Social Psychology and Human Nature 5e

BAUMEISTER · BUSHMAN

5th Edition

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND HUMAN NATURE

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WE DEDICATE THIS TEXTBOOK TO OUR MENTORS AND TO THEIR MENTORS,
in appreciation of the teaching of psychology through these relationships.

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About the Authors

ROY F. BAUMEISTER is currently a professor of psychology at the University of Queensland, Australia. He has taught introductory social psychology to thousands of undergraduate students. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1978, and his teaching and research activities have included appointments at the University of California at Berkeley, Case Western Reserve University, Florida State University, the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Virginia, the Max Planck Institute in Munich (Germany), the VU University, Amsterdam (the Netherlands), King Abdulaziz University (Saudi Arabia), the University of Bamberg (Germany), the University of Melbourne (Australia), and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Baumeister is an active researcher whose work has been funded by the National Institutes of Health and by the Templeton Foundation. He has done research on the Self (including self-esteem and self-control), the need to belong, sexuality, aggression, and how people find meaning in life. In 2005, the Institute for Scientific Information concluded from a survey of published bibliographies that he was among the most influential psychologists in the world (the top 1%), and that status has been confirmed several times since then. According to Google Scholar, his works have been cited over 170,000 times in the scientific literature. In his (very rare) spare time, he likes to ski and play jazz. In 2013, he received the William James Award, the highest honor bestowed by the Association for Psychological Science in all of psychology, as recognition of his lifetime achievements and contributions to basic scientific research in psychology.

BRAD J. BUSHMAN is a professor of communication and psychology at The Ohio State University (since 2010), where he holds the Rinehart Chair of Mass Communication. Previously, he was a professor at Iowa State University (1990–2003) and at the University of Michigan (2003–2010). For over 30 years he has conducted research on aggression and violence. He was a member of President Obama's committee on gun violence, and he has testified before the United States Congress about youth violence. His research has challenged several myths (e.g., guns make people safer, venting anger reduces aggression, aggressive people suffer from low self-esteem, violence and sex sell products, media warning labels reduce audience size, exposure to violent media has a trivial effect on aggression). One of Bushman's colleagues even calls him the "myth buster." His research has been published in the top scientific journals (e.g., *Science, Nature, PNAS, JAMA*), and has been featured extensively in the mass media (e.g., *BBC, New York Times, NPR*). He has received honors for his teaching (e.g., G. Stanley Hall Lecture in 2018) and his research (e.g., Kurt Lewin Award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues for "outstanding contributions to the development and integration of psychological research and social action"; Distinguished Lifetime Contribution to Media Psychology and Technology from the American Psychological Association

in 2014). He lives in Columbus, Ohio, with his wife Tam Stafford and their youngest child. Their two oldest children share an apartment in Columbus. In his spare time, he likes to ride his bicycle, and listen to music, especially solo piano (e,g., Michiel Borstlap, Keith Jarrett), jazz (e.g., Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Sonny Rollins), and progressive rock (e.g., Patrick Moraz, Steve Hackett, Yes, Genesis, Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd).

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Preface

This textbook is simultaneously an expression of love and rebellion. The love is our feeling toward our field. We followed different paths into social psychology, but over the years we have developed an affectionate appreciation for it. We agreed to write this textbook partly because we thought we could contribute to the field by covering what we love about it. The process of writing strengthened those positive feelings, by helping us see the remarkably diverse and creative work that our fellow social psychologists have produced over the past several decades. We are also both very active social psychological researchers and teachers. We love doing social psychology research, and we love teaching social psychology classes.

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

In other words, we are rebelling against the old dogma that social psychology's truth requires treating people as blank slates who just respond to situations. Instead, we see people as highly complex, exquisitely designed, and variously inclined cultural animals who are influenced but not defined by situations. Our textbook will tell students plenty about the power of situations, but it also seeks to tell them about the people in those situations.

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

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

The turning point came when one of us (Baumeister) spent a year at an interdisciplinary institute and embraced the task of trying to package what social psychology has learned that could be useful to other fields. Scholars in those fields mostly want to know about people and why they act as they do. The response to this took the form of a book for general audiences called *The Cultural Animal* (Baumeister, 2005), but the realization slowly dawned that this new, more integrated understanding of the human being might provide a powerful basis for a social psychology textbook.

We have used many different textbooks in our own social psychology courses. Most of them are quite good. One dissatisfaction with them, however, and indeed one that we have heard echoed by many other instructors and students, is that they end up being just narrative lists of findings grouped by topic, rather like a handbook or encyclopedia. We wanted more. We wanted an integrated, coherent vision of human nature. And now we had a basis in the form of a new understanding of human nature that put together

the results of thousands of social psychology studies. So this time when publishers asked about writing a textbook, we thought it over. And then we decided to do it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Content Overview

CHAPTER 1
The Mission and the Method

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

CHAPTER 2
Culture and Nature

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

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

CHAPTER 3
The Self

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

CHAPTER 4
Choices and Actions: The Self in Action

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

CHAPTER 5
Social Cognition

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

CHAPTER 6
Emotion and Affect

Our social psychology textbook is one of few on the market to include a chapter on emotion, despite the fact that emotions are an integral part of the human experience. It discusses both positive (e.g., happiness) and negative (e.g., anger) emotions. With each edition of our textbook, we are able to add more material on this important topic.

CHAPTER 7
Attitudes, Beliefs, and Consistency

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

CHAPTER 8
Social Influence and Persuasion

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

CHAPTER 9
Prosocial Behavior: Doing What's Best for Others

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

CHAPTER 10
Aggression and Antisocial Behavior

Just as Chapter 9 replaced the traditional, narrow focus on helping with a broader focus on prosocial behavior, Chapter 10 replaces the traditional, narrow focus on aggression with a broader focus on antisocial behavior. Aggression is treated here as a holdover from the social animal stage—which is why cultures mainly struggle to reduce and prevent aggression, favoring nonviolent means of resolving conflicts. Other antisocial behaviors covered include cheating, lying, stealing, and littering.

