## Experience PSYCHOLOGY

THIRD EDITION

Mc Graw Hill Education LAURA A. KING

## experience psychology

#### Laura A. King

University of Missouri, Columbia





#### EXPERIENCE PSYCHOLOGY, THIRD EDITION

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#### Laura A. King

Laura King did her undergraduate work at Kenyon College, where she began studying toward an English major. In the second semester of her junior year, she declared a second major in psychology. She completed her A.B. in English with high honors and distinction and in psychology with distinction in 1986. Laura then did graduate work at Michigan State University and the University of California, Davis, receiving her Ph.D. in personality psychology in 1991.

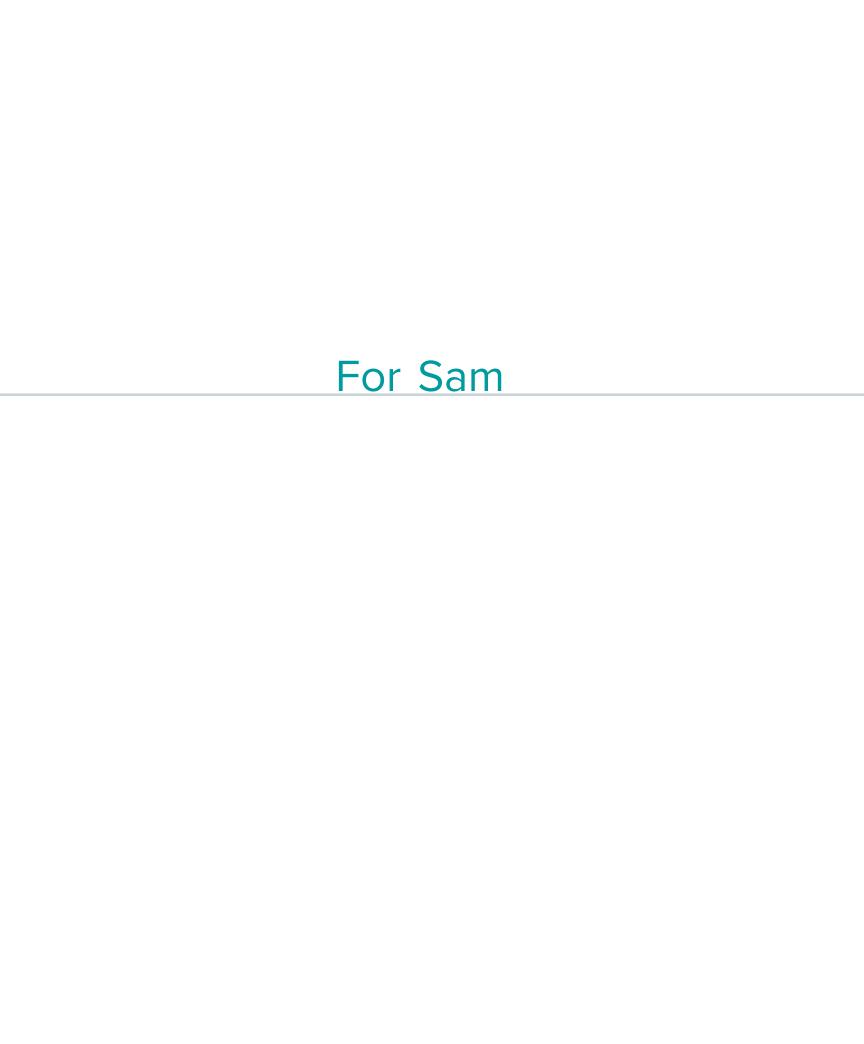
Laura began her career at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, moving to the University of Missouri in 2001, where she is now a Curators' Professor of Psychology. In addition to seminars in the development of character, social psychology, and personality psychology, she has taught undergraduate lecture courses in introductory psychology, introduction to personality psychology, and social psychology. She has also taught the Psychology of the Good Life for the community at large. At SMU, she received six different teaching awards, including the "M" award for "sustained excellence" in 1999. At the University of Missouri, she received the Chancellor's Award for Outstanding Research and Creative Activity in 2004.

Her research, which has been funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Science Foundation, has focused on a variety of topics relevant to the question of what it is that makes for a good life. She has studied goals, life stories, happiness, well-being, and meaning in life. In general, her work reflects an enduring interest in understanding what is good and healthy in people. In 2001, her research accomplishments were recognized with a Templeton Prize in Positive Psychology. In 2011, she received the Ed and Carol Diener Award for Distinguished Contributions to Personality Psychology. Laura's research (often in collaboration with undergraduate and graduate students) has appeared in many outstanding publications, including *American Psychologist, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, and *Psychological Science*.

Laura has served as editor of the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Personality and Individual Differences and the Journal of Research in Personality. She has also served as associate editor of Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, and Social and Personality Psychology Compass, as well as on numerous grant panels. She has edited or coedited special sections of the Journal of Personality and American Psychologist.

In "real life," Laura is an accomplished cook and enjoys listening to music (mostly jazz vocalists and singer-songwriters), running with her faithful dog Bill, and swimming and roller-skating with her son Sam.

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## preface



#### **Experience Psychology**

#### Some Students Take Psychology . . . Others Experience It!

Informed by student data, *Experience Psychology* helps students understand and appreciate psychology as an integrated whole. The personalized, adaptive learning program, thought-provoking examples, and interactive assessments help students see psychology in the world around them and experience it in everyday life. *Experience Psychology* is about, well, experience—our own behaviors; our relationships at home and in our communities, in school, and at work; and our interactions in different learning environments. Grounded in meaningful real-world contexts, *Experience Psychology*'s contemporary examples, personalized author notes, and applied exercises speak directly to students, allowing them to engage with psychology and to learn verbally, visually, and experientially—by reading, seeing, and doing. Function is introduced before dysfunction, building student understanding by looking first at typical, everyday behavior before delving into the less common—and likely less personally experienced—rare and abnormal behavior. *Experience Psychology* places the science of psychology, and the research that helps students see the academic foundations of the discipline, at the forefront of the course.

With the learning system of *Experience Psychology*, students do not just "take" psychology but actively *experience* it.

#### Experience a Personalized Approach

How many students *think* they know everything about introductory psychology but struggle on the first exam?



