Social Psychology Human Nature

3 ROY F. BAUMEISTER BRAD J. BUSHMAN



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ABOUT THE COVER ► For the cover of the third edition, we selected a jazz theme, because jazz expresses many of these themes of human nature and culture. A few other animals produce sounds that could qualify as music, but it never approaches jazz: They do not use musical instruments constructed by others, they do not perform in ensembles, they do not improvise artistic variations, they do not discuss music theory, and they do not make recordings or pay money to attend concerts. And the reason is not simply that the animals haven't yet invented culture. Most cannot hear well enough to appreciate, let alone create, music, and they are incapable of the interplay of conscious and unconscious processes required for creative improvisation. If you are waiting for a bunch of dogs or ducks or gorillas to form a jazz band and start playing real gigs, you will have a very long wait!

Indeed, two jazz piano and keyboard musicians, Patrick Moraz and Michiel Borstlap (friends of Bushman) have received a copy of each edition of our textbook. Patrick Moraz is from Switzerland. He played keyboards for rock groups Yes and the *Moody Blues*. Since leaving those groups, he has been mainly playing solo piano jazz. Michiel Borstlap is from the Netherlands. He has played with legendary Dutch jazz musicians such as Han Bennink (drums) and Ernst Glerum (bass), but he also has his own trio and often plays solo



piano jazz. Both Moraz and Borstlap have made recordings that feature just keyboards and drums with the legendary jazz drummer Bill Bruford (played with rock bands Yes, *King Crimson, Genesis*, and leads his own jazz band *Earthworks*). This is what they have to say about the link between jazz and culture.



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▲ PATRICK MORAZ "Musicians getting together to "improvise" in real time is one of the highest achievements of which human "*cultural animals*" are capable. Simultaneity of feelings, thoughts and ideas is faster than the speed of light! Expressing ourselves in this most interesting "zone of creative interaction," improvisational music, is a domain of human communication which is relatively harmonious, cooperative and non-goal-oriented. This book addresses the synchronization of our highest order of information transfer. *Social Psychology and Human Nature* provides to the utmost, the necessary psychological instruments as well as the indispensable equipment for the exploratory research, development and growth of the planted seed and its ramifications towards the further searches of events not yet understood as subjective perceptions still anchored in the space-time tapestry of our own vantage points of qualitative, deferred, visualizations and yet, at all times, lets our mind free to go far and further into the depths of our thoughts."

MICHIEL BORSTLAP ► "As a jazz pianist, the relation between creation and social psychology has always been highly intriguing! The book by Roy Baumeister and Brad Bushman, Social Psychology and Human Nature, draws my immediate attention. A colossal work which captures practically all grades of self-realization. Playfully written and with lots of ready-to-go insights in modern-life social matters. This book is a must for everyone who wants to broaden up."





Social Psychology AND **Human Nature**

Roy F. Baumeister

Florida State University

Brad J. Bushman

The Ohio State University VU (Free) University Amsterdam, the Netherlands



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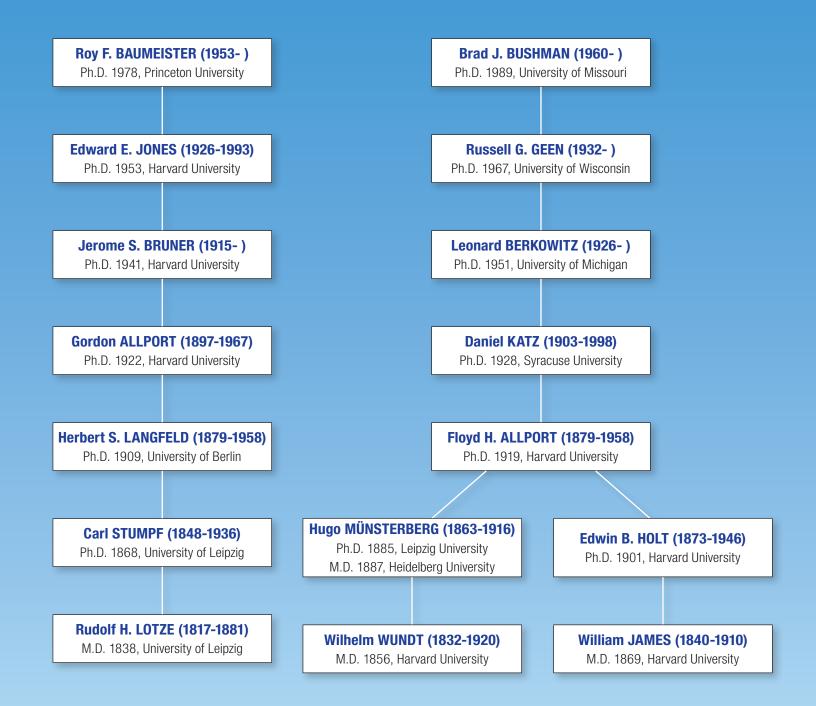
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Printed in Canada 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 16 15 14 13 12 WE DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO OUR MENTORS AND TO THEIR MENTORS, in appreciation of the teaching of psychology through these relationships.



ABOUT THE AUTHORS



ROY F. BAUMEISTER holds the Eppes Eminent Professorship in Psychology at Florida State University, where he teaches social psychology to students at all levels. He has taught introductory social psychology to thousands of undergraduate students. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1978, and his teaching and research activities have included appointments at the University of California at Berkeley, Case Western Reserve University, the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Virginia, the Max Planck Institute in Munich (Germany), the VU (Free) University of Amsterdam (Netherlands), and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Baumeister is an active researcher whose work has been funded by the National Institutes of Health and by the Templeton Foundation. He has done research on the self (including self-esteem and selfcontrol), the need to belong, sexuality, aggression, and how people find meaning in life. In 2005, the Institute for Scientific Information concluded from a survey of published bibliographies that he was among the most influential psychologists in the world. According to Google Scholar, his works have been cited over 70,000 times in the scientific literature. In his career he has published over 500 scientific works, including 30 books. One book (Willpower: Rediscovering the Greatest Human Strength) made the New York Times bestseller list in 2011 and 2012. In his (very rare) spare time, he likes to ski and play jazz. In 2013 he received the William James Award, the highest honor bestowed by the Association for Psychological Science in all of psychology, as recognition of his lifetime achievements and contributions to basic scientific research in psychology.



BRAD J. BUSHMAN is Professor of Communication and Psychology at The Ohio State University. He is also a professor at the VU (Free) University Amsterdam, the Netherlands, where he teaches and does research in the summer. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri in 1989. He has taught introductory social psychology courses for over 20 years. Dubbed the "Myth Buster" by one colleague, Bushman's research has challenged several societal myths (e.g., violent media have a trivial effect on aggression, venting anger reduces aggression, violent people suffer from low self-esteem, violence and sex on TV sell products, warning labels repel consumers). His research has been published in the top scientific journals (e.g., Science, Nature) and has been featured on television (e.g., ABC News 20/20, CBS Evening News, Discovery Channel), on radio (e.g., NPR, BBC, CBC), in magazines (e.g., Time, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated), and in newspapers (e.g., New York Times, Wall Street Journal, USA Today). He lives in Lewis Center, Ohio with his wife Tam Stafford, and their three children Becca, Nathan, and Branden. In his spare time he likes to ride his bicycle (especially in Amsterdam), practice Korean martial arts (Tang Soo Do Moo Duk Kwan; he earned his black belt in 2011), and listen to jazz music (e.g., Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Michiel Borstlap). Recently, however, Bushman has been going through a "midlife crisis" and he can't stop listening to the music he loved as a teenager (e.g., Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin, Yes, Deep Purple, Patrick Moraz).

