

KENRICK / NEUBERG / CIALDINI

# SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

SIXTH EDITION

The background of the cover features a warm, golden-orange sunset. In the foreground and middle ground, several people are silhouetted against the bright light. Some are riding bicycles, while others are walking. The overall mood is peaceful and communal.

# Social Psychology

## Goals in Interaction

SIXTH EDITION

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**PEARSON**

*To David, Liam, Carol, Finian, and Greta*

*To Erika, Rachel, Zachary, and Elliot*

*To Bobette, Christopher, and Jason*

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# Welcome from the Authors

Social psychology is intrinsically fun. Indeed, to students assigned a typical social psychology textbook, the field must sometimes seem like an amazing three-ring circus, where every turn of the eye reveals a dizzying assortment of attention-demanding performances. A different show unfolds in each ring—awe-inspiring acts of altruism, shocking deeds of aggression, persuasive tricks from magicians’ hats, human pyramids of cooperation, and mysterious feats of self-delusion. At the center of it all stands the course instructor, the ringmaster, calling students’ attention alternately to one then another facet of the spectacle—*And now, ladies and gentlemen, I invite you to shift your gaze from the clownish antics of self-deception to the daring men and women attempting to traverse the tightrope of romantic love, and then back down to the wild lion pit of aggression.*

## The Need for an Integrative Approach to Social Psychology

But there’s a problem with the three-ring circus presentation of social psychology. It masks a critically important point: Human social behaviors are woven together in related, interconnected patterns. To present an array of separate, disjointed chapter topics—aggression here, persuasion, prejudice, and personal relationships there, there, and there—offers a sorely inadequate view of the field. Hidden beneath all the dazzling aspects of human social behavior, there are a central set of common concepts, dimensions, and principles. We are convinced that students benefit greatly from discovering those underlying principles. After all, a primary rule of learning and memory is that people grasp and retain more material, more easily, when the various parts can be connected by organizing principles.

As entertaining and stimulating as a circus may be, it is not a good arena for learning. Much better, and equally engaging, is a well-constructed work of theater, cinema, or literature. The field of social psychology should be presented to students as a captivating and coherent chronicle, not a bewildering circus. It’s an intricate chronicle to be sure, rich in twists and variations. But it is coherent nonetheless, with recurring characters, scenes, and themes linking its elements. Our major purpose in writing this text is to offer students and instructors a cohesive framework that retains social psychology’s renowned ability to captivate student interest but that adds the more intellectually helpful (and satisfying) feature of integration.

## How Do We Accomplish the Integration?

For a full year before deciding to write this book, we met for an afternoon every week to try to develop a truly integrative framework for the course. We knew that we had one ironic advantage: In a basic way, we disagreed with one another. Each of us had approached the task with a different one of the major, sometimes opposing, theoretical perspectives in social psychology today—social cognition, social learning, and evolutionary psychology. We realized that if we could find an overarching framework that would bridge our diverse approaches, it would provide an especially broad foundation for integrating the course material—one that allowed and incorporated a full range of theoretical starting points.

Those meetings were an exhilarating mix of good-natured conflicts, eye-opening insights, false starts, blind alleys, and gratifying breakthroughs—always accompanied by the shared sense that our understanding of social psychology was growing. The effort would have been worthwhile even if no book had come of it. At the end of that year of discussion and debate, not only did we have an invaluable mid-career learning experience under our belts, but, as well, we had consensus on an integrative framework about which we were all genuinely enthusiastic.

The text’s subtitle, “Goals in Interaction,” reflects the two key themes that we use to tie together the text material within and across chapter topics:

**1. The goal-directed nature of social behavior.** First, we stress that social responding is goal directed. People might not even be able to consciously describe their goals, but when they obey an authority figure, begin a new relationship, or raise a fist against another, they do so in the service of some goal—perhaps to gain another’s approval, verify a self-image, or acquire social status. In Chapter 1, we describe how everyday goals flow from fundamental social motives, such as establishing social ties, attracting mates, and understanding ourselves and those around us. In Chapter 2, we examine how goals work. In each succeeding chapter, we reestablish this emphasis on goals by asking the question “What particular goals are served by aggression, conformity, prejudice (or whichever particular behaviors we consider in that chapter)?”

**2. The interaction of the person and the situation.** Second, to understand fully the causes of a person’s social behavior,

we need to consider how aspects of that person interact with aspects of his or her situation. How do features inside the individual—attitudes, traits, expectations, attributions, moods, goals, stereotypes, and emotions—work together with features of the situation to influence social behavior? Beginning with Kurt Lewin, this interactionist theme has been prominent in our field. Unfortunately, introductory social psychology texts have rarely engaged the full explanatory power of interactionism. In contrast, in this book, we continuously invite readers to consider the interplay of influences inside and outside the person.

## Bridging Perspectives: Cognition, Culture, and Evolution

For the last two decades, social psychologists have profitably mined the cognitive perspective for insights into how humans process information about their social situations. These insights added to a foundation of findings discovered within the social learning perspective. In recent years, as researchers have made fascinating discoveries about social behavior in different human cultures and different animal species, the sociocultural and evolutionary perspectives have increasingly contributed to the mix.

