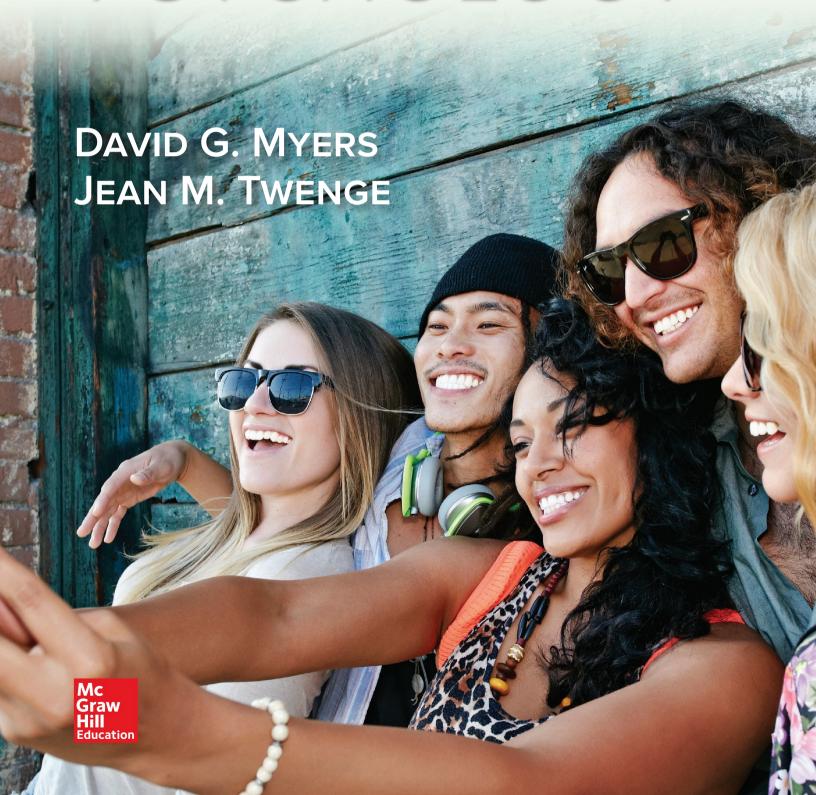
SOCIAL^{13E} PSYCHOLOGY



SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 13e

David G. Myers

Hope College

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, THIRTEENTH EDITION

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DGM

For Dennis and Betty kindred friends, servant leaders

JMT

For my daughters: Kate, Elizabeth, and Julia

About the Authors

Since receiving his University of Iowa Ph.D., David G. 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."



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Jean M. Twenge by Sandy Huffaker, Jr.
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With support from National Science Foundation grants, Myers' research has appeared in some three dozen scientific periodicals, including *Science*, the *American Scientist*, *Psychological Science*, and the *American Psychologist*.

He has also communicated psychological science through articles 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' 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, the Hearing Loss Association of America, and the hearing industry.

David and Carol Myers have three children and one grandchild.

As Professor of Psychology at San Diego State University, Jean M. Twenge has authored more than 140 scientific publications on generational differences, cultural change, social rejection, digital media use, 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.

Dr. Twenge has drawn on her research in her books for a broader audience, iGen: Why Today's Super-Connected Kids Are Growing Up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy—And Completely Unprepared for Adulthood (2017) and Generation Me: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled—And More Miserable Than Ever Before (2nd ed., 2014). An article by Dr. Twenge in The Atlantic was nominated for a National Magazine Award. She frequently gives talks and seminars on generational differences to audiences such as college faculty and staff, parent-teacher groups, military personnel, camp directors, and corporate executives.

Jean 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

Preface xv

Chapter 1 Introducing Social Psychology 1

Part One Social Thinking
Chapter 2 The Self in a Social World 25

Chapter 3 Social Beliefs and Judgments 55

Chapter 4 Behavior and Attitudes 88

Part Two
Chapter 5 Genes, Culture, and Gender 111
Chapter 6 Conformity and Obedience 141
Chapter 7 Persuasion 173
Chapter 8 Group Influence 201

Part Three Social Relations
Chapter 9 Prejudice 237
Chapter 10 Aggression 275
Chapter 11 Attraction and Intimacy 312
Chapter 12 Helping 352

13

Chapter

Part Four Applying Social Psychology
Chapter 14 Social Psychology in the Clinic 423
Chapter 15 Social Psychology in Court 453
Chapter 16 Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future 479

Conflict and Peacemaking 388

Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future 479
Epilogue 503
References R-1
Name Index NI-1
Subject Index/Glossary SI-1

McGraw-Hill Education Psychology APA Documentation Style Guide









Table of Contents

Preface xv

Chapter 1

Introducing Social Psychology 1

What Is Social Psychology? 2

What Are Social Psychology's Big Ideas? 3

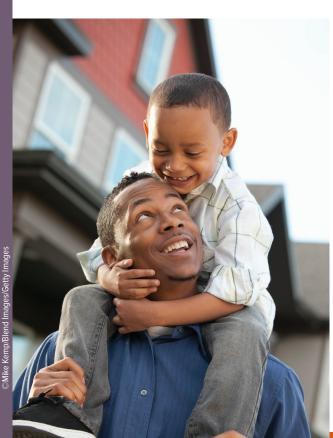
We Construct Our Social Reality 3
Our Social Intuitions Are Often Powerful but Sometimes
Perilous 4
Social Influences Shape Our Behavior 5
Personal Attitudes and Dispositions
Also Shape Behavior 6
Social Behavior Is Biologically Rooted 6
Social Psychology's Principles Are Applicable
in Everyday Life 7

How Do Human Values Influence Social Psychology? 7

Obvious Ways Values Enter Psychology 7 Not-So-Obvious Ways Values Enter Psychology 8

I Knew It All Along: Is Social Psychology Simply Common Sense? 10

Focus On: I Knew It All Along 13



Research Methods: How Do We Do Social Psychology? 13

Forming and Testing Hypotheses 14
Sampling and Question Wording 14
Correlational Research: Detecting Natural
Associations 17
Experimental Research: Searching for Cause
and Effect 19
Generalizing from Laboratory to Life 22

Postscript: Why We Wrote This Book 24

Part One: Social Thinking

Chapter 2

The Self in a Social World 25

Spotlights and Illusions: What Do They Teach Us About Ourselves? 26

Research Close-Up: On Being Nervous About Looking Nervous 27

Self-Concept: Who Am I? 28

At the Center of Our Worlds: Our Sense of Self 29
Self and Culture 30
Self-Knowledge 34
The Inside Story: Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama on Cultural Psychology 35