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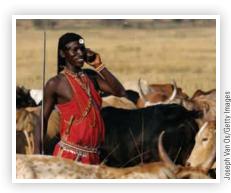
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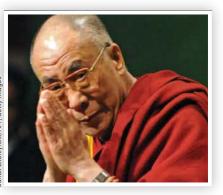
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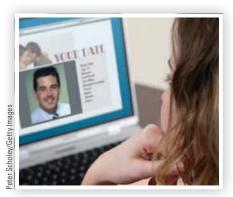
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application modules

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- **B** Applying Social Psychology to Health B1 Regan A. R. Gurung, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*
- **C** Applying Social Psychology to the Workplace C1 Kathy A. Hanisch, *Iowa State University*
- Applying Social Psychology to Law D1 Margaret Bull Kovera, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York
- EApplying Social Psychology to the EnvironmentE1Richard L. Miller, University of Nebraska at Kearney
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This textbook is simultaneously an expression of love and rebellion. The love is our feeling toward our field. We followed different paths into social psychology, but over the years we have developed an affectionate appreciation for it. We agreed to write this textbook partly because we thought we could contribute to the field by covering what we love about it. The process of writing strengthened those positive feelings, by helping us see the remarkably diverse and creative work that our fellow psychologists have produced over the past several decades. We are also both very active social psychological researchers and teachers. We love doing social psychology research, and we love teaching students about the field of social psychology.

The rebellion part begins with the title. Maybe social psychology has sold itself short by clinging to the message "it's all about situations!" We think it's partly about situations, but to us social psychology is very much about people. We think students sign up for social psychology courses because they want to learn about people. And we think social psychologists actually have plenty to tell them about people—hence the "human nature" part of our title.

In other words, we are rebelling against the old dogma that social psychology's truth requires treating people as blank slates who just respond to situations. Instead, we see people as highly complex, exquisitely designed, and variously inclined cultural animals who respond to situations. Our textbook will tell students plenty about the power of situations, but it also seeks to tell them about the people in those situations.

To us, the most exciting aspect of this project has been the attempt to "put the person back together," in the phrase that got us started on the book. We believe that social psychology can offer a remarkably new, coherent, and accurate vision of human nature.

In fact, this new vision of human nature was central to the story behind the book. Both of us had been approached many times by various publishers about possibly writing a social psychology textbook, and both of us had repeatedly brushed them off as quickly and thoroughly as possible. Back then we thought that writing a textbook sounded like a tedious, uncreative set of chores requiring reading and describing every part of the field, regardless of how interesting. Both of us loathe anything that is boring.

The turning point came when one of us spent a year at an interdisciplinary institute and embraced the task of trying to package what social psychology has learned that could be useful to other fields. Scholars in those fields mostly want to know about people and why they act as they do. The response to this took the form of a book for general audiences called *The Cultural Animal*,¹ but the realization slowly dawned that this new, more integrated understanding of the human being might provide a powerful basis for a social psychology textbook.

We have used many different textbooks in our own social psychology courses. Many of them are quite good. One dissatisfaction with them, however, and indeed one that we have heard echoed by many other instructors and students, is that they end up being just narrative lists of findings grouped by topic, rather like a handbook or encyclopedia. We wanted more. We wanted an integrated, coherent vision. And now we had a basis in the form of a new understanding of human nature that put together the results of thousands of social psychology studies. So this time when publishers asked about writing a textbook, we thought it over. And then we decided to do it.

Some might think that explaining human nature isn't the job of social psychology and should be left to the personality psychologists. In our view, personality's claim to that question is not naturally any stronger than social psychology's. After all, personality psychologists mainly study differences between people, and so understanding the patterns common to all people isn't any more likely to arise from those data than from social psychology's data. Au contraire, learning about how people in general will respond to ordinary social dilemmas and events is at least as promising as studying individual differences in terms of being able to point toward general patterns of human nature.

Most general theories about human nature agonize over the competing explanations based on evolution and cultural influence. Our synthesis is based on the question "What sort of picture of the human being emerges from the results of thousands of social psychology experiments?" The answer is novel: Nature "made" human beings for culture. That is, we think human beings evolved specifically to belong to these complicated, information-using social systems that we call culture.

Our book has many themes that are mentioned occasionally in the various chapters to tie things together, and these are mostly derived from the theme of human beings as cultural animals. The theme of putting people first is a subtle way of conveying what is biologically unique about humans: Whereas most animals get what they need from their physical environment, people get what they need from each other. This message was implicit even in the classic Asch conformity experiments, in which people would disregard the direct evidence of their physical senses in order to go along with what other people (even a collection of strangers!) were saying.

Another central theme is that inner processes serve interpersonal functions. The conventional wisdom in psychology, going back to its Freudian roots, has been more or less that what happens to people is a result of what's inside them. We think the research in social psychology points toward the need to turn that on its head. What is inside people is a result of what happens between them. Even in terms of what evolution has built into the human psyche, what is there inside the person is there to help people thrive in their social and cultural groups. People are built to relate to other people. Even the "self," much discussed and invoked throughout social psychology, is designed to cultivate social acceptance and other forms of success that are valued in human cultures.

This is not a book about evolution, nor is it a book about cultural differences. It is a book about people. Toward that end, we occasionally use insights that emerge from cultural and evolutionary studies. But those remain mostly on the sidelines. We differ from the evolutionists in that we focus more on how humans are different from other animals rather than how they are similar to other animals. We differ from the cultural psychologists in that we focus more on what cultures have in common than on how they differ. These are differences of emphasis, but they are fundamental and large ones.

The bottom line, for us, is a very positive view of human nature. Over the years, many of the major theories about people have emphasized the negative. They have depicted people as being dominated by violent, destructive urges or by strivings for power, as souped-up rats in societal Skinner boxes, as spineless beings at the mercy of giant social forces or willy-nilly situational influences. We have been persuaded partly by the positive psychology movement that psychology loses much of its value when it focuses overly on the negative side. And, heck, we like people. So the integrated picture we offer is a generally positive one, though we give the dark side of human nature its due.

Hence, one important feature of this book is that every chapter ends with a brief section entitled "What Makes Us Human? Putting the Cultural Animal in Perspective" that provides a quick review of what answers have emerged in that chapter. These were easy to write because we really do see that human social life is remarkably and importantly different from that of other animals. We do not shrink from discussing the flaws and biases in humanity, and we acknowledge humankind's vast capacity for petty malice and occasional capacity for great evil. But we think the final picture is mostly favorable. These end-of-chapter sections offer a brief reflection on what is special about human nature.