CHAPTER 11
Interpersonal Attraction and Rejection

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

CHAPTER 12
Close Relationships: Passion, Intimacy, and Sexuality

In its first decades, social psychology mainly studied interactions among strangers—but most social life involves ongoing relationships. The study of close, intimate relationships blossomed in the 1980s from a small, underappreciated corner into a profound and exciting enterprise that changed the field. This chapter covers this work, much of it quite recent. It emphasizes romantic and sexual relationships, showcasing what social psychology has contributed to understanding of these grand, perennial human dramas. Human romance and sex are eternal problems that reveal our evolutionary background but also highlight the many striking ways in which humans are unique.

CHAPTER 13
Prejudice and Intergroup Relations

Prejudice occurs all over the world, often contributing to violence and oppression and other forms of misery. This chapter examines the many forms and faces of prejudice, ranging from the standard topics of racism and sexism to the less remarked prejudices

against obese people, Arabs and Muslims, Jews, atheists, and LGBTQ+ individuals. Special emphasis is given to the emerging and uplifting work on how people overcome prejudice.

CHAPTER 14
Groups

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

▐▐▐▶ Concept Features

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

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

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

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

dieting, drinking, and related concerns. We remember well our college days as "starving students." Eating is a microcosm of social processes. Following are the *Food for Thought* topics included in the textbook:

- Does Chicken Soup Reduce Cold Symptoms? *(Chapter 1)*
- Virtuous Vegetarians *(Chapter 2)*
- Eating Binges and Escaping the Self *(Chapter 3)*
- Dieting as Self-Regulation *(Chapter 4)*
- It's the Thought That Counts (or Doesn't Count!) the Calories *(Chapter 5)*
- Mood and Food *(Chapter 6)*
- Would You Eat a Bug or a Worm? *(Chapter 7)*
- Convert Communicators and Health Messages *(Chapter 8)*
- Restaurants, Rules, and the Bad Taste of Nonconformity *(Chapter 9)*
- Is There a Link Between Diet and Violence? *(Chapter 10)*
- Social Rejection and the Jar of Cookies *(Chapter 11)*
- Eating in Front of a Cute Guy *(Chapter 12)*
- Prejudice Against the Obese *(Chapter 13)*
- Is Binge Eating Socially Contagious? *(Chapter 14)*
- Is Comfort Food Really Comforting? *(Module B)*
- Stress and Nutrition *(Module C)*

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

- Sex and Culture *(Chapter 2)*
- Self-Esteem and Saying No to Sex *(Chapter 3)*
- Gender, Sex, and Decisions *(Chapter 4)*
- Counting Sex Partners *(Chapter 5)*
- Can People Be Wrong About Whether They Are Sexually Aroused? *(Chapter 6)*
- A–B Inconsistency and Erotic Plasticity *(Chapter 7)*
- Scared into Safe Sex? *(Chapter 8)*
- Helping, Sex, and Friends *(Chapter 9)*
- Sexual Aggression *(Chapter 10)*
- What Is Beauty? *(Chapter 11)*
- Roots of Anti-Gay Prejudice *(Chapter 13)*
- Is a Marriage a Group? *(Chapter 14)*
- Sex for Sale *(Module A)*
- Increasing Condom Use and Safe Sex Practices *(Module B)*
- Sexual Harassment *(Module C)*

There is no *The Social Side of Sex* box in Chapter 12 because half of that chapter is about sex.

A third box presents tradeoffs. In this box, we attempt to stimulate critical thinking. Many students come to social psychology wanting to find ways to change the world and solve its problems. We applaud that idealism, but we also think that many problems have their origin in the basic truth that solving one problem sometimes creates another problem. Many social psychology findings highlight tradeoffs in which each gain comes with a loss. We hope that the students will come away from these boxes with a heightened integrative capacity to see both sides of many problems and behaviors. Following are the *Tradeoffs* topics included in the textbook:

- **Research ethics**   *(Chapter 1)*
- **Political Tradeoffs**   *(Chapter 2)*
- **Self-Handicapping**   *(Chapter 3)*
- **Now Versus Tomorrow: Delay of Gratification**   *(Chapter 4)*
- **Conscious and Unconscious Thought**   *(Chapter 5)*
- **Affect Intensity, or the Joys of Feeling Nothing**   *(Chapter 6)*
- **What Is the Real Attitude?**   *(Chapter 7)*
- **Should Speakers Talk Fast or Slow?**   *(Chapter 8)*
- **The Prisoner's Dilemma**   *(Chapter 9)*
- **Creativity and Cheating**   *(Chapter 10)*
- **Testosterone—A Blessing and a Curse**   *(Chapter 11)*
- **Sex In and Out of Marriage**   *(Chapter 12)*
- **Competition Versus Cooperation**   *(Chapter 13)*
- **Diversity in Groups**   *(Chapter 14)*
- **Wrongful Convictions vs. Protecting Victims**   *(Module D)*
- **The Tragedy of the Commons**   *(Module E)*

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

Money is highly relevant to our theme of humans as cultural animals. Other animals do not use money. Money is often spent on getting things that nature makes us want: food, shelter, warmth, comfort, and even health and sex. Social events, such as war, can greatly influence the value of money. Yet money is undeniably a cultural phenomenon. Thus, money shows how humankind has found cultural means of satisfying natural inclinations. Social psychologists (like intellectuals across the ages) have often been skeptical and critical of money, and especially of the desire for money. Money is a fact of life and an almost indispensable ingredient to the good life in modern society. We hope that this set of boxes will stimulate students to see money through the prism of social psychology's diverse interests.

