



Psychological Science





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We dedicate this book to Lilly, Emmy, and Garth Tretheway Sarah Heatherton and James Heatherton Sheldon, Evan, Karen, Amanda, and Jason Halpern and Jaye and Belle Halpern-Duncan.

Contents in Brief

Chapter 1	The Science of Psychology	3
Chapter 2	Research Methodology	33
Chapter 3	Biology and Behavior	75
Chapter 4	Consciousness	131
Chapter 5	Sensation and Perception	73
Chapter 6	Learning 2	221
Chapter 7	Memory	65
Chapter 8	Thinking, Language, and Intelligence	29
Chapter 9	Human Development	57
Chapter 10	Emotions and Motivation 40	03
Chapter 11	Health and Well-Being 4	51
Chapter 12	Social Psychology 49	95
Chapter 13	Personality	47
Chapter 14	Psychological Disorders	99
Chapter 15	Treatment of Psychological Disorders	53

Glossary	G-1
References	R-1
Answer Key for Practice Tests	A-1
Permissions Acknowledgments	P-1
Jame Index	N-1
Subject Index	S-1

Meet the Authors



MICHAEL S. GAZZANIGA is Distinguished Professor and Director of the Sage Center for the Study of the Mind at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He founded and presides over the Cognitive Neuroscience Institute and is founding editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*. He is past president of the American Psychological Society and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Institute of Medicine, and the National Academy of Sciences. He has held positions at the University of California, Santa Barbara; New York University; the State University of New York, Stony Brook; Cornell University Medical College; and the University of California, Davis. In his career, he has introduced thousands of students to psychology and cognitive neuroscience. He has written many notable books, including, most recently, *Who's in Charge?: Free Will and the Science of the Brain.*

TODD F. HEATHERTON is the Lincoln Filene Professor in Human Relations in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at Dartmouth College. His recent research takes a social brain sciences approach, which combines theories and methods of evolutionary psychology, social cognition, and cognitive neuroscience to examine the neural underpinnings of social behavior. He is associate editor of the Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience and serves on many editorial boards and grant review panels. He was elected president of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology in 2011 and has served on the executive committees of the Association of Researchers in Personality and the International Society of Self and Identity. He received the Award for Distinguished Service on Behalf of Social-Personality Psychology in 2005, was named to Thompson Reuters' ISI HighlyCited for Social Sciences in 2010, and received the Carol and Ed Diener Award for Outstanding Mid-Career Contributions to Personality Psychology in 2011. He received the Petra Shattuck Award for Teaching Excellence from the Harvard Extension School in 1994, the McLane Fellowship from Dartmouth College in 1997, and the Friedman Family Fellowship from Dartmouth College in 2001. He is a fellow of many scientific societies, including the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He teaches introductory psychology every year.



DIANE F. HALPERN is Dean of Social Sciences at the Minerva Schools at Keck Graduate Institute. She is a past president of the American Psychological Association and the Society for Teaching of Psychology. She has won many awards for her teaching and research, including the 2013 James McKeen Cattell Award from the Association for Psychological Science and the 2013 Arthur W. Staats Award from the American Psychological Foundation. Diane has published hundreds of articles and over 20 books, including *Thought and Knowledge: An Introduction to Critical Thinking* (5th Ed., 2014), Sex Differences in Cognitive Abilities (4th ed.), and Women at the Top: Powerful Leaders Tell Us How to Combine Work and Family (coauthored with Fanny Cheung). Diane's most recent projects are the development of Operation ARA, a computerized game that teaches critical thinking and scientific reasoning (with Keith Millis at Northern Illinois University and Art Graesser at University of Memphis), and the Halpern Critical Thinking Assessment (HCTA), which enables test takers to demonstrate their ability to think about everyday topics using both constructed response and recognition formats. She teaches introductory psychology every year.



Preface

Why Teach with *Psychological Science*?

OUR BOOK COMBINES THE TRADITIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY WITH A CON-TEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE Since the first edition of *Psychological Science*, our primary goal has been to provide students with a readable book that captures the excitement of contemporary research yet respects the rich tradition of scientific research accumulated by the field. Instead of an encyclopedic and homogenized compendium that dutifully covers worn themes and tired topics, we wanted a fresh approach that emphasizes what psychologists have learned about mind, brain, and behavior.

In planning this fifth edition, we conducted focus sessions of adopters, advisors, and potential users. Countless colleagues provided excellent advice about what was most important to them in introductory psychology courses and what they believed was of greatest value to students. Most instructors wanted a textbook that focused on material that students really needed to know at the introductory level—one not burdened with unnecessary details. Instructors especially wanted a book that reflects the current state of the field and showcases vibrant research.

In subsequently revising the book, we kept students foremost in mind. Students should be focusing on the concepts, not struggling to read the text. We worked hard to hit the right level of detail while keeping the material relevant and interesting. We maintained the integrity of content while making the explanations even clearer. We cut unnecessary terms, examples, and digressions, shortening some chapters by as much as 10 percent. We reworked complex sentences and reorganized material to maximize student understanding. We revised even the shortest sentences to increase their friendliness. In addition, we further enhanced the already strong relationship between the art and the narrative to help students form lasting associations. Thanks to the teamwork of advisors, authors, and editors, the fifth edition of *Psychological Science* is our most relevant, engaging, and accessible version yet.

OUR BOOK CROSSES LEVELS OF ANALYSIS AND BRINGS STUDENTS

THE LATEST SCIENCE Although Mike Gazzaniga came to the book with a strong background in cognitive neuroscience and Todd Heatherton in social and personality psychology, our early goal was to feature cutting-edge research that crossed levels of analysis, from cultural and social contexts to genes and neurons. To really understand basic cognitive and perceptual processes, students need to appreciate that social contexts shape what people think about and how they perceive the world around them. Moreover, important differences in personality mean that people have unique interactions with those social environments. Research that crosses levels of analysis has provided new insights into many psychological constructs. For instance, many psychological disorders previously viewed as distinct—such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and autism spectrum disorder—share common underlying genetic

mutations. These disorders may share other similarities that have not previously been considered. Such findings have implications for treatment and help explain why atypical antipsychotics are now the most widely prescribed medication for bipolar disorder.

Our focus on contemporary research extends well beyond brain science to include new thinking in other subfields, such as social, personality, and development. Our goal in each edition has been to highlight how recent research is providing new insights into the brain, behavior, and psychological disorders. Students need to learn about these new approaches to keep up with the rapid advances across psychology. An introductory course needs to show students the questions contemporary psychologists are addressing and help them understand the choice of methods used to answer those questions.

Since our fourth edition, psychologists have engaged in a tremendous amount of exciting research. For example, researchers across many subfields of psychology have emphasized epigenetic processes in understanding how environmental conditions can have long-term repercussions by affecting gene expression. Neuroscientists have developed new methods for studying the working brain, such as the use of optogenetic methods to activate neurons, thereby allowing researchers to test causal models of brain function. On other fronts, personality psychologists have identified the life circumstances that reliably produce changes in personality, and social psychologists have made advances in understanding the subtle vagaries of modern racism along with successful strategies to counteract it. There have also been dramatic advances in identifying the causes of psychopathologies and continued refinements in psychological treatments to help those who have them. Recent studies have also provided information that is especially pertinent for students, such as how multitasking can lead to all sorts of problems, from the classroom to the highway. We have been energized to learn about advances such as these across all areas of psychological science and are delighted to share them with our colleagues and students. About 10 percent of our total citations are from articles published in 2013 or 2014.

STUDENTS WILL LEARN THE IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL REA-

SONING Since our first edition, educators have increasingly emphasized the value of critical thinking and the need for introductory textbooks to foster it. Diane Halpern has been at the forefront of this movement and brings to our book her decades of research on best practices for teaching critical thinking skills. We continue to emphasize critical thinking at both conceptual and practical levels, with extensive discussions in the first two chapters that provide examples of the importance of critical thinking for understanding psychological phenomena and psychological research. Indeed, Chapter 2, "Research Methodology," is organized around the importance of critical thinking and reasoning regarding the scientific method.