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Concept Features

When we embarked on this book we listened long and hard to the complaints that fellow teachers of social psychology had regarding their textbooks and the way the field was taught. We also listened to the feedback from many students. Several features of our textbook are directly influenced by this feedback. We have sought to offer a new, positive alternative to existing textbooks.

The most common complaint, of course, was the lack of integration. Many instructors, and even those who liked their particular textbook, still felt that textbooks merely hopped from one finding and one phenomenon to another without any broad vision. Hence at the end of the term, as one colleague put it, the take-home message was "Social psychology is a large, interesting, and diverse field of study." Our overarching goal of putting the person back together was a direct response to this complaint and is, in our view, the defining feature of our book. The themes that run through the book help to flesh this out. These are developed in Chapter 2, "Culture and Nature," which we regard as the theoretical foundation of the book. We recommend that instructors assign this chapter early in the semester. That is why we put it early in our textbook. The subsequent chapters can be taught in almost any order. Thus, the book is not a linear sequence in which each chapter builds on the preceding one. We deliberately rejected that approach because we know many instructors like to adapt the sequence of topics to their own schedules, goals, and plans. Instead, the design of this book is like a wheel. Chapters 1 and 2 are the center, and all the other chapters are spokes.

Most chapters contain four box feature inserts. Although many textbooks have boxes, we are especially pleased with our set. In the first edition, they proved to be student favorites. We began with a fairly long list of possible boxes and gradually, based on input and feedback from students and instructors, trimmed these down to the list of four that run through the chapters. For the second edition, we kept three of the four boxes from the first edition. The fourth set, devoted to the broad theme that "Bad is stronger than good," was also well received, but reluctantly we deleted that set to make room for an even more exciting set—Money Matters. Our readers liked this set of boxes so much that we retained them for the third edition, but we updated them, replaced some with new ones, and added some.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

One box in every chapter has to do with eating. One of us recalls a conversation years ago with Peter Herman, who observed that "Eating is the perfect social psychology variable, because it is connected to almost every social variable or process you can think of!" As we researched the various chapters and thought about the findings, we came to see he was right, and so each chapter has a box that covers some findings showing how the chapter's topic influences or is influenced by eating. We thought this would be especially appealing to today's students, for whom college often presents a novel set of challenges and opportunities for eating, dieting, drinking, and related concerns. Eating is a microcosm of social processes. Following are the *Food for Thought* topics included in the book:

- Does Chicken Soup Reduce Cold Symptoms? (Chapter 1)
- Virtuous Vegetarians (Chapter 2)
- **Eating Binges and Escaping the Self** (Chapter 3)
- Dieting as Self-Regulation (Chapter 4)
- It's the Thought That Counts (or Doesn't Count!) the Calories (Chapter 5)
- Mood and Food (Chapter 6)

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- Would You Eat a Bug or a Worm? (Chapter 7)
- **Convert Communicators and Health Messages** (Chapter 8)
- Restaurants, Rules, and the Bad Taste of Nonconformity (Chapter 9)
- Is There a Link Between Diet and Violence? (Chapter 10)
- **Social Rejection and the Jar of Cookies** (Chapter 11)
- **Eating in Front of a Cute Guy** (Chapter 12)
- Prejudice Against the Obese (Chapter 13)
- Is Binge Eating Socially Contagious? (Chapter 14)
- Fostering Healthy Eating (Module B)
- Work Stress and Eating (Module C)

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF SEX

The same can be said for sex, and so each chapter has a box applying social psychology to sexuality. We suspect that few people leave college with their sexual selves unchanged since arrival, and so students' natural and personal interest in sexuality can be useful for illuminating many perspectives and patterns in social psychology. Our emphasis is, of course, not on the mechanics or techniques of sex but rather on the social context and influences, which the field of sexuality has often underappreciated. It is also helpful that human sexual behavior is a vivid, dramatic example of something that shows powerful influences of both nature and culture. Following are *The Social Side of Sex* topics included in the book:

- Sex and Culture (Chapter 2)
- Self-Esteem and Saying No to Sex (Chapter 3)
- Gender, Sex, and Decisions (Chapter 4)
- **Counting Sex Partners** (Chapter 5)
- Can People Be Wrong About Whether They Are Sexually Aroused? (Chapter 6)
- A-B Inconsistency and Erotic Plasticity (Chapter 7)
- Scared into Safe Sex? (Chapter 8)
- Helping, Sex, and Friends (Chapter 9)
- Sexual Aggression (Chapter 10)
- What Is Beauty? (Chapter 11)
- Roots of Antigay Prejudice (Chapter 13)
- Sex for Sale (Module A)
- Increasing Condom Use and Safe Sex Practices (Module B)
- Sexual Harassment (Module C)

TRADEOFFS

A third box presents tradeoffs. In this box we attempt to stimulate critical thinking. Many students come to social psychology wanting to find ways to change the world and solve its problems. We applaud that idealism, but we also think that many problems have their origin in the basic truth that solving one problem sometimes creates another. Many social psychology findings highlight tradeoffs in which each gain comes with a loss. Indeed, in other writings, we apply that principle to assorted issues, not least including gender differences: If men are better than women at something, they are probably worse at something else, and the two are interlinked. We hope that the students will come away from these boxes with a heightened integrative capacity to see both sides of many problems and behaviors. Following are the *Tradeoffs* topics included in the book:

- Research Ethics (Chapter 1)
- Political Tradeoffs (Chapter 2)
- Self-Handicapping (Chapter 3)
- **Now Versus Tomorrow: Delay of Gratification** (Chapter 4)
- Automatic Versus Deliberate Systems (Chapter 5)
- Affect Intensity, or the Joys of Feeling Nothing (Chapter 6)
- Should Speakers Talk Fast or Slow? (Chapter 8)
- The Prisoner's Dilemma (Chapter 9)
- Gun Ownership (Chapter 10)
- Testosterone—A Blessing and a Curse (Chapter 11)
- Sex In and Out of Marriage (Chapter 12)
- **Competition Versus Cooperation** (Chapter 13)
- Diversity in Groups (Chapter 14)
- Wrongful Convictions vs. Protecting Victims (Module C)
- The Tragedy of the Commons (Module E)

MONEY MATTERS

A series of boxes on money, this set was stimulated in part by listening to Paul Rozin, a thoughtful contrarian who has criticized psychology for being out of step with the interests of most people. He would hold up a copy of *USA Today*, "the nation's newspaper," and note that its four sections (politics/crime, money, sports, and life/style) are presumably what American citizens are most interested in reading—yet these topics are scarcely even mentioned in the indexes of most psychology textbooks.

Money is highly relevant to our theme of humans as cultural animals. Money is often spent on getting things that nature makes us want: food, shelter, warmth, comfort, and even health and sex. Social events, such as war, can greatly influence the value of money. Yet money is undeniably a cultural phenomenon. Thus, money shows how humankind has found cultural means of satisfying natural inclinations. Social psychologists (like intellectuals across the ages) have often been skeptical and critical of money, and especially of the desire for money. Yet money is a fact of life and an almost indispensable ingredient to the good life in modern society. We hope that this series of boxes will stimulate students to see money through the prism of social psychology's diverse interests.