The sociocultural perspective has emphasized how our social thoughts and behaviors are encompassed within the larger context of the societies we live in. Cultural influences can change the answer to questions about which techniques of persuasion will be effective, whether a person will define herself in terms of her group memberships or her individual qualities, or whether that person will marry one partner or many. The study of culture is fascinating because it often highlights differences, and reminds us that “our way” isn’t always the only way.

But cross-cultural research has also taught us that humans the world over have some common ways of thinking and behaving around one another. The evolutionary perspective has helped us understand why there are similarities not only across human cultures, but even across different species. Initial forays into evolutionary psychology emphasized the darker side of human nature—“selfish genes” driving aggression, sexuality, and the battle between the sexes. But evolutionary analyses have revealed that our ancestors survived not just by selfish competition but also by positive behaviors: forming friendships, cooperating with other members of their groups, and forging loving family bonds.

It has become clear that these various perspectives are not “alternatives” to one another. Instead, they work together to enable a fuller understanding of the social world. As long-term students of cognition, culture, and evolutionary psychology, we have woven these threads together into the unique interactionist tapestry of this book. In this edition, we emphasize how social psychology is an

important bridge discipline, connecting different areas of psychology (such as neuroscience, developmental, and clinical psychology) as well as other behavioral sciences (such as anthropology, economics, political science, and zoology).

## What’s New in the Sixth Edition?

**1. Videos to accompany the opening mysteries.** In this edition, David Lundberg Kenrick has lent his film production talents to developing a short animated video at the beginning of each chapter, in which the text authors introduce the mysteries of social life we will try to unravel in the chapter. Chapter 1 begins with the story of a formerly destitute single mom who, once her luck turned around, began giving away millions and millions of her hard-earned dollars. The question of why some people hoard their wealth, while others become generous philanthropists, connects to a fascinating series of studies of social psychologist Elizabeth Dunn and her colleagues, on the psychological benefits of giving to others. J.K. Rowling is the formerly destitute single mom in this story, and her case also helps raise questions about the relative influences of social learning, culture, cognition, and biology on our social decisions. Throughout the book, we introduce other mysteries of social behavior, in the stories of people as diverse as Martin Luther King, the Dalai Lama, and Charles Manson, in each case, to introduce questions that have been addressed by scientific research in social psychology.

**2. Original research videos.** Social psychologists not only probe into some of the most fascinating mysteries of social life, but they do so with scientific methods that are, in themselves, quite fascinating. For this edition, we also introduce researchers from around the world, who briefly describe one of the questions they were able to answer with their research. For example, to accompany the first chapter’s opening mystery, Liz Dunn from the University of British Columbia describes her work on the benefits of giving money away, including some fascinating new cross-cultural and developmental twists on the topic. In the chapter on groups, Mark Van Vugt from VU Amsterdam describes his work on leadership, explaining how, contrary to stereotypes, people are much more likely to choose female leaders over males under the right circumstances. In the chapter on social dilemmas, Texas Christian University’s Sarah Hill describes some fascinating research demonstrating how economic factors can influence White people’s tendencies to perceive a “mixed-race” person as either Black or White. And for the chapter on self-presentation, University of Queensland’s Bill Von Hippel describes some research he conducted in a skateboard park, demonstrating how the mere presence of a beautiful young woman boosted male skateboarders’

testosterone levels, which in turn led them to literally risk their necks doing more dangerous tricks.

**3. Learning Objectives.** Each major section of every chapter begins with a set of explicit learning objectives that serve as road-maps to focus the reader on the central concepts in upcoming sections.

**4. Quick Quiz Self-Tests.** Following each major section, we present a short series of multiple-choice questions, to give you a chance to check your understanding of the material and practice for exams.

**5. New and expanded coverage.** There are a wide range of new and expanded topics covered in this edition, including many new findings linking social psychology, culture, and neuroscience. In Chapter 7, for example, we present new findings suggesting that your brain responds differently to your wins versus those of your friends, unless your culture encourages you to think about yourself as part of a collective. Many other new findings build bridges between social psychology and other disciplines, such as findings showing that you respond very differently to economic losses when you are in mating-motivated frame of mind (Chapter 14). In fact, almost three hundred new references have been added to the sixth edition, the majority of which come from new research papers published in 2011 or later.

## The Structure of Each Chapter

After introducing social psychology (Chapter 1) and taking a closer look at the person and the social situation (Chapter 2), we organize the remaining chapters around a common structure:

### 1. The Mystery

Each chapter begins with an account of a baffling pattern of human behavior—an incident or a set of incidents that seems beyond understanding. For example:

- Why did the beautiful and talented artist Frida Kahlo fall for the much older, and much less attractive, Diego Rivera, and then tolerate his numerous extramarital affairs?
- What forces could persuade a young man to sign a confession saying he'd killed his own mother, when later evidence suggested he could not possibly have done it?
- How did a Black civil rights advocate and a member of the Ku Klux Klan turn around and become friends with one another?