What Is the Nature and Motivating Power of Self-Esteem? 39

Self-Esteem Motivation 39 The Trade-Off of Low vs. High Self-Esteem 41 Self-Efficacy 43

What Is Self-Serving Bias? 44

Explaining Positive and Negative Events 44
Can We All Be Better Than Average? 45
Focus On: Self-Serving Bias—How Do I Love Me? Let
Me Count the Ways 46
Unrealistic Optimism 47
False Consensus and Uniqueness 48
Explaining Self-Serving Bias 49

How Do People Manage Their Self-Presentation? 50

Self-Handicapping 50 Impression Management 51

What Does It Mean to Have "Self-Control"? 53

Postscript: Twin Truths—The Perils of Pride, the Powers of Positive Thinking 54



Chapter 3

Social Beliefs and Judgments 55

How Do We Judge Our Social Worlds, Consciously and Unconsciously? 56

Priming 56
Intuitive Judgments 57
Overconfidence 59
Heuristics: Mental Shortcuts 61
Counterfactual Thinking 64
Illusory Thinking 65
Moods and Judgments 67
The Inside Story: Joseph P. Forgas: Can
Bad Weather Improve Your Memory? 68

How Do We Perceive Our Social Worlds? 69

Perceiving and Interpreting Events 69
Belief Perseverance 70
Constructing Memories of Ourselves and Our Worlds 7

How Do We Explain Our Social Worlds? 73

Attributing Causality: To the Person or the Situation 73
The Fundamental Attribution Error 75

How Do Our Social Beliefs Matter? 80

Teacher Expectations and Student Performance 80
Focus On: The Self-Fulfilling Psychology
of the Stock Market 81
Getting from Others What We Expect 82

What Can We Conclude About Social Beliefs and Judgments? 84

Postscript: Reflecting on Illusory Thinking 86

Chapter 4

Behavior and Attitudes 88

How Well Do Our Attitudes Predict Our Behavior? 89 When Attitudes Predict Behavior 90

When Does Our Behavior Affect Our Attitudes? 94

Role Playing 95 Saying Becomes Believing 96 Evil and Moral Acts 96 Social Movements 98

Why Does Our Behavior Affect Our Attitudes? 99

Self-Presentation: Impression Management 99
Self-Justification: Cognitive Dissonance 100
The Inside Story: Leon Festinger
on Dissonance Reduction 104
Self-Perception 104
Comparing the Theories 108

Postscript: Changing Ourselves Through Action 110



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Part Two: Social Influence

Chapter 5

Genes, Culture, and Gender 111

How Are We Influenced by Biology? 112

Genes, Evolution, and Behavior 113
Biology and Gender 114
Gender and Hormones 116
Reflections on Evolutionary Psychology 117
Focus On: Evolutionary Science and Religion 118

How Are We Influenced by Culture? 119

Culture and Behavior 119
Focus On: The Cultural Animal 120
Research Close-Up: Passing Encounters,
East and West 123
Peer-Transmitted Culture 124
Culture and Gender 125
Gender Roles Vary with Culture 127
Gender Roles Vary over Time 128

How Are Females and Males Alike and Different? 129

Independence versus Connectedness 130 Social Dominance 133 Aggression 134 Sexuality 135

What Can We Conclude About Genes, Culture, and Gender? 137

The Inside Story: Alice Eagly on Gender Similarities and Differences 139

Postscript: Should We View Ourselves as Products of Our Biology or Our Culture? 140

Chapter 6

Conformity and Obedience 141

What Is Conformity? 142

What Are the Classic Conformity and Obedience Studies? 143

Sherif's Studies of Norm Formation 143
Research Close-Up: Contagious Yawning 145
Asch's Studies of Group Pressure 147
Milgram's Obedience Studies 149
The Inside Story: Stanley Milgram on Obedience 150
The Ethics of Milgram's Studies 152
What Breeds Obedience? 152



Focus On: Personalizing The Victims 153 *Reflections on the Classic Studies* 155

What Predicts Conformity? 159

Group Size 159
Unanimity 160
Cohesion 161
Status 162
Public Response 162
Prior Commitment 162

Why Conform? 164

Who Conforms? 166

Personality 166 Culture 167 Social Roles 168

Do We Ever Want to Be Different? 169

Reactance 169 Asserting Uniqueness 170

Postscript: On Being an Individual Within a Community 172

Chapter 7

Persuasion 173

What Paths Lead to Persuasion? 175

The Central Route 175
The Peripheral Route 176
Different Paths for Different Purposes 176

What Are the Elements of Persuasion? 177

Who Says? The Communicator 177
Research Close-Up: Experimenting with a Virtual
Social Reality 181
What Is Said? The Message Content 182
How Is It Said? The Channel of Communication 188
To Whom Is It Said? The Audience 192
Focus On: Cults and Persuasion 194

How Can Persuasion Be Resisted? 196

Attitude Inoculation 197
Implications of Attitude Inoculation 200

Postscript: Being Open but Not Naïve 200

Chapter 8

Group Influence 201

What Is a Group? 201

Social Facilitation: How Are We Affected by the Presence of Others? 202

The Mere Presence of Others 202 Crowding: The Presence of Many Others 205 Why Are We Aroused in the Presence of Others? 205

Social Loafing: Do Individuals Exert Less Effort in a Group? 207

Many Hands Make Light Work 208 Social Loafing in Everyday Life 209

Deindividuation: When Do People Lose Their Sense of Self in Groups? 211

Doing Together What We Would Not Do Alone 212 Diminished Self-Awareness 214

Group Polarization: Do Groups Intensify Our Opinions? 215

The Case of the "Risky Shift" 216
Do Groups Intensify Opinions? 217
Focus On: Group Polarization
Explaining Group Polarization 221

Groupthink: Do Groups Hinder or Assist Good Decisions? 224

The Inside Story: Irving Janis on Groupthink 225

Symptoms of Groupthink 225

Critiquing Groupthink 227

Preventing Groupthink 228

Group Problem Solving 228

The Inside Story: Behind a Nobel Prize: Two Minds Are Better Than One 230

The Influence of the Minority: How Do Individuals Influence the Group? 231

Consistency 232
Self-Confidence 233
Defections from the Majority 233
Is Leadership Minority Influence? 233
Focus On: Transformational Community
Leadership 234

Postscript: Are Groups Bad for Us? 236

Part Three: Social Relations

Chapter 9

Prejudice 237

What Is the Nature and Power of Prejudice? 238

Defining Prejudice 238





Prejudice: Implicit and Explicit 240 Racial Prejudice 240

Gender Prejudice 244 LGBT Prejudice 247

What Are the Social Sources of Prejudice? 248

Social Inequalities: Unequal Status and Prejudice 248 Socialization 249 Institutional Supports 252