Following are the *Money Matters* topics included in the book:

- Nature, Culture, and Money (Chapter 2)
- **Doing It for Money, Not Love** (Chapter 3)
- How Money Can Trick You into Making Bad Decisions (Chapter 4)
- Does Money Make a Difference? (Chapter 5)

- Emotions and Prices (Chapter 6)
- Would You Sell Your Soul for \$1? (Chapter 7)
- Even a Penny Will Help (Chapter 8)
- Money, Prosocial Behavior, and Self-Sufficiency (Chapter 9)
- Is Manhood Measured in Dollars or Inches? (Chapter 11)
- Mating, Money, and Men (Chapter 12)
- Racial Discrimination in Sports: Paying More to Win (Chapter 13)
- Money, Power, and Laughter (Chapter 14)
- The Costs and Benefits of Environmental Protection (Module E)

Other themes run through the book without being formally reflected in specific boxes. The "duplex mind," divided into the automatic/deliberate and the controlled/ conscious sets of processes, has become a powerful theme in the field's thinking about a great many issues, and we want students to appreciate it. It is a profound insight into how the human mind is organized. "The long road to social acceptance" reflects how much work humans have to do to gain and keep their places in their social networks. "Nature says go, culture says stop" was not on our original list of themes but kept coming up as we wrote, and so we went back to revise our earlier chapters to recognize this common way that nature and culture interact to shape human behavior.

Pedagogical Features

Our book has also benefited from input and suggestions for what can help students master the material. We have kept what has worked well in other textbooks, such as including glossaries, tables, graphs, and illustrations. Each chapter also ends with a "Chapter Summary," where we present lists of bullet points summarizing key content in the chapter.

A more novel feature of our textbook is the inclusion of many self-quizzes. Each major header in each chapter ends with a series of multiple-choice questions. These were wildly popular with students in the first and second editions. We can understand why many books don't include them—they were an immense amount of work to prepare, and we wrote them ourselves rather than hiring them out to someone less familiar with the content—but we think the effort was worth it. Every time students finish reading a section of a chapter, they can get a quick check on how well they understood it by answering those questions and verifying whether their answers are correct. For the third edition, we reworked all the quizzes and added more challenging questions.

Another exciting feature of this book is the set of five application modules that can be assigned according to instructor preference. It is possible to get the book printed with or without these modules, or indeed with any combination of them. The five modules are "Applying Social Psychology to Consumer Behavior" (Module A), "Applying Social Psychology to Health" (Module B), "Applying Social Psychology to the Workplace" (Module C), "Applying Social Psychology to the Law" (Module D), and "Applying Social Psychology to the Environment" (Module E). These modules enable an instructor to tailor a course that can encompass some of the most important applied fields of study that have had long, close relationships with social psychology.

For the third edition we added six to eight learning objectives for each chapter and module. A learning objective describes what students should know at the end of the chapter that they didn't know before they read it. Learning objectives should be useful for both instructors and students. They also set our book apart from other social psychology books that do not include learning objectives.

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More with Less

When we embarked on this textbook, we made "doing more with less" one of our guiding mottos. As we saw it, social psychology was approaching a turning point. The early textbooks often went into lively detail about many specific studies. That was possible because back then there wasn't a great deal of material to cover. Since then, the body of knowledge in the field has expanded year by year, with new findings being continuously documented in established journals along with new journals popping up all the time. It is no longer possible to cover all the influential studies in great detail.

Some textbooks have responded to information overload by packing more and more findings into the same amount of space. This plainly cannot go on forever. Either textbooks have to get longer and longer, or they have to become more and more selective. We chose the latter course. As things turned out, we were able to cover most of what has become standard in textbooks. But we do not claim or pretend to be exhaustive. Our model for this is introductory psychology. Once upon a time, perhaps, introductory textbooks could provide a comprehensive overview of psychology, but it has by now become standard practice for them merely to select a few topics for each chapter to illustrate rather than fully cover what that field has to offer. We think social psychology is reaching the same point and that the way forward is to accept the impossibility of covering it all.

To be sure, the review process did push us to be more thorough. One thing experts are very good at is saying, "Well, you could also cover X," and we heeded many such comments from our expert reviewers. But our goal all along has been to offer students an in-depth look at some information, with all its implications and connections highlighted, rather than to make sure to cite every relevant study. We hope instructors will add their personal favorites to the lectures, to augment what we have included. But to keep the book to a manageable length and still do justice to our goals, we had to leave out many important and worthy studies. Even some large topics ended up getting short shrift. Most notably, we devote fairly little space to the social neuroscience work that has become an important theme in the field. We don't dispute its importance. We simply think it is not what is best for introductory students. Our recommendation is that universities offer a subsequent course that can focus on brain processes and their link to social behavior. For the first course, we think students would prefer to learn about the more familiar and more readily understood questions about how people think, feel, and act in recognizable social situations.

What's New in the Third Edition?

We were delighted with the positive reception of the first two editions of our textbook. We are full of gratitude toward all who have used the book. We heard from many instructors and students who made suggestions for material to cover, noticed typos or other things to fix, or simply wanted to express their liking for the book. Thanks to all.

In that happy spirit, we set to work on the third edition. Our goals were to keep it current, to retain its core vision and best features, and to make substantial, targeted improvements in a few areas where we felt there were promising opportunities or recent developments in the field.

All chapters have come in for revision, especially updating their coverage with the addition of some recent research findings. Still, some chapters underwent more sweeping changes than others. Among these was Chapter 1 ("The Mission and the Method"), which has a new section on survey methodology, including the important

concepts of reliability and validity. Chapter 1 also includes a new box that examines the tradeoff between potential harm to research participants and potential gains to society. The *Tradeoffs* box also contains new material on research ethics.

Chapter 2 ("Culture and Nature") includes a new section on how nature and culture shape each other.

Chapter 3 ("The Self") includes a new section on how much value people put on self-esteem. Recent research shows that American college students would rather receive a boost to their self-esteem (e.g., a compliment) than eat their favorite food, drink their favorite alcoholic beverage, see their best friend, get their paycheck, or engage in their favorite sexual activity. Older Americans place less value on self-esteem. Chapter 3 also includes a new section on how people use social networking Internet sites such as Facebook as a new medium for self-presentation. To borrow the lyrics from Brad Paisley's song, people are "so much cooler online."

Chapter 4 ("Choices and Actions: The Self in Action") includes a new section on habits. Overcoming bad habits and developing good habits is an area nearly every-one struggles with.

Chapter 5 ("Social Cognition") underwent extensive revision. A revolutionary work has recently taken the interpersonal analysis of thinking to a new level. In 2011, Hugo Mercier and Dan Sperber reviewed vast amounts of research on thinking and came to the startling conclusion that much thinking is for arguing, in the sense of trying to convince and persuade others.² In this view, the purpose of the human brain is not even so much for quietly analyzing other people—rather, it is for communicating others and influencing them. This framework can help us understand some of the common cognitive errors that people make. Chapter 5 also includes two new sections: "Perseverance of Theories" and "Going to Extremes: Polarization." It also includes two new boxes: "Tradeoffs: Automatic Versus Deliberate Systems" and "Money Matters: Does Money Make a Difference?"