#### A PERSONALIZED EXPERIENCE THAT LEADS TO IMPROVED LEARNING AND RESULTS

Students study more effectively with SmartBook.

■ Make It Effective. Powered by LearnSmart<sup>®</sup>, SmartBook makes study time as productive and efficient as possible. It identifies and closes knowledge gaps through a continually adapting reading experience that introduces personalized learning resources at the precise moment needed. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is the most value-added minute possible. The result? More confidence, better grades, and greater success.

■ Make It Informed. Real-time reports quickly identify the concepts that require more attention from individual students—or the entire class. SmartBook detects the content a student is most likely to forget and brings it back to improve long-term knowledge retention.

#### PERSONAL NOTES FROM THE AUTHOR THAT PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING

Experience Psychology, emphasizes a personal approach, with an abundance of personal pedagogical "asides" communicated directly by author Laura King to students to guide their understanding and stimulate their interest as they read. Some of these helpful notes highlight important terms and concepts; others prompt students to think critically about the complexities of the issues; still others encourage students to apply what they have learned to their prior reading or to a new situation. These mini-conversations between the author and the reader help develop students' analytical skills for them to carry and apply well beyond their course.

Adaptation, adaptability, and adapt: Psychologists use these terms when referring to the ability to function in a changing world.

#### Experience the Power of Data

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

#### BETTER DATA, SMARTER REVISION, IMPROVED RESULTS

For this new edition, data were analyzed to identify the concepts students found to be the most difficult, allowing for expansion upon the discussion, practice and assessment of challenging topics. The revision process for a new edition used to begin 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 LearnSmart, 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 LearnSmart, 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 Connect Psychology's LearnSmart for *Experience Psychology, 2e.* 



**STEP 2.** The data from *LearnSmart* was provided to the author in the form of a *Heat Map*, which graphically illustrated "hot spots" in the text that impacted student learning.



**STEP 3.** Laura King 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 Psychology to further support student success.



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



#### PERSONALIZED GRADING, ON THE GO, MADE EASIER

Connect Insight<sup>TM</sup> is a one-of-kind visual analytics dashboard—now available for both instructors and students—that provides at-a-glance information regarding student performance. The immediate analysis from Connect Insight empowers students and helps instructors improve class performance efficiently and effectively.

- Make It Intuitive. Instructors and students receive instant, at-a-glance views of performance matched with student activity.
- Make It Dynamic. Connect Insight puts real-time analytics in the user's hands for a just-in-time approach to teaching and learning.
- Make It Mobile. Connect Insight is available on demand wherever and whenever needed.

#### Experience an Emphasis on Critical Thinking

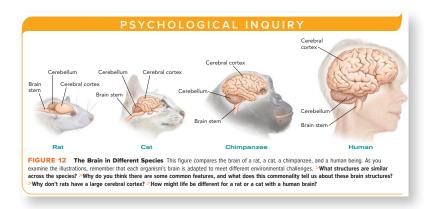


Experience Psychology's Intersection features are also designed to spark critical thought. Showcasing studies in different areas of psychological research that focus on the same topic, the Intersections shed light on the links between, and the reciprocal influences of, this exciting work, and they raise provocative questions for student reflection and class discussion. For example, the selection for the "Motivation and Emotion" chapter, "Motivation and Behavior Genetics: Why Do We Procrastinate?" prompts students to think about whether genes can predispose individuals to procrastinate.

Experience Psychology stimulates critical reflection and analysis. The Challenge Your Thinking features involve students in debates relevant to findings from contemporary psychological research. Thought-provoking questions encourage examination of the evidence on both sides of a debate or issue. For example, the Challenge in the "Thinking, Intelligence, and Language" chapter asks students to reflect on whether there is a link between creative genius and psychopathology while "Social Psychology's" Challenge prompts them to consider how ethnicity might influence the tendency to misperceive harmless objects (such as wallets, car keys, and cell phones) as handguns.



In addition, the *Psychological Inquiry* features draw students into analyzing and interpreting figures and photos by embedding a range of critical thinking questions in selected captions.



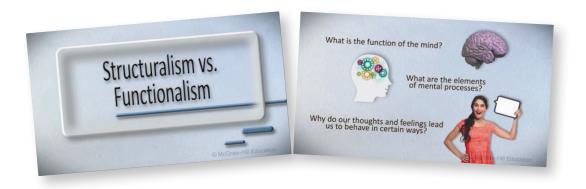
#### Experience an Emphasis on Active Engagement

Do It!

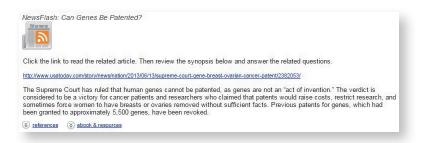
Through *Do It!*, a series of brief, recurring sidebar activities linked to the text reading, students get an opportunity to test their assumptions and learn through hands-on exploration and discovery. Reinforcing that the science of psychology requires active participation, Do It! selections include, for example, an exercise on conducting an informal survey to observe and classify behaviors in a public setting, as well as an activity guiding students on how to research a "happiness gene." Such exercises provide vibrant and involving experiences that get students thinking as psychologists do.

Go on a caffeine hunt. Check out the ingredient lists on your favorite beverages, snacks, and painkillers. Which of these contain caffeine? You might be surprised by how much caffeine you consume every day without even knowing it.

Concept Clips help students comprehend some of the most difficult ideas in introductory psychology. 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 presentational tool in the classroom or for student assessment.



Through the connection of psychology to students' own lives, concepts become more relevant and understandable. Powered by McGraw-Hill Education's Connect Psychology, *NewsFlash* exercises tie current news stories to key 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. Many cases are revisited across chapters, encouraging students to consider multiple perspectives.



#### Experience the Course You Want to Teach



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



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#### Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

Experience Psychology, Third Edition, includes important new material while content was streamlined where possible; each chapter is up-to-date to capture the latest trends and findings in the field. The key content changes, chapter by chapter, include but are not limited to the following:

#### **CHAPTER 1: THE SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY**

- New discussion of psychological research on the real versus the virtual (online) world.
- New explanation of the concept of operational definition.
- New, more detailed explanation of negative and positive correlations.
- Updated research on the long-term impact of positive emotions.
- New content on random assignment in the context of research.
- New, more detailed explanation of independent versus dependent variables.
- New Intersection feature: "Personality Psychology and Social Psychology: Does Being with Others Lead to Happiness or Is It the Other Way Around?"
- New discussion of correlational versus experimental research designs.
- New material on ethics and the potential unforeseen impact of research on subjects.
- Updated Challenge Your Thinking selection: "Is It Ethical to Use Deception in Research?"