What Are the Motivational Sources of Prejudice? 253

Frustration and Aggression: The Scapegoat Theory 253 Social Identity Theory: Feeling Superior to Others 254 Motivation to Avoid Prejudice 258

What Are the Cognitive Sources of Prejudice? 259

Categorization: Classifying People into Groups 259
Distinctiveness: Perceiving People Who Stand Out 260
Attribution: Is It a Just World? 264

What Are the Consequences of Prejudice? 267

Self-Perpetuating Prejudgments 267
Discrimination's Impact: The Self-Fulfilling
Prophecy 268
Stereotype Threat 269
The Inside Story: Claude Steele on Stereotype
Threat 271
Do Stereotypes Bias Judgments of Individuals? 271

Postscript: Can We Reduce Prejudice? 273

Chapter 10

Aggression 275

What Is Aggression? 277

What Are Some Theories of Aggression? 278

Aggression as a Biological Phenomenon
Aggression as a Response to Frustration
Aggression as Learned Social Behavior
285

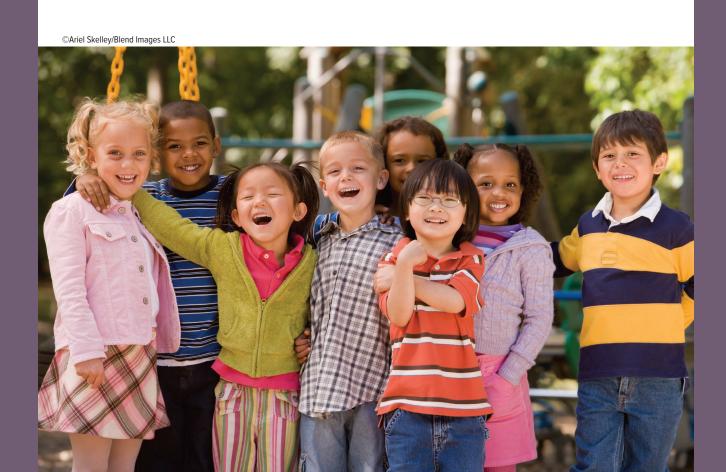
What Are Some Influences on Aggression? 287

Aversive Incidents 287
Arousal 289
Aggression Cues 290
Media Influences: Pornography
and Sexual Violence 291
Media Influences: Television, Movies,
and the Internet 293
Another Media Influence: Video Games 298
Effects of Video Games 299
The Inside Story: Craig Anderson on Video-Game
Violence 303
Group Influences 303
Research Close-Up: When Provoked, Are Groups More
Aggressive Than Individuals? 305

How Can Aggression Be Reduced? 306

Catharsis? 306 A Social Learning Approach 308 Culture Change and World Violence 309

Postscript: Reforming a Violent Culture 310





Chapter 11

Attraction and Intimacy 312

How Important Is the Need to Belong? 314

What Leads to Friendship and Attraction? 316

Proximity 316

Focus On: Liking Things Associated with Oneself 319

Physical Attractiveness 321
The Inside Story: Ellen Berscheid

on Attractiveness 324
Similarity versus Complementarity 329

Liking Those Who Like Us 331

Focus On: Bad Is Stronger Than Good 332

Relationship Rewards 334

What Is Love? 335

Passionate Love 335 Companionate Love 338

What Enables Close Relationships? 340

Attachment 340 Equity 342

Self-Disclosure 343

Focus On: Does the Internet Create Intimacy or Isolation? 346

How Do Relationships End? 347

Divorce 348

The Detachment Process 349

Postscript: Making Love 351

Chapter 12

Helping 352

Why Do We Help? 353

Social Exchange and Social Norms 353

The Inside Story: Dennis Krebs on Life Experience

and the Study of Altruism 355

Evolutionary Psychology 361

Comparing and Evaluating Theories of Helping 363

Genuine Altruism 363

Focus On: The Benefits-and the Costs-of

Empathy-Induced Altruism 365

When Will We Help? 367

Number of Bystanders 367

The Inside Story: John M. Darley on Bystander

Reactions 368

Helping When Someone Else Does 372

Time Pressures 373

Similarity 373

Research Close-Up: Ingroup Similarity

and Helping 374

Who Will Help? 376

Personality Traits and Status 376

Gender 377

Religious Faith 378

How Can We Increase Helping? 380

Reduce Ambiguity, Increase Responsibility 380

Guilt and Concern for Self-Image 381

Socializing Altruism 382

Focus On: Behavior and Attitudes Among

Rescuers of Jews 385

Postscript: Taking Social Psychology into Life 387

Chapter 13

Conflict and Peacemaking 388

What Creates Conflict? 389

Social Dilemmas 389

Competition 395

Perceived Injustice 397

Misperception 397

Research Close-Up: Misperception

and War 400

How Can Peace Be Achieved? 401

Contact 401

Research Close-Up: Relationships That Might

Have Been 405

The Inside Story: Nicole Shelton and Jennifer Richeson

On Cross-Racial Friendships 406

Cooperation 407

Focus On: Why Do We Care Who Wins? 408

Focus On: Branch Rickey, Jackie Robinson, and the

Integration of Baseball 413

Communication 415

Conciliation 419

Postscript: The Conflict Between Individual and

Communal Rights 421

Part Four: Applying Social Psychology

Chapter 14

Social Psychology in the Clinic 423

What Influences the Accuracy of Clinical Judgments? 424

Illusory Correlations 425

Hindsight and Overconfidence 426

Self-Confirming Diagnoses 427

Clinical Intuition versus Statistical Prediction 427

Focus On: A Physician's View: The Social Psychology

of Medicine 429

Implications for Better Clinical Practice 430

What Cognitive Processes Accompany Behavior Problems? 430

Depression 430

The Inside Story: Shelley Taylor on Positive

Illusions 433

Loneliness 434



Anxiety and Shyness 436 Health, Illness, and Death 437

What Are Some Social-Psychological Approaches to Treatment? 441

Inducing Internal Change Through External Behavior 442
Breaking Vicious Cycles 442
Maintaining Change Through Internal Attributions for
Success 444
Using Therapy as Social Influence 445

How Do Social Relationships Support Health and Well-Being? 446

Close Relationships and Health 446 Close Relationships and Happiness 449

Postscript: Enhancing Happiness 452

Chapter 15

Social Psychology in Court 453

How Reliable Is Eyewitness Testimony? 454

The Power of Persuasive Eyewitnesses 454
When Eyes Deceive 455
The Misinformation Effect 457
Retelling 459
Reducing Error 459
Research Close-Up: Feedback to Witnesses 459