Later, as the chapter progresses, we introduce general principles of human behavior that, when put together properly, resolve the mystery. These mysteries are more than simple devices for engaging readers' interest. They are designed to convey something basic about how we approach the text material: Our approach is heavily research based, and research is akin to good detective work. Researchers, like detectives,

begin their search with an interesting or perplexing question, then examine clues, gather evidence, test hypotheses, eliminate alternatives and—if things fall into place—uncover the right answer. To mine these instructive parallels, we return often in the text to the concept of researcher-as-detective.

### 2. The Goals

Next we introduce readers to the set of goals underlying the behavior covered in the chapter, by asking “What purposes does this behavior (e.g., aggression or helping or conformity) serve for an individual?” and “Which factors lead an individual to use this behavior to achieve those goals?” Taking each goal of the set in turn, we consider factors in the person, in the situation, and in their interaction:

#### PERSON

**The person.** Here, we present research showing which factors inside the individual trigger each particular goal. So, which traits motivate people to seek social approval through conformity? Which moods influence people to think deeply in order to understand themselves and others more accurately?

#### SITUATION

**The situation.** Here, we consider evidence of situational factors that trigger each goal. How do personal threats engage self-protective prejudices? How do cultural norms influence the desire to seek sexual gratification through casual relationships? How does time pressure affect the inclination to think deeply before deciding what a stranger's personality is like?

#### INTERACTION

**The person–situation interaction.** In this section, we present data demonstrating how personal and situational factors interact. Social psychologists are used to thinking about how people with different attitudes, expectations, and traits act differently in the same situation. But interactions are much richer than this: People choose their life situations, change situations they do not like, and are themselves rejected from some situations and changed by others. For example, lonely people sometimes act in needy ways that alienate others. In turn, others may avoid them and stop inviting them to social events, further enhancing their inner feelings of social isolation. By systematically showing students the importance of person–situation interactions, we hope to illustrate the limitations of the usual single-factor explanations—such as putting all the blame for aggression or blind obedience on the person or the converse error of viewing people as interchangeable pawns on a giant interpersonal chess board.

### 3. Special Features

Several of social psychology's messages and themes are highlighted in each chapter's special features:

**Investigation.** Building on our metaphor of social psychologist as detective, we invite students to connect themselves

to the concepts in the “Investigation” feature. These questions encourage students to enter an investigation, either by piecing together the concepts and findings in the book with what they know about themselves or other people, or by using their own powers of logical analysis to critically analyze the evidence just covered. “Investigation” questions are designed not only to emphasize the relevance of social psychology to students’ lives but also to help students study more effectively. Research on learning and memory shows we learn material more easily if we connect it to ourselves, think critically about it, and actively rehearse what we’ve just read.

### INVESTIGATION

Consider two people you know whose cultural backgrounds differ from yours (another country, a different social class, ethnicity, or religion). In what ways do the norms of your different cultures lead you to behave differently in your interactions with each other?

**Bridging Theory and Application.** Here, we discuss how a specific experimental finding or body of findings relates to real-world issues—how research insights can be used to create less-prejudiced classrooms, help married couples stay together, or reduce violence.

**Bridging Function and Dysfunction.** Psychology students are fascinated by disordered behavior. In this feature, we tap that fascination to demonstrate broader principles. We examine how normally healthy social behaviors can, if taken too far, produce unhealthy consequences—for example, how the usually adaptive tendency to develop strong bonds between lovers can underlie obsessive relationships.

#### 4. Revisiting the Mystery

The final section of each chapter returns to the opening mystery to help students pull together the various research findings discussed in the chapter. For example, we return to the puzzle of the boy who falsely confessed to a heinous crime and the relationship between Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera, in light of research findings on persuasion and relationships (and we pull together the new clues we revealed in the chapter). In this way, we hope not only to capitalize on curiosity but also to tap another general principle of learning and memory—the principle that students recall more facts when they are connected to vivid cases.

#### 5. Chapter Summary

The Chapter Summary feature at the end of each chapter includes a number of useful review tools for students: a chart that revisits how factors in the person, in the situation, and in their interaction relate to the chapter’s goals (in Chapters 3–14); and a numbered summary of text content organized by A-head.

## Weaving Methods and Applications into the Story

A glance at the table of contents shows that we have included no separate applications chapters on such topics as health, business, or the law. This is not because of any lack of regard for their importance within social psychology. Quite the reverse. Rather than giving these topics a tagged-on, stand-alone status in the book, we want to emphasize their frequent connections to the mainstream topics of the field. Consequently, we point out these links as they occur naturally within the text discussion, and (when special elaboration is appropriate) in the *Bridging Theory and Application* features found in the chapters. In this way, we hope to convey to students the inherent relationship between the principles of social psychology and the behaviors of people in workplaces, schoolrooms, and other applied settings.