Students often have difficulties with critical thinking. Why are critical thinking and reasoning so difficult? Psychological science is uniquely positioned to help answer this question because psychologists have studied the situations and contexts that tend to befuddle otherwise intelligent people and lead them to erroneous beliefs and conclusions. In this edition, we introduce a new theme in Chapter 1 that focuses on psychological reasoning—that is, using psychological research to examine how people typically think, to understand when and why they are likely to draw incorrect conclusions. Psychologists have identified several fundamental errors and biases that permeate human thinking, such as confirmation biases, illusory correlations, framing effects, post-hoc explanations, self-serving biases, the misunderstanding of base rates and statistical relationships, and problems associated with heuristic processing. In each chapter, a new feature, "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning," highlights one clear example of how typical human thinking can lead people astray. For example, Chapter 14 tackles the difficult topic of the claimed link between vaccines and autism. We walk students through the thought processes that lead people to perceive relationships that do not actually exist and then through the confirmation biases that sustain these false perceptions. This feature also discusses practical consequences of faulty psychological reasoning—for example, the global increase in infectious diseases, such as measles, due to the decline in vaccination rates.

Teaching students how to understand psychological reasoning contributes an important weapon to their critical thinking and reasoning arsenal. This understanding builds on standard critical thinking skills, such as being skeptical, but it also provides practical rules for seeing when people are likely to believe things that simply are not true.

THE CONTENT REFLECTS OUR GLOBAL, MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY Each

revision of *Psychological Science* reflects a concerted effort to represent the world in its diversity. The evidence indicates that this effort has succeeded. A research team led by Sheila Kennison at Oklahoma State University examined 31 major psychology textbooks for their coverage of diversity. The team presented its findings at several meetings, including the 56th Meeting of the Southwestern Psychological Association (Tran, Curtis, Bradley, & Kennison, April 2010). We were pleased to see that *Psychological Science* had the greatest representation of diversity among all books. Our book had more than twice the average of the other 30 books. Indeed, most of the books that ours is often compared with (mid-range, science-focused) had less than one-third of our book's coverage of diversity. In the fifth edition, we have sought to increase coverage of many groups relatively neglected in psychological texts, including Latinos (Hispanic Americans), those who are transgendered, and those who face socioeconomic challenges, such as living in poverty.

Psychological Science also emphasizes the global nature of our field. It is unfortunate that many psychology textbooks focus almost completely on research from North America, because a tremendous amount of exciting psychological research takes place around the world. Students should learn about the best psychological science, and our goal has been to present the best psychological research, no matter where it originates. In the fifth edition, each chapter includes new important findings from many countries. For example, we discuss the fascinating work of researchers in Belgium and England who have been able to communicate with people in comas. We consider work from Israel demonstrating epigenetic processes whereby stress is passed along to future generations. We describe Dutch research showing reductions in brain volume over time for those with schizophrenia. We discuss theories of dehumanization developed by researchers in Australia. The fifth edition includes research from 26 countries outside of North America describing more than 200 global studies conducted during the past decade. Becoming aware of research from outside North America will not only help students learn more about psychology, it will also bring them new perspectives, encouraging a sense of themselves as global citizens.

NOTABLE CHANGES IN THE FIFTH EDITION We are grateful to the many instructors who have used our book in previous editions. Your suggestions for improving material, your compliments for the sections you especially like, and your support for the overall vision of our book has guided our revisions for this edition. As a result, we have adjusted the order of the chapters, the internal organization of some chapters, and which material is presented in which chapters. For instance, we followed the advice of many users who asked that the split-brain material be moved from the consciousness chapter to the chapter discussing brain mechanisms. In addition, many of the chapters have brand-new opening vignettes designed to appeal to students. These changes are sure to please new adopters as well. Here are the major changes in this edition:

Chapter 1, "The Science of Psychology," has increased emphasis on critical thinking and a new section on psychological reasoning. We introduce our new feature, "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning."

Chapter 2, "Research Methodology," has been extensively reorganized and provides a clearer roadmap for how psychologists conduct research. To emphasize the relevance of research methods, the use and misuse of cell phones, especially while driving, is the research example throughout.

Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior," now contains information on split-brain patients as well as new material on epigenetics and optogenetic methods.

Chapter 4, "Consciousness," has been moved earlier in the book because of the natural bridge from brain processes discussed in the previous chapter. Coverage of attention is now presented in this chapter because we believe it is best framed in terms of conscious awareness. The dangers of multitasking are highlighted. The section on drugs has been completely reorganized and includes more-extensive coverage of drugs that are more relevant to students (e.g., ecstasy).

Chapter 5, "Sensation and Perception," has been reorganized so that sensation and perception are considered together for each major sense, beginning with vision.

Chapter 6, "Learning," has an increased emphasis on prediction (and prediction error) as the basis of learning. This contemporary approach has reinvigorated research on how animals learn. The biological basis of learning has been integrated rather than presented as a stand-alone section at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 7, "Memory," has been modestly reorganized, with coverage of the biological basis of memory moved earlier in the chapter. This section also covers fascinating recent research on the epigenetics of memory.

Chapter 8, "Thinking, Language, and Intelligence," now incorporates an expanded discussion of language. The section on thinking has been streamlined to focus on concepts that are most important to students.

Chapter 9, "Human Development," has been reorganized so that it better integrates biological development within the life span perspective. Each stage of development is now presented in a more unitary fashion. There is an expanded discussion of the influence of gender and culture on identity formation.

Chapter 10, "Emotion and Motivation," describes new research on the physiological basis of emotion. The emotions section has been reorganized for clarity.

Chapter 11, "Health and Well-Being," is completely reorganized, beginning with a section on what affects health. It also has an increased emphasis on health disparities. The stress section contains new research on epigenetics of stress.

Chapter 12, "Social Psychology," is completely reorganized and now begins with group processes and social identity theory. New material includes an expanded discussion of the biological basis of aggression, select findings from social neuroscience, and an expanded discussion of modern prejudice and ways to counteract intergroup hostility.

Chapter 13, "Personality," is also completely reorganized and begins by considering where personality comes from. There is also new coverage of how life events and situations can alter personality traits.

Chapter 14, "Psychological Disorders," has been updated to reflect *DSM-5*. New ways of conceptualizing psychopathology are considered, such as the idea that a general factor is constant across most psychopathology. We discuss groundbreaking research

that suggests schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and autism spectrum disorder share underlying causes.

Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders," has been updated to describe the most effective treatments for the various disorders, such as the use of atypical antipsychotic medications for bipolar disorder.

OUR BOOK MEETS THE APA GUIDELINES In 2013, the American Psychological Association updated their guidelines for the undergraduate major in psychology. As the course that introduces students to psychology, introductory psychology should provide a solid foundation for helping departments satisfy those guidelines. The APA task force includes the content goal of establishing a firm knowledge base in the field, along with four skill-based goals that are valuable for psychology majors. Our textbook provides a strong foundation for satisfying the guidelines. On pp. xxi-xxvii, we have collated the book's content with the guidelines. Here is a summary of how our book achieves the major goals of the APA guidelines:

1. Knowledge Base in Psychology

Our book reflects a balance between the classic studies, concepts, and principles that define the field and the latest science that builds upon the rich history of the field. For instance, although there are few strict behaviorists today, students still need to understand the processes of classical and operant conditioning. They need to know about studies conducted in the 1950s and 1960s showing that people derogate group members who do not conform and the situations under which people are obedient to authorities. We are proud of the research heritage across all subfields of psychology and believe students need to have this foundational knowledge. Yet students today will need to understand the approaches used by contemporary psychological researchers (e.g., optogenetic and gene knock-out methods, implicit measures of social attitudes, brain imaging methods that decode mental activity) in order to keep up with the field. We want students to understand that psychology is a vibrant science, with new discoveries about the mind, brain, and behavior building on known principles and establishing the future foundations of psychological science.

2. Scientific Inquiry and Critical Thinking

Our book devotes considerable coverage to critical thinking and research methods. Our new feature, "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning," encourages students to use psychological concepts to recognize flaws in peoples' explanations and to describe common fallacies in thinking that lead people to erroneous conclusions. These skills will be especially valuable for assessing popular media reports of psychological findings. Several of our features are designed to make students better consumers of psychological research. For example, students learn to question media reports on there being "left brain" and "right brain" learners as well as media reports on the benefits of playing Mozart to young infants.