Chapter 6 ("Emotion and Affect") includes a new section on the emotion disgust, defined as a strong negative feeling of repugnance and revulsion. It is different from anger, in that anger motivates people to approach rather than avoid things, whereas disgust is a strong cue to avoid something.

Chapter 7 ("Attitudes, Beliefs, and Consistency") begins with a new opening vignette on Facebook, which should appeal to many readers who are probably registered users. Facebook provides multiple ways for users to express their attitudes, such as by "liking" photos, text, or videos that other users post. Chapter 7 also includes a new section on the theory of planned behavior, which proposes that understanding a person's behavioral intentions can help us better understand the link between attitudes and behaviors. Although this theory was previously discussed in the Health module, attitude researchers consider it to be an important theory in its own right.

Chapter 8 ("Social Influence and Persuasion") was extensively reorganized to make the material flow better.

Chapter 9 ("Prosocial Behavior: Doing What's Best for Others") includes a new section on trust. We also introduce the concept of gratitude. Both trust and gratitude are important aspects of human prosocial behavior.

Chapter 10 ("Aggression and Antisocial Behavior") includes a section on a new antisocial behavior—vulgarity. Chapter 10 also includes a new Tradeoffs box on the costs versus gains of personal gun ownership. This is a hot topic because some colleges and universities are passing laws that allow students and faculty to carry concealed weapons on campus.

Chapter 11 ("Attraction and Exclusion") includes a new section on online dating. The Internet makes it easier to find love now than ever before. Chapter 11 also includes a discussion of fascinating new research showing the similarity between physical and social pain. Indeed, painkillers like Tylenol can numb social pain as well as physical pain.

Chapter 12 ("Close Relationships: Passion, Intimacy, and Sexuality") offers a new possible answer to the question "What is love?" Recent research suggests that investment in the well-being of the other for his or her own sake is an essential feature of

very different kinds of love relationship (e.g., romantic love, parental love, nonsexual love).

Chapter 13 ("Prejudice and Intergroup Relations") includes a discussion of a new common target of prejudice in today's society—atheists. We also extended the discussion of prejudice against gays and lesbians by also including a discussion of prejudice against bisexual and transgendered individuals.

Chapter 14 ("Groups") includes a much more detailed discussion of the very basic and important question "What is a group?" We also include a discussion of the Occupy movement in which the 99% protested against the very wealthy 1%.

All modules were also revised and updated. The Applying Social Psychology to Consumer Behavior module underwent extensive revision. It includes a new section on advertising on social media sites like Facebook using Quick Response (QR), which allows people with smartphones to instantly receive coupons, specifications on a product, or additional advertising. Smartphones can also be used to compare prices by scanning the UPC or QR code of a product. Social media is the new "word-ofmouth," where consumers can indicate their liking for products and advertisements. Shopping practices are becoming greener (e.g., use of cloth rather than plastic bags, popup bowls for microwave popcorn). It also discusses how the recent economic downturn has led to practices such as hoarding.

The Applying Social Psychology to Health module discusses recent efforts from the U.S. government to increase healthy eating by using simpler ads, such as by using a plate rather than the old food pyramid, and by using simple statements such as "make sure half your plate is fruits and vegetables."

Of all the modules, the Applying Social Psychology to the Workplace underwent the most revisions. It discusses why companies such as Google are so attractive to work at. Larry Page, the CEO and cofounder of Google, tells his employees, "We don't just want you to have a great job. We want you to have a great life. We provide you with everything you need to be productive and happy on and off the clock." The chapter discusses factors that influence how productive work groups are, such as how cohesive and homogeneous the group is. When visiting groups in other cultures, it is important to find out what the norms are. For example, although giving gifts is appropriate behavior in China, giving a green hat would be a bad idea because the wearing of a green hat indicates infidelity. This module also includes a new section on organizational justice. Employees who feel they have been treated justly are more committed to the companies they work for. Likewise, commitment is higher to companies that have family friendly practices (e.g., family leave, job sharing, telecommuting).

The Applying Social Psychology to Law module includes interesting new information about eyewitness testimony, which has become more relevant than ever before with the execution of Troy Davis. Davis was put to death even though seven of the eyewitnesses recanted their testimonies. It also discusses how to increase the accuracy of children eyewitnesses, such as by giving them a "Not Sure" response option when they see a police lineup. When it comes to police lineups, new research shows that sequential procedures (that show suspects one at time) are more effective than simultaneous procedures (that show all the suspects at once).

The Applying Social Psychology to the Environment module includes an expanded discussion of territoriality in low and high context cultures. In a high context culture, the communicator uses words very carefully because a few words can communicate a complex message very effectively within the group (but less effectively outside the group). In a low context culture, the communicator is much more explicit, and the value of a few words is less important. People in low context cultures tend to be more territorial.

Finally, we have moved from using the American Psychological Association reference style to using the endnote reference style used in the top scientific journals (e.g., *Science, Nature, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*). This is not a cosmetic change. This will make the text much more readable to students. It also changes the emphasis from *who* did the research to *what* the research found.

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We hope you will enjoy the third edition of our book. If you have suggestions for improvement or discover errors in the text, please let us know by dropping us an email (baumeister@psy.fsu.edu or bushman.20@osu.edu). Again, we are deeply grateful for the opportunity to share our love of social psychology with students and teachers around the world.

Content Overview

CHAPTER 1

The Mission and the Method

The opening chapter explains what social psychologists do and why students may want to learn about it. It explains social psychology's place among the different fields that study human behavior. It offers a brief introduction to the methods social psychologists use to tell the difference between right and wrong theories.

CHAPTER 2

Culture and Nature

Chapter 2 sets up the big picture. How do we explain people? Departing from the old and tired battle of nature against nurture, this book follows a newly emerging understanding: Nature and culture worked together, such that nature designed the human being to be capable of culture. The stock notion of "the social animal" is shown to be correct but far too limited, whereas the "cultural animal" captures what is special about human beings.

This chapter then sets up many of the integrative themes that will run through the book to help make sense of the many facts and findings that will be covered.

CHAPTER 3

The Self

The human self is a complex and marvelous participant in the social world. This chapter provides a coherent understanding of the human self that is based on both classic and recent research in social psychology.

CHAPTER 4

Choices and Actions: The Self in Action

The self is not just an idea but also a doer. This chapter covers key social psychology topics of choice, decision making, self-regulation, and the psychology of action. The remarkable recent progress in this work lends extra excitement to this material.

CHAPTER 5

Social Cognition

Social cognition revolutionized social psychology in the 1980s. Now it has settled into a core basis for understanding many spheres of social life. Cognition is vital to cultural animals because cultures operate on the basis of information. This is a show-case for many of the great achievements of social psychology.

CHAPTER 6

Emotion and Affect

Studying emotion has proven much harder than studying cognition, and so Chapter 6 cannot compare with Chapter 5 in being able to point to a solid body of accepted

knowledge. Despite that, much has been learned, and the "work in progress" flavor of the social psychology of emotion—combined with the natural human interest in emotion that students can readily share—should make this chapter an appealing read.

CHAPTER 7

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Consistency

The study of attitudes has a long and distinguished history in social psychology. This chapter brings together the influential early, classic studies with the latest advances.