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

- **Nature, Culture, and Money** *(Chapter 2)*
- **Doing It for Money, Not Love** *(Chapter 3)*
- **How Money Can Trick You into Making Bad Decisions** *(Chapter 4)*
- **Does Money Make a Difference?** *(Chapter 5)*
- **Emotions and Prices** *(Chapter 6)*
- **Would You Sell Your Soul For $1?** *(Chapter 7)*
- **Even a Penny Will Help** *(Chapter 8)*
- **Money, Prosocial Behavior, and Self-Sufficiency** *(Chapter 9)*
- **Money and Antisocial Behavior** *(Chapter 10)*
- **Is Manhood Measured in Dollars or Inches?** *(Chapter 11)*
- **Mating, Money, and Men** *(Chapter 12)*
- **Racial Discrimination in Sports: Paying More to Win** *(Chapter 13)*
- **Money, Power, and Laughter** *(Chapter 14)*
- **The Costs and Benefits of Environmental Protection** *(Module E)*

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

Pedagogical Features

Our textbook has also benefited from input and suggestions for what can help students master the material. We have kept what has worked well in other textbooks, such as including glossaries, tables, graphs, cartoons, and illustrations. Each chapter begins with a set of "Learning Objectives" and ends with a "Chapter Summary," where we present lists of bullet points summarizing key content in the chapter. A learning objective describes what students should know at the end of the chapter that they didn't know before they read it. Learning objectives should be useful for both instructors and students. They also set our textbook apart from other social psychology textbooks that do not include learning objectives.

Our textbook was one of the first to include self-quizzes. Each major header in each chapter ends with a series of four multiple-choice questions. These were very popular with students in the first four editions. We can understand why many textbooks don't include them—they were an immense amount of work to prepare, and we wrote them ourselves rather than hiring them out to someone less familiar with the content—but we think the effort was worth it. Every time students finish reading a section of a chapter, they can get a quick check on how well they understood it by answering those four questions and verifying whether their answers are correct. Research shows that taking quizzes is one of the best ways to learn new material,[1] far more effective than other techniques such as highlighting and underlining textbooks, rereading, and summarization.[2]

Another exciting feature of this textbook is the set of five application modules that can be assigned according to instructor preference. It is possible to get the textbook printed with or without these modules, or indeed with any combination of them. The five modules are: Applying Social Psychology to Consumer Behavior (Module A), Applying Social Psychology to Health (Module B), Applying Social Psychology to the Workplace (Module C),

Applying Social Psychology to the Law (Module D), and Applying Social Psychology to the Environment (Module E). These modules enable an instructor to tailor a course that can encompass some of the most important applied fields of study that have had long, close relationships with social psychology. Rather than writing these modules ourselves, we had content experts write these modules.

More With Less

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

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

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

What's New in the Fifth Edition?

We were delighted with the positive reception of the first four editions of our textbook. We are grateful for all the instructors and students who have used the textbook. Some of them have made suggestions for material to cover, noticed typos or other things to fix, or simply wanted to express their liking for the textbook. Thanks to all.

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

All chapters have come in for revision, especially updating their coverage with the addition of some recent research findings. We also made specific changes to each chapter, described briefly below.

CHAPTER 1
The Mission and the Method

We added a discussion of the **hindsight bias** or the **"knew it all along" phenomenon**, which can cause trouble for students who think social psychology is just common sense. We also discuss the "replication crisis" in science generally and in psychology specifically, and possible solutions to this crisis. We discuss the problem of HARKing (**H**ypothesizing **A**fter the **R**esults are **K**nown), and how pre-registering study hypotheses can eliminate HARKing. Finally, we talk about Open Science, which is a recent movement to make the results from scientific studies openly accessible to all people.

CHAPTER 2
Culture and Nature

Chapter 2 is the conceptual foundation of the book, so it does not change as rapidly as some of the other chapters. For this edition, we added some great new research on human brain evolution in response to different kinds of challenges. In a twist away from traditional evolutionary theory, it found competition among individuals to be a relatively minor factor, whereas cooperation to master the environment was a much more central factor. This fits our general theme that humans evolved to create culture. Further evidence has noted why humans live so much longer than chimpanzees, despite the extensive overlap in DNA: When someone is temporarily unable to hunt or forage because of injury or illness, humans will supply the person with food, thereby enabling the person to survive and recover — but chimps and other primates do not. This too fits the point that cooperation is a vital part of the evolution of humans as cultural animals.

CHAPTER 3
The Self

We added some new research findings, including some dramatic evidence on the importance of reputation concerns, new thinking on the differences between narcissism and high self-esteem, and what people do when their neighbors win the lottery.

CHAPTER 4
Choices and Actions: The Self in Action

This ever-popular chapter has been updated with new references and a couple exciting new findings. Some passages were streamlined for quicker, easier reading.

CHAPTER 5
Social Cognition

We added new research showing that the unconscious mind can process much more than we previously thought (e.g., effortful arithmetic computations, multiple-word expressions). Plus, we discuss perspective taking as another possible way to reduce the fundamental attribution error (i.e., the tendency for observers to attribute other people's behavior to personal causes and to downplay situational causes). When people try to put themselves in the shoes of others, they begin to understand how they feel, and they become more aware of the role of situational factors.