#### **CHAPTER 2: THE BRAIN AND BEHAVIOR**

- New discussion of the way changes in the brain can produce unexpected changes in a person.
- Expanded explanation of efferent neurons.
- Expanded explanation of the impact reinterpretation has on stress levels in challenging situations.
- Expanded explanation of the parallels between the action of morphine and endorphins.
- New research covering the impact of oxytocin on new fathers.
- New information on fMRI studies of the brain at rest.
- New Intersection feature: "Neuroscience and Emotion: How Does the Brain Recognize What Is Funny?"
- New information on the association cortex.
- Updated coverage of athletes and brain injury.
- Updated research on neurogenesis.
- Updated findings from the Human Genome Project on the number of genes in humans.
- New coverage of the genome-wide association method to identify genetic variations linked to particular diseases.
- New explanation of the genotype to phenotype process.

#### **CHAPTER 3: SENSATION AND PERCEPTION**

- New research on using virtual reality to combat phantom limb pain.
- New discussion and figure on top-down and bottom-up processing.

- New discussion of sustained attention and executive attention.
- New examples of timbre.
- New Intersection selection: "Emotion and Sensation: What Do Feelings Smell Like?"

#### **CHAPTER 4: STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS**

- Updated research on brain—computer interfaces.
- New research on metacognition and the metacognitive experience.
- Updated research on how the brain functions to produce consciousness.
- New Challenge Your Thinking feature: "On Second Thought, Is Conscious Reflection Required for Moral Behavior?"
- Updated research on the impact sleep has on memory, other cognitive processes, and immune system functioning.
- New research on dreaming as a form of mind wandering.
- New research on adolescent drug use.
- New data on cigarette smoking rates.
- New discussion of increased rates of marijuana use and legalization of medical marijuana in some states.
- Updated discussion of meditation and meditative practices.
- New Intersection selection: "Consciousness and Social Psychology: Can Lovingkindness Meditation Reduce Prejudice?"

#### **CHAPTER 5: LEARNING**

- New introduction about the complex skills and learning of service dogs.
- New Intersection feature: "Learning and Social Psychology: Can Classical Conditioning Help Us Understand the Meaning of Life?"
- New tip on distinguishing operant from classical conditioning.
- **Expanded** explanation of negative reinforcement.

#### **CHAPTER 6: MEMORY**

- Updated treatment of the concept of priming.
- Updated discussion of memories related to traumatic events.
- Updated discussion of errors related to eyewitness testimony.
- New Intersection selection: "Cognitive Psychology and Social Psychology: If We Can Forgive, Does That Help Us Forget?"

#### **CHAPTER 7: THINKING, INTELLIGENCE, AND LANGUAGE**

- New research on the effectiveness of effortful reflection compared with intuitive decision making.
- New coverage of loss aversion.
- New Challenge Your Thinking feature: "Is There a Link Between Creative Genius and Psychopathology?"
- New coverage of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale.

- New research on the effect of childhood experiences on IQ.
- New coverage related to identifying gifted children.
- New Intersection selection: "Educational Psychology and Social Psychology: Do Teachers Have Stereotypes About Gifted Children?"
- New thinking about general intelligence and the analytical skills measured by IQ tests.

#### **CHAPTER 8: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

- New chapter opener about the quick-tempered childhood of Albert Einstein.
- New marginal note explaining cross-sectional versus longitudinal research designs.
- New research on alcohol consumption during pregnancy.
- Updated discussion of the problems of preterm infants.
- New research on the difficulties of early-maturing girls.
- Updated findings on context-induced brain plasticity and the adolescent brain.
- New section on nativist views of cognitive development and what infants bring with them into the world.
- All new sections on cognitive processes in early, middle, and late adulthood.
- New section on the cultural context of parenting.
- Extensively revised treatment of socioemotional development in late adulthood, including an examination of Carstensen's socioemotional selectivity theory.
- New Intersection feature: "Developmental and Social Psychology: Is Attachment an Enduring Aspect of Life?"
- New section with updated research on marriage and families.
- Updated Challenge Your Thinking selection: "Is Parenthood Associated with Happiness?"

#### **CHAPTER 9: MOTIVATION AND EMOTION**

- New chapter opener about Medal of Honor Recipient William Kyle Carpenter
- Updated data on obesity.
- New discussion of the psychological factors related to hunger and mindless eating.
- New material and research on gender differences in sexuality and attitudes about casual sex.
- Coverage of new developments related to same-sex marriage legislation.
- New material on self-regulation, impulsivity, and procrastination.
- New Intersection feature: "Motivation and Behavior Genetics: Why Do We Procrastinate?"
- New research on compound facial expressions.
- New discussion and research on gender and emotions.

#### **CHAPTER 10: PERSONALITY**

- New chapter opener about childhood friends reuniting in adulthood.
- Expanded explanation of Freud's view of sex as anything pleasurable.

- New margin note on remembering the difference between ego and id.
- Coverage of new research on conscientiousness and its link with grade point averages versus other personality traits.
- New Challenge Your Thinking selection: "Is There One Really Great Personality?"
- New research on delay of gratification in early childhood and its link with body mass index in later life.
- New coverage of the MMPI-2-RF and how it differs from the MMPI-2.
- Expanded discussion of face validity for measures of the big five personality traits.
- New Intersection feature: "Personality and Neuroscience: How Do the Brain's Hemispheres Complete a Questionnaire?"