CHAPTER 8

Social Influence and Persuasion

Social influence and attempted persuasion are deeply woven into the fabric of human social life, and indeed it is the rare social interaction that has absolutely none. As information-using cultural animals, humans often find themselves wanting to influence others or being the targets of influence. This chapter covers how people exert that influence, why they do, and how sometimes people manage to resist influence.

CHAPTER 9

Prosocial Behavior: Doing What's Best for Others

In this chapter, we look at what people do in order to make possible the success of their cultural and social groups. Many textbooks have a chapter on helping. We cover helping in this chapter, but the broad focus is on all prosocial behavior. The integrative focus helps resolve some long-running debates, such as whether helping is genuinely altruistic and prosocial or merely egoistic and selfish. We also break with the Milgram tradition of depicting obedience and conformity as bad because culture and thus human social life would collapse without them.

CHAPTER 10

Aggression and Antisocial Behavior

Just as Chapter 9 replaced the traditional, narrow focus on helping with a broader focus on prosocial behavior, this chapter replaces the traditional focus on aggression with a broader treatment of antisocial behavior. Aggression is treated here as a holdover from the social animal stage—which is why cultures mainly struggle to reduce and prevent aggression, favoring nonviolent means of resolving conflicts. Other antisocial behaviors covered include cheating, lying, stealing, littering, and using taboo words.

CHAPTER 11 Attraction and Exclusion

This chapter combines two very different but complementary sets of findings. The study of interpersonal attraction has a long history and, despite the occasional new finding, is a fairly well-established body of knowledge. The study of interpersonal rejection is far more recent but has become a thriving, fast-moving area. Together they constitute the two sides of the coin of people trying to connect with each other.

CHAPTER 12 Close Relationships: Passion, Intimacy, and Sexuality

In its first decades, social psychology mainly studied interactions among strangers, but most social life involves ongoing relationships. The study of close, intimate relationships blossomed in the 1980s from a small, underappreciated corner into a pro-

found and exciting enterprise that changed the field. This chapter covers this work, much of it quite recent. It emphasizes romantic and sexual relationships, showcasing what social psychology has contributed to understanding of these grand, perennial human dramas. Human romance and sex are eternal problems that reveal our evolutionary background but also highlight the many striking ways in which humans are unique.

CHAPTER 13

Prejudice and Intergroup Relations

Prejudice occurs all over the world, often contributing to violence and oppression and other forms of misery. This chapter examines the many forms and faces of prejudice, ranging from the standard topics of racism and sexism to the less-remarked prejudices against obese people, Arabs and Muslims, atheists, and homosexuals. Special emphasis is given to the emerging and uplifting work on how people overcome prejudice.

CHAPTER 14

Groups

All over the world, human beings live in small groups. This chapter takes a fresh and exciting look at the social psychology of groups. The first part addresses one oftenoverlooked but basic question, namely why are some groups more and others less than the sum of their parts? Classic material on group processes is mixed with new and exciting research.





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- Class activity/demonstration ideas. Substantial prompts for in-class activities.
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- Handouts. Each chapter includes helpful handouts that correlate with suggested activities and homework.
- **Test bank.** For each chapter of the text, the print test bank includes the following features:
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 - 15 true-false questions
 - 15 completion questions
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Special thanks go to our colleagues who wrote the application modules. These are specialized topics outside our own expertise, and we could not have done these ourselves even half as well. These modules add to the breadth and flexibility of what can be taught with this textbook.

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Wadsworth Team

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XXXII | PREFACE





The Mission AND the Method

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

LO 1 What is social psychology, and what were the early influences on it? Name two key ideas that had a lasting influence on

the field.

LO 2 What is the ABC triad of social psychology?

LO 3 How does social psychology relate to anthropology, economics, history, political science, and sociology? How does it relate to other fields of psychology such as neuroscience, clinical psychology, cognitive psychology, developmental psychology, and

personality psychology?

LO 4. What are the five basic steps of the scientific method?

Define theory, independent variable, dependent variable, operational definition, confederate, and construct validity, and understand the essential features of an experiment, including why random assignment is essential.

LO 5 Describe the benefits and drawbacks of field experiments compared to laboratory experiments, and explain how correlational methods can describe the relationship between variables when traditional laboratory experiments cannot be used.

LO 6 What is reliability and what do the different types of reliability measure? What is validity and what do the different types of

validity measure?

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You are a member of a social world on a planet containing more than seven billion people. This social world is filled with paradox, mystery, suspense, and outright absurdity. For example, the singer Michael Jackson's moonwalk rhinestone-studded left glove sold for \$420,000.¹ In many parts of the world less than \$50 can feed a person for a year, which means 8,400 people could be fed for an entire year for the price paid for just one of Michael Jackson's gloves.

In a survey,² 3000 British respondents said the top five things they could not "live without" were sunshine, the Internet, clean drinking water, refrigerators, and Facebook. Flushing toilets came in ninth. "Brits are obsessed by the weather, so it's not surprising sunshine was rated as the top thing we couldn't live without," said the pollster. "But to say you can't live without material things over drinking water is crazy." Humans have social needs that social networking sites like Facebook can help meet, but to rank Facebook ahead of physical needs such as food and water seems paradoxical.

Following are some examples of absurd news stories about robbers who were not so clever. In California a man dressed as Gumby (the green clay

Michael Jackson's moonwalk rhinestone-studded left glove sold for \$420,000. In many parts of the world less than \$50 can feed a person for a year, which means 8,400 people could be fed for an entire year for the price paid for just one of Michael Jackson's gloves.



American cultural icon from television and movies) tried to rob a convenience store, but the store clerk thought it was a prank and didn't take him seriously.³ The suspect fumbled in his pocket for an inaccessible (or nonexistent) gun, and then took all the money (\$0.27) out of the "take-a-penny; give-a-penny" jar. The suspect later turned himself in.

Another burglar called the owner of the jewelry shop in Pennsylvania he had robbed, and offered to help solve the case for the reward money.⁴ Police later charged the man for stealing over 100 items from the shop. Still another burglar broke into a Kansas home, stole valuable belongings, took a shower, and then hid in a closet where he fell asleep.⁵ The police caught the thief redhanded and sleepy-eyed in the closet. In each of these cases, you are probably asking yourself, "What was the robber thinking?" One of the main topics social psychologists study is social thought, including thought processes that seem illogical. It turns out that people make many cognitive errors (see Chapter 5 on Social Cognition).

Early in 2012, in California, a woman was arrested outside the McDonald's restaurant. She was passing along the line of cars waiting at the drive-in window, opening the cars doors and offering customers to trade sexual favors for their breaded "chicken McNuggets" bits, of which she was fond. Sex is a basic, natural activity, but in human culture it gets used in a bewildering variety of ways, which we shall consider throughout this book.

A New Zealand judge removed a 9-year-old girl from her mother's home because he did not approve of the name the mother had given her child: "Talulah Does the Hula from Hawaii" (named after the five-piece pop band from Dublin, Ireland).⁶ He said such names humiliated children and should not be used.

The same judge also rejected such other names as Sex Fruit and, for twins, Fish and Chips. Still, not all weird names could be disallowed, and some children were named Number 16 Bus Shelter, Violence, and Midnight Chardonnay. In Chapter 11 we discuss what factors influence people to accept or reject others.