CHAPTER 6
Emotion and Affect

We open Chapter 6 with a new vignette on road rage, which is the leading cause of traffic fatalities (even ahead of texting and alcohol consumption). Indeed, traffic fatalities are the leading cause of death among 15 to 29 year olds worldwide.[3] We also discuss an additional emotion theory—cognitive mediation theory, which proposes that arousal influences emotions

indirectly through cognitive appraisals. Cognitive appraisals are evaluations, interpretations, and explanations of events in the environment, such as whether an event is a personal threat to your safety. We also discuss a new concept called **emodiversity**, which is the degree to which a person experiences a wide variety of emotions. We discuss how movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo are fueled by anger, which motivates people to take action to solve injustices. Finally, we discuss two additional anger management techniques. Anger motivates people to approach things. Angry people often lean forward and are "in your face." Recent research has shown that doing the opposite (e.g., leaning backward in your chair) can reduce feelings of anger, especially for people who are prone to anger. Hungry people can also become angry (hungry + angry = hangry). Eating healthy food can reduce hunger-induced angry feelings by giving the brain the fuel it needs to regulate the anger.

CHAPTER 7
Attitudes, Beliefs, and Consistency

We open Chapter 7 with a new vignette about how people are often asked to express their attitudes on a wide range of topics on a fictional planet named Sargus 4 using vote badges, but also on the planet earth using computer and cell phones. In the digital media age, expressing attitudes seems more important than ever, even following purchases. We include a new section on how automatic attitudes are more difficult to measure than deliberate attitudes.

CHAPTER 8
Social Influence and Persuasion

We open Chapter 8 with a new vignette about fake news, which can even influence election results. The World Economic Form lists "the rapid spread of misinformation online" as one of the ten most pressing issues facing the world today. Unfortunately, misinformation spreads much faster than facts. Misinformation is also very difficult to correct once it has spread. In the field of medicine, inoculations (i.e., exposing to a small dose of virus) can make their immune systems stronger. Similarly, attitudes can be inoculated be exposing people to weak counterarguments so they can build up defenses against stronger counterarguments. We discuss new research showing that inoculation can provide cross-protection for related but untreated attitudes, kind of like a "blanket of protection."

CHAPTER 9
Prosocial Behavior: Doing What's Best for Others

Chapter 9 got a serious makeover in the previous version, so this one was merely updated with some recent findings. The idea of five moral foundations, with differential appeal based on political orientation, was nicely supported in a recent massive study of corporate lawsuits. A careful review of the previous edition's new material resulted in some streamlining to shorten the chapter, as well as clarifying some passages that readers found unclear or misleading.

CHAPTER 10
Aggression and Antisocial Behavior

We included a new section on **appetitive aggression**, which is a type of aggression characterized by the enjoyment of violence or bloodlust. We discuss the "dark tetrad" of personality that consists of four dark personality traits that are related to aggression: narcissism, psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and sadism. We also discuss eight reasons why people often deny violent media effects.

CHAPTER 11
Interpersonal Attraction and Rejection

This edition added several recent lines of work relevant to college student life. Coverage of social media use, including its relationship to belongingness and loneliness, was

extended. Findings on mimicry were extended to eating, indicating that people (especially young women) eat more when they see others eating more. Another study showed young male skateboarders taking more risks when observed by an attractive woman than a man. A recent study found that students learn more when their instructors are good-looking than when unattractive. Meanwhile, the rejection section was augmented with studies on the impact of having others remember vs. forget various things about you, such as your birthday.

Close Relationships: Passion, Intimacy, and Sexuality

Chapter 12 incorporates some striking new findings that both push the theoretical understanding of relationships forward and offer information of practical use for students in their own lives and relationships. Although Chapter 11 showed that physical attractiveness makes it easier to form relationships, it also comes with a higher risk of divorce and breakup—perhaps even because the attractive person is often confident of being able to find someone new and better. In the sexuality section, new work has shown that each of act of sexual intercourse increases marital satisfaction for about two days thereafter (then it returns to its baseline). Marital satisfaction declines in step with a wife's diminishing sexual desire, which appears to be a normal pattern—so perhaps partners mistakenly blame each other when their appetites for sex diverge. (Husbands seem to stay at about the same level of desire for many years after marriage.)

To keep up with the changing times, we have upgraded our coverage of non-heterosexual sexuality. An exciting new theory about the continuing existence of homosexuality despite minimal help from either nature or culture has been added. The box on eating and sexual attraction was updated with new studies that included non-heterosexual participants. A brief section has been added to address non-binary gender theory, focusing on people who refuse to identify as either male or female. Research on this last is in its infancy, but we wanted to be among the first textbooks to add this coverage, and we anticipate expanding it in future editions. Our textbook is for everyone!

Prejudice and Intergroup Relations

We expanded the section on anti-gay prejudice to be more inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community. Some students in our classes mentioned that our textbook treats gender as a binary construct, even though it is not. We also discuss some reasons why homosexuality can be adaptive from an evolutionary perspective. Given the rise of anti-Semitism around the world, we included a new section on Jews as a common target of prejudice. We also included another new target of common prejudice—"greedy" corporations. One way to reduce prejudice is through contact with outgroup members. We discuss new research showing that electronic contact or E-contact (e.g., texting) with outgroup members can reduce prejudice. We also deleted our extended discussion of the "Robber's Cave Study," because questions have been raised about the validity of those results.

Groups

Chapter 14 was updated in several key places. New findings have shown that group performance benefits from diversity (specifically, Wikipedia entries were shown to have higher quality of the authors/editors had political diversity). The role of outgroups in making ingroups was attested in a new book reviewing all manner of societies, from bugs to apes to humankind. Some editions ago, we introduced the extended example of Robert Mugabe as a bad leader, and the story of Zimbabwe's decline under his leadership has been extended through subsequent editions. We were finally able to write a conclusion to that story in this edition, given the coup that removed him recently, though the saga has yet to have a truly happy ending in terms of the effects on the country.