3. Ethical and Social Responsibility in a Diverse World

An independent analysis found our book to have the most diverse coverage of any textbook in psychology, and the fifth edition has further increased the presentation of diversity. Moreover, online support materials for our book include a series of "On Ethics" essays. Mike Gazzaniga's book *The Ethical Brain* raised many questions that society needs to consider as we gain knowledge of how the mind works. To accompany *Psychological Science*, Mike has written essays that invite students to consider ethical dilemmas stemming from advances in psychological research.

4. Communication

Chapter 2 of our textbook describes the various steps psychologists take to communicate their findings with other scientists and with the general public. Several of our "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning" features discuss how, because the popular press can distort scientific findings, students need to spot misunderstandings in communication. Our "Scientific Thinking" illustrations, designed to be similar to academic poster presentations, carefully and consistently lead students through the steps of some of the most interesting experiments and studies in psychological science. In the chapter on sensation and perception, "How We" figures help students understand the complex processes involved in the five senses.

5. Professional Development

We hope that our textbook inspires students to major in psychology or even to consider joining us by becoming psychologists. Our book covers many aspects of the profession, including where psychologists work; the contributions they make to understanding the mind, brain, and behavior; and how they identify and treat psychological disorders. Our book is also valuable for students who may take only one psychology course and will need to apply what they learn to whatever career they choose, whether it be teaching, medicine, business, social services, or politics. Returning from the fourth edition, the "Using Psychology in Your Life" features help students apply what they learn to their personal lives. One per chapter, these applications address the question of what students might immediately do with the information they learn. Topics include how an understanding of psychology can help in one's career, the relationship between sleep and study habits, and the benefits of participating in psychological research.

OUR BOOK WILL PREPARE STUDENTS FOR THE MCAT Psychology has become a popular major for premed students. Beginning in the 1980s, medical schools recognized that contemporary physicians need a holistic understanding of their patients, including their lifestyles, ways of thinking, and cultural values. As students will learn in our "Health and Well-Being" chapter, the vast majority of modern health problems are related to peoples' behavioral choices. Psychological factors influence how people think about and react to the world, and sociocultural influences influence behavior and behavioral change. In short, cognition and self-perception profoundly affect health.

In 2015, reflecting this new understanding, the Medical College Admissions Test (MCAT) began including a section that examines psychological, social, and biological foundations of behavior, along with a new section on critical analysis and reasoning skills. As a result of revisions that focus attention on psychology, psychological content now comprises nearly 25 percent of the MCAT score.

Available online is a comprehensive chart that links the specific MCAT material to be covered with the relevant page numbers in *Psychological Science*. The 2015 MCAT examines 10 foundational concept and content categories. Three of these categories, Concepts 6–8, are directly relevant to psychology. The material in these three sections is thoroughly covered in our textbook, including some of the latest science reflected in the MCAT:

1. Concept 6

This section considers foundational information about the ways in which perception and cognition influence health and illness. It covers how people detect and perceive sensory information (Chapter 5); how they attend, think, and remember and use language to communicate (Chapters 4, 6, 7, and 8); and how they process and experience emotions and stress (Chapters 10 and 11). Specific topics in this section that are featured in our book include consciousness, cortical processing of sensory information, long-term potentiation, neural plasticity, prefrontal control and involvement in emotion, physiological signatures of emotion, and the effect of stress and emotion on memory.

2. Concept 7

This section focuses on how behaviors are produced. It covers individual influences on behavior, including biological factors such as genes and the nervous system (Chapter 3), personality (Chapter 13), psychological disorders (Chapters 14 and 15), motivation (Chapter 10) and attitudes (Chapter 12). It also includes social processes that influence behavior, such as cultural influences (Chapters 1 and 12) and socialization, group processes, and the influence of others (Chapter 12). Learning (Chapter 6) and theories of attitudinal and behavioral change (Chapter 12) are covered. In addition, much of our health psychology discussion (Chapter 11) is highly relevant for this section.

3. Concept 8

This section focuses on how we think about ourselves and how that thinking influences health. It includes a study of self and identity formation (Chapters 9 and 13) and attitudes that affect social interactions (Chapter 12); attribution theory, prejudice and bias, and stereotypes and group relations (Chapter 12); processes related to stereotype threat (Chapter 8); and how people help and hurt one another and the nature of their social relationships (Chapter 12).

While Concepts 9 and 10 cover material primarily from sociology, students will encounter relevant material in *Psychological Science*. For instance, our textbook covers the effects of growing up in poverty on health, cognitive function, and language. Also discussed are health disparities due to race and socioeconomic status, in addition to social inequalities due to race and gender and sexual orientation.

Finally, students using our textbook will be at a significant advantage for completing the section of the MCAT on critical analysis and reasoning skills. Through our emphasis on critical thinking skills and psychological reasoning, students will learn to evaluate arguments, appreciate ethical considerations, and recognize faulty psychological reasoning.

STUDENTS WILL CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY LEARN IN OUR BOOK A major goal of the fifth edition is encouraging students to care about our field. As engaged readers, students will learn more deeply, understand themselves and others more fully, and become better critical thinkers and decision makers. We have worked hard to provide resources that will enhance learning because they are based on the science of learning and the best practices for pedagogy. For example, the "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning" features will provide students with important tools for applying psychological research to better understand themselves and others. The "Using Psychology in Your Life" features will keep students engaged and thinking about the material in terms of their personal lives. By making clear how psychological concepts can have real-time usefulness, these applications provide additional motivation for students to engage with the material.

This is an exciting time to work in psychological science, and we hope that our excitement is contagious. This book is written for the many undergraduate and graduate students we have the pleasure to interact with each day, with our respect for their intelligence and our admiration for their inquisitiveness.

Acknowledgments

We begin, as always, by acknowledging the unwavering support we have received from our families. Writing a textbook is a time-consuming endeavor, and our family members have been generous in allowing us the time to focus on writing.

We are also extremely grateful to the many colleagues who gave us responses and advice. Some individuals deserve special recognition. Foremost is our good friend Margaret Lynch, an award-winning instructor who teaches hundreds of students each year at San Francisco State University. Since the first edition of this textbook, Margaret has been a valuable partner in shaping the content. Reading every sentence of the fifth edition and offering comments and suggestions throughout, she reminded us never to take students for granted or underestimate them (and also admonished us never to use contractions). Ines Segert, an award-winning instructor at the University of Missouri, provided invaluable advice regarding our revision plan and also brought her extensive knowledge and keen eye to each chapter and to our new psychological reasoning theme. Ines was particularly helpful in pointing us to recent findings that required us to update our coverage. Rebecca Gazzaniga, M.D., reviewed all the chapters and pushed us to speak directly to students in our writing. As a physician, she provided especially useful advice for reorganizing the "Health and Well-Being" chapter, as well as reviewing all of our new MCAT questions.

Dennis Miller provided expert feedback and vision, plus a focus group with his students at the University of Missouri, regarding online assessment for the fourth and fifth editions. Barbara Oswald at Miami University helped us rethink the research methods chapter. Her review of the fourth edition chapter was thorough, detailed, and full of excellent advice. She subsequently provided a blueprint that guided us through the revision of that chapter, while contributing a step-by-step overview of the research cycle and a stronger critical thinking perspective, and she contributed the new MCAT questions for each chapter. As in the fourth edition, we relied on the excellent Tasha Howe to revise the development chapter, making it more contemporary and making sure we had diverse coverage. Matthias Mehl and Brent Roberts provided excellent advice for updating the personality chapter, and Christopher Chabris helped us understand how to chunk chessboards meaningfully. Josh Buckholtz provided expert advice on the MAOA gene relationship to violence and impulsivity.

Debra Mashek has been an invaluable member of the team for three editions. For the fourth edition, Debra wrote the "Using Psychology in Your Life" features. Because they were so well received, we included new or updated versions in the fifth edition. Thanks in large part to Debra's engaging, insightful voice, students love applying the findings of psychological science to their own lives.

THE NORTON TEAM Producing a textbook requires a small army of people who are crucial at each step of the way. In the modern publishing world, where most books are produced by large multinational corporations that are focused primarily on the bottom line, W. W. Norton stands out as a beacon to academics and authors, both for remaining committed to the best-quality publications and for providing outstanding team members to help ensure that quality. Norton's employees own the company, and therefore every individual who worked on our book has a vested interest in its success; that personal connection shows in the great enthusiasm each person brought to his or her work.