For similar reasons, there is no isolated chapter or appendix on methodology. Although we do expose the reader to the major methodological issues of social psychological research in Chapter 1, we blend the discussion of methods with the puzzling research questions that inspire those methods, so the student learns the details of the methods that can answer them (for example, we introduce the idea of meta-analysis alongside the many studies of media influences on aggression). Additionally, the student learns to appreciate that one cannot be fully confident in the results of a study without understanding how those results were obtained.

Last, and once again reflecting our emphasis on integration, the chapters are not grouped and divided into separate sections, such as social knowing, social influence, and social relationships. Instead, the chapter topics flow in a continuum from phenomena occurring primarily inside the individual to those occurring primarily outside. However, there is no imperative to this ordering and, with the exception of the first and last chapters, instructors may sequence the chapters to fit their own preferences without harm to student understanding.

One reason for this adaptability is that the integration we have proposed does not depend on any lock-step, building-block progress through the course material. Rather, that integration comes from a pair of concepts, *goals* and the *person–situation interaction*, that apply generally to the topics of the course. Although the goals may not be the same, the ways that goals function—the mechanisms by which they develop and operate—are similar in the case of aggression or attraction or self-presentation or any of the social behaviors we consider. And, although the particular factors may differ depending on the behavior under study, understanding how factors in the person interact with factors in the situation provides the most informed insights into the causes of everyday social behaviors—whatever the behaviors, in whichever order they are considered. Our two central

concepts, then, allow an organization that we think is both integrative and flexible.

In the pages that follow, readers will find everyday social behaviors depicted as something more tightly woven and interconnected than a three-ring circus. Beyond being “the greatest *show* on earth,” social psychology may well be the greatest *story*—breathtaking, coherent, and, most of all, instructive. We hope you will agree.

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# About the Authors

For over ten years, Douglas Kenrick, Steven Neuberg, and Robert Cialdini met weekly over enchiladas, shwarma, or pasta to design experiments and debate the big issues in social psychology. Over time, they came to realize that they agreed on several important things and that these ideas could form the foundation of an integrative and exciting social psychology textbook. The authors each have years of experience teaching social psychology to undergraduate and graduate students, in environments ranging from small private colleges to large public universities. They have published research in the field's most prestigious journals on a wide range of topics, including social cognition, self-presentation, persuasion and social influence, friendship and romance, helping, aggression, and prejudice and stereotyping. Each is independently recognized for integrative research that, when combined, inspires the two major themes of the book. This textbook brings together their many teaching and research interests.



**Douglas T. Kenrick** is a professor at Arizona State University. He received his B.A. from Dowling College and his Ph.D. from Arizona State University. He taught at Montana State University for four years before returning to ASU. His research has been published in a number of prestigious outlets, including *Psychological Review*, *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *American Psychologist*, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, and *Personality and Social Psychology Review*. He is author of the 2011 book: *Sex, Murder, and the Meaning of Life: A psychologist investigates how evolution, cognition, and complexity are revolutionizing our view of human nature*, and in 2013, with Vlad Griskevicius, he wrote *The Rational Animal: How evolution made us smarter than we think*. He has taught a graduate course on teaching psychology, and he thoroughly enjoys teaching undergraduate sections of social psychology, for which he has won several teaching awards.

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**Robert B. Cialdini** is Regents' Professor Emeritus at Arizona State University, where he has also been named Graduate Distinguished Professor. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Wisconsin and his graduate degrees from the University of North Carolina. He is a past president of the *Society of Personality and Social Psychology* and has received the Society's

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# Social Psychology

# Chapter 1

## Introduction to Social Psychology



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## Learning Objectives

- LO 1.1** Define social psychology and explain why it relies on scientific description and theory.
- LO 1.2** Explain why social psychology is considered a bridge discipline.
- LO 1.3** Summarize the four major theoretical perspectives of social psychology.
- LO 1.4** Discuss how the four major perspectives work together to explain human social behavior.
- LO 1.5** Describe the five fundamental motives behind goal-oriented social behavior.
- LO 1.6** Explain what is meant by the person, the situation, and person–situation interactions.
- LO 1.7** List the strengths and weaknesses of each of the different descriptive methods (e.g., naturalistic observation, case study) and experimental methods, and explain why researchers find value in combining them.
- LO 1.8** Explain why it is difficult to infer causality from correlation.
- LO 1.9** Discuss some of the ethical risks that social psychologists face.
- LO 1.10** Discuss the links between social psychology and other disciplines of psychology.
- LO 1.11** Explain why an understanding of social psychology is valuable to disciplines outside of psychology.

## The Mysteries of Social Life

A few years after graduating from college, things were not going well for Joyce R. As she describes it:

I had failed on an epic scale. An exceptionally short-lived marriage had imploded, and I was jobless, a lone parent, and as poor as it is possible to be in modern Britain, without being homeless. The fears that my parents had had for me, and that I had had for myself, had both come to pass, and by every usual standard, I was the biggest failure I knew.

In the face of all this personal and economic failure, many people might have stopped trying. But Joyce didn't passively accept her fate. Besides struggling to put bread on the table for her young daughter, she worked long hours into the night, using her knowledge of classic literature, to write a children's novel.