MODULE A
Applying Social Psychology to Consumer Behavior

Dr. Haugtvedt included a new focus on general aspect of "social network analysis." He also included a discussion of *The Secret Life of Pronouns,* as well as a link to a website with text analysis exercises. A discussion of Luckin Coffee was added, which has quickly become a major competitor for Starbucks® in China and is considering U.S. locations as well. He added a link to a short TED talk by Adam Ostrow that focuses on Artificial Intelligence analysis of social media posts, which is related to the discussion of virtual memorials.

MODULE B
Applying Social Psychology to Health

A number of new major works of research have been published in the field of health psychology since the last edition. Most importantly, a major *Handbook of Health Psychology* (2019) highlights new directions in health psychology and key trends. Dr. Gurung's material added these new directions to the module. He also added new empirical studies. He removed some of the references to comfort food research because questions were raised about the validity of those results, and some studies were retracted. He has paid attention to the language used to discuss gender and pronoun use.

MODULE C
Applying Social Psychology to the Workplace

Module C now includes an added focus on organizational culture and its impact on employee recruitment, selection, the work environment, teams, leaders, performance management, and employee attitudes and behaviors. Dr. Hanisch also updated and expanded the section on optimal work environments and their design including modifying work areas to help with distress. Important factors to facilitate team effectiveness was added to the module, as well as new coverage of technology and culture adaptations by organizations.

MODULE D
Applying Social Psychology to the Law

Dr. Kovera updated the description of the effects of age on eyewitness memory to incorporate the results of a recent meta-analysis on the topic as well as a new identification procedure that is intended to help children make more accurate identifications. She updated the section on the relationship between witness confidence and accuracy to reflect the current understanding of their complex relationship. She expanded the section on the effects of fillers on eyewitness accuracy, including a discussion of the concept of propitious heterogeneity. She also expanded the section on double-blind lineup administration to incorporate more recent research that illuminates how administrator knowledge changes witnesses' identification choices, causing them to shift from filler picks to picking the suspect. She also included a new section on the effects of judicial instructions on the reliability of eyewitness identifications on juror decisions, noting that although the courts have adopted these instructions, they are generally ineffective. Finally, she deleted the section on how the lineup members are presented to witnesses (e.g., simultaneously vs. sequentially) because new science has questioned the conclusions of earlier research.

MODULE E
Applying Social Psychology to the Environment

Dr. Miller added a section on interventions based on Albert Bandura's social cognition theory that have been applied to promoting environmentalism. He added new content regarding attitudes toward climate change and noted gender differences regarding crowding and territoriality. He also addressed issues of sustainability and added new research on conservation.

For the fifth edition, like the third and fourth editions, we use the endnote reference style used in the top scientific journals (e.g., *Science, Nature, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*). This is not a cosmetic change. This makes the text much more readable to students. It also changes the emphasis from *who* did the research to *what* the research found. The references in the endnotes are formatted according to the guidelines of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA), so interested students can become familiar with APA formatting.

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

MindTap for Baumeister and Bushman's Social Psychology and Human Nature

MindTap is a personalized teaching experience with relevant assignments that guide students to analyze, apply, and improve thinking, allowing you to measure skills and outcomes with ease.

- **Personalized Teaching:** Becomes yours with a learning path that is built with key student objectives. Control what students see and when they see it. Use it as-is or match to your syllabus exactly—hide, rearrange, add, and create your own content.

- **Guide Students:** A unique learning path of relevant readings, multimedia, and activities that move students up the learning taxonomy from basic knowledge and comprehension to analysis and application.

- **Promote Better Outcomes:** Empower instructors and motivate students with analytics and reports that provide a snapshot of class progress, time in course, engagement and completion rates.

In addition to the benefits of the platform, MindTap for Baumeister and Bushman's *Social Psychology and Human Nature* features:

- **Videos, animations, and survey-type activities,** all based on key social psychology topics and concepts.

- **Chapter-opening activities that include** "choose-your-own-activity style exercises in which students progress through by answering questions and to indicate their next steps. At the end, their decision-based outcome is presented, along with related social psych research.

- **Quizzing for every** chapter, including multiple choice, true-false, and short response reflection questions to encourage application and critical thinking

- **Cerego Mastery Training** lessons to reinforce and help student learning of important topics

Supplements

Instructor's Resource Manual   The Online Instructor's Research Manual includes the following tools for each chapter:

- **Chapter outline.**   Detailed review of the chapter with key terms underlined and defined.

- **Lecture/discussion ideas.**   Helpful ways to address topics in text, cover topics tangential to what is in text, or provide alternative examples to what are presented in the text.

- **Class activity/demonstration ideas.** Ideas and prompts for in-class activities.
- **Student projects/homework.** Short- and longer-term assignments, as well as substantial prompts for projects that students can do on their own as out-of-class assignments or short-term projects.
- **Video clip suggestions** our *Research in Action* video collection, YouTube, and other videoclip suggestions.
- **Handouts.** Each chapter includes helpful handouts correlated with suggested activities and homework.

Cognero Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions, create multiple test versions in an instant, and deliver tests from your Learning Management System (LMS), your classroom, or wherever you want.

PowerPoint The Online PowerPoint features lecture outlines and key images from the text.

Acknowledgments

We thank our colleagues for their diligent and thoughtful feedback on previous editions of this book. Their suggestions pointed the way to make this a better book.

CONTRIBUTORS OF APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY MODULES

Special thanks go to our colleagues who wrote the application modules. These are specialized topics outside our own expertise, and we could not have done these ourselves even half as well. These modules add to the breadth and flexibility of what can be taught with this textbook.