Our eternal thanks are due to Sheri Snavely, who took over as editor during the third edition and played a central role in shaping each subsequent edition. Sheri is an amazingly talented and insightful editor who brought not only many years of expertise in science editing, but also a profound dedication to spreading the message about our book. Sheri understands our vision and has been enthusiastic about all the

right things at all the right times. There is not a better editor in psychology, and we are grateful for the attention she has given our book even as she has built one of the best overall lists in psychology today. Roby Harrington, director of Norton's college division, was a genius for hiring her, and we also express our gratitude to Roby for his support of the book.

Our innovative media and ancillaries team, led by media editor Patrick Shriner, was instrumental in producing a first-rate support package that will assist students and instructors in having a rich experience with the textbook. As every instructor knows, a well-conceived test bank is crucial to a successful course. Inadequate test banks with uneven or ambiguous items can frustrate students and instructors alike. Associate media editor Stefani Wallace and editorial assistant Scott Sugarman worked tirelessly to create the best test bank available for introductory psychology (see p. xxviii for more details). Stefani also pulled together the coursepack material so you can easily assign our material within your own course management system. Assistant media editor George Phipps skillfully managed the Integrated Instructors' Guide and a multitude of lecture presentation tools. Patrick Shriner made sure the whole package works seamlessly with your lectures and that our new edition is available with a new Ebook and W. W. Norton's InQuizitive online adaptive assessment. Somehow, in his spare time, Patrick also managed to revise all the ZAPS online psychology labs for introductory psychology, and for that we are deeply grateful.

There will always be a special place in our hearts for Kurt Wildermuth. If there were an election for best developmental and project editor, we would stuff the ballot boxes by voting early and often. In previous editions, we noted that Kurt is a wordsmith of the highest order. For the fifth edition, he continued to make sure the writing was crisp and accessible. But Kurt did a lot more for this edition, from overseeing the schedule to helping select the very best art. Words fail to fully capture our admiration for his contributions to this revision and for his loyalty to our textbook.

Many others also provided crucial support. Scott Sugarman was an extraordinary editorial assistant, helping us keep organized as all the details came together. Scott had used the textbook as a student at Tufts, so he was able to offer many useful insights about the book from a student's perspective. Photo editor Stephanie Romeo and photo researcher Elyse Rieder did a wonderful job of researching and editing all the photos in our book and finding the captivating faces that begin each chapter. Production manager Sean Mintus made sure all the trains ran on time so we could have this book and its ancillaries ready for instructors to consider for their courses. Design director Rubina Yeh worked with Faceout to create our beautiful new design.

We are grateful for our marketing manager, Lauren Winkler, who has created a cutting-edge and informative marketing campaign. She truly understands what instructors and students need to be successful and is doing a marvelous job of making sure our message reaches travelers and professors. A big thank you to the psychological science specialists—Peter Ruscitti, Heidi Shadix, and Rebecca Andragna—for their tireless work on our behalf. Our media specialists—David Prestidge, Matt Walker, Jason Dewey, Maureen Connelly, and Donna Garnier, and their leader Kilean Kennedy—have become critical players in our effort to win over instructors and navigate the latest media needs. The science and media specialists have probably racked up enough frequent flier points traveling across North America for our book that they could fly to the moon and back. Indeed, the entire sales force at W.W. Norton, led by Michael Wright and his excellent team of managers, has supported our book and continues to get the word out and develop key relationships in psychology departments. The Norton travelers are distinguished by their knowledge of psychology and their sincere interest in what instructors are trying to accomplish in their courses.

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GOAL Knowledge Base 1 in Psychology

Chapter 1 The Science of Psychology HEADING/DESCRIPTION PAGE

Definition of Psychology and Psychological Science	4-5
The Nature/Nurture Debate Has a Long History	12
The Mind/Body Problem Also Has Ancient Roots	12-13
Experimental Psychology Began with Introspection	13-14
Introspection and Other Methods Led to Structuralism	14
Functionalism Addressed the Purpose of Behavior	14-15
Gestalt Psychology Emphasized Patterns and Context in Learning	16
Freud Emphasized Unconscious Conflicts	17
Behaviorism Studied Environmental Forces	17-18
Cognitive Approaches Emphasized Mental Activity	18
Social Psychology Studies How Situations Shape Behavi	or 19
Science Informs Psychological Treatments	19-20
Biology Is Increasingly Emphasized in Explaining	
Psychological Phenomena	21-22
Evolutionary Thinking Is Increasingly Influential	22-23
Culture Provides Adaptive Solutions	23-24
Psychological Science Now Crosses Levels of Analysis	24-27
Chapter 2 Research Methodolog	У
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Misunderstanding Statistics: Should You Bet on a Hot	Hand? 69
Chapter 3 Biology and Behavior	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
The Nervous System Has Two Basic Divisions	76-77
Neurons Are Specialized for Communication	77-80
Fig. 3.3 The Basic Divisions of the Nervous System	77
Fig. 3.4 The Three Types of Neurons	78
Fig. 3.5 Neuron Structure	79
The Resting Membrane Potential Is Negatively Charged	79-80
Fig. 3.6 Resting Membrane Potential	80
Action Potentials Cause Neural Communication	80-82
Fig. 3.7 Action Potential	81
Neurotransmitters Bind to Receptors Across the	
Synapse	82-84
Fig. 3.8 How Neurotransmitters Work	83
Neurotransmitters influence Mental Activity and	04 00
Eig 20. How Druge Work	04-00
Table 21 Common Neurotransmitters and Their Maior	00
Functions	86
Fig. 313 The Brain and the Spinal Cord	89
History of Farly Brain Research	89-90
Fig. 3.15 Broca's Area	90
Fig. 3.16 Polygraph	91
Fig. 3.17 Electroencephalograph	91
Fig. 3.18 Positron Emission Tomography	91
Fig. 3.19 Magnetic Resonance Imaging	92
Fig. 3.20 Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging	92
The Brain Stem Houses the Basic Programs of Survival	92-93
Fig. 3.21 Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation	93
The Cerebellum Is Essential for Movement	93
Fig. 3.22 The Brain Stem	93
Fig. 3.23 The Cerebellum	94
Subcortical Structures Control Emotions and	
Appetitive Behaviors	94-95

ntal Activity 96–10 96–10 90 Motor 9 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
ntal Activity 96–10 9 Motor 9 10 10 10 104–0 104–0 104–0 104–0 106–0
Motor 9 1 10 10 104-0 104-0 104-0 106-0
Motor 1 Ie Inetic Inetic Image Interior
1 104-0 104-0 104-0 104-0 106-0
104-0 104-0 thetic 3m 10 ugh 106-0
ie 104–0 thetic 3m 10 ugh 106–0
104–0 thetic em 10 ugh 106–0
thetic em 10 ugh 106—0
ugh 106—(
ugn 106-0
106-0
10
ains
111-
112-
ouah
116-
1
eproduction 118-2
120-2
ce
122-2
123, 12
s
PAG
13
133-3
or 137–3
138-
145-4
14
14
148-
152-5
15
155-5
155—5 157—5
155-5 157-5 1
155–5 157–5 1 1spects 167–6
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception PAG
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception PAG 173-
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception PAG 173- 1 1
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception 173-7 17 17
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 PAG 173- 1 1 1ningful 175-1
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 I Perception 173- 1 1ningful 175-7 vays for
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 Perception 173- 1 10 10 175-1 175-1 175-1 175-1 175-1 175-1
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception 173- 1 1 1000 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception 173- 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 185 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7 175-7
155-5 157-5 1spects 167-6 1 Perception 173-7 17 175-7 vays for 17 e Stimulus 176-7 nsory 17
155-5 157-5 157-5 1 157-6 157-6 157-6 173-7 17 175-7 175-7
155-5 157-5 157-5 157-6 157-6 157-6 173-7 173-7 175-7
155-5 157-5 157-5 157-6 157-6 15 16 173-7 17 175-7 175
155-5 157-5 157-5 157-6 1 Perception PAG 173- 175-1 175-
155-5 157-5 157-5 157-6 157-6 157-6 PAG 173-7 17 175-7 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 1
155-5 157-5 157-5 157-6 157-6 157-6 PAG 173-7 173-7 175-7 17
155-5 157-5 157-5 1 Spects 167-6 I Perception PAG 173-7 175-7

