

SOCIAL



PSYCH OLOGY

second edition

Gilovich • Keltner • Nisbett

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Scientific Method illustrations carefully and consistently lead students through the steps of some of the most interesting experiments and studies.

FIGURE 10.4 Scientific Method: Mere Exposure and Musical Preferences

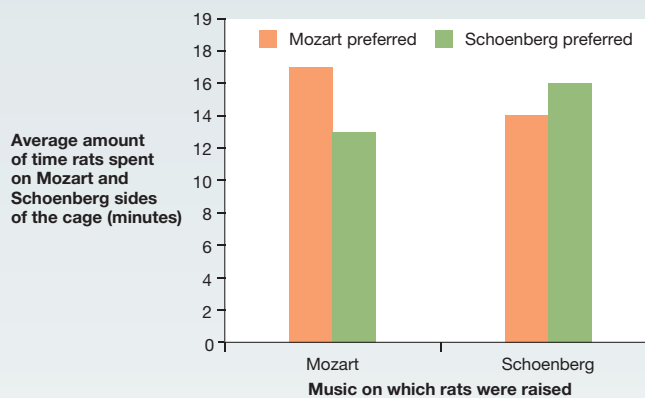
Hypothesis: Exposure leads to liking.

Research Method:

- 1 One group of rats was raised for the first 52 days of life in an environment in which Mozart was played for 12 hours each day (specifically, *The Magic Flute*, Symphonies 40 and 41, and the Violin Concerto No. 5).
- 2 A second group of rats was exposed to an analogous schedule of atonal music by Schoenberg (specifically, *Pierrot Lunaire*, *A Survivor from Warsaw*, *Verklärte Nacht*, *Kol Nidre*, and Chamber Symphonies 1 and 2).
- 3 The rats were then placed individually in a test cage that was rigged so that the rat's presence on one side of the cage would trip a switch that caused previously unheard selections of Mozart to be played, whereas the rat's presence on the other side would generate new selections of Schoenberg.



Results: Rats raised on a musical diet of Mozart moved significantly more often to the side of the cage that led to Mozart being played, whereas those raised on a diet of Schoenberg moved more often to the side that led to Schoenberg's music being played.



The height of the bars represents the average number of minutes the rats who had earlier been exposed to either Mozart or Schoenberg chose to inhabit a side of their cage that led to Mozart or Schoenberg being played.

Conclusion: Exposure leads to liking. Being exposed to Mozart led to a preference for Mozart's music. Being exposed to Schoenberg led to a preference for Schoenberg's music.

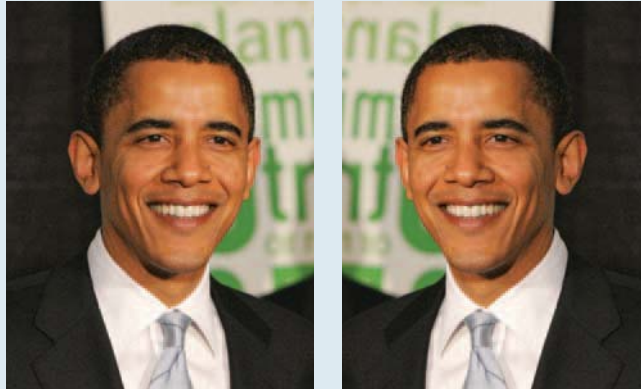
Source: H.A. Cross, Halcomb, & Matter (1967).

- 1.1 The Power of the Situation and Helping
- 2.4 Honor Experiments
- 3.6 Comparison and Self-Esteem
- 4.5 Counterfactual Thinking among Olympic Medalists
- 5.4 Selective Attention
- 6.3 Induced Compliance and Attitude Change
- 7.1 Universality of Facial Expressions
- 8.4 Normative Social Influence
- 8.6 Interpretive Context and Conformity
- 9.8 Attitude Inoculation
- 10.4 Mere Exposure and Musical Preferences
- 10.6 Attraction to Average Faces
- 11.1 Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers"
- 11.2 The Relational Self and Interactions with Others
- 11.9 Contempt and Marital Dissatisfaction
- 12.5 Distinctiveness and Illusory Correlation
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- 13.6 Priming of Anger-Related Aggression
- 13.9 Empathy and Altruism
- 14.2 Social Facilitation on Simple and Complex Tasks
- 15.3 Health Benefits of Social Connection
- 15.6 Mental Accounting

You Be the Subject figures allow students to be their own research subjects and to experience the methods of social psychology.

FIGURE 10.3 You Be the Subject: The Mere Exposure Effect

Which image do you prefer, the one on the left or the one on the right?



Results: People prefer true photos of others, but mirror-image photos of themselves. (The one on the right is the true image.)