What Other Factors Influence Juror Judgments? 464

The Defendant's Characteristics 464 The Judge's Instructions 467 Additional Factors 469

What Influences the Individual Juror? 469

Juror Comprehension 470 Jury Selection 471 "Death-Qualified" Jurors 471

How Do Group Influences Affect Juries? 473

Minority Influence 473 Group Polarization 473 Leniency 474 Are Twelve Heads Better Than One? 474
Research Close-Up: Group Polarization in a Natural
Court Setting 475
Are Six Heads as Good as Twelve? 475
From Lab to Life: Simulated and Real Juries 476

Postscript: Thinking Smart with Psychological Science 477

Chapter 16

Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future 479

Psychology and Climate Change 483

Psychological Effects of Climate Change 483 Public Opinion About Climate Change 484

Enabling Sustainable Living 487

New Technologies 487
Reducing Consumption 487
The Inside Story: Janet Swim on Psychology's Response to Climate Change 489

The Social Psychology of Materialism and Wealth 490

Increased Materialism 491
Wealth and Well-Being 492
Materialism Fails to Satisfy 494
Toward Sustainability and Survival 498
Research Close-Up: Measuring National
Well-Being 500

Postscript: How Does One Live Responsibly in the Modern World? 501

Epilogue 503
References R-1
Name Index NI-1
Subject Index SI-1



McGraw-Hill Education Psychology APA Documentation Style Guide

Guide to Culture

Text coverage of culture focuses on the following topics:

Affluence and happiness: pp. 493-495 Aggression and culture: pp. 286-287 Anonymity and violence: pp. 213-214 Asserting uniqueness: pp. 209-211

Attachment styles: p. 341 Attitudes about race: pp. 98-99 Behavior and culture: pp. 119-125 Biology and culture: pp. 137-139

Close relationships and happiness: p. 549 Cognition and culture: pp. 32-33

Collectivism: pp. 30-31, 172, 421-422 Interdependent self: p. 33

Conformity: pp. 142, 144, 148 Nonconformity: pp. 170–172

Counterfactual thinking: pp. 64-65

"Cultural racism": p. 242 Culture of peace: p. 501

Definition of culture: pp. 8-9, 119-120

Depression: p. 434 Diversity: pp. 120-122

Divorce: p. 348 Evolutionary psychology: pp. 113–114 Facebook profile pictures and cultural

differences: p. 32

Facebook posts expressing positive emotion in India and the United States: p. 126

Group polarization in terrorist organizations: pp. 220-221

Fundamental attribution error and cultural differences: pp. 78-79

Gender and culture: pp. 125-127

Generalizing from laboratory to life: pp. 22-23 Group and superordinate identities: pp. 414-415

Guilt: p. 356

Immigration, children's preference for new culture's language and norms: p. 124

Implicit attitudes: pp. 90-91

Independence versus connectedness: pp. 130-133

Independent self: p. 30

Individualism: pp. 30, 170–172, 421–422 Growing individualism within cultures:

pp. 31-32, 422

Influence of human nature and cultural diversity:

pp. 112-119

Justice, perceptions of: p. 397

Loneliness: p. 434

Love, variations in: pp. 337-338

Norms: pp. 121-124

Obedience: pp. 151, 156-157, 167-168

Observational learning of aggression: pp. 364-365

Perceived injustice: p. 490 Physical anonymity: p. 279

Physical attractiveness: pp. 326-327

Reciprocity norm: p. 447

Religion and racial prejudice: pp. 250-251

Self and culture: pp. 30-34 Self-esteem: pp. 33-34 Self-presentation: pp. 51-52 Self-serving bias: pp. 44-50

Similarity: p. 125

Social comparison and income inequality:

pp. 496-498 Social influence: pp. 2, 5 Social loafing: pp. 210-211

Social-responsibility norm: p. 359

Socialization: p. 249 Stereotypes: pp. 239–248 "System justification": p. 343

Tragedy of the Commons: pp. 391–392

Values in social psychology: pp. 7-10, 477-478

Violence and culture: pp. 309-311

Feature coverage of culture can be found in the following boxes:

Focus On: I Knew It All Along: p. 13

Focus On: Self-Serving Bias: How Do I Love Me? Let

Me Count the Ways: p. 46

Focus On: The Cultural Animal: p. 120

The Inside Story: Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama on Cultural Psychology: p. 35

Research Close-Up: Passing Encounters,

East and West: p. 123

Research Close-Up: Measuring National Well-Being: pp. 500–501

Guide to Technology and Social Media

Text coverage of technology and social media focuses on the following topics:

Aggression and "rant" websites: p. 307

Altruism in online gaming: p. 379

Anonymity on the Internet: p. 225

Belief perseverance on social media: pp. 70-71

Bystander effect on Facebook: p. 367

Confirmation bias on social media: p. 61

Conformity in online gaming: p. 164

Cultural differences in Facebook posts: p. 126

Cyberbullying: pp. 266, 276

False consensus effect on Facebook: p. 48

Gender differences in Facebook posts:

pp. 129-130, 132

Gender and STEM subjects: p. 252

Group polarization on the Internet: pp. 219-220

Interactions, in person versus social media:

pp. 435, 450

Internet, television, movies and aggression:

pp. 293-298

Jury presentations: p. 477

Loneliness on social media: p. 435

Narcissism on social media: p. 43

Online dating:

Increased disclosure and liking: p. 346

Personal advertisements on the Internet, asset

matching: p. 323

Similarity: p. 330

Speed dating: p. 329

Online rumors forum: p. 126

Ostracism on social media, effects of: p. 315

Persuasion:

Credibility of fake news depends on who

shares it: p. 179

Media compared: p. 191

Media influence: pp. 189-191

Online games as children's advertising: p. 199

Political advertising: p. 189

Primacy effect and TripAdvisor reviews: p. 186

"Viral marketing": p. 189

Pornography and sexual violence: pp. 291-293

Prejudice: pp. 310-311

Prosocial media and gaming: p. 384

Selective exposure: pp. 100-101

Self-presentation on Facebook: p. 52

Social comparison on social media: pp. 29-30,

223, 496

Suggestibility on social media: p. 146

Use of social media by young people: p. 313

Technology, affluence, and happiness: p. 493

Technology and sustainability: p. 487

Video games and aggression: pp. 298-302

Feature coverage of technology and social media can be found in the following boxes:

Research Close-Up: Experimenting with a Virtual Social Reality: p. 181

The Inside Story: Craig Anderson on Video Game Violence: p. 303

Focus On: Does the Internet Create Intimacy or Isolation?: pp. 346-347

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! 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 now offers 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,
 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. By focusing on humanly significant issues, we aim to offer social psychology's big ideas and findings to pre-professional psychology students, and to do so in ways that stimulate all students. And with close-up looks at how the game is played—at the varied research tools that reveal the workings 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.

