We hope these summaries will help you assess how well you have learned the material in each section.

SUMMING UP: What Are Social Psychology's Big Ideas?

Social psychology is the scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another. Its central themes include the following:

- How we construe our social worlds
- How our social intuitions guide and sometimes deceive us
- How our social behavior is shaped by other people, by our attitudes and personalities, and by our biology
- How social psychology's principles apply to our everyday lives and to various other fields of study

HOW DO HUMAN VALUES INFLUENCE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY?

Identify the ways that values penetrate the work of social psychologists.

Social psychology is less a collection of findings than a set of strategies for answering questions. In science, as in courts of law, personal opinions are inadmissible. When ideas are put on trial, evidence determines the verdict.

But are social psychologists really that objective? Because they are human beings, don't their *values*—their personal convictions about what is desirable and how people ought to behave—seep into their work? If so, can social psychology really be scientific?

There are two general ways that values enter psychology: the obvious and the subtle.

Obvious Ways Values Enter Psychology

Values enter the picture when social psychologists *choose research topics.* These choices typically reflect social history (Kagan, 2009). Not surprisingly, the study of prejudice flourished during the 1940s as fascism raged in Europe; the 1950s, a time of look-alike fashions and intolerance of differing views, gave us studies of conformity; the 1960s saw interest in aggression increase with riots and rising crime rates; the feminist movement of the 1970s helped stimulate a wave of research on gender and sexism; the 1980s offered a resurgence of attention to psychological aspects of the arms race; and the 1990s and the early twenty-first century were marked by heightened interest in how people respond to diversity in culture, race, and sexual orientation. Susan Fiske (2011a) suggests that we can expect future research to reflect today's and tomorrow's issues, including immigration, income inequality, and aging.

Social events influence social psychologists' interests. In response to today's social issues, will immigration, aging, inequality, and racial polarization be prominent research topics in tomorrow's social psychology?
Ocean/Corbis

Values differ not only across time but also across cultures. In Europe, people take pride in their nationalities. The Scots are more self-consciously distinct from the English, and the Austrians from the Germans, than are similarly adjacent Michiganders from Ohioans. Consequently, Europe has given us a major theory of "social identity." American social psychologists have focused more on individuals—how one person thinks about others, is influenced by them, and relates to them (Fiske, 2004; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1984). Australian social psychologists have drawn theories and methods from both Europe and North America (Feather, 2005).

Values also influence the *types of people* who are attracted to various disciplines (Campbell, 1975a; Moynihan, 1979). At your school, do the students majoring in the humanities, the arts, the natural sciences, and the social sciences differ noticeably from one another? Do social psychology and sociology attract people who are, for example, relatively eager to challenge tradition, people more inclined to shape the future than preserve the past (Prentice, 2012)? And does social science study enhance such inclinations (Dambrun et al., 2009; Inbar & Lammers, 2012)? Such factors explain why, when psychologist Jonathan Haidt (2011) asked approximately 1,000 social psychologists at a national convention about their politics, 80 to 90 percent raised their hands to indicate they were "liberal." When he asked for those who were "conservative," only three hands raised. (Be assured that most topics covered in this text—from "How do our attitudes influence our behavior?" to "Does TV violence influence aggressive behavior?"—are not partisan.)

Finally, values obviously enter the picture as the *object* of social psychological analysis. Social psychologists investigate how values form, why they change, and how they influence attitudes and actions. None of that, however, tells us which values are "right."

Not-So-Obvious Ways Values Enter Psychology

We less often recognize the subtle ways in which value commitments masquerade as objective truth. Consider three not-so-obvious ways values enter psychology.

THE SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF SCIENCE

Scientists and philosophers agree: Science is not purely objective. Scientists do not simply read the book of nature. Rather, they interpret nature, using their own mental categories. Our numbers do not speak for themselves. We interpret them.

"Science does not simply describe and explain nature; it is part of the interplay between nature and ourselves; it describes nature as exposed to our method of questioning."

—Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy,* 1958

In our daily lives, too, we view the world through the lens of our preconceptions. Whether we see a moving light in the sky as a flying saucer depends on our perceptual set. While reading these words, you have been unaware that you are also looking at your nose. Your mind blocks from awareness something that is there, if only you were predisposed to perceive it. This tendency to prejudge reality based on our expectations is a basic fact about the human mind.

Because scholars in any given area often share a common viewpoint and come from the same **culture,** their assumptions may go unchallenged. What we take for granted—the shared beliefs that some European social psychologists call our **social representations** (Moscovici, 1988, 2001; Rateau et al., 2012)—are often our most important yet most unexamined convictions. Sometimes, however, someone from outside the camp will call attention to those assumptions. During the 1980s, feminists and Marxists exposed some of social psychology's unexamined assumptions. Feminist critics called attention to subtle biases—for example, the political conservatism of some scientists who favored a biological interpretation of gender differences in social behavior (Unger, 1985). Marxist critics called attention to competitive, individualist biases—for example, the assumption that conformity is bad and that individual rewards are good. Marxists and feminists, of course, make their own assumptions, as critics of academic "political correctness" are fond of noting. Social psychologist Lee Jussim (2005, 2012), for example, argues that progressive social psychologists sometimes subtly discriminate against conservative views, such as by denying group differences and assuming that stereotypes of group difference are never rooted in reality.

culture
The enduring behaviors, ideas, attitudes, and traditions shared by a large group of people and transmitted from one generation to the next.

social representations
A society's widely held ideas and values, including assumptions and cultural ideologies. Our social representations help us make sense of our world.

In the chapter on "Social Beliefs and Judgments," we discuss more ways in which our preconceptions guide our interpretations. As those Princeton and Dartmouth football fans remind us, what guides our behavior is less the situation-as-it-is than the situation-as-we-construe-it.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS CONTAIN HIDDEN VALUES

Implicit in our understanding that psychology is not objective is the realization that psychologists' own values may play an important part in the theories and judgments they support. Psychologists may refer to people as mature or immature, as well adjusted or poorly adjusted, as mentally healthy or mentally ill. They may talk as if they were stating facts, when they are really making *value judgments.* The following are examples:

DEFINING THE GOOD LIFE. Values influence our idea of how best to live. The personality psychologist Abraham Maslow, for example, was known for his sensitive descriptions of "self-actualized" people—people who, with their needs for survival, safety, belonging, and self-esteem satisfied, go on to fulfill their human potential. He described, among other individuals, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Few readers noticed that Maslow, guided by his own values, selected his sample of self-actualized people himself. The resulting description of self-actualized personalities—as spontaneous, autonomous, mystical, and so forth—reflected Maslow's personal values. Had he begun with someone else's heroes—say, Napoleon, Alexander the Great, and John D. Rockefeller—his resulting description of self-actualization might have differed (Smith, 1978).

PROFESSIONAL ADVICE. Psychological advice also reflects the advice giver's personal values. When mental health professionals advise us how to get along with our spouse