Explanation: People see themselves when they look in the mirror, which means that they are familiar with a reverse image of themselves—and this is the image they generally prefer. They see others, however, as they truly are and usually prefer this true image to a mirror image.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|--|
| 1.6 | Self-Definition | 9.4 | Central and Peripheral Persuasion Tactics |
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| 3.5 | Possible Selves | 11.5 | Power Differences |
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| 5.5 | Cognitive Reflection Test | 13.4 | Neo-Associationistic Account of Aggression |
| 6.7 | Self-Perception Affected by Movement | 14.7 | Spotlight Effect |
| 7.5 | Emotions and Moral Judgment | | |

Focus On boxes in every chapter allow students to make connections between social psychology and a variety of areas like culture, government, sports, and business.

BOX 10.4 FOCUS ON POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

The Basis of Beauty

What makes the Golden Gate Bridge so aesthetically pleasing? Why do mathematicians describe certain proofs as “beautiful”? And why are pandas and harp seals considered more adorable than mollusks and vultures? Thinkers throughout the ages have pondered and argued about the nature of aesthetic beauty. Those who have taken the *objectivist* view, the ancient Greeks especially, argue that beauty is inherent in the properties of objects that produce pleasant sensations in the perceiver. Their goal has been to try to identify the stimulus features that have such effects—balance, proportion, symmetry, contrast, the Golden ratio. All of these and others have been put forward as important elements of beauty. Other scholars, those who subscribe to the *subjectivist* view, argue that “beauty is in the eye of the beholder” and therefore the search for general laws of beauty is futile.

Psychologists have recently offered a different view, one that attributes aesthetic pleasure to perceptual and cognitive fluency (Reber, Schwarz, & Winkielman, 2004). Fluency refers to the ease with which information can be processed. Some objects are more easily identified than others (perceptual fluency), and some are more easily interpreted, defined, and related to one’s existing semantic knowledge (cognitive fluency). The core idea is that the more fluently one can process an object, the more positive one’s aesthetic experience. An important part of this argument is that people experience pleasure when processing fluent stimuli. Electromyography (EMG) recordings of people’s faces reveal more activation of the zygomaticus major (the “smiling muscle”) when they are exposed to fluent stimuli rather than disfluent stimuli (Winkielman & Cacioppo, 2001). And another critical part of the argument is that all of the features that objectivists

regard as inherently pleasing—symmetry, contrast, and so on—tend to increase perceptual fluency.

Symmetrical patterns are processed efficiently and, as we have seen, symmetrical faces are considered particularly good looking—as are symmetrical structures like the Eiffel Tower, the Chrysler Building, and the Golden Gate Bridge. Objects characterized by high figure-ground contrast can be recognized especially quickly, and studies have found that laboratory stimuli with high contrast are judged especially attractive—as are flowers, goldfinches, and the photographs of Ansel Adams (Reber, Winkielman, & Schwarz, 1998). In addition to the impact of these classic aesthetic features, this perspective maintains that anything that increases the fluent processing of an object ought to increase its aesthetic appeal. Previous exposure to a stimulus makes it easier to process, and as we have seen, mere repeated exposure leads to greater liking. Prototypical members of a category are processed fluently, and as we have seen, people find “average” faces attractive—as well as average automobiles, birds, and fish (Halberstadt & Rhodes, 2000, 2003).

But how does this explain people’s aesthetic appreciation of complicated stimuli, such as Beethoven’s 9th symphony, the Bilbao Museum, or the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel? Simple stimuli are surely processed more fluently than complex stimuli, but the simplest things are not always the most pleasing. True enough. What seems to

be particularly appealing is “simplicity in complexity.” People seem to like those things that are processed more easily than one might expect given their overall complexity. Processing a simple image fluently is often unsatisfying; but a complex image or sound pattern that is made accessible by some underlying structure often yields the greatest sensation of aesthetic pleasure. This also explains why experts in a given domain—music, architecture, painting—often have more elaborate aesthetic tastes than novices. Their expertise allows them to process complex material more fluently.

This fluency perspective on aesthetic beauty thus occupies a middle ground between the objectivist and subjectivist views. Beauty is indeed in the eye of the beholder, but not in the sense that it is completely arbitrary and variable from person to person. Rather, beauty lies in the processing experience of the beholder, experience that is strongly determined by how objective stimulus properties influence perceptual and cognitive fluency.



Positive Psychology Symmetrical stimuli are easy to process (i.e., they’re fluent) and, like fluent stimuli in general, tend to be experienced as aesthetically pleasing. The symmetry of the Golden Gate Bridge may be one reason it is regarded as one of the most beautiful bridges in the world.

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Social Psychology

SECOND EDITION

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Social Psychology

SECOND EDITION

Thomas Gilovich

Cornell University

Dacher Keltner

University of California, Berkeley

Richard E. Nisbett

University of Michigan



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We dedicate this book to

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Mollie McNeil and Natalie and Serafina Keltner-McNeil

Sarah Nisbett

About the Authors



THOMAS GILOVICH is Professor of Psychology and Co-Director of the Center for Behavioral Economics and Decision Research at Cornell University. His research focuses on how people evaluate the evidence of their everyday experience to make judgments, form beliefs, and decide on courses of action. He is the recipient of the Russell Distinguished Teaching Award for teaching social psychology, statistics, and human judgment at Cornell. He is a fellow of the American Psychological Society, the American Psychological Association, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, the Society of Experimental Social Psychology, and the Committee for Skeptical Inquiry. His other books include *How We Know What Isn't So: The Fallibility of Human Reason in Everyday Life*, *Why Smart People Make Big Money Mistakes—and How to Correct Them* (with Gary Belsky), and *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgment* (with Dale Griffin and Daniel Kahneman).