David G. Myers
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Preface

Social Psychology introduces students to the science of *us*: our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in a social world. By studying social psychology, students learn to think critically about everyday behaviors and they gain an appreciation for how we view and affect one another.

Social Psychology's conversational voice allows students to access and enjoy this relatively young and exciting science. In Social Psychology, students find scientific explorations of love and hate, conformity and independence, prejudice and helping, persuasion and self-determination.

Social Psychology focuses on how people view, affect, and relate to one another. Beginning with its chapter-opening stories, the text relates the theme of the chapter to the human experience. The cutting edge of social psychological research is also at the forefront, with more than 450 new or updated citations since the last edition.

The Research Close-Up feature remains a mainstay in this edition, offering comprehensive looks at current research in the social psychology field around the world, ranging from "On Being Nervous About Looking Nervous" in Chapter 2, to "Misperception and War" in Chapter 13. Research Close-Ups provide students with accessible examples of how social psychologists employ various research methods from naturalistic observation to laboratory experiments to the harvesting of archival and Internet data.

Other engaging and instructive features retained in the new edition are:

- the Focus On feature, an in-depth exploration of a topic presented in the text. For example, the Focus On in Chapter 11, Does the Internet Create Intimacy or Isolation?, describes the pros and cons of using the Internet for communication and a sense of belonging;
- the Inside Story, famous researchers in their own words, highlighting the interests and questions that guided, and sometimes misguided, their findings. For example, Chapter 5 offers an essay by Alice Eagly on gender similarities and differences;
- the Postscripts, chapter-ending afterthoughts on the essence of the chapter that engage students with thought-provoking questions and personal reflections on the chapter. For example, the Postscript to Chapter 16, Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future, offers thoughts on "How does one live responsibly in the modern world?"

Much about human behavior remains a mystery, yet social psychology can offer insight into many questions we have about ourselves and the world we live in, such as:

- How does our thinking—both conscious and unconscious—drive our behavior?
- What is self-esteem? Is there such a thing as too much self-esteem?
- How do the people around us influence our behavior?
- What leads people sometimes to hurt and sometimes to help one another?
- What kindles social conflict, and how can we transform closed fists into helping hands?

Investigating and answering such questions is this book's mission—to expand students' self-understanding, and to reveal the social forces at work in their lives. After reading this book and thinking critically about everyday behaviors, students will better understand themselves and the world in which they work, play, and love.

Students Study More Effectively with Connect® and SmartBook®

Social Psychology harnesses the power of technology and data to improve the instructor and student experiences.

- SmartBook helps students study more efficiently by highlighting where in the chapter to focus, asking review questions and pointing them to resources until they understand.
- Connect's assignments help students contextualize what they've learned through application, so they can better understand the material and think critically.
- Connect creates a personalized study path customized to individual student needs.
- Connect reports deliver information regarding performance, study behavior, and effort, so instructors can quickly identify students who are having issues, or focus on material that the class hasn't mastered.



Better Data, Smarter Revision, Improved Results

For this edition, data were analyzed to identify the concepts students found the most difficult, allowing for expansion upon the discussion, practice, and assessment of challenging topics. In the past, the revision process for a new edition began with gathering information from instructors about what they would change and what they would keep. Experts in the field were asked to provide comments that pointed out new material to add and dated material to review. Using all these reviews, authors would revise the material. But now, a new tool has revolutionized that model.

McGraw-Hill Education authors now have access to student performance data to analyze and to inform their revisions. This data is anonymously collected from the many students who use SmartBook, the adaptive learning system that provides students with individualized assessment of their own progress. Because virtually every text paragraph is tied to several questions that students answer while using the SmartBook, the specific concepts with which students are having the most difficulty are easily pinpointed through empirical data in the form of a "heat map" report.

The Heat Map Story: Appreciating the Power of Student Data

- **STEP 1.** Over the course of three years, data points showing concepts that caused students the most difficulty were anonymously collected from SmartBook for *Social Psychology, 12e*.
- **STEP 2.** The data was provided to the authors in the form of a *Heat Map*, which graphically illustrated "hot spots" in the text that impacted student learning.
- **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.

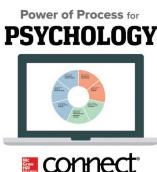
RESULT: Because the *Heat Map* gave the authors empirically based feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level, they were able to develop the new edition using precise student data that pinpointed concepts that caused students the most difficulty.

Powerful Reporting

Whether a class is face-to-face, hybrid, or entirely online, McGraw-Hill Education Connect provides the tools needed to reduce the amount of time and energy instructors spend administering their courses. Easy-to-use course management tools allow instructors to spend less time administering and more time teaching, while reports allow students to monitor their progress and optimize their study time.

- The **At-Risk Student Report** provides instructors with one-click access to a dashboard that identifies students who are at risk of dropping out of the course due to low engagement levels.
- The Category Analysis Report details student performance relative to specific learning objectives and goals, including APA learning goals and outcomes and levels of Bloom's taxonomy.
- Connect Insight is a one-of-a-kind visual analytics dashboard—now available for both instructors and students—that provides at-a-glance information regarding student performance.
- The LearnSmart Reports allow instructors and students to easily monitor progress and pinpoint areas of weakness, giving each student a personalized study plan to achieve success.

New to the Thirteenth Edition, **Power of Process**, now available in McGraw-Hill Connect™, guides students through the process of critical reading, analysis, and writing. Faculty can select or upload their own content, such as journal articles, and assign analysis strategies to gain insight into students' application of the scientific method. For students, Power of Process offers a guided visual approach to exercising critical thinking strategies to apply before, during, and after reading published research. Additionally, utilizing the relevant and engaging research articles built into Power of Process, students are supported in becoming critical consumers of research.



Concept Clips help students comprehend some of the most difficult ideas. Colorful graphics and stimulating animations describe core concepts in a step-by-step manner, engaging students and aiding in retention. Concept Clips can be used as a presentation tool in the classroom or for student assessment.

New in the Thirteenth edition, Concept Clips are embedded in the ebook to offer an alternative presentation of these challenging topics. New clips cover topics such as attraction, mate selection, replication of research and learning gender roles.

Interactivities, assignable through Connect, engage students with content through experiential activities.