#### **CHAPTER 11: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY**

- New chapter organization that moves from dyads, to ever larger social contexts.
- New presentation of the definition of social psychology and the extraordinarily social quality of our species.
- New discussion of the distinction between social psychology and sociology.
- All new discussion of the broad range of topics researched in social psychology and its overlap with other areas of psychology.
- Expanded discussion of the bystander effect.
- Expanded and updated information on first impressions, stereotypes, and stereotype threat.
- Updated research on positive illusions.
- New discussion and example of altruism, with updated research.
- New discussion and research on the psychological factors involved in altruism.
- Updated research on the role of hormones on aggressive behavior and vice versa.
- New research on the impact of love in young adults: increased depression and anxiety but better sleep quality.
- New discussion of the awkwardness involved in openly discussing race in the United States and the problems with labels.
- New Challenge Your Thinking feature: "Why Does a Cell Phone Look Like a Gun?"

#### CHAPTER 12: PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS

- New chapter opener describing the life stories of people suffering from schizophrenia and other psychological disorders.
- Explanation of the vulnerability-stress hypothesis as it relates to the development of psychological disorders.
- Information on the Affordable Care Act coverage for psychological disorders.
- Extensively updated Challenge Your Thinking selection on ADHD.
- New research on the involvement of neurotransmitters and the limbic system in OCD.
- Updated discussion of biological factors related to depressive disorders.
- New data on suicide rates among adolescents compared with emerging adults.
- Updated section on psychological factors that contribute to suicide.

- New Intersection selection: "Clinical Psychology and Emotion: Does Positive Emotion Play a Role in Anorexia Nervosa?"
- Clarification of research on structural brain differences at birth and schizophrenia.
- New discussion of connections between schizophrenia and regulation of the neurotransmitter dopamine.
- Updated research on how psychologists view the role of life experience in relation to schizophrenia.
- **E**xtensively revised section on the role of sociocultural factors in schizophrenia.
- Updated research on factors that may produce antisocial personality disorder.
- New end-of-section Self-Quiz on factors and theories related to suicide.
- New material on stereotypes regarding violent behavior of those with psychological disorders.

#### **CHAPTER 13: THERAPIES**

- Updated chapter opener on the importance of social media in determining when someone needs help.
- New section comparing psychological and biological approaches to treatment; new description of the controversy over prescription privileges for clinical psychologists.
- New organizational structure, lending prominence to psychological approaches to treatment.
- Clarification of the differing approaches of biomedical and psychotherapeutic perspectives in treating psychological disorders; new research on empirically supported treatments and the controversy of whether samples used in studies are representative of the individuals clinicians see in practice.
- New coverage of research on applied behavior analysis in treating individuals with autism; and research studying the success of early and intense behavioral treatment for autism spectrum disorders.
- Expanded coverage of the effectiveness of psychotherapy and the factors involved with successful treatment; systematic desensitization; distinctions between different therapies (insight versus immediate symptoms/skills and directive or nondirective); research on cognitive-behavior therapy in treating many disorders, including anxiety disorders, disorders of emotion and mood, schizophrenia (in combination with drug therapy), and personality disorders; and research on integrative therapy to adjust the treatment to the individual client.
- Updated listing of medications for treating anxiety, depression, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia; new research on side effects of antipsychotic medications.
- Reorganization and revision of chapter to reflect current treatment practices.

#### **CHAPTER 14: HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY**

- New chapter opener on decision making related to health and health care.
- Exploration of new research on the power of optimism in promoting positive functioning.
- Expanded explanation of implementation intentions as they relate to motivation and health goals.
- New material on the effect of social support on loneliness and depression.

- New research on the role of church-based social support for African Americans.
- Updated information on the link between stress and immune system functioning.
- Updated research on the link between stress and factors related to cardiovascular disease.
- Updated material on obesity and overeating.
- New Intersection selection: "Health Psychology and Cognition: Can Mindless Processing Enhance Healthy Eating?"
- Updated data on smoking rates.
- Updated data on AIDS deaths.

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## The Science of Psychology

#### The Virtual and the Real You

any of us live in two worlds at once—the real world and a virtual one that exists on computers, smartphones, and gaming servers. In the real world, we have friends we see daily, but in the virtual world, we may know hundreds or even thousands more. We connect with these folks on social media, online message boards, or multiplayer games. In the virtual world, we may do things we never would in the real world, such as share thoughts and feelings we wouldn't in person or occupy roles that don't really exist (like a clumsy zombie or his enemy a wily pea plant). Still, the real and virtual worlds are connected. Research shows that college students often use online profiles to express their true selves (Back & others, 2010) and status updates to share their intimate feelings (Manago, Taylor, & Greenfield, 2012). Even though they occur in the virtual world, being friended feels good and being unfriended feels bad (Sibona, 2014). College students with large Facebook networks report higher feelings of life satisfaction (Manago, Taylor, & Greenfield, 2012). Sometimes events in the two worlds collide: The most common reason for unfriending a coworker is that person's behavior in the (real) workplace (Sibona, 2014). One thing the real and virtual world have in common is you—the person who occupies them both.

Psychologists are scientists who are interested in all of the things you do, in all of the worlds you occupy. Like a fan following the minutiae of a celebrity's Twitter feed, psychologists are passionate about what they study—and what they study is behavior. Thousands of dedicated scientists investigate phenomena such as how the human brain responds to a picture flashed on a screen and how the eyes adjust to a sunny day and how a person feels when she discovers she's been unfriended. There is not a single thing people do that is not fascinating to some psychologist somewhere.





This chapter begins by defining psychology and reviewing the history of the field. Next we survey seven broad approaches that characterize psychological science today. Then, in sequence, we examine the elements of the scientific method, review the different kinds of research psychologists do, and consider the importance of conducting psychological research according to ethical guidelines. We conclude with a look at applications of psychology to daily life—a central focus of Experience Psychology.



### Defining Psychology and Exploring Its Roots

What is your definition of psychology? When you think of the word psychology, what first comes to mind?

Formally defined, psychology is the scientific study of behavior and mental processes. psychology Let's consider the three key terms in this definition: science, behavior, and mental processes.

As a science, psychology uses systematic methods to observe human behavior and draw conclusions. The goals of psychological science are to describe, science predict, and explain behavior. In addition, psychologists are often interested in The use of systemcontrolling or changing behavior, and they use scientific methods to examine interventions that might help, for example, reduce violence or promote happiness.