MODULE A: APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

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MODULE B: APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO HEALTH

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MODULE C: APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO THE WORKPLACE

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MODULE D: APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO THE LAW

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MODULE E: APPLYING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO THE ENVIRONMENT

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CENGAGE TEAM

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THE MISSION
AND THE METHOD

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1 Define social psychology. Name two key ideas that had a lasting influence on the field.

2 Describe the ABC triad of social psychology.

3 Explain how social psychology relates to other fields of study.

4 Assess the different methods of data collection in social psychology.

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

FOOD FOR THOUGHT
Does Chicken Soup Reduce Cold Symptoms?
17

◆

TRADEOFFS
Research Ethics
20

YOU are a member of a social world on a planet containing nearly eight billion people. This social world is filled with paradox, mystery, suspense, and outright absurdity. Consider a few examples.

Increasing safety equipment is a no-brainer, right? But studies suggest that requiring bicycle helmets has not diminished the rate of serious injuries among bike riders, because people take more chances.[1] (Meanwhile, fewer people ride bikes, and therefore the health and fitness benefits are missed.) Likewise, requiring seat belts has not reduced the rate of injury and death among automobile occupants, because drivers, feeling safer, take more chances. (And meanwhile, pedestrian deaths have risen, because the seat belts inside the cars do not protect pedestrians from the riskier drivers.) The news magazine *The Economist* proposed, tongue in cheek, that to increase safety, seat belts should be banned, and every car should be fitted with a spike protruding from the steering wheel aimed at the heart of the driver—who would therefore become very careful.[2] The same magazine also proposed banning boxing gloves, which protect their hands so that they can strike more blows—thereby increasing head injuries.

Looking good is important, right? And people spend enormous amounts of time, effort, and money to look good. As a rather weird side effect, the *New York Times* reported in one recent year Americans had spent $62 million dollars on plastic surgery—for their dogs! Tummy tucks and facial beautification and the rest.[3] The latest innovation, and not counted in that $62 million, is that many owners have their male dog spayed so he won't impregnate other dogs—and then splurge to have silicon testicles implanted in him.

Absurdity also seems to know no bounds. For example, two drunk Welsh tourists broke into Sea World in Australia, swam with the dolphins, and stole a penguin named Dirk. When they woke up hungover, they tried to let Dirk go in a canal, but locals saw them and called the police. The magistrate fined each of the tourists 1,000 Australian dollars and told them to drink "a little less vodka."[4]

Can social psychology help us make sense of the baffling diversity of human behavior? The answer to this question is a resounding "Yes!" **Social psychology** is the scientific study of how people affect and are affected by others. Whether you know it or not, social psychology can help you make sense of your own social world. The material discussed in this book is intensely relevant to your life. For example, have you ever asked yourself questions such as these: "How can I get him to go along with my plan?" "Should I ask her right up front to do this big favor, or is there a better way to get her to say yes?" "How can I bring them around to my way of thinking?" Social psychology can also help you understand simpler things, such as taking a coffee break. If your boss told you to make 19,000 decisions before you got your first cup of coffee, you'd probably think you had a cruel boss! The Starbucks chain of coffee shops, however, has advertised that they offered 19,000 beverage options, if you count all

the different coffees, teas, cold drinks, and all the things you could add to them. In a sense, therefore, the customer who walks into a Starbucks shop for a morning drink is confronted with more than 19,000 choices. You can even end up with a cup of coffee that costs over $50! It is called the Sexagintuple Vanilla Bean Mocha Frappuccino. It has 60 shots and comes in a 128-ounce (3.79-liter) glass. Isn't having so many choices just a way to frustrate people? How does Starbucks make money? Why don't their customers quit in protest? More to the point (at least for a social psychologist), how do people get by in a world that offers them thousands of options at every turn, even for the simplest decisions? In Chapter 5 we discuss some of the heuristics people use to manage such information overload.

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

The point is that there are plenty of reasons why you ought to be interested in social psychology. Even if you are only taking the course to satisfy a requirement, you can learn plenty of useful and interesting things. As you learn more, you can profit more and get more enjoyment from what social psychology has to offer. Let's begin by looking at how social psychology became the field it is. ●

Absurd. Two drunk, Welsh tourists stole Dirk the penguin from Sea World.

A Brief History of Social Psychology

It is hard to know what the first social psychology experiment was, but consider a few of the earliest ones we know about. Indiana University professor Norman Triplett conducted one of the first social psychology experiments in 1897.[5] While examining the cycling records for the 1897 season, he noticed that bicycle riders who competed against others performed better than those who competed against the clock. Triplett proposed that the presence of another rider releases a competitive instinct, which increases "nervous energy" and thereby enhances individual performance. Triplett tested his hypothesis by building a "competition machine." He had 40 children wind up a reel, alternating between working alone and working side-by-side to each other. Winding times were faster when children worked side-by-side than when they worked alone. Thus, the mere presence of another person enhanced performance on this simple task. Social psychologists call this phenomenon "social facilitation."

Another early social psychological experiment was conducted in the 1880s by a French professor of agricultural engineering named Max Ringelmann.[6] He had men pull on a rope alone and as part of a group, and he measured the amount of effort exerted by each participant. He found that as group size increased, individual effort decreased. Social psychologists call this phenomenon "social loafing." This study can explain why people tend to slack off when working on group projects.