Through the connection of psychology to students' own lives, concepts become more relevant and understandable. **NewsFlash** exercises tie current news stories to key

Preface **xvi**

psychological principles and learning objectives. After interacting with a contemporary news story, students are assessed on their ability to make the link between real life and research findings.

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

Supporting Instructors with Technology

With McGraw-Hill Education, you can develop and tailor the course you want to teach.



Easily rearrange chapters, combine material from other content sources, and quickly upload content you have written, such as your course syllabus or teaching notes, using

McGraw-Hill Education's **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 email in about an hour. Experience how McGraw-Hill Education empowers you to teach your students your way (http://create.mheducation.com).

Trusted Service and Support

McGraw-Hill Education's Connect offers comprehensive service, support, and training throughout every phase of your implementation. If you're looking for some guidance on how to use Connect, or want to learn tips and tricks from super users, you can find tutorials as you work. Our Digital Faculty Consultants and Student Ambassadors offer insight into how to achieve the results you want with Connect.

Integration with Your Learning Management System

McGraw-Hill integrates your digital products from McGraw-Hill Education with your school LMS (learning management system) for quick and easy access to best-in-class content and learning tools. Build an effective digital course, enroll students with ease and discover how powerful digital teaching can be.

Available with Connect, integration is a pairing between an institution's LMS and Connect at the assignment level. It shares assignment information, grades and calendar items from Connect into the LMS automatically, creating an easy to manage course for instructors and simple navigation for students. Our assignment-level integration is available with Blackboard Learn, Canvas by Instructure, and Brightspace by D2L, giving you access to registration, attendance, assignments, grades, and course resources in real time, in one location.

Taking Sides: Clashing Views in Social Psychology

This debate-style reader both reinforces and challenges students' viewpoints on the most crucial issues in Social Psychology. Customize this title via **McGraw-Hill Education Create**® (http://create.mheducation.com).

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

The research on social psychology is ever increasing. Not only does the Thirteenth Edition incorporate the latest research and scholarship, it also reflects current social and cultural trends. Below are listed the major additions and changes to the Thirteenth Edition:

Chapter 1 Introducing Social Psychology

- Chapter reorganized to move from survey research to correlational research to experimental research
- New examples including social communication via texting and social media
- New material on response rates in polling using the example of the 2016 U.S. presidential election
- Discussion of replication projects and open science archives

Chapter 2 The Self in a Social World

- New studies and examples about social comparison on Facebook
- Studies showing that individualism is on the rise globally
- New studies on how *narcissism* develops and how it impacts leadership
- New study and example of online "humblebragging" as a self-presentation strategy
- Self-control research reports on when failures of self-control are most likely to appear and when they are not, and how self-control exertion leading to self-control failure may be a uniquely Western occurrence

Chapter 3 Social Beliefs and Judgments

- Current research on partisanship leading to trust or distrust of the news media
- New priming research with a new figure and a subliminal-exposure example
- Example of how *embodied cognition* can be social and positive
- New *overconfidence* research on how people can change their opinions
- New confirmation bias research on "ideological echo chambers"
- Updated statistics on transportation safety as related to the availability heuristic
- New example about fake news as related to belief perseverance

Chapter 4 Behavior and Attitudes

- Political example of the disconnect between stated attitudes and actual behavior
- Research on what is necessary for an attitude to lead to behavior
- Added research reporting on criticisms of the *implicit association test (IAT)*

Chapter 5 Genes, Culture, and Gender

- Chapter reorganized to flow smoothly from genes to culture to gender without backtracking
- New material on intersex conditions, gender fluidity, nonbinary identity, and transgender individuals, including new examples
- New material on distinguishing between average group differences and self-relevant information
- Updated women's graduate school attendance statistics
- Updated statistics for housework hours
- New figure displaying gender differences in pornography use
- Updates and editing by Alice Eagly in the Inside Story feature

Preface **xix**

Chapter 6 Conformity and Obedience

- Research study of brain activity after obedience
- Additional example of suicide and gun violence as socially contagious
- Discussion of a study on mass shootings showing social contagion
- Social eating as an example of everyday conformity
- New reporting on Milgram-experiment justification attempts by participants, and how close relationships prevented conformity
- Research on the differences in individualistic and collectivistic views of conformity

Chapter 7 Persuasion

- Examples in chapter introduction of the spread of false beliefs and attitudes around equality
- Updated statistics on Americans' views of global warming
- Updated statistics on high school seniors' alcohol consumption
- Examples of reactions depending on the communicator
- Research on Facebook users trusting or distrusting an article depending on who shared it with them
- Additional example of peripheral-route persuasion helping to persuade mothers to vaccinate their children
- Additional coverage of the persuasion value of graphic images
- Research on the advantage of two-sided appeals
- Political example of mere repetition creating misinformation and false beliefs
- Expanded discussion of comparing media, and how persuasion works best by speaking in person rather than writing
- Discussion of a counterargument research study on healthy eating in a middle school
- New discussion of attitude inoculation helping to counter "fake news"

Chapter 8 Group Influence

- Added research study on social facilitation contributing to a soccer team's home advantage
- Example of *group polarization* occurring when people believed many other viewers were watching an online political speech
- All new, updated material in Group Polarization and Politics section
- New examples and discussion in Group Polarization on the Internet section
- Research showing how *groupthink* can debilitate the individual self

Chapter 9 Prejudice

- Research showing obesity at the root of much child bullying
- Added example of *prejudice* in politics
- Basketball example of stereotype generalizations sometimes being true
- Example of how strong beliefs can exaggerate reality
- Added discussion of criticisms of the *Implicit Association Test (IAT)*
- Updated statistics on racial prejudice, hate crime incidents, and White nationalist views
- Many new examples of favoritism in employment discrimination
- New reporting on *implicit-bias* training for police and in the political arena

- Research showing Americans supporting equal gender work roles while still believing in differing gender traits
- New reporting on hostile sexism and benevolent sexism
- Studies showing faculty prefer female job candidates
- Updated statistics on worldwide gender discrimination
- Statistics from 23 countries on attitudes toward transgender individuals, and worldwide anti-gay attitudes
- Discussion and statistics on job discrimination against gays and transgender people
- Updated U.S. statistics on support for gay marriage
- Statistics on harassment of transgender people at school and on those evicted from their family homes
- Updated U.S. statistics on gay and lesbian teen and transgender suicide rates, with new research showing fewer suicides in states where same-sex marriage has been legalized
- Research showing how those who strongly support ethnic tolerance can display intolerance and discrimination toward those who disagree with them
- New section on hate speech and hate crimes
- Study on how media may strengthen stereotypes, with focus on portrayals of Muslims
- Research example of a door-to-door conversation technique reducing prejudice
- Added research study showing that individuals differ in *own-race bias*