Researchers might be interested in knowing whether individuals will help a stranger who has fallen down. The researchers could devise a study in which they observe people walking past a person who needs help. Through many observations, the researchers could come to describe helping behavior by counting how many times it occurs in particular circumstances. They might also try to *predict* who will help, and when, by examining characteristics of the individuals studied. Are happy people more likely to help? Are women or men more likely to help? After the psychologists have analyzed their data, they also will want to explain why helping behavior occurred when it did. Finally, they might be interested in changing helping behavior, such as by devising strategies to increase helping.

**Behavior** is everything we do that can be directly observed—two people kissing, a mental processes baby crying, a college student riding a motorcycle to campus. Mental processes are the thoughts, feelings, and motives that each of us experiences privately but that cannot be observed directly. Although we cannot directly see thoughts and feelings, they are nonetheless real. They include thinking about kissing someone, a baby's feelings when its that cannot be obmother leaves the room, and a student's memory of a motorcycle trip.

The scientific study of behavior and mental processes.

atic methods to observe the natural world, including human behavior, and to draw conclusions

#### behavior

Everything we do that can be directly observed.

The thoughts, feelings, and motives that people experience privately but served directly.





Behavior includes the observable act of two people kissing; mental processes include their unobservable thoughts about kissing. (both) © Betsie Van Der Meer/Taxi/Getty Image

#### The Psychological Frame of Mind

What makes for a good job, a good marriage, or a good life? Psychologists approach these big life questions as scientists. Psychology is a rigorous discipline that tests assumptions, bringing scientific data to bear on the questions of central interest to human beings (Jackson, 2015; Kantowitz, Roediger, & Elmes, 2015). Psychologists conduct research and rely on that research to provide evidence for their conclusions. They examine the available evidence about some aspect of mind and behavior, evaluate how strongly the data (information) support their hunches, analyze disconfirming evidence, and carefully consider whether they have explored all possible factors and explanations (Stangor, 2015). At the core of this scientific approach are four attitudes: critical thinking, curiosity, skepticism, and objectivity.

Like all scientists, psychologists are critical thinkers. Critical thinking is the process critical thinking of thinking deeply and actively, asking questions, and evaluating the evidence (Stanovich, 2013). Critical thinkers question and test what some people say are facts. They examine research to see how soundly it supports an idea (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015). Critical thinking reduces the likelihood that conclusions will be based on unreliable personal beliefs, opinions, and emotions. Critical thinking also comes into play when scientists consider the conclusions they draw from research. As critical thinkers who are open to new information, scientists must tolerate uncertainty, knowing that even longheld views are subject to revision.

Critical thinking is very important as you read Experience Psychology. Some of what you read might fit with your beliefs, and some might challenge you to change or reconsider them. Actively engaging in critical thinking is vital to making the most of psychology. As you study the field, think about how what you are learning relates to your life experiences and your assumptions about human behavior.

Scientists are also *curious*. The scientist notices things in the world (a star in the sky, an insect, a happy person) and wants to know what it is and why it is that way. Science involves asking questions, even very big questions such as where did the earth come from, and how does love between two people endure for 50 years? Thinking like a psychologist means opening your mind and imagination to wondering why things are the way they are.

In addition, scientists are *skeptical* (Smith & Davis, 2013). Skeptical people challenge whether a supposed fact is really true. Being skeptical can mean questioning what "everybody knows." There was a time when "everybody knew" that women were morally inferior to men, that race could influence a person's IQ, and that the earth was flat. Psychologists, like all scientists, look at assumptions in new and questioning ways. Psychology is different from common sense because psychologists are skeptical of commonsensical answers.

Psychological research often turns up the unexpected in human behavior. Such results are called *counterintuitive* because they contradict our intuitive impressions of how the world works. Consider the following study, which demonstrates how a little dose of negative information can actually make consumers feel more positive about a product (Ein-Gar, Shiv, & Tormala, 2012). Students who were on their way to an exam were approached by an experimenter offering to sell them chocolate bars. All of the participants were told that the chocolate bars were a favorite among consumers, that they were nicely chilled (the study was conducted on a hot day in California), and that they were being offered at a special discount of only 50 cents. However, half of the participants received

one more piece of information: The chocolate bars were just a little broken. The experimenter showed them an example of a bar with minor breakage. Participants who were given this mild negative information ended up purchasing more chocolate bars than those who heard only the positive information. Why?

The experimenters reasoned that when we have encountered positive information about something, a little bit of negative information causes us to stop and reconsider that positive information. We think about it more and eventually come to evaluate a mildly "blemished" product as actually really good. Note that these results were limited to students who were preoccupied by a test. Other students

The process of thinking deeply and actively, asking questions, and evaluating the

🗾 You might be wondering about the names and dates in parentheses. They are research citations that identify the authors of particular studies and the year each study was published. If you see an especially interesting study, you might look it up in the References at the end of the chapter and check it out online or in your school's library.

who were not thinking about a test bought less chocolate when it was presented as broken. The researchers' explanation is that when we do not have time or energy to think things through, a minor blemish can enhance evaluations of a product.

Last, practicing science also means being *objective*. Being objective involves trying to see things as they really are, not just as the observer would like them to be. Scientific knowledge ultimately is based on objective evidence.

To gather objective evidence, scientists rely on empirical methods. The empirical method involves gaining knowledge by observing events, collecting data, and reasoning logically. For scientists, objectivity means waiting to see what the evidence tells them rather than going with their hunches. Does the latest herbal dietary supplement really help relieve depression? A scientist would say, "That's an empirical question," meaning that hard evidence is required to answer it. An objective thinker insists on sound

evidence before drawing conclusions. Like critical thinking, relying on evidence to provide the foundation for conclusions means being open to uncertainty. Empirical evidence provides the best answers to questions at any given moment.

prediction, but rarely if ever say that it Once you start to think like a psychologist, the world begins to look like a different place. Easy answers and simple assumptions will not do. As you can probably imagine, psychologists, as a group, are people with many different opinions about many different things. If a number of these critical thinkers were to gather around a table, it is a safe bet that they would have a lively conversation.