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

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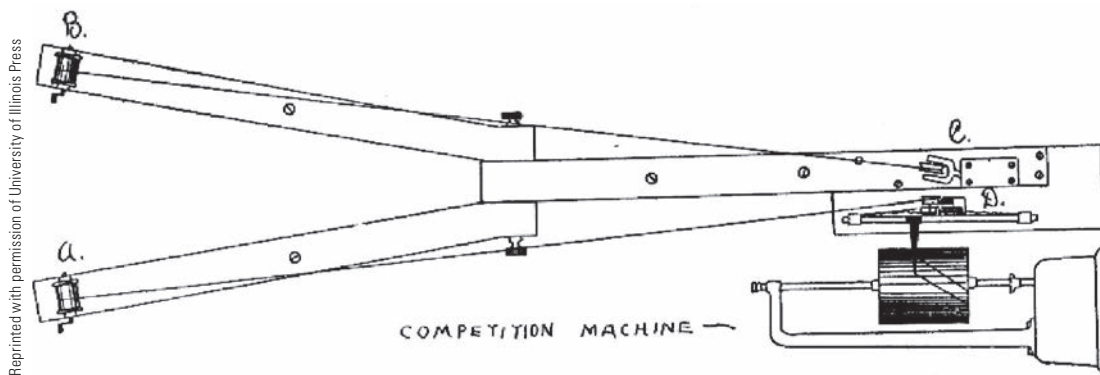
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The competition machine (pictured above), created by Triplett to test whether the presence of others affects individual performance, is one of the first social psychology experiments. Triplett found that children wound the fishing reel faster in the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

The introduction of textbooks is an important milestone in the development of any field. In 1908, the first two books to bear the title *Social Psychology* were published, one by the psychologist William McDougall[7] and the other by the sociologist Edward Ross.[8] In 1924, Floyd Allport published another early social psychology book.[9] The textbook you are now reading is another in a long line of social psychology textbooks. It addresses many of the same issues as those early ones—but of course it has much more information, thanks to the toils of researchers all over the world.

During the early part of the 20th century, many thinkers began to ponder where human society was going and why it had changed so much. The world wars, the rise of communism and fascism, the spread of automobiles, the rapid changes in sexual behavior, the rise of advertising, popular fads, the population shift from farms to cities, and shocking economic events such as the Great Depression all challenged intellectuals to wonder what were the basic laws of how people relate to each other. They began to toss about various new and big ideas, including some that would shape the thinking of early social psychologists. Two ideas from this period had a lasting influence on social psychology. One was Gordon Allport's observation in 1954 that attitudes were "the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology" (p. 43).[10] The study of attitudes dominated social psychology research for decades and is still centrally important today (see Chapter 7). (Gordon Allport also observed that the study of the self was going to be recognized as increasingly important in the coming years, and on that prediction, he was also correct; see Chapter 3.)

The other key idea was Kurt Lewin's formula that behavior is a function of the person and the situation.[11] Thus, if you want to predict whether Nathan will finish his school paper on time, you need two kinds of information. First, you must know something about Nathan: Is he lazy? Does he like the topic of the paper? Is he smart enough to get the job done? Is he punctual? Second, you must know something about his situation: Is the task hard? Are other people bothering him? Is there a penalty for being late? Is his computer broken? Knowing only one kind of information without the other is an inadequate basis for predicting what will happen.

World War II stimulated a great deal of research in the social sciences, and in social psychology in particular. Several factors contributed to this rise in research. Some involved grand theoretical questions: Why did millions of citizens in Germany— a modern, civilized nation with a long tradition of religion, morality, and philosophy— follow the cruel dictator Adolf Hitler in his policies that included systematic mass murder and violent invasion of neighboring countries? Other factors were more practical: Why did soldiers seem to have so many psychological problems with stress? What exactly motivates soldiers to continue doing their duty on modern battlefields where they could be killed at any moment? World War II also caused many researchers to leave Europe and migrate to the United States. The influx of influential thinkers (including Kurt Lewin, whom we already mentioned) swelled the ranks of American thinkers and helped make the United States a world leader in social psychology. This European "brain drain" helped social psychology flourish in the United States.

In fact, the terrible events during World War II in Nazi Germany were the impetus for the most well-known social psychology studies ever conducted. It was shortly after Adolf Eichmann (a high-ranking Nazi and SS officer) was captured, tried, and hanged by an Israeli court that Stanley Milgram conducted his studies on obedience. During his trial, Eichmann did not dispute the facts of the Holocaust but said he was only "following orders." He testified that he "never did anything, great or small, without obtaining in advance express instructions from Adolf Hitler or any of my superiors." Milgram asked, "Could

Historical/Corbis

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

it be that Eichmann and his million accomplices in the Holocaust were just follow-ing orders? Could we call them all accomplices?"[12] In summarizing his findings, Milgram said, "I set up a simple experiment at Yale University to test how much pain an ordinary citizen would inflict on another person simply because he was ordered to by an experimental scientist. Stark authority was pitted against the subjects' stron-gest moral imperatives against hurting others, and, with the subjects' ears ringing with the screams of the victims, authority won more often than not."[13] In Chapter 9, we describe Milgram's original study and subsequent studies in detail. We point out, however, that although obedience to malevolent authority is detrimental, obedience to non-malevolent authority is often very beneficial to society (e.g., when motorists obey traffic laws).

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

What about the more recent past? Historians are generally uncomfortable writing about recent times because main themes are easier to see from a distance than from up close. Still, we can make a few broad statements about the recent history of social psychol-ogy. The study of simple cognitive (mental) processes, such as attribution theory (attribu-tions are explanations people come up with to explain the behavior of others), evolved in the 1970s and 1980s into a large and sophisticated study of social cognition (how people think about people and the social world in general). This area of interest has continued up to the present. Chapter 5 discusses social cognition.

Behavioral psychologists conducted countless studies using white rats.

Another huge development from the 1990s onward was a growing openness to bi-ology. The influx of biology was boosted by evolutionary psychology, which sought to extend and apply the basic ideas of evolution to understanding human social behav-ior. This biological movement gained further momentum as some social psycholo-gists began to study the brain in order to learn how its workings are related to social events. Today, social neuroscience is an interdisciplinary field of study that investi-gates how biological systems influence social thought and behavior. Sophisticated instruments allow researchers to directly manipulate (e.g., transcranial direct cur-rent stimulation, tDCS) and measure (e.g., functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging, fMRI) brain processes.