Chapter 10 Aggression

- Updated U.S. crime statistics
- Additional discussion about American mass shootings and mental illness
- Analysis of studies confirming that alcohol consumption is associated with higher levels of aggression especially among men
- Updated U.S. statistics on violent crime and murder involving alcohol
- New studies on testosterone and aggression
- New studies with examples of relative deprivation
- Added examples of aggressive cues related to anger
- Added statistics on U.S. number of firearms and gun murders compared with other highincome countries
- Reporting on 130 studies across 10 countries showing laws restricting firearm sales producing reductions in gun crimes
- Study showing "right-to-carry" states experiencing more violent crime
- Research showing the connection between sexually explicit/violent movie watching and dating sexual violence; how pornography viewing makes people more likely to be sexually aggressive
- Experiment with children exposed to a PG movie either with guns or without guns and how they later played with toy guns and a real, unloaded handgun
- Updated U.S. statistics on number of video game players
- Research showing evidence of the link between violent video games and aggression and fewer prosocial acts
- New example of catharsis where "rage rooms" are becoming popular
- Research showing how aggressive behavior spreads in social groups through modeling
- New examples of how to reduce aggression

Preface **xx**

Chapter 11 Attraction and Intimacy

- Research showing how *mere exposure* by reading can change attitudes
- Study showing that too much exposure can have a negative effect
- Discussion and research example about online dating sites using similarity as a basis for matching
- Studies showing how passionate love involves the same brain reward pathways as addictions to substances
- Research revealing how anxiously attached people can become anxiously attached to their smartphones
- Study revealing what relationship "deal-breakers" are for college students, with the underlying issue being equity
- New example from self-disclosure research on ways to feed intimacy by talking about emotions and views
- Research showing that couples report more relationship satisfaction when their partner understands their perspective in a disagreement
- Introduction of the evolutionary psychology term the "mate-ejection module"

Chapter 12 Helping

- New research examples of how helping others aids a person to find meaning in life, improves mood and physical health, and boosts the immune system
- Research showing how "extraordinary altruists" have a larger-than-average amygdala
- Study indicating that sunny days trigger more tips to taxi drivers
- New example of how empathy-induced altruism can feed favoritism, injustice, and indifference to the larger common good, and introduction of Batson's strategy of "rational compassion"
- New discussion about learning to assume responsibility through training programs
- Research showing that the personality trait of agreeableness best predicts willingness to help, and callous traits (psychopathy) predict less willingness to help
- Added section on how status and social class affects altruism
- Further example of helping and religious engagement
- Example of a "dynamic norm" versus a "static norm"

Chapter 13 Conflict and Peacemaking

- New example of Cape Town's water-depletion emergency
- Research showing how threats (terrorist bombings, pandemic disease) can increase competition
- New political polarization research in Mirror-Image Perceptions section
- Newer studies show the correlation between contact and positive attitudes
- Study showing that highlighting genetic differences between ethnic groups contributes to violence risk, while learning about genetic similarities helps foster peace
- Research showing that when at an impasse, simply going for a walk and experiencing movement synchrony can help engender cooperation

Chapter 14 Social Psychology in the Clinic

 Addition of a survey of practicing clinicians showing that none believed their performance was below the 50th percentile

- Added meta-analysis showing there was only a weak correlation between clinicians' confidence in their judgments and their accuracy
- Research revealing that loneliness increases in later life, but is more emotionally painful in earlier adulthood
- Added statistics on Canadian, Australian, and European multiplication of one-person households, and the appointment of a British "Minister for Loneliness"
- Studies revealing that face-to-face interaction appears to better relieve loneliness than electronic connection
- Statistics on likelihood of premature death for people who are socially isolated, live alone, or are lonely
- Longitudinal study revealing that women living in poor neighborhoods were 39% more likely to die of cancer than those in better-off areas
- Study showing that with more U.S. income inequality come higher rates of death from suicide and heart disease; other studies showing as U.S. income inequality continues to rise, White Americans' death rate during midlife increased but declined in countries with less income discrepancy
- Two studies finding that teens are happier when face-to-face with their friends, and those who spent more time on Facebook felt less happy

Chapter 15 Social Psychology in Court

- Study revealing that mistaken identification by confident witnesses is involved in nearly
 3 out of 4 cases of innocent people exonerated by DNA evidence
- New research on child witnesses
- Research on better eyewitness accuracy when police follow certain procedures
- Research showing "enhanced interrogation" techniques are ineffective
- Study revealing mock jurors perceive sexual assault victims have more control over the situation
- Study on ratings of defendants through photographs predicted which defendants had received the death penalty
- New statistics and expanded discussion on the disparity between Black and White men's and juveniles' sentences

Chapter 16 Social Psychology and the Sustainable Future

- Updated statistics on rising temperatures with new atmospheric CO₂ figure
- Studies showing 2017 set record for the most billion+ dollar weather-related U.S. disasters,
 U.S. daily tidal flooding is accelerating, insurance losses are rising, and worldwide deaths increasing from weather disasters
- Statistics on U.S. population's views on the effects and causes of global warming
- New discussion of journalistic "false balance"
- Research on positive experiences bringing more happiness than material purchases
- Commercial flying example of inequality
- Discussion of the adaptation-level and social-comparison phenomena helping explain rich people's lesser generosity, compassion, and empathy

Preface **XXIII**

Acknowledgments

Although only two names appear on this book's cover, the truth is that a whole community of scholars have invested themselves in it. Although none of these people should be held responsible for what we have written—nor do any of them necessarily 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 twelve editions, and now we extend our thanks to these esteemed colleagues who contributed their wisdom and guidance for this new edition:

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At San Diego State, colleagues including David Armor, Jeff Bryson, Thierry Devos, David Marx, Radmila Prislin, and Dustin Thoman 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, Sonja Lyubomirsky, and Kathleen Vohs.

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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, and to the faculty contributing to the instructor resources in this edition. 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.

David G. Myers davidmyers.org

Jean M. Twenge jeantwenge.com

Introducing Social Psychology



CHAPTER

1

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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 poor 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.

Does this seem hard to believe? 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?

What are social psychology's big ideas?

How do human values influence social psychology?

I knew it all along: Is social psychology simply common sense?

Research methods: How do we do social psychology?

Postscript: Why we wrote this book

WHAT IS SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY?

Define social psychology and explain what it does.