Writing a novel is not a very practical formula for economic success. There are approximately 493,000 books published in English every year, and many more that are written but never find a publisher. In fact, Joyce's novel seemed to be just another one of her life's failures: It was rejected by 12 publishers.

But an editor at the thirteenth publishing house accepted the book and offered her a £1,500 advance as well as some practical advice: He gently informed her that she was not likely to make any money writing children's books and suggested that she instead get a day job (Blais, 2005). But Joyce's book defied the unfavorable odds and did quite well in the bookstores. Joyce, rather than taking a day job, wrote a series of follow-up books, which also sold handsomely. Indeed, in a few short years the formerly poverty-stricken single mom was listed on *Fortune* magazine's list of billionaires.

You may know Joyce as J.K. Rowling, author of the Harry Potter series.

It might not have been surprising if Ms. Rowling, having experienced poverty, had hoarded her hard-earned cash. Many people who start making a lot of money are suddenly shocked at how many dollars they pay in taxes and begin to seek tax shelters, or to consider migrating to a place with lower taxes. But not J.K. Rowling. Not only did she proudly pay her taxes, she began giving large portions of the rest of her money



away. In just one single contribution, she once wrote a check for \$15,000,000. And there were many, many more such checks. Indeed, she was giving away so much that she was removed from *Fortune* magazine's list of billionaires.

After her great financial success, Ms. Rowling was invited to give a speech to the graduates of Harvard University, amongst whom were many future millionaires and world leaders. She implored them to use their intelligence, capacity for hard work, and education to work not just for themselves, but to improve the plight of the thousands and millions of powerless people suffering throughout the world.

J.K. Rowling's story raises a number of interesting mysteries. One view of human nature foundational to many of the social sciences is that our minds are designed to be selfish—to make decisions that serve our own self-interest. If so, why are some people, like J.K. Rowling, so generous with their money and so concerned about the welfare of others?

In this book we will explore not only broad questions about human nature, but also everyday mysteries about love and hatred, generosity and aggression, and heroism and betrayal. Why do we react generously and lovingly toward some of the people we meet (and in some situations), but defensively or aggressively toward others? What are the roots of romance versus parental love? What causes some marriages, like J.K. Rowling's, to implode after a few months, and others to flourish for a lifetime? How can we get our coworkers to cooperate with us? Why do some people make better leaders? How are our reactions to other people affected by our cultural background, by our early experiences, by our sex, and by neurochemical events in our brains?

Most of us try to solve mysteries like these in our minds, by devouring news stories and books and chatting with friends about our feelings and opinions. Social psychologists go a step further in their detective work; they apply the systematic methods of scientific inquiry.

## What Is Social Psychology?

**LO 1.1** Define social psychology and explain why it relies on scientific description and theory.

**LO 1.2** Explain why social psychology is considered a bridge discipline.

**Social psychology** is the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by other people. What does it mean, though, to say that social psychology is "scientific"?

### Describing and Explaining Social Behavior

We can divide the tasks of a scientific social psychology into two general categories: *description* and *explanation*. As a first step toward a scientific account of any phenomenon (bird migrations, earthquakes, or intertribal warfare), we need an objective and reliable description. Part of what scientists do is to develop reliable and valid methods to help them avoid careless or biased descriptions.

Careful description is a first step, but it is not, in itself, enough to satisfy scientific curiosity. Social psychologists also seek to explain *why* people influence one another in the ways they do. A good scientific explanation can connect many thousands of unconnected observations into an interconnected, coherent, and meaningful pattern. The philosopher Jules Henri Poincaré compared scientific facts to the stones used to build a house, but he also observed that without a theory those facts are merely a pile of stones, rather than a well-formed house. Scientific explanations that connect and organize existing observations are called **theories**.

In addition to organizing what we already know, scientific theories give us hints about where to look next. What causes some people, like J.K. Rowling, to be especially

**Social psychology** The scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by other people.

**Theory** Scientific explanation that connects and organizes existing observations and suggests fruitful paths for future research.

likely to extend help, and others to be more selfish? Without a good theory, we would not know where to start searching for an answer. Maybe an inclination to help others is caused by the arrangement of the planets under which altruists are born or by something in the water they drank as children. Social psychological theories are more likely to suggest searching elsewhere for the causes of social behavior—in a person's interpretation of his or her immediate social environment, in his or her family background, in the broader culture, or in general predispositions humans share with baboons and other social animals. And, as we'll see, social psychologists have developed some intriguing research methods designed to sort out those different sources of influence.

Finally, scientific theories can help us make predictions about future events and control previously unmanageable phenomena. Scientific theories have led to the electric light bulb, the personal computer, the space shuttle, and the control of diseases such as smallpox. As we will see, social psychological theories have provided useful information about the roots of prejudice, kindness, and love; about why people join rioting mobs or religious cults; and about a host of other puzzling phenomena.