Let us consider something much simpler, such as taking a coffee break. If your boss told you to make 10,000 decisions before you got your first cup of coffee, you'd probably think you had a mean boss! The Starbucks chain of coffee shops, however, has advertised that they offered 19,000 beverage options, if you count all the different coffees, teas, cold drinks, and all the things you could add to them. The addition of an "extra hot" option, in which the temperature of your chosen beverage is boosted by 30°F, (16.7°C), probably increased the number of choices to more than 25,000. In a sense, therefore, the customer who walks into a Starbucks shop for a morning drink is confronted with more than 25,000 choices. Isn't that just a way to torture people? How does Starbucks make money? Why don't their customers quit in protest? More to the point (at least for a social psychologist), how do people get by in a world that offers them thousands of options at every turn, even for the simplest decisions? In Chapter 5 we discuss some of the heuristics people use to manage such information overload.

Social psychology is the scientific study of how people affect and are affected by others. Can social psychology help us make sense of the



bizarre and baffling diversity of human behavior? The answer to this question is a resounding "Yes!" Whether you know it or not, social psychology can also help you make sense of your own social world. The material discussed in this book is intensely relevant to your life. For example, have you ever asked yourself questions such as these: "How can I get him to go along with my plan?" "Should I ask her right up front to do this big favor, or is there a better way to get her to say yes?" "How can I bring them around to my way of thinking?" Chances are, something in this book will prove helpful

A man dressed as Gumby tried to rob a store, but the clerk thought it was a joke and refused to give the robber any money.

> to you in the future. This is not to say that social psychology is a cookbook for how to manipulate people. Social psychology, however, can help you understand basic principles of social influence, as well as many other principles of social behavior. It is also just plain interesting to learn about how and why people act the way they do.

The point is that there are plenty of reasons why you ought to be interested in social psychology. As your reasons for learning about social psychology become deeper, your level of understanding will become deeper, and your enjoyment will become deeper. So let's plunge in by looking at a brief history of social psychology!

A Brief History of Social Psychology

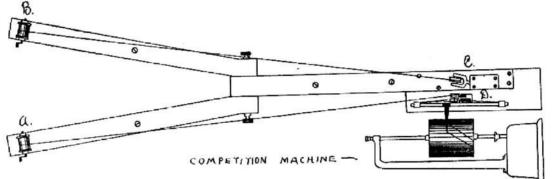
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It is hard to know what the first social psychology experiment was, but consider a few of the earliest ones we know about. Indiana University professor Norman Triplett conducted one of the first social psychology experiments in 1897.⁷ While examining the cycling records for the 1897 season, he noticed that bicycle riders who competed against others performed better than those who competed against the clock. Triplett proposed that the presence of another rider releases a competitive instinct, which increases "nervous energy" and thereby enhances individual performance. Triplett tested his hypothesis by building a "competition machine." He had 40 children wind up a reel, alternating between working alone and working parallel to each other. The results showed that winding time was faster when children worked side by side than when they worked alone. Thus, the mere presence of another person enhanced performance on this simple task.

Another early social psychological experiment was conducted in the 1880s by a French professor of agricultural engineering named Max Ringelmann.⁸ He had men pull on a rope alone and as part of a group, and he measured the amount of effort exerted by each participant. He found that as group size increased, individual effort decreased. This study can explain why people tend to slack off when working on group projects.

These two seminal studies started a long chain of subsequent studies. Note, though, that the two studies pointed in opposite directions—one found that people worked harder in the presence of others, and the other found that people slacked off. Chapter 14 will try to resolve this seeming contradiction, but for now the point is to get used to the idea that social behavior is complicated.

social psychology the scientific study of how people affect and are affected by others



The competition machine (pictured above), created by Triplett to test whether the presence of others affects individual performance, is one of the first social psychology experiments. Triplett found that children wound the fishing reel faster in the presence of other children than when they were alone. Ringelmann found that people exert less effort in groups, such as in a tug-of-war (pictured right), than as individuals.



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The introduction of textbooks is an important milestone in the development of a field. In 1908, the first two books to bear the title *Social Psychology* were published, one by the psychologist William McDougall⁹ and the other by the sociologist Edward Ross.¹⁰ In 1924, Floyd Allport¹¹ published another early social psychology book.

During the early part of the 20th century, many thinkers began to ponder where human society was going and why it had changed so much. The world wars, the rise of communism and fascism, the spread of automobiles, the rapid changes in sexual behavior, the rise of advertising, popular fads, the population shift from farm to city life, and shocking economic events such as the Great Depression all challenged intellectuals to wonder what were the basic laws of how people relate to each other. They began to toss about various new and big ideas, including some that would shape the thinking of early social psychologists. One idea was that modern life makes people vulnerable to alienation and exploitation by giant social systems. Another idea was that we learn who we are from other people and our interactions with them. Still another idea was that modern humans act less on the basis of firm inner moral principles than on the basis of following the crowd.

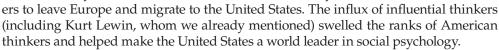
Two ideas from this period stand out as having had a lasting influence on the direction social psychology took. One was Gordon Allport's observation in 1954 that attitudes were "the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology" (p. 43).¹² The study of attitudes dominated social psychology research for decades and is still centrally important today (see Chapter 7). (Gordon Allport also observed that the study of the self was going to be recognized as increasingly important in the coming years, and on that prediction he was also quite correct; see Chapter 3.)

The other key idea was Kurt Lewin's formula that behavior is a function of the person and the situation.¹³ Thus, if you want to predict whether Lenore will finish her school paper on time, you need two kinds of information. First, you must know something about Lenore: Is she lazy? Does she like her work? Is she smart enough to

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get the job done? Is she punctual? Second, you must know something about her situation: Is the task hard? Are other people bothering her? Is there a penalty for being late? Is her printer broken? Knowing only one kind of information without the other is an inadequate basis for predicting what will happen.

World War II stimulated a great deal of research in the social sciences, and in social psychology in particular. Several factors contributed to this rise in research. Some involved grand theoretical questions: Why did millions of citizens in a modern, civilized nation with a long tradition of religion, morality, and philosophy follow the cruel dictator Adolf Hitler in his policies that included systematic mass murder and violent invasion of neighboring countries? Other factors were more practical: Why did soldiers seem to have so many psychological problems with stress? What exactly motivates soldiers to continue doing their duty on modern battlefields where they could be killed at any moment? World War II also caused many research-



In fact, the terrible events during World War II in Nazi Germany were the impetus for the most well-known social psychology studies ever conducted. It was shortly after Adolf Eichmann (a high-ranking Nazi and SS officer) was captured, tried, and hanged by an Israeli court that Stanley Milgram conducted his studies on obedience. During his trial, Eichmann did not dispute the facts of the Holocaust but said he was only "following orders." He testified that he "never did anything, great or small, without obtaining in advance express instructions from Adolf Hitler or any of my superiors." Milgram asked, "Could it be that Eichmann and his million accomplices in the Holocaust were just following orders? Could we call them all accomplices?"14 In summarizing his findings, Milgram said, "I set up a simple experiment at Yale University to test how much pain an ordinary citizen would inflict on another person simply because he was ordered to by an experimental scientist. Stark authority was pitted against the subjects' strongest moral imperatives against hurting others, and, with the subjects' ears ringing with the screams of the victims, authority won more often than not."15 In Chapter 9, we describe Milgram's original study and subsequent studies in detail. We point out, however, that although obedience to malevolent authority is detrimental, obedience to nonmalevolent authority is often very beneficial to society (e.g., when motorists obey traffic laws).