Social psychology is a science that studies how situations influence us, with special attention to how people 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 performs more experiments. Compared with personality psychology, social psychology focuses less on differences among individuals and more on how people, in general, view and affect one another.

Social psychology is a young science. The first social psychology experiments were reported a little more than a century ago, and the first social psychology textbooks 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:

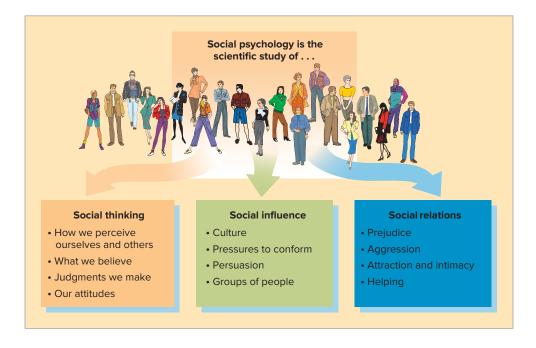
- Does our social behavior depend more on the situations we face or on how we construe them? Our construals matter. Social beliefs can be self-fulfilling. For example, happily married people will attribute their spouse's acid remark ("Can't you ever put that where it belongs?") to something external ("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 trains,

social psychology

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

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

FIGURE 1 Social Psychology Is . . .



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.



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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.

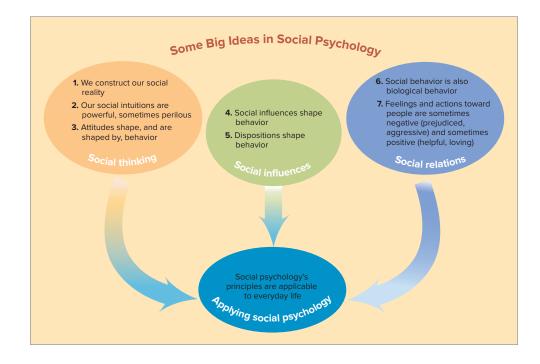
We Construct Our Social Reality

People have an irresistible urge to explain behavior. We want to attribute behavior to a cause, and therefore 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 violations as the Dartmouth students saw. A recent study found the same for political views: People who disagreed with the views of protesters were much more likely to describe them as "blocking access" to a building or "screaming" at those going in (Kahan et al., 2012).

FIGURE 2 Some Big Ideas in Social Psychology



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 her personality. For example, if you observe someone making repeated snide comments, you may infer that she has a nasty disposition, and then you might try to avoid her.

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 he 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 back-stage 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," instant emotions, and nonverbal communication. 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 events by how easily they 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, mile per mile, 86 times safer on a commercial flight than in a car, reports the National Safety Council (2017).

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. In one study, University of Texas students wore recording devices that periodically listened in on their lives. Even on weekdays, almost 30% of the students' time was spent talking to other people (Mehl & Pennebaker, 2003). Facebook has 2 billion users around the world, and the average 18-year-old in the U.S. spends two hours a day sending texts (Twenge, 2017). 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 false-hoods or comply with cruelty. Under Nazi influence, many decent people became instruments of the Holocaust. Other situations may elicit great generosity and compassion. After major natural disasters, such as the hurricanes that hit Houston, Florida, and Puerto Rico in 2017, affected regions are often 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, the U.S., or Australia/New Zealand (where most support them), 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, openness, 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 are 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 attitudes toward alcohol influence our susceptibility to peer pressure to drink alcohol. Our attitudes toward the poor influence our willingness to help them. (Our attitudes also follow our behavior, which means we often believe strongly in what 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 shape 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 simultane-

ously 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 people who are shy (vs. more socially secure) react differently seeing a friendly face? 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 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. Hormones affect how we feel and act: A dose of testosterone decreases trust, and a dose of oxytocin increases it (Bos et al., 2010). Feeling left out 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 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 support and love impact both the mind and the body, leading social psychologists to consider bio-psycho-social effects. ©Cade Martin/UpperCut Images/Getty Images

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 yourself better, how to win friends and influence people, and 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 not just a collection of findings—it's also 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 often reflect current events (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, with its riots



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?

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and rising crime rates, inspired interest in aggression; the feminist movement of the 1970s helped stimulate a wave of research on gender and sexism; and recent decades have witnessed heightened interest 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, gender fluidity, income inequality, and aging.

Values influence research topics 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." In contrast, 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 (like art) seem different from those majoring in the natural sciences (like physics)? For example, social psychology and sociology may attract people who are eager to challenge tradition and more inclined to shape the future than preserve the past (Prentice, 2012). Studying social science might also enhance such beliefs (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% raised their hands to indicate they were "liberal." When he asked for those who were "conservative," only three hands went up. (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

It is more difficult to recognize the subtle ways values can 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.

In our daily lives, too, we view the world through the lens of our preconceptions. Whether you see a moving light in the sky as a flying saucer or not depends on your perceptions. 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. The beliefs we take for granted—known as **social representations** (Moscovici, 1988, 2001; Rateau et al., 2012)—are often our most important yet least questioned 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

"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

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. 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.

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 been different (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 or our co-workers, when child-rearing experts tell us how to handle our children, and when some psychologists advocate living free of concern for others' expectations, they are expressing their personal values. (In Western cultures, those values usually will be individualistic—encouraging what feels best for "me." Non-Western cultures more often encourage what is best for "we.") Unaware of those hidden values, many people defer to the "professional." But professional psychologists cannot answer questions of ultimate moral obligation, of purpose and direction, and of life's meaning.

FORMING CONCEPTS Hidden values even seep into psychology's research-based *concepts*. Pretend you have taken a personality test and the psychologist, after scoring your answers, announces: "You scored high in self-esteem. You are low in anxiety. And you have exceptional ego-strength." "Ah," you think, "I suspected as much, but it feels good to know that." Now another psychologist gives you a similar test, which asks some of the same questions. Afterward, the psychologist informs you that you seem defensive, for you scored high in "repressive coping." "How could this be?" you wonder. "The other psychologist said such nice things about me." Actually, the labels used by both psychologists describe the same set of responses—a tendency to believe nice things about oneself and to not acknowledge problems. Shall we call it high self-esteem or defensiveness? The label reflects the judgment.

LABELING Value judgments, then, are often hidden within our social psychological language—but that is also true of everyday language:

- Whether we label a quiet child as "bashful" or "cautious," as "holding back" or as "an observer," conveys a judgment.
- Whether we label someone engaged in guerrilla warfare a "terrorist" or a "freedom fighter" depends on our view of the cause.

Hidden (and not-so-hidden) values seep into psychological advice. They permeate popular psychology books that offer guidance on living and loving. Courtesy of Kathryn Brownson