## Social Psychology Is an Interdisciplinary Bridge

Psychologists aren't the only ones pondering the mysteries of human social behavior. Anthropologists puzzle over why people in some societies have social customs that would seem radically inappropriate in others (in Chapter 8, we will talk about societies in which one woman marries multiple men, for example). Evolutionary biologists search for common patterns linking human social behavior with the behaviors of chimpanzees, hyenas, and indigo buntings (in Chapter 10, we will see that the hormone testosterone is similarly linked to aggression, and to sex roles, across a wide range of species). Political scientists and historians search for the determinants of warfare and intergroup conflicts, of the sort we will explore in Chapters 11 and 13. And economists search for the roots of people's decisions about whether to contribute to their group's welfare, or hoard their resources to themselves, topics we will investigate in Chapters 9 and 13.

How do the perspectives of all these disciplines fit together into a bigger picture? How does what you are learning in your biology class link up with what you're learning in your anthropology class? How do the factoids of history connect with recent discoveries in neuroscience? What are the links between geography, economics, and marriage patterns? It turns out all these things are profoundly connected, and in ways that affect not only the course of your personal life but also the course of world affairs and major social problems. Evolutionary biology, neurochemistry, history, culture, and geography, all have important implications for how people socially interact with one another; those social interactions, in turn, affect which moral and religious sentiments are enforced as laws, how children are educated, and even how medical doctors treat their patients.

Because all of these influences converge to influence social behavior, social psychologists consider social behavior at many different levels of analysis. For example, a recent series of studies of societies around the world found that cultural differences in friendliness and sociability are linked to geographic variations in disease prevalence—where there is more disease, people have traits that lead them to avoid contact with others (Murray et al., 2011; Schaller & Park, 2011). Other studies we'll discuss have examined how our relationships with other people can be affected by historical factors, hormone levels, phase of the menstrual cycle, and brain activity, and how all these influences can, in turn, affect our physical and mental health, as well as our economic behavior and political beliefs (e.g., Apicella et al., 2008; Cantú et al., 2014; Gelfand et al., 2011; Little et al., 2008; Uskul, Kitayama, & Nisbett, 2008; Varnum et al., 2014). Thus, social psychology is in many ways the ultimate bridge discipline. Throughout this text, we will encounter many such interdisciplinary bridges, often considering findings that reflect culture, evolutionary biology, neuroscience, and that connect with applied disciplines from business to law to medicine.



## Quick Quiz

- 1 Social psychology is the scientific study of:
  - a. How people's reactions to others develop over the life cycle.
  - b. How people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by other people.
  - c. How societal forces contribute to the development of mental illness.
  - d. How the brain influences the development of social reactions.
- 2 Which of the following best describes scientific theories?
  - a. Theories are based on hypothetical conjecture as opposed to established evidence.
  - b. Theories explain the cause of specific behaviors.
  - c. Theories are a collection of facts.
  - d. Theories are scientific explanations that connect and organize existing observations.
- 3 To say that social psychology is the ultimate bridge discipline means that the field:
  - a. Connects laboratory findings with clinical applications.
  - b. Bridges careful description with theoretical explanation.
  - c. Links sociology and psychology.
  - d. Connects multiple perspectives on social behavior, from biology, anthropology, economics, and other disciplines.

## Major Theoretical Perspectives of Social Psychology

**LO 1.3** Summarize the four major theoretical perspectives of social psychology.

**LO 1.4** Discuss how the four major perspectives work together to explain human social behavior.

Social psychological theories have been influenced by intellectual developments ranging from the discovery of DNA to the emergence of artificial intelligence. Four major perspectives (or families of theories) have dominated the field: sociocultural, evolutionary, social learning, and social cognitive.

### The Sociocultural Perspective

The year 1908 saw the publication of the first two major textbooks titled *Social Psychology*. One of these was written by sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross. Ross argued that the wellsprings of social behavior reside not in the individual but in the social group. He argued that people were carried along on “social currents,” such as “the spread of a lynching spirit through a crowd . . . [or] an epidemic of religious emotion” (Ross, 1908, 1–2). Ross analyzed incidents such as the Dutch tulip bulb craze of 1634, in which people sold their houses and lands to buy flower roots that cost more than their weight in gold, but that instantly became worthless when the craze stopped. To explain these crazes, Ross looked at the group as a whole rather than at the psyche of the individual group member. He viewed crazes and fads as products of “mob mind . . . that irrational unanimity of interest, feeling, opinion, or deed in a body of communicating individuals, which results from suggestion and imitation” (Ross, 1908, 65).

Like Ross, other sociologically based theorists emphasized larger social groupings, from neighborhood gangs to ethnic groups and political parties (e.g., Sumner, 1906). That emphasis continues in the modern **sociocultural perspective**—the view that a person’s prejudices, preferences, and political persuasions are affected by factors that work at the level of the group, factors such as nationality, social class, and current historical trends (Gelfand et al., 2014; Heine, 2010). For example, compared to her working-class Irish grandmother, a modern-day Manhattan executive probably has different attitudes about premarital sex and women’s roles in business (Roberts & Helson, 1997). Sociocultural theorists focus on the central importance of **social norms**, or rules about appropriate behavior, such as *Don’t eat with your hands*, *Don’t wear shorts*

**Sociocultural perspective** The theoretical viewpoint that searches for the causes of social behavior in influences from larger social groups.