5	Visual Information	188-90
5	Depth Perception Is Important for Locating Objects	191-93
)	Size Perception Depends on Distance	193-94
ó	Motion Perception Has Internal and External Cues	194-95
	Object Constancies Help When Perspective Changes	196-97
7	Audition Results from Changes in Air Pressure	198-99
1	Pitch Is Encoded by Frequency and Location	199-20
	Fig. 5.39 How We Are Able to Hear	200-20
)	Fig. 5.40 Auditory Localization	20
	Fig. 5.41 Place Coding	20
)	Lochiear implants Assist the Hearing impaired	202-03
,	Fig. 5.42. How We Are Able to Teste	204-06
	FIG. 5.43 HOW WE ALE ADIE to Taste	204-00
ś	Silien Detects Outplants	200-05
1	Pheromones Are Processed Like Olfactory Stimuli	200 05
3	The Skin Contains Sensory Recentors For Touch	210
3	There Are Two Types of Pain	211-15
	Fig. 5.46. How We are Able to Experience Touch: The	LII IS
3	Hantic Sense	212-13
3	Fig. 5.47 How We Experience Touch: The Sense of Pain	213
)	Fig. 5.48 Gate Control Theory	214
2	rig. 5.40 bute control meory	217
	Chapter 6 Learning	
3	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
5	Learning Results from Experience	222-23
	Fig. 6.4 Types of Learning	223
	Fig. 6.5 Types of Nonassociative Learning	224
2	Habituation and Sensitization Are Simple Models	
,	of Learning	224-25
{	Fig. 6.9 Two Types of Associative Learning	226
, 1	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning	227
2	Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous	
ś	Recovery	229
7	Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization	230
1	Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination	23
1	Learning Involves Expectancies and Prediction	232-35
3	Fig. 6.17 Rescorla-Wagner Model	234
7	Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity	235
3	Overview of Operant Conditioning	239-4
1	Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect	24
)	Reinforcement Increases Behavior 24	1-42, 244
	Fig. 6.23 Operant Chamber	242
	of Painforcement	245-44
	Circle C 27. Fixed Interval Schedule	245-40
1 -	Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule	245
)	Fig. 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule	245
	Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule	240
)	FIG. 6.30 Valiable Ratio Schedule	240
	Fig. 6.21. Negative and Desitive Deinfercoment	240-30
))	Nogative and Positive Punichment	2/7
,	Riology and Cognition Influence Operant Conditioning	250-5
,	Denamine Activity Underlies Painforcement	252-52
7	Learning Can Occur Through Observation and	LJL JJ
3	Imitation	254-57
9	Fig. 6.38. Two Types of Observational Learning	257 257
9	g. 5.00 The types of observational Learning	LJI
	Chapter 7 Memory	
5	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
5	Memory Is the Nervous System's Capacity to	
5	Retain and Retrieve Skills and Knowledge	266-67

267

Fig. 7.3 Information Processing

Schemas organize oscial information About	
Environments	313-15
Decision Making Often Involves Heuristics	316-21
Problem Solving Achieves Goals	321-27
Fig. 8.28 The Units of Language	330
Fig. 8.31 Left Hemisphere Regions Involved in Spee	ech 331
Language Develops in an Orderly Way	332-33
There Is an Inborn Capacity for Language	334-36
Measuring Intelligence	338-41
General Intelligence Involves Multiple Components	341-43
Fig. 8.42 General Intelligence as a Factor	341
Intelligence Is Related to Cognitive Performance	343-46
Genes and Environment Influence Intelligence	346-48
Fig. 8.46 Genes and Intelligence	346
Group Differences in Intelligence Have Multiple	
Determinants	349-51
Chapter 9 Human Developme	ent
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Development Starts in the Womb	359-61
Fig. 9.3 Environment and Synaptic Connections	360
Biology and Environment Influence Motor	
Development	361-63
Fig. 9.6 Learning to Walk	362
Infants Are Prepared to Learn	364-65
Infants Develop Attachments	366, 368-72
Fig. 9.16 Piaget's Stages of Cognitive Development	375
Fig. 9.17 The Preoperational Stage and the Law of	

Fig. 7.4 Brain Regions Associated with Memory

Long-Term Memory Is Relatively Permanent

Schemas Provide an Organizational Framework

Retrieval Cues Provide Access to Long-Term

Fig. 7.18 Different Types of Long-Term Memory

Implicit Memory Occurs Without Deliberate Effort

Absentmindedness Results from Shallow Encoding

Fig. 7.24 Retrograde Amnesia Versus Anterograde

Chapter 8 Thinking, Language, and

Thinking Involves Two Types of Mental Representations 310-11

Explicit Memory Involves Conscious Effort

Prospective Memory Is Remembering to Do

Transience Is Caused by Interference

Retroactive Interference

Blocking Is Temporary

Fig. 7.22 Proactive Interference Versus

Amnesia Is a Deficit in Long-Term Memory

Persistence Is Unwanted Remembering

People Make Source Misattributions

Suggestibility Biases Memory

People Have False Memories

HEADING/DESCRIPTION

Overview of Cognition and Thinking

Concepts Are Symbolic Representations

Schomas Organiza Usoful Information About

Intelligence

People Reconstruct Events to Be Consistent Flashbulb Memories Can Be Wrong

Long-Term Storage Is Based on Meaning

Fig. 7.5 Long-Term Potentiation (LTP) Sensory Memory Is Brief

Fig. 7.9 Three Memory Systems

Fig. 7.12 The Serial Position Effect

Fig. 7.16 A Network of Associations

Working Memory Is Active

Fig. 7.14 Encoding

Storage

Something

Amnesia

	310
Children Learn from Interacting with Others	380-81
Moral Development Begins in Childhood	381-83
Puberty Causes Physical Changes	384-85
A Sense of Identity Forms	385-90
Table 9.1 Erikson's Eight Stages of Human	
Development	386
Cognition Changes with Age	397-99
cognition changes with Age	571 77
Chapter 10 Emotions and Motiv	ation
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Emotions Vary in Valence and Arousal	405
Emotions Have a Physiological Component	405-08
Fig 10.4. The Insula and the Amyadala	403 00
Fig. 10.5 The Emotional Prain	400
	407
Fig. 10.8 James-Lange Theory of Emotion	411
Fig. IU.IU Cannon-Bard Theory of Emotion	412
Fig. 10.11 Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory	412
Emotions Serve Cognitive Functions	417-18
Facial Expressions Communicate Emotion	418-20
Emotions Strengthen Interpersonal Relations	421-22
Drives Motivate the Satisfaction of Needs	424-26
Fig. 10.19 Need Hierarchy	424
Fig. 10.20 Needs, Drives, and Behaviors According to	
Drive Reduction	425
Fig. 10.21 A Negative-Feedback Model of Homeostasis	425
People Are Motivated by Incentives	426-28
People Set Goals to Achieve	428-30
Fig. 10.25 Delaying Gratification	430
People Have a Need to Belong	430-32
Eating Is Influenced by Time and Taste	435-36
Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior	437
Biology Influences Sexual Behavior	438-40
Fig. 10.32 Hypothalamus and Hormones Influence	
Sexual Behavior	439
Fig. 10.33 Diagram of the Sexual Response Cycle	440
Cultural Scripts and Cultural Rules Shape Sexual	
Interactions	441-43
People Differ in Sexual Orientations	443-45
Chanter 11 Health and Well-Bei	nď
Chapter II Treatth and Wen-Den	ng
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Social Context, Biology, and Behavior Combine to	
Affect Health	453-57
Fig. 11.2 The Biopsychosocial Model	453
Obesity and Maladaptive Eating Habits Have Many	
Health Consequences	457-65
Table 11.1 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria for Eating	
Disorders	464
Smoking Is a Leading Cause of Death	465-67
Exercise Has Numerous Benefits	467-68
Overview of Stress	469-70
Stress Has Physiological Components	470-72
Fig. 11.18 Hypothalamic-Pituitary-Adrenal (HPA) Axis	472
Fig. 11.21 The General Adaptation Syndrome	474
Stress Disrupts the Immune System	476-77
Stress Increases the Risk of Heart Disease	477-80
Coping Reduces the Negative Health Effects of Stress	480-82
Positive Psychology Emphasizes Well-Being	483-84
Social Support Is Associated with Good Health	485-87
Study of Marriage and Well-Being Across Cultures	485-86
Chanter 10 Contain 10	
Chapter 12 Social Psychology	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 12.2 Social Brain Hypothesis	496