> Indeed, as you will see throughout Experience Psychology, there are many things about which psychologists disagree, and psychology (like any science) is filled with debate and controversy. For example, one controversy in psychology concerns the emergence of so-called Generation Me (Twenge, 2006). Jean Twenge and her colleagues (Twenge, 2006; Twenge & Campbell, 2010) argue that Americans born since the 1980s are different from previous generations in that they are unusually self-confident, selfassertive, and self-centered. Based on her research examining scores on questionnaires concerning *narcissism* (a condition of intense, unhealthy self-love) over many years, Twenge (2006) refers to these individuals as Generation Me. She suggests that we are in the midst of an epidemic of narcissism. Other psychologists, however, sharply challenge this claim. In doing so, they present data showing no changes in narcissism over the last three decades (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010).

> So, debate and controversy are a natural part of thinking like a psychologist. Psychology has advanced as a field because psychologists do not always agree with one another about

why mind and behavior work the way they do. Psychologists have reached a more accurate understanding of human behavior because psychology fosters controversies and because psychologists think deeply and reflectively and examine the evidence on all sides. A good place to try out your critical thinking skills is by revisiting the definition of psychology.

#### Clinical Industrial 12% 24% Academic Private practice 34% Schools Other

#### FIGURE 1

4%

empirical method Gaining knowledge through

logical reasoning

"proves" anything

the observation of events,

the collection of data, and

This is why researchers often

say that a study "supports" a particular

#### **Settings in Which Psychologists**

Work More psychologists work in academic settings (34 percent), such as colleges and universities, than in any other setting. However, clinical (24 percent) and private practice (22 percent) settings—both of which are contexts in which many psychologists in the mental health professions work-together make up almost half of the total settings.

#### Psychology as the Science of All Human Behavior

As you consider the general definition of psychology as the science of human behavior, you might be thinking, okay, where's the couch? Where's the mental illness? Psychology certainly includes the study of therapy and psychological disorders. Clinical psychologists are psychologists who specialize in studying and treating psychological disorders. By definition, though, psychology is a much more general science (Shiraev, 2011), practiced in several environments in addition to clinical settings (Figure 1). In fact, the most common place to find psychologists is in academic settings (colleges or universities). How did we end up with the idea that psychology is only about mental illness? Surely, psychological disorders are very interesting, and the media often portray psychologists as therapists. Yet the view

4%

of psychology as the science of what is wrong with people started long before TV was even invented.

When they think of psychology, many people think of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). Freud believed that most of human behavior is caused by dark, unpleasant, unconscious impulses pressing for expression. For Freud, even the average You have probably heard of a person on the street is a mysterious well of unconscious desires. Certainly, "Freudian slip." Freud's name has become Freud has had a lasting impact on psychology and on society. Consider, part of our everyday language. though, that Freud based his ideas about human nature on the patients he saw in his clinical practice—individuals who were struggling with psychologi-

cal problems. His experiences with these patients, as well as his analysis of himself, colored his outlook on all of humanity. Freud once wrote, "I have found little that is 'good' about human beings on the whole. In my experience most of them are trash" (1918/1996).

Freud's view of human nature has crept into general perceptions of what psychology is all about. Imagine, for example, that you are seated on a plane, having a pleasant conversation with the woman (a stranger) sitting next to you. At some point you ask your seatmate what she does for a living, and she informs you she is a psychologist. You might think to yourself, "Uh oh. What have I already told this person? What secrets does she know about me that I don't know about myself? Has she been analyzing me this whole time?" Would you be surprised to discover that this psychologist studies happiness? Or intelligence? Or the processes related to the experience of vision? The study of psychological disorders is a very important aspect of psychology, but it represents only one part of the science of psychology.

Psychology seeks to understand the truths of human life in all its dimensions, including people's best and worst experiences, and everything in between. Research on the human capacity for forgiveness demonstrates this point (Balliet, Li, & Joireman, 2011; Harper & others, 2014; McCullough, Kurzban, & Tabak, 2011, 2013). Forgiveness is the act of letting go of anger and resentment toward someone who has done something harmful to us. Through forgiveness we cease seeking revenge or avoiding the person who did us harm, and we might even wish that person well (Lin & others, 2014; Tuck & Anderson, 2014).

In October 2006, after Charles Carl Roberts took 10 young Amish girls hostage in a one-room schoolhouse in Pennsylvania, eventually killing 5 of them and wounding 5 others before killing himself, the grief-stricken Amish community focused not on hatred and revenge but on forgiveness. As funds were being set up for the victims' families, the Amish insisted on establishing one for the murderer's family. They prepared simple

funerals for the dead girls, and the community invited the killer's wife to attend. The science of psychology has much to offer to our understanding not only of the violent acts of the perpetrator but also of the forgiveness of the victims.

The willingness of these Amish people to forgive this horrible crime is both remarkable and puzzling. Can we scientifically understand the human ability to forgive even what might seem to be unforgivable? A number of psychologists have taken up the topic of forgiveness in research and clinical practice (Jacinto & Edwards, 2011; Worthington & others, 2011). Michael McCullough and his colleagues (McCullough & others, 2010) have shown that the capacity to forgive is an unfolding process that often takes time. For the Amish, their deep religious faith led them to embrace forgiveness, while many others might have been motivated to seek revenge and retribution. Researchers also have explored the relationship between religious commitment and forgiveness (McCullough, Bono, & Root, 2007), the cognitive skills required for forgiveness (Pronk & others, 2010), and even the potential dark side of forgiveness, which might emerge, for example, when forgiveness leads an abusive spouse to feel free to continue a harmful behavior (McNulty, 2011).



The murder in 2006 of five Amish schoolgirls evoked feelings in the community not of hatred and revenge but of forgiveness.

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Some psychologists argue that the field has focused too much on the negative aspects of humanity and neglected topics that reflect the best of human life (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Snyder, Lopez, & Pedrotti, 2010). Others insist that psychology would benefit more from studying human weaknesses (Lazarus, 2003). The fact is that to be a truly general science of human behavior, psychology must address all sides of human experience. Surely, controversy is a part of any science. Healthy debate characterizes the field of psychology, and a new psychological perspective sometimes arises when one scientist questions the views of another. Such ongoing debate is a sign of a lively discipline. Indeed, the very birth of the field was marked by debate. Great minds do not always think alike, especially when they are thinking about psychology.

#### Psychology in Historical Perspective

Psychology seeks to answer questions that people have been asking for thousands of years—for example:

- How do we learn?
- What is memory?
- Why does one person grow and flourish while another struggles?