**Social norm** A rule or expectation for appropriate social behavior.

to a wedding, and so on. At the center of this perspective is the concept of **culture**, which we can broadly define as a set of beliefs, customs, habits, and languages shared by the people living in a particular time and place. People in Italy and France regard it as appropriate to kiss acquaintances on both cheeks when they meet in public, a custom that can make a visiting American feel awkward, who might be more comfortable with a high five.

Culture includes all the human-engineered features of the environment, from subjective features, such as rules of etiquette, to objective features, such as houses and clothing (Fiske, 2002; Triandis, 1994). The technological features of our culture can have powerful effects on our social behaviors, as evidenced in recent years in the phenomena of iPhones and social networking Internet sites—technologies that profoundly influence how and when people can communicate with one another (Crabb, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Guadagno et al., 2008; McKenna & Bargh, 2000).

Each of us has been exposed to different cultural norms depending on our ethnicity, our socioeconomic status, the geographical region in which we were raised, and our religion (Cohen, 2009; Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Johnson et al., 2013; Krauss et al., 2011; Sanchez-Burks, 2002). Someone who grew up poor in the Southern United States, for example, is more likely to listen to country and western music, whereas someone who grew up in an upper-middle-class city on the West Coast is more likely to listen to rock. The lyrics in these two types of music emphasize very different cultural values: Rock lyrics stress doing your own thing, going against the grain, and changing the world. Country lyrics emphasize adapting yourself to the world's challenges, being resilient, and maintaining your integrity (Snibbe & Markus, 2005). As another example, Asian Americans differ in some ways from European Americans, placing a relatively low value on self-expression, personal choice, and the inclination to “think out loud” (Kim, 2002; Kim & Sherman, 2007). As you will see, the study of groups, cultures, and social norms continues as a major thrust in social psychology (e.g., Adams, 2005; Alter & Kwan, 2009; Chen, 2008; Matsumoto et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2005; Shiota et al., 2010). We will consider these sociocultural influences in every chapter of this text.

A psychologist adopting a sociocultural perspective might observe that as a college student J.K. Rowling kept company with left-wing coffeehouse intellectuals. In that subculture, social action is highly valued and individual greed is scorned. After college Rowling went to work for Amnesty International, an agency dedicated to social action and also peopled by liberal-minded intellectuals fighting to save the world's poor and downtrodden underdogs. Hoarding her wealth would have thus violated the norms of J.K. Rowling's social set, whereas giving it to needy others would have been considered highly appropriate.

## INVESTIGATION

Consider two people you know whose cultural backgrounds differ from yours (another country, a different social class, ethnicity, or religion). In what ways do the norms of your different cultures lead you to behave differently in your interactions with each other?

.....

## The Evolutionary Perspective

There was another text called *Social Psychology* released in 1908, and that one was written by a British psychologist originally trained in biology. William McDougall took an **evolutionary perspective**, adopting the view that human social behaviors are rooted in physical and psychological predispositions that helped our ancestors survive and reproduce. McDougall followed Charles Darwin's (1873) suggestion that human social behaviors (such as smiling, sneering, and other emotional expressions) had evolved along with physical features (such as upright posture and grasping thumbs).

The central driving force of evolution is **natural selection**, the process whereby animals pass to their offspring those characteristics that help them survive and

**Culture** The beliefs, customs, habits, and languages shared by the people living in a particular time and place.

**Evolutionary perspective** A theoretical viewpoint that searches for the causes of social behavior in the physical and psychological predispositions that helped our ancestors survive and reproduce.

**Natural selection** The process by which characteristics that help animals survive and reproduce are passed on to their offspring.



**Expressions of happiness across human cultures.** In the first book on evolutionary psychology, Charles Darwin argued that some emotional expressions might be universal patterns of communication inherited from our ancestors.

reproduce. New characteristics that are well suited to particular environments—called **adaptations**—will come to replace characteristics that are less well suited to the demands and opportunities those environments present. Dolphins are mammals closely related to cows, but their legs evolved into fins because that shape is better suited to life under water. Darwin assumed that just as an animal’s body is shaped by natural selection, so is an animal’s brain.

Psychologists once assumed that evolution could only produce inflexible “instincts” that were “wired in” at birth and not much influenced by the environment. Most experts on evolution and behavior now understand that biological influences on humans and other animals are usually flexible and responsive to the environment (e.g., Gangestad et al., 2006; Kenrick & Gomez-Jacinto, 2014; O’Gorman et al., 2008; Robison et al., 2008). Consider fear, for example. There is good evidence that fear is an evolved psychological reaction that helped our ancestors respond rapidly to threats such as poisonous insects, snakes, and other people who might pose a danger to them (Ohman, Lundqvist, & Esteves, 2001). Because it would exhaust our bodies to be on continuous high alert, the so-called fight-or-flight response (which makes us want to run or defend ourselves in frightening situations) is exquisitely sensitive to cues in a situation that suggest when we are and are not likely to be in danger (Cannon, 1929).