The study of the self has been another central theme of social psychology since the 1970s. It is hard to realize that in the 1960s people hardly ever used the term *self-esteem* or cared about it. In recent decades, social psychologists have explored many different aspects of the self—not only self-esteem but also self-control, self-concept, and self-presentation. We discuss these topics in Chapters 3 and 4.

The field continues to change and evolve. In the 1980s, the conflict between the so-called free world and communist totalitarian systems was the dominant conflict in the world and the main focus of conflict studies. When the Soviet empire abruptly collapsed in 1989, the study of conflict between groups refocused on racial and ethnic conflict, which in the United States meant a sharp rise of interest in prejudice and stereotyping. Today, the same theories have been applied to understand stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination of other stigmatized groups (see Chapter 13).

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

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

A Brief History of Social Psychology | **7**

1. **The earliest social psychological experiments were conducted in the late 1800s by researchers such as Max Ringelmann and Norman Triplett. What was the topic of these early studies?**
   - (a) Aggression
   - (b) Attitude change
   - (c) Presence of others on individual performance
   - (d) Prosocial behavior

2. **According to Gordon Allport, what was the most central concept in social psychology?**
   - (a) Aggression
   - (b) Altruism
   - (c) Attitudes
   - (d) Attributions

3. **According to Kurt Lewin's formula, behavior is a function of what two variables?**
   - (a) Affect and cognition
   - (b) Appraisals and attributions
   - (c) Attitudes and beliefs
   - (d) Person and situation

4. **In the 1950s and 1960s, psychology was divided between what two camps?**
   - (a) Behaviorist and cognitive camps
   - (b) Behaviorist and psychoanalytical camps
   - (c) Cognitive and comparative camps
   - (d) Comparative and psychoanalytical camps
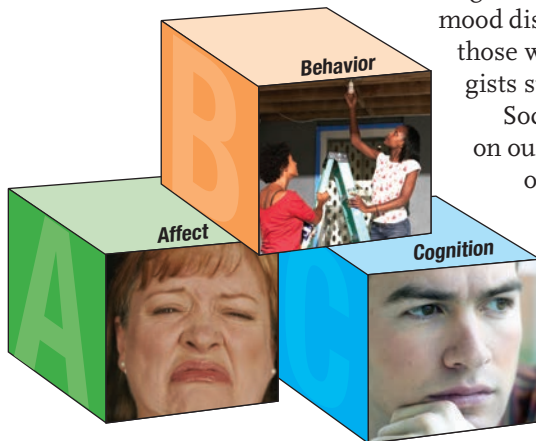
What Do Social Psychologists Do?

FIGURE 1.1

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

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

Social psychology aims for a broad understanding of the social factors that influence how human beings think, act, and feel. It focuses particularly on normal adult human beings, though some social psychologists do study children and people who suffer from some mood disorders (such as depression or anxiety). Very little of what people do, other than those with severe mental illness, is off limits to social psychology. Clinical psychologists study people with severe mental illness.

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

Social psychologists study the effects of personal and situational influences on these ABCs—especially the power of situations. That is, when trying to explain some pattern of behavior, the first place social psychologists generally look is to the situation. In this focus, social psychology departed from two powerful traditions in psychology. Freudian psychoanalysis sought to explain behavior by looking at the deep unconscious forces inside the person, whereas behaviorist learning theory sought to explain behavior by looking at reinforcement histories (e.g., what behaviors were previously rewarded or

punished). Social psychology emphasizes how people react to the world around them, and how small changes in their immediate circumstances can produce large changes in behavior. Social psychologists even study the influence of situational factors that people may not even be aware of. For example, participants in one famous study[14] arranged scrambled words to form sentences. Participants were shown five words and were told to choose four of the words to make a sentence. By the flip of a coin, participants received either words associated with the elderly (e.g., A LET'S KITE FLY OLD, which can make the sentence LET'S FLY A KITE), or words not associated with the elderly (e.g., A LET'S KITE FLY COLOR, which can make the same sentence LET'S FLY A KITE). After participants completed the task, the researcher thanked them for participating and told them that the elevator was down the hall. Using a hidden stopwatch, the researchers timed how long it took participants to walk to the elevator. Participants who had unscrambled the elderly words took significantly longer to walk to the elevator than did participants who had unscrambled the neutral words. In contrast, participants in another study[15] who were subliminally exposed to entitlement words (e.g., SPECIAL, SUPERIOR) walked significantly faster when they left the study than did participants who were subliminally exposed to neutral words (e.g., WATER, NUMBER), presumably because they felt like they were very important people who had better things to do with their "precious" time.

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

1. Unconscious forces are to reinforcement histories as _____ is to _____.

- (a) affect; cognition
- (b) cognition; affect
- (c) behaviorism; psychoanalysis
- (d) psychoanalysis; behaviorism

2. What research methodology do most social psychologists use?

- (a) Experimental studies
- (b) Longitudinal studies
- (c) Quasi-experimental studies
- (d) Survey studies

3. What are the components of the ABC triad?

- (a) Affect, Behavior, Cognition
- (b) Affect, Beliefs, Cognition
- (c) Attitudes, Beliefs, Compliance
- (d) Affect, Behavior, Conformity

4. What is the primary approach that social psychologists use to uncover the truth about human social behavior?

- (a) Reliance on authority figures
- (b) Introspection
- (c) Rationalism
- (d) Scientific method

Social Psychology's Place in the World

Social psychology is related to other social sciences and to other branches of psychology. It also differs from them in important ways.