The notion that such questions might be answered through scientific inquiry is relatively new. From the time human language included the word why and became rich enough to let people talk about the past, we have been creating myths to explain why things are the way they are. Ancient myths attributed most important events to the pleasure or displeasure of the gods: When a volcano erupted, the gods were angry; if two people fell in love, they had been struck by Cupid's arrows. Gradually, myths gave way to philosophy—the rational investigation of the underlying principles of being and knowledge. People attempted to explain events in terms of natural rather than supernatural causes.

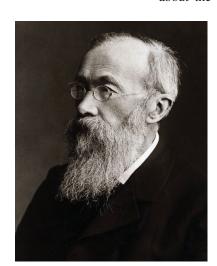
Western philosophy came of age in ancient Greece in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.E. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others debated the nature of thought and behavior, including the possible link between the mind and the body. Later philosophers, especially René Descartes, argued that the mind and body were completely separate, and they focused their attention on the mind. Psychology grew out of this tradition of thinking about the mind and body. The influence of philosophy on contemporary psychology

> persists today, as researchers who study emotion still talk about Descartes, and scientists who study happiness often refer to Aristotle (McMahan & Estes, 2011).

> In addition to philosophy, psychology has roots in the natural sciences of biology and physiology (Kardas, 2014; Schultz & Schultz, 2012). Indeed, it was Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), a German philosopher-physician, who put together the pieces of the philosophy-natural science puzzle to create the academic discipline of psychology. Some historians like to say that modern psychology was born in December 1879 at the University of Leipzig, when Wundt and his students (most notably E. B. Titchener) performed an experiment to measure the time lag between the instant a person heard a sound and when that person pressed a telegraph key to signal that he had heard it.

> What was so special about this experiment? Wundt's study was about the workings of the brain: He was trying to measure the time it took the human brain and nervous system to translate information into action. At the heart of this experiment was the idea that mental processes could be measured. This focus ushered in the new science of psychology.

Wundt and his collaborators concentrated on discovering the basic elements, or "structures," of mental processes. Their approach was called **structuralism** because of its focus on identifying the elemental parts or structures of the structures, of menhuman mind. The method they used in the study of mental structures was tal processes.



Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) Wundt founded the first psychology laboratory (with his two coworkers) in 1879 at the University of Leipzig in Germany. © Bettmann/Corbis

#### structuralism

Wundt's approach to discovering the basic elements, or introspection (literally, "looking inside"). For this type of research, a person sat in a laboratory and was asked to think (to introspect) about what was going on mentally as various events took place. For example, the individual might be subjected to a sharp, repetitive clicking sound and then might be asked to report whatever conscious feelings the clicking produced. What made this method scientific was the systematic, detailed self-reports required of the person in the controlled laboratory setting.

Although Wundt is most often regarded as the founding father of modern psychology, it was psychologist and philosopher William James (1842–1910), perhaps more than anyone else, who gave the field an American stamp. From James's perspective, the key question for psychology is not so much what the mind is (that is, its structures) as what it is for (its purpose or function). James's view was eventually named functionalism.

In contrast to structuralism, which emphasized the components of the mind, functionalism probed the functions and purposes of the mind and behavior in the individual's adaptation to the environment. Whereas structuralists were looking inside the mind and searching for its structures, functionalists focused on human interactions with the outside world to understand the purpose of thoughts. If structuralism is about the "what" of the individual's adaptation to the mind, functionalism is about the "why."

A central question in functionalism is, why is human thought adaptive? When we talk about whether a characteristic is adaptive, we are concerned with how it makes an organism better able to survive. So, the functionalist asks, why are people better off because they can think than they would be otherwise? Unlike Wundt, James did not believe in the existence of rigid structures of the mind. Instead, James saw the mind as flexible and fluid, characterized by constant change in response to a continuous flow of information from the world. Not surprisingly, James called the natural flow of thought a "stream of consciousness."

Functionalism fit well with the theory of evolution through natural selection proposed by British naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882). In 1859, Darwin published his ideas in On the Origin of Species. He proposed the principle of natural selection, an evolutionary process in which organisms that are best adapted to their environment will survive Darwin's principle of an and, importantly, produce offspring. Darwin noted that members of any species are often locked in competition for scarce resources such as food. Natural selection is the process by which the environment determines who wins that competition. Darwin asserted that will survive and produce organisms with biological features that led to survival and reproduction would be better offspring. represented in subsequent generations. Over many generations, organisms with these characteristics would constitute a larger percentage of the population. Eventually this

process could change an entire species. If environmental conditions changed, however, other characteristics might become favored by natural selection, moving the process in a different direction (Cowan, 2015).

If you are unfamiliar with Darwin's theory of evolution, it might be helpful to consider the simple question, why do giraffes have long necks? An early explanation might have been that giraffes live in places where the trees are very tall, and so the creatures must stretch their necks to get their food leaves. Lots of stretching might lead to adult giraffes that have longer necks. This explanation does not tell us, though, why giraffes are born with long necks. A characteristic cannot be passed from one generation to the next unless it is recorded in the genes, those collections of molecules that are responsible for heredity (Cummings, 2014).

According to evolutionary theory, species change through random genetic mutation (Mader, 2014). That means that, essentially by accident, some members of a species are born with genetic characteristics that make them different from other members (for instance, some lucky giraffes being born with unusually long necks). If these changes are adaptive (for example, if they help those giraffes compete for food, survive, and reproduce), they become more common in members of the species. So, presumably long, long ago, some giraffes were genetically predisposed to have longer necks, and some

Introspection has its limits. Many behaviors are hard to explain using introspection. Think about talking, for example. You somehow know where you are heading even as the words are tumbling out of your mouth, but you cannot say where those words are coming from.

#### functionalism

James's approach to mental processes, emphasizing the functions and purposes of the mind and behavior in the environment.

#### natural selection

evolutionary process in which organisms that are best adapted to their environment



William James (1842-1910) James's approach became known as functionalism. © Bettmann/Corbis

It turns out that giraffes don't eat food from tall trees. Instead, they use their long necks to fight! giraffes were genetically predisposed to have shorter necks. Only those with the long necks survived to reproduce, giving us the giraffes we see today. The survival of the giraffes with long necks is a product of natural selection. Evolutionary theory implies that the way we are, at least partially, is the way that is best suited to survival in our environment (Buss, 2012; Johnson, 2015).