DACHER KELTNER is Professor of Psychology and the Director of the Greater Good Science Center at the University of California at Berkeley. His research focuses on the prosocial emotions, such as love, sympathy, and gratitude, morality, and power. He is the recipient of the Western Psychological Association's award for outstanding contribution to research, the Positive Psychology Prize for excellence in research, the Distinguished Teaching Award for Letters and Sciences (for his teaching of Social Psychology for the past 15 years), and the Distinguished Mentoring Award at UC Berkeley, and is a fellow of the American Psychological Association, the American Psychological Society, and the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. In 2008, the *Utne Reader* listed Dacher as one of the 50 visionaries changing the world. He is the author of three other books, including *Born To Be Good: The Science of a Meaningful Life* and *The Compassionate Instinct*.



RICHARD E. NISBETT is Theodore M. Newcomb Distinguished University Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan and Research Professor at Michigan's Institute for Social Research. His research focuses on how people from different cultures think, perceive, feel, and act in different ways. He has taught courses in social psychology, cultural psychology, cognitive psychology, and evolutionary psychology. He is the recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association and the William James Fellow Award of the American Psychological Society and is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His other books include *Intelligence and How to Get It*, *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently . . . and Why*, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (with Lee Ross), *The Person and the Situation* (with Lee Ross), and *Culture of Honor: The Psychology of Violence in the South* (with Dov Cohen).

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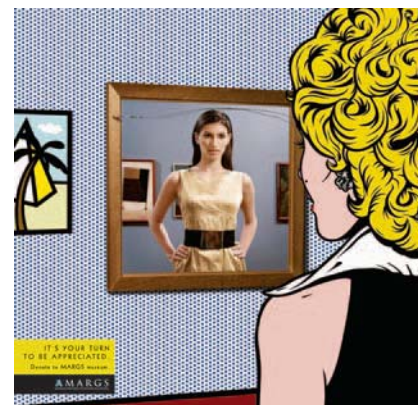
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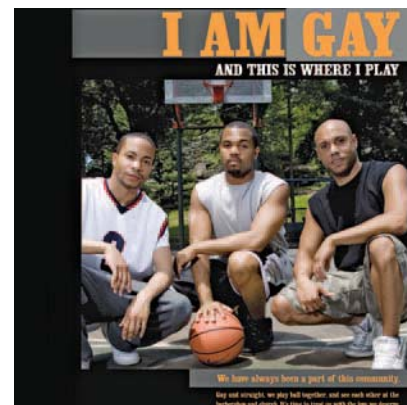
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Preface

A FRESH PERSPECTIVE IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology illuminates and clarifies the nature of human beings and their social world. It is a science that offers novel insights into the foundations of moral sentiments, the origins of violence, and why people fall in love. It offers basic tools for understanding how people persuade one another, why people are so prone to mass phenomena, and how people rationalize their undesirable actions. It offers science-based answers to questions humans have been thinking about since we started to reflect upon who we are: Are we rational creatures? How can we find happiness? What is the proper relationship of the individual to the larger society?

After decades of collective experience teaching social psychology, we decided in 2000 to put pen to paper (or fingers to keyboard) and write our own vision of this fascinating discipline. It was a great time to do so. Many new developments in the field were reshaping social psychology. Ten years of study had revealed how different kinds of culture—country of origin, regional culture, social class—shape human thought, feeling, and action. Insights from evolutionary theory were increasingly guiding how social psychologists study things such as homicide and cooperation. Social psychologists were making inroads into the study of the brain. Specific areas of interest to us—judgment and decision making, emotion, and relationships—had emerged as well-defined areas deserving full treatment. And the findings of social psychology had become recognized as more relevant than ever before. Social psychological studies were making their way into best sellers, written by journalists such as Malcolm Gladwell and psychologists such as Dan Ariely and Dan Gilbert. Social psychology had begun to shape political campaigns and is currently having an influence on the policies of the current U.S. administration (for example, through the social psychological ideas advanced in the book *Nudge*).

The lure of writing a textbook, and the challenge in doing so, was to capture all of these new developments and integrate them with the timeless classics of social psychology that make it such a captivating discipline. We also wanted to convey to the student that social psychology is a productive *scientific* enterprise. Much of the subject matter of social psychology—attraction, conformity, prejudice—readily engages the student's attention and imagination. The material sells itself. But in most textbook summaries of the field, the presentation comes across as a list of unconnected topics—as one fun and intriguing fact after another. As a result, the students often come away thinking of social psychology as all fun and games. That's fine up to a point. Social psychology *is* fun. But it is much more than that, and we have tried

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