One team of researchers examined how this evolutionary perspective on fear might help us understand potentially volatile prejudices between different groups of people (Schaller, Park, & Mueller, 2003). The researchers asked white and Asian Canadian college students to rate their reactions to photographs of black men. Some of the students did the ratings in a brightly lit room; others were in a completely dark room. Students who viewed the world as a dangerous place were particularly prone to see the black men as threatening if they rated the photos in a dark room. Furthermore, these effects were stronger when the raters were men than when they were women. The researchers interpreted these data in terms of an evolutionary perspective on intergroup relationships (Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Navarrete et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1998). From this viewpoint it might have been useful to our ancestors to be especially fearful of strangers under certain circumstances. The possibility of dangerous conflict between two different groups of men who encountered one another after dark would have led to wariness on the part of men who found themselves in this type of situation. The researchers note that in modern multicultural societies the tendency to respond with these primitive self-protective reactions can lead to adverse consequences, including bullying, gang warfare, and intergroup conflict.

On the one hand, as we noted earlier, sociocultural theorists have been intrigued by differences in behavior from one culture to another. On the other hand, evolutionary

**Adaptation** A characteristic that is well designed to help an animal survive and reproduce in a particular environment.

theorists have searched for common patterns in human social behaviors around the world because they are interested in general characteristics of our species (e.g., Dunn et al., 2010; Kenrick & Keefe, 1992; Matsumoto & Willingham, 2006; Schmitt, 2006). Men and women in every human society, for example, establish long-term marriage bonds in which the man helps the woman raise a family (Geary, 2000; Hrdy, 1999). This might seem unsurprising until one looks at most of our furry relatives. Mothers in 95 to 97% of other mammalian species go it alone without any help from the male. Why are family values so rare among mammalian males? That may be because after fertilization fathers just aren't all that necessary. Paternal care becomes useful, though, in species like coyotes and human beings, whose young are born helpless (Geary, 2005).

Besides the broad commonalities of human nature, evolutionary psychologists are also interested in differences between individuals (e.g., Boothroyd et al., 2008; Duncan et al., 2007; Feinberg et al., 2008; Griskevicius, Delton et al., 2011; Jackson & Kirkpatrick, 2008). Within any species there are often multiple strategies for survival and reproduction. For example, some male sunfish grow large, defend territories, and build nests, which attract females. Other males are smaller and impersonate females, darting in to fertilize the eggs just as the female mates with a large territorial male (Gould & Gould, 1989). Although people in all societies form some type of long-term parental bond, they also vary considerably in their mating strategies: Some men and women are monogamous, whereas others join in marriages that involve more than one husband, as in Tibet, or more than one wife, as in Afghanistan (Schmitt, 2005). As we shall see in later chapters, social psychologists are just beginning to explore how biological predispositions and culture interact to shape complex social behaviors, from violence and prejudice to altruism, love, and religiosity (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Weeden, Cohen, & Kenrick, 2008).



**Paternal investment.** Unlike males in 95 percent of other mammalian species, human fathers invest a great deal of time, energy, and resources in their offspring.

## The Social Learning Perspective

During the decades following 1908, Ross's group-centered perspective and McDougall's evolutionary approach declined in popularity. Instead, many psychologists adopted a **social learning perspective**, which viewed social behavior as driven by each individual's past learning experiences with reward and punishment (e.g., Allport, 1924; Hull, 1934).

On this view, whether we love or hate another person or group of people, whether we are gregarious or reserved, and whether we desire to be a leader or a follower, are all determined by the rewards and punishments we receive from our parents, our teachers, and our peers. We don't need to learn everything from our own trials and errors though; we can observe what happens to the other people around us and the people we read about in books and magazines, or hear about on television. In a classic series of experiments, Albert Bandura and his colleagues showed how children learn to imitate aggressive behavior after seeing another child or adult rewarded for beating an inflatable Bobo doll (e.g., Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961). Bandura expressed concern because his own research had suggested that movies and television often teach young people that violent behavior can be heroic and rewarding. These concerns have been validated by numerous examples of life imitating art. For example, on April 8, 2000, the *Arizona Republic* reported the story of a group of boys in a local high school who started a "fight club" modeled after one started by Brad Pitt's character in a 1999 movie of the same name. As modeled by the characters in the movie, the teenage boys would gather together to trade gloveless punches with one another (Davis, 2000). In a related vein, as we will discuss in Chapter 10, there is evidence that violent video games, which often give players additional points every time they kill or maim a lifelike opponent, may desensitize young boys to violence and teach them to associate hurting others with rewards (Anderson & Dill, 2000; Bartholow et al., 2006; Englehardt et al., 2011).

**Social learning perspective** A theoretical viewpoint that focuses on past learning experiences as determinants of a person's social behaviors.