Groups Influence Individual Behavior

268 269

272

276 279

279

281

280-81

282 - 84

286-87

287-88

290

291

291

292

292 293

295

295-96

296-97

297-98

298, 300

PAGE

311-12

310

291-92

285

286

272-73

273-75

275-78

376	Fig. 12.5 Zaionc's Model of Social Facilitation	499
380-81	People Conform to Others	502-03.505
381-83	People Are Often Compliant	505-06
384-85	People Are Obedient to Authority	506-07
385-90	Many Factors Can Influence Aggression	510-13
	Many Factors Can Influence Helping Behavior	513-14
386	Some Situations Lead to Bystander Apathy	514-16
397-99	Cooperation Can Reduce Outgroup Bias	516-18
ation.	People Form Attitudes Through Experience and	
ation	Socialization	519-20
PAGE	Attitudes Can Be Explicit or Implicit	521
405	Discrepancies Lead to Dissonance	521-23
405-08	Attitudes Can Be Changed Through Persuasion	523
406	Physical Appearance Affects First Impressions	525-26
407	People Make Attributions About Others	521-28
412	Storeotypes Are Based on Automatic Categorization	528-30
412	Stereotypes Are based on Automatic Categorization	530-32
417-18	Modern Prejudice	531-32
418-20	Situational and Personal Factors Influence	001 02
421-22	Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships	535-38
424-26	Love Is an Important Component of Romantic	
424	Relationships	538
	Observation 10 Democra sliter	
425	Chapter 13 Personality	
425	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
426-28	Personality Is Rooted in Genetics	550-52
428-30	Temperaments Are Evident in Infancy	552-53
430	Inere Are Long-Ierm Implications of Temperaments	553-54
430-32	Personality is Adaptive	554-55
435-36	and Dynamic Processos	EE7_40
437	And Dynamic Frocesses	560-61
438-40	Humanistic Approaches Emphasize Integrated	JUU 01
420	Personal Experience	562
439	Trait Approaches Describe Behavioral Dispositions	562-66
440	Fig. 13.11 The Big Five Personality Factors	563
441-43	Fig. 13.12 Evsenck's Biological Trait Theory of	
443-45	Personality	564
110 10	Fig. 13.14 Behavioral Approach System and	
ng	Behavioral Inhibition System	566
PAGE	Behavior Is Influenced by the Interaction of	
	Personality and Situations	568-69
453-57	Personality Traits Are Relatively Stable over Time	569-70
453	Development and Life Events Alter Personality	
	Traits	571-73
457-65	Culture Influences Personality	573-75
	Researchers Use Multiple Methods to Assess	F77 00
464	Personality Observers Show Assurance in Trait Judgments	5//-80
403-01	Eig 12.20. Solf-Scheme	200-01
407 00	Fig. 15.29 Self-Schenid	596-99
470-72	People Use Mental Strategies to Maintain a	J00 00
472	Positive Sense of Self	588-91
474	There Are Cultural Differences in the Self	591-92
476-77	Fig. 13.36 Cultural Differences in Self-Construals	593
477-80		_
480-82	Chapter 14 Psychological Disc	orders
483-84	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
485-87	Psychopathology Is Different from Everyday	
485-86	Problems	602-03
	Psychological Disorders Are Classified into	
	Categories	603-05
PAGE	Table 14.1 USM-5 Disorders	603
496	Fig. 14.4 Dimensional Nature of Psychopathology	604
491-99	Psychological Disorders Must Ro Accessed	605-06
177 JUL		505 00

Psychological Disorders Have Many Causes	606-09
Fig. 14.8 Diathesis-Stress Model	606
Fig. 14.12 Internalizing and Externalizing Model of	
Psychological Disorders	609
Table 14.2 Cultural Syndromes	610
Anxiety Disorders Make People Apprehensive and	
lense	612-15
FIG. 14.15 ADXIETY DISORDERS	614
Obsessive-Compulsive Disorders	615-17
Fig. 1417 OCD Cycle	617
Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Results from	011
Trauma	617-18
Depressive Disorders Consist of Sad, Empty, or	
Irritable Mood	618-19
Depressive Disorders Have Biological,	
Situational, and Cognitive Components	619-21
Bipolar Disorders Involve Depression and Mania	621-24
Dissociative Disorders Are Disruptions in	(05 00
Memory, Awareness, and Identity	625-28
and Emotion	628-34
Table 14.4 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria for	020 34
Schizophrenia	629
Fig. 14.27 Effects of Biology and Environment on	
Schizophrenia	634
Personality Disorders Are Maladaptive Ways of	
Relating to the World	636-37
Table 14.6 Personality Disorders and Associated	
Characteristics	636
Borderline Personality Disorder is Associated with	627-20
Table 14.7 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria of Borderline	031 37
Personality Disorder	638
Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Associated with	
a Lack of Empathy	639-41
Fig. 14.8 DSM-5 Neurodevelopmental Disorders	642
Autism Spectrum Disorder Involves Social Deficits	
and Restricted Interests	643-45
Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder Is a	
Disruptive Impulse Control Disorder	647-48
Chapter 15 Treatment of	
Psychological Disorders	
	PAGE
Psychotherapy Is Based on Psychological Principles	656-62
Fig. 15.6 Cognitive Restructuring	659
Cultural Beliefs Affect Treatment	661
Medication Is Effective for Certain Disorders	662-63
Fig. 15.9 Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors	663
Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in	
Extreme Cases	664-65
Effectiveness of Treatment Is Determined by	
Empirical Evidence	666-67
Can Be Dangerous	667-68
Treatments That Focus on Rehavior and on	001 00
Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders	672-75
Table 15.2 Anxiety Hierarchy	674
Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for	
Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder	675-77
Many Effective Treatments Are Available for	

Depressive Disorders

Effective for Bipolar Disorder

Lithium and Atypical Antipsychotics Are Most

Antipsychotics Are Superior for Schizophrenia

Dialectical Be	ehavior Therapy Is Most Successful for	
Borderline Personality Disorder		690-
Antisocial Pe	rsonality Disorder Is Extremely	
Difficult to	Treat	691-
Children with	ADHD Can Benefit from Various	
Approaches	5	694-
Children with	Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit	
from Struct	ured Behavioral Treatment	696-
The Use of M	edication to Treat Adolescent	
Depressive	Disorders Is Controversial	699-7
2	Critical Thinking	
2	Critical Thinking	
2 Chapter	Critical Thinking	hology
2 Chapter HEADING	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION	hology PAG
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking	hology PAG 5-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Psychologica	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People	hology PAG 5-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink	hology PAG 5- 6-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hu	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example	hology PAG 5- 6-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own example	hology PAG 5- 6-
Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacit Their Weak	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycl /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own es: Why Are People Unaware of Descor?	hology PAG 5- 6-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacio Their Weaki	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own es: Why Are People Unaware of hesses?	hology PAG 5- 6- 10-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacid Their Weakin Chapter	Critical Thinking 1 The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of nesses? 2 Research Methodology	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- 20gy
Chapter HEADING Psychologica Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacid Their Weakt Chapter HEADING	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of nesses? Carter Content of the Science	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- 20gy PAG
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacit Their Weakt Chapter HEADING Texting and D	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of nesses? Carter Construction Proving Studies	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- Dgy PAG 33-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacid Their Weak Chapter HEADING Texting and D Science Has	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of hesses? Carter Construction Proving Studies Four Primary Goals	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- 0gy PAG 33- 34-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychological Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacit Their Weakt Chapter HEADING Texting and D Science Has Critical Think	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycel /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of nesses? C Research Methodole /DESCRIPTION briving Studies Four Primary Goals ing Means Questioning and	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- Dgy PAG 33- 34-
Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacit Their Weakt Chapter HEADING Texting and D Science Has Critical Think Evaluating	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycol /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of asses? C Research Methodolo /DESCRIPTION briving Studies Four Primary Goals ing Means Questioning and Information	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- Dgy PAG 33- 34- 35-
2 Chapter HEADING Psychologica Typically Th Fig. 1.6 A Hui What to Belie Inadequacit Their Weakt Chapter HEADING Texting and D Science Has Critical Think Evaluating Scientific Thi	Critical Thinking Critical Thinking The Science of Psycel /DESCRIPTION I Science Teaches Critical Thinking I Science Examines How People ink morous Example ve? Failing to See Our Own as: Why Are People Unaware of tesses? C Research Methodole /DESCRIPTION briving Studies Four Primary Goals ing Means Questioning and Information nking: Cell Phone Versus Intoxication	hology PAG 5- 6- 10- Dgy PAG 33- 34- 35-