Darwin's theory continues to influence psychologists today because it is strongly supported by observation. We can make such observations every day. Right now, for example, in your kitchen sink, various bacteria are locked in competition for scarce resources in the form of those tempting food particles from your last meal. When you use an antibacterial cleaner, you are playing a role in natural selection, because you are effectively killing off the bacteria that cannot survive the cleaning agents. However, you are also letting the bacteria that are genetically adapted to survive that cleaner to take over the sink. The same principle applies to taking an antibiotic medication at the first sign of a sore throat or an earache. By killing off the bacteria that may be causing the illness, you are creating an environment where their competitors (so-called antibiotic-resistant bacteria) may flourish. These observations powerfully demonstrate Darwinian selection in action.

If structuralism won the battle to be the birthplace of psychology, functionalism won the war. To this day, psychologists continue to talk about the adaptive nature of human characteristics. Indeed, from these beginnings, psychologists have branched out to study more aspects of human behavior than Wundt or James might have imagined. We now examine various contemporary approaches to the science of psychology.

## elf-quiz

- Which of the following statements is correct?
  - A. There are many controversies in the field of psychology.
  - Psychologists on the whole agree among themselves on most aspects of the field.
  - C. Psychologists do not engage in critical thinking.
  - D. There are few controversies in the field of psychology.
- 2. Of the following, the characteristic that is *not* at the heart of the scientific approach is
  - A. skepticism.
  - B. critical thinking.

- C. prejudging.D. curiosity.
- 3. Charles Darwin's work is relevant to psychology because
  - A. Darwin's research demonstrated that there are few differences between humans and animals.
  - B. Darwin's principle of natural selection suggests that human behavior is partially a result of efforts to survive.
  - C. Darwin stated that humans descended from apes, a principle that allows psychologists to understand human behavior.
  - D. Darwin created functionalism.

APPLY IT! 4. Two psychologists, Clayton and Sam, are interested in studying emotional expressions. Clayton wants to determine whether emotional expression is healthy and if it has an influence on well-being. Sam is interested in describing the types of emotions people express and building a catalog of all the emotions and emotional expressions that exist. In this example, Clayton is most like \_\_\_\_\_ and Sam is most

A. Wilhelm Wundt; William James

like

- B. William James; Wilhelm Wundt
- C. Wilhelm Wundt; Sigmund Freud
- D. Sigmund Freud; Wilhelm Wundt

### Contemporary Approaches to Psychology

In this section we survey seven different approaches—biological, behavioral, psychodynamic, humanistic, cognitive, evolutionary, and sociocultural—that represent the intellectual backdrop of psychological science.

#### biological approach

An approach to psychology focusing on the body, especially the brain and nervous system.

#### The Biological Approach

Some psychologists examine behavior and mental processes through the **biological** approach, which is a focus on the body, especially the brain and nervous system. For

example, researchers might investigate the way your heart races when you are afraid or how your hands sweat when you tell a lie. Although a number of physiological systems may be involved in thoughts and feelings, perhaps the largest contribution to physiological psychology has come through the emergence of neuroscience (Botvinick & Braver, 2015; Qiu, Mori, & Miller, 2015).

Neuroscience is the scientific study of the struc-

ture, function, development, genetics, and biochem-

istry of the nervous system. Neuroscience emphasizes

that the brain and nervous system are central to

understanding behavior, thought, and emotion (Van

Horn, 2014; Zhao & others, 2014). Neuroscientists

believe that thoughts and emotions have a physical

basis in the brain. Electrical impulses zoom through-

out the brain's cells, releasing chemical substances

that enable us to think, feel, and behave. Our remark-

able human capabilities would not be possible with-

out the brain and nervous system, which constitute

the most complex, intricate, and elegant system

#### neuroscience

The scientific study of the structure. function, development, genetics, and biochemistry of the nervous system, emphasizing that the brain and nervous system are central to understanding behavior, thought, and emotion.



Richard J. Davidson of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, shown with the Dalai Lama, is a leading researcher in behavioral neuroscience. Courtesy of Richard Davidson, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Photo by Jeff Miller

imaginable. Although biological approaches might sometimes seem to reduce complex human experience to simple physical structures, developments in neuroscience have allowed psychologists to understand the brain as an amazingly complex organ, perhaps just as complex as the psychological processes linked to its functioning (Casey, 2015).

#### The Behavioral Approach

The behavioral approach emphasizes the scientific study of observable behavioral behavioral approach responses and their environmental determinants. It focuses on an organism's visible An approach to psychology behaviors, not thoughts or feelings. The psychologists who adopt this approach are called behaviorists. Under the intellectual leadership of John B. Watson (1878–1958) and B. F. Skinner (1904–1990), behaviorism dominated psychological research during the first half ronmental determinants. of the twentieth century.

Skinner (1938) emphasized that psychology should be about what people do—their actions and behaviors—and should not concern itself with things that cannot be seen, such as thoughts, feelings, and goals. He believed that rewards and punishments determine our behavior. For example, a child might behave in a well-mannered fashion because her parents have rewarded this behavior. We do the things we do, say behaviorists, because of the environmental conditions we have experienced and continue to experience.

Contemporary behaviorists still emphasize the importance of observing behavior to understand an individual, and they use rigorous methods advocated by Watson and Skinner (Gariépy & others, 2014). They also continue to stress the importance of environmental determinants of behavior (Martin & Pear, 2014). However, not every behaviorist today accepts the earlier behaviorists' rejection of thought processes, which are often called cognition (Bandura, 2011a, 2011b).

#### The Psychodynamic Approach

The **psychodynamic approach** emphasizes unconscious thought, the conflict between biological drives (such as the drive for sex) and society's demands, and early childhood family experiences. Practitioners of this approach believe that sexual and aggressive impulses buried deep within the unconscious mind influence the way people think, feel, and behave. hood family experiences.

emphasizing the scientific study of observable behavioral responses and their envi-

#### psychodynamic approach

An approach to psychology emphasizing unconscious thought, the conflict between biological drives (such as the drive for sex) and society's demands, and early child-