Social psychology began to come into its own as a field in the 1950s and 1960s. At the time, psychology was divided between two camps. One camp, known as behaviorism, sought to explain human behavior in terms of learning principles such as reward and punishment. (Countless studies were conducted with white laboratory rats in order to establish these principles.) Behaviorists were opposed to talking about the mind, thoughts, emotions, or other inner processes, focusing instead on observable actions that could be studied experimentally using the scientific method. The other camp was Freudian psychoanalysis, which preferred elaborate interpretations of individual experiences (especially from clinical practice) instead of experimental studies that counted behaviors. Social psychology was not really compatible with either camp. Social psychology was more congenial to the behaviorist camp in that it favored experiments and the scientific method, but it was also sympathetic to the Freudian camp with its interest in inner states and processes. For a while it sought to steer a middle course. Eventually (by the 1970s and 1980s), social psychology found its own way, using scientific approaches to measure behavior but also trying to study thoughts, feelings, and other inner states scientifically.

What about the more recent past? Historians are generally uncomfortable writing about recent times because main themes are easier to see from a distance than from up close. Still, we can make a few broad statements about the recent history of social psychology. The study of simple cognitive (mental) processes, such as attribution



World War II stimulated a great deal of social psychological research.



Behavioral psychologists conducted countless studies using white rats.

behaviorism theoretical approach that seeks to explain behavior in terms of learning principles, without reference to inner states, thoughts, or feelings

Freudian psychoanalysis theoretical approach that seeks to explain behavior by looking at the deep unconscious forces inside the person

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theory (attributions are explanations people come up with to explain the behavior of others), evolved in the 1970s and 1980s into a large and sophisticated study of social cognition (how people think about people and the social world in general). This area of interest has continued up to the present.

Another huge development from the 1990s onward was a growing openness to biology. The influx of biology was boosted by evolutionary psychology, which sought to extend and apply the basic ideas of evolution to understanding human social behavior. It gained further momentum as some social psychologists began to study the brain in order to learn how its workings are related to social events. Today, social neuroscience is an interdisciplinary field of study that investigates how biological systems influence social thought and behavior.

The study of the self has been another central theme of social psychology since the 1970s. It is hard to realize that in the 1960s people hardly ever used the term *selfesteem* or cared about it. In recent decades, social psychologists have explored many different aspects of the self—not only self-esteem but also self-control, self-concept, and self-presentation.

The field continues to change and evolve. In the 1980s, the conflict between the so-called free world and communist totalitarian systems was the dominant conflict in the world and the main focus of conflict studies. When the Soviet empire abruptly collapsed in 1989, the study of conflict between groups refocused on racial and ethnic conflict, which in the United States meant a sharp rise of interest in prejudice and stereotyping. Today, the same theories have been applied to understand stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination of other stigmatized groups, such as obese individuals and gays, lesbians, and transsexuals.



What Do Social Psychologists Do?

You might think that social psychology focuses specifically on the study of groups or social relationships. It does include those topics, but it studies much more. At present, social psychology aims for a broad understanding of the social factors that influence how human beings think, act, and feel. It focuses particularly on normal adult

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human beings, though some social psychologists do study children and people who suffer from mild mental illness (such as depression). Very little of what people do, other than those with severe mental illness, is off limits to social psychology.

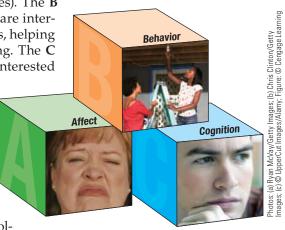
Social psychology is concerned with the effect of other people (real or imagined) on our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. These three dimensions or building blocks of social psychology are known as the **ABC triad** (**FIGURE 1.1**). The **A** stands for Affect (pronounced 'AF-ekt; note that this word is a noun, not a verb, which is pronounced 'ə-'fekt)—how people feel inside. Social psychologists are interested in how people feel about themselves (e.g., self-esteem), how they feel about others (e.g., prejudice), and how they feel about various issues (e.g., attitudes). The **B** stands for Behavior—what people do, their actions. Social psychologists are interested in all the various behaviors people engage in, such as joining groups, helping others, hurting others, loving others, working, playing, praying, relaxing. The **C** stands for Cognition—what people think about. Social psychologists are interested in what people think about themselves (e.g., self-concept), what they think about others (e.g., forming impressions), and what they think about various problems and issues in the social world (e.g., protecting the environment).

As Kurt Lewin suggested many years ago, social psychologists are concerned about the effects of personal and situational influences on these ABCs. Social psychology focuses especially on the power of sit-® uations. That is, when trying to explain some pattern of behavior, the first place social psychologists generally look is to the situation. In this focus, social psychology departed from two powerful traditions in psychology. Freudian psychoanalysis sought to explain behavior by looking at the deep unconscious forces inside the person, whereas behaviorist learning theory sought to explain behavior by looking at reinforcement histories (e.g., what behaviors were previously rewarded or punished). Social psychology emphasizes how people react to the world around them and how small changes in their immediate circumstances can produce substantial changes in behavior. Social psychologists even study the influence of situational factors that people may not even be aware of. For example, participants in one study¹⁶ arranged scrambled words to form sentences. The study was said to be about how people use words in various, flexible ways. By the flip of a coin, participants received either words associated with the elderly (e.g., OLD, GRAY, WRINKLE), or words not associated with the elderly (e.g., THIRSTY, CLEAN, PRIVATE). After participants completed the task, the researcher thanked them for participating and told them that the elevator was down the hall. Using a hidden stopwatch, the researchers timed how long it took participants to walk to the elevator. Participants who had unscrambled the elderly words took significantly longer to walk to the elevator than did participants who had unscrambled the neutral words. In contrast, participants in another study¹⁷ who were subliminally exposed to entitlement words (e.g., SPECIAL, SUPERIOR) walked significantly faster when they left the study than did participants who were subliminally exposed to neutral words (e.g., WATER, NUMBER), presumably because they thought they had better things to do with their "precious" time.

Another important feature of social psychology is that it embraces the scientific method. Most social psychologists conduct experiments, which are careful and systematic ways of testing theories. You will learn more about how experiments are conducted later in this chapter. There are many ways to learn about people, such as reading a novel, watching people at the airport, living in a foreign country, or talking with friends for hours at a time. All those approaches may yield valuable lessons, but the scientific method has important advantages over them. In particular, it is hard to know whether the insights gleaned from reading a novel or watching people are correct. The scientific method is the most rigorous way of sorting out the valid lessons from the mistaken ones. We discuss the scientific method later in this chapter.

FIGURE 1.1

Affect, Behavior, and Cognition are the ABCs of what social psychologists study.



ABC triad Affect (how people feel inside), Behavior (what people do), Cognition (what people think about)