Fig. 2.4 The Scientific Method

Fig. 2.7 Descriptive Methods

Fig. 2.9 Participant Observation

Fig. 2.10 Naturalistic Observation Scientific Thinking: The Hawthorne Effect Scientific Thinking: Rosenthal's Study of Experimenter Expectancy Effects

Fig. 2.13 Direction of Correlation

Variables Are Related

Fig. 2.17 Random Sample Fig. 2.19 Convenience Sample Fig. 2.20 Random Assignment Fig. 2.21 Cross-Cultural Studies

with Human Participants

Fig. 2.27 Construct Validity

686–88 | Fig. 2.29 A Study with Internal Validity

with Animals

Accurate Data

677, 680-84

684-86

Variables

Fig. 2.5 The Scientific Method in Action Unexpected Findings Can Be Valuable

Descriptive Research Consists of Case Studies,

Correlational Studies Describe and Predict How

The Experimental Method Controls and Explains

Fig. 2.15 The Experimental Method in Action

Participants Need to Be Carefully Selected and Randomly Assigned to Conditions

There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research

There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research

Using Psychology in Your Life: Should I

Participate in Psychological Research?

Good Research Requires Valid, Reliable, and

Fig. 2.28 A Study Lacking Internal Validity

Observation, and Self-Report Methods

090-91	Fig. 2.32 Descriptive Statistics	66
(01 02	Fig. 2.33 Scatterplots	67
691-92	Fig. 2.34 Correlation Coefficient	6/
694-96	Between Variables	67-68
071 70	Inferential Statistics Permit Generalizations	68
696-99	What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
	Misunderstanding Statistics: Should You Bet on a	
99-702	Hot Hand?	69
	Chapter 3 Biology and Behavior	
d	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning	
	Failing to Notice Source Credibility: Are There	
ogy	"Left Brain" and "Right Brain" Types of People?	102
PAGE	Scientific Thinking: Caspi's Study of the Influence of	
5-6	Environment and Genes	124
6-0	Chapter 4 Consciousness	
8	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Ŭ	Scientific Thinking: Change Blindness Studies by	
	Simons and Levin	136
10-11	Scientific Thinking: The Relationship Between	10.0
,	Consciousness and Neural Responses in the Brain	139
DACE	After-the-Fact Explanations: How Do We Interpret	
33-34	Our Behavior?	142-43
34-35	Freud's Interpretation of Dreams	152-53
	Hypnosis Is Induced Through Suggestion	155-57
35-37	Meditation Produces Relaxation	157-58
36	Chapter 5 Sensation and Percept	ion
37-41		PAGE
38	Fig. 5.5 Absolute Threshold	177
39 41-42	What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
43-44	Misunderstanding Statistics: Does ESP Exist?	180
44	Scientific Thinking: Infant Taste Preferences	
	Affected by Mother's Diet	206
44-48	Chapter 6 Learning	
45	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	
45 46		PAGE
40	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning	PAGE 227
	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning	PAGE 227 228
46	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous	PAGE 227 228
46	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization	PAGE 227 228 229 230
46 48-51	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231
46 48-51 49	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235
46 48-51 49 51-53	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 235 237
46 48-51 49 51-53 53	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Sciene Bolationschies That Do Not Evict: How Do	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start?	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 55 56	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 55 56	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 246
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 55 56 57-59	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 245 246 246
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 56 57-59 59-62	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 245 245 245 246 246 246
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 56 57-59 59-62	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.2 Mavia Spacking and Addiscent Spacking 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 245 245 246 246 246 251 255
46 48-51 49 51-53 53 54-56 54 55 55 56 57-59 59-62 60-61	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 246 245 246 255 255 255 257
46 $48-51$ 49 $51-53$ 53 $54-56$ 54 55 55 56 $57-59$ $59-62$ $60-61$	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression Fig. 6.39 Media Use by Youna Americans 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 246 245 246 255 255 255 257 257
$\begin{array}{c} 46\\ 48-51\\ 49\\ 51-53\\ 53\\ 53\\ 54-56\\ 55\\ 55\\ 56\\ 57-59\\ 59-62\\ 60-61\\ 63-65\\ \end{array}$	Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression Fig. 6.39 Media Use by Young Americans	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 245 246 245 246 246 255 256 257 257
$\begin{array}{c} 46 \\ 48-51 \\ 49 \\ 51-53 \\ 53 \\ 53 \\ 54-56 \\ 55 \\ 55 \\ 56 \\ 57-59 \\ 59-62 \\ 60-61 \\ 63-65 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ 63 \\ $	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression Fig. 6.39 Media Use by Young Americans 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 245 245 245 255 256 257 257
$\begin{array}{c} 46\\ 48-51\\ 49\\ 51-53\\ 53\\ 54-56\\ 54\\ 55\\ 55\\ 56\\ 57-59\\ 59-62\\ 60-61\\ 63-65\\ 63\\ 64\\ 64\\ 64\\ \end{array}$	 Fig. 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning Fig. 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery Fig. 6.13 Stimulus Generalization Fig. 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination Fig. 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment Fig. 6.21 Thorndike's Puzzle Box Fig. 6.22 Law of Effect What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies Fig. 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression Fig. 6.39 Media Use by Young Americans Chapter 7 Memory HEADING/DESCRIPTION Fig. 5.1 Long-Term Patentiation (LTD) 	PAGE 227 228 229 230 231 235 237 240 241 243 243 245 245 245 246 245 255 256 257 257 257

Descriptive Statistics Provide a Summary of the Data

65-67

Fig. 7.12 The Serial Position Effect	276
Fig. 7.14 Encoding	279
Scientific Thinking: Godden and Baddeley's Study of	of
Context-Dependent Memory	283
Scientific Thinking: Loftus's Studies on Suggestibil	ity 298
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	, 270
Innoring Evidence (Confirmation Riss): How	
Accurate Are Evenitresses?	200
Accurate Are Lyewithesses!	277
Chapter 8 Thinking, Languag	e, and
Intelligence	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: Study of Preschoolers' Use of	
Cigarettes and Alcohol While Role Playing as Adu	lts 314
Fia. 8.13 Anchoring	318
Anchoring and Framing	318-19
Fig. 8.14 Loss Aversion	318
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Making Relative Comparisons (Anchoring and	
Framing): Why is it Hard to Resist a Sale?	318
Fig. 817. Faulty Affective Forecasting	321
Problem Solving Achieves Goals	321-27
Fig. 8.41 The Distribution of IO Scores	340
Fig. 9.42 Inspection Time Tasks	240
Fig. 0.45 Hispection Time Idsks	244
Fig. 0.44 Melliol y Spall IdSKS	344
Fig. 8.46 Genes and Intelligence	346
Fig. 8.48 Birth weight and intelligence	347
Fig. 8.49 Removing Blas from Tests	349
Fig. 8.50 Stereotype Threat	350
Fig. 8.51 Stereotype Threat Counteracted	351
Chapter 9 Human Developme	ent
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test	366
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility:	
Does Mozart Make You Smarter?	367-68
Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their	
"Mothers"	370
Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test	371
Chapter 10 Emotion and Mot	ivation
	PAGE
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	TAUL
Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid?	409-10
Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schechter-Singer	10 10
Two-Factor Theory	/12
Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study	413-14
Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial	413 14
Expressions Across Cultures	/10
Expressions Across cultures	-119

Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law 426 Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation 432 Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating 437 Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses 442 Chapter 11 Health and Well-Being

HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE		
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:			
Taking Mental Shortcuts: Why Are People Afraid			
of Flying but Not of Driving (or Smoking)?	454-55		
Fig. 11.4 Life Expectancy by Race and Sex	456		
Fig. 11.7 Trends in Overweight, Obesity, and			
Extreme Obesity	459		
Fig. 11.8 The Impact of Variety on Eating Behavior	459		

Scientific Thinking: Sperling's Sensory Memory Experiment	nt 274	Scientific Thinking: Cohen's Study of Stress and the	
Fig. 7.12 The Serial Position Effect	276	Immune System	476
Fig. 7.14 Encoding	279	Fig. 11.29 Relationship Between Marriage and Health	486
Scientific Thinking: Godden and Baddeley's Study of		Fig. 11.30 Relationship Between Trust and Health	487
Context-Dependent Memory	283	Chapter 12 Social Psychology	
Scientific Thinking: Loitus's Studies on Suggestibility	298	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Ignoring Evidence (Confirmation Bias): How		Fig. 12.2 Social Brain Hypothesis	496
Accurate Are Evewitnesses?	299	Scientific Thinking: Asch's Study on Conformity to	
	,	Social Norms	503
Chapter 8 Thinking, Language, an	ld	What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning	
Intelligence		Relative Comparisons: Can Social Norms Marketing	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE	Reduce Binge Drinking?	504
Scientific Thinking: Study of Preschoolers' Use of		Fig. 12.9 A Social Norms Study	504
Cigarettes and Alcohol While Role Playing as Adults	314	Fig. 12.11 Prodicting the Posulte	506-07
Fig. 8.13 Anchoring	318	Fig. 12.11 Fledicting the Results	507
Anchoring and Framing	318-19	Obedience	508
rig. 6.14 LOSS AVELSION	310	Fig. 12.13 Aggression Varies Across Cultures	512
Making Relative Comparisons (Anchoring and		Fig. 12.14 Aggressive Responses to Insults	512
Framing): Why Is It Hard to Resist a Sale?	318	Fig. 12.16 The Bystander Intervention Effect	515
Fig. 8.17 Faulty Affective Forecasting	321	Scientific Thinking: Sherif's Study of Competition and	
Problem Solving Achieves Goals	321-27	Cooperation	517
Fig. 8.41 The Distribution of IQ Scores	340	Fig. 12.20 Implicit Association Test	521
Fig. 8.43 Inspection Time Tasks	344	Fig. 12.22 Cognitive Dissonance	522
Fig. 8.44 Memory Span Tasks	344	Scientific Thinking: Payne's Experiments on	
Fig. 8.46 Genes and Intelligence	346	Stereotypes and Perception	531
Fig. 8.48 Birth Weight and Intelligence	347	Fig. 12.28 Groups and Communication	533
Fig. 8.49 Removing Bias from Tests	349	Chapter 13 Personality	
Fig. 8.50 Stereotype Threat	350		PAGE
Fig. 8.51 Stereotype Threat Counteracted	351	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	FAUL
		Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins	551
Chapter 9 Human Development		Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior	551 554
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in	551 554
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test	PAGE 366	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals	551 554 555
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	PAGE 366	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality	551 554 555 570
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility:	PAGE 366	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in	551 554 555 570
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter?	PAGE 366 367-68	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures	551 554 555 570 571
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their	PAGE 366 367-68	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change	551 554 555 570 571 572
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers"	PAGE 366 367-68 370	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change	551 554 555 570 571 572 573
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 573 574
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 Coliference On Sect	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 578
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivation HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Ludoments	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580 – 81
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Bating and Friends' Bating for	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivatia HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid?	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE 409-10	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid?	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE 409-10	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580 - 81 581 587
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE 409-10 413 413-14	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Self-States	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 587 588
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial	PAGE 366 367-68 370 371 ion PAGE 409-10 413 413-14	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581 587 588 587
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.34 Favoritism	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 580–81 580–81 581 587 588 589 589 589
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.34 Favoritism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 580–81 580–81 581 587 588 589 589 589 589 591
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581 587 588 589 589 589 589 591
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valia? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581 587 588 589 589 589 589 591
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valia? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Bebauice	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 432	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.34 Favoritism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Proventimeses	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580–81 581 587 588 589 589 599 591
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Ein 10.35 Serual Rehaviors and Responses	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442	 Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? 	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580–81 581 587 588 589 589 599 591 592–93 ers
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Change Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Chapter 14 Psychological Disord	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580–81 581 581 587 588 589 589 589 591 592–93 ers PAGE
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses Chapter 11 Health and Well-Being	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442 g	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California Q-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Chapter 14 Psychological Disord HEADING/DESCRIPTION <	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581 587 588 589 589 591 589 591 592-93 ers PAGE 605-06
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Etkman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses Chapter 11 Health and Well-Being HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442 g PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.34 Favoritism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Chapter 14 Psychological Di	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 581 587 588 589 589 591 589 591 592-93 ers PAGE 605-06 605
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Etkman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses Chapter 11 Health and Well-Being HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442 g PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Chapter 14 Psychological Disord HEADING/DESCRIPTION Psychological Disorders Must Be Assessed Fig. 14.6 Neuropsychological Testing Fig. 14.7 Assessing a Client	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580-81 581 587 588 589 589 591 589 591 592-93 ers PAGE 605-06 605 606
Chapter 9 Human Development HEADING/DESCRIPTION Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter? Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers" Fig. 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test Chapter 10 Emotion and Motivati HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid? Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory Dutton and Aron's Misattribution of Arousal Study Scientific Thinking: Ekkman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures Fig. 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation Fig. 10.31 The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior Fig. 10.35 Sexual Behaviors and Responses Chapter 11 Health and Well-Being HEADING/DESCRIPTION What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Taking Mental Shortcuts: Why Are People Afraid	PAGE 366 367–68 370 371 ion PAGE 409–10 413 413–14 419 426 432 437 442 g PAGE	Fig. 13.3 Correlations in Twins Predicting Behavior Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.18 The Stability of Personality Fig. 13.20 Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.21 Life Experience and Personality Change Fig. 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits Fig. 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality Fig. 13.25 California 0-Sort Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments Fig. 13.28 Fig. 13.28 Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits Sociometer Theory Inability to Replicate Results of Meta-Analysis Regarding Narcissism Fig. 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span Fig. 13.35 Rating the Self Across Time What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning: Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased? Chapter 14 Psychological Disorder HEADING/DESCRIPTION	551 554 555 570 571 572 573 574 578 579 580–81 581 587 588 589 589 591 589 591 592–93 CPS PAGE 605–06 605 606 606

Fig. 14.26 Genetics and Schizophrenia

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:

Vaccinations Cause Autism Spectrum Disorder?

Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: Do

Chapter 15 Treatment of Psychological Disorders

1 Sychological Disoracis	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Effectiveness of Treatment Is Determined by	
Empirical Evidence	666-67
Therapies Not Supported by Scientific Evidence	
Can Be Dangerous	667-68
Fig. 15.14 John Lennon, Yoko Ono, and Primal	
Scream Therapy	667
Treatments That Focus on Behavior and on	
Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders	672-75
Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for	
Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder	675-77
Fig. 15.19 Treatments for Obsessive-Compulsive	
Disorder	676
Many Effective Treatments Are Available for	
Depressive Disorders	677, 680-84
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility:	
Should You Trust Studies Sponsored by Drug	(70 70
Companies?	6/8-79
ig. 15.20 Antidepressants on the Market	679
Depression	600
ithium and Atypical Antipsychotics Are Most	003
Effective for Ringlar Disorder	681-86
Antinsychotics Are Superior for Schizonbrenia	686-88
in 15.25. The Effectiveness of Clozanine	687
ig 15.26 The Effectiveness of Antinsychotic	001
Medications, Social Skills Training and Family The	erapy 688
Dialectical Behavior Therapy Is Most Successful for	
Borderline Personality Disorder	690-91
Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Extremely	
Difficult to Treat	691-92
ig. 15.28 Antisocial Personality Disorder	692
Fig. 15.29 Children Given Medication	694
Children with ADHD Can Benefit from Various	
Approaches	694-96
Fig. 15.30 The Effects of Ritalin	695
Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit	
from Structured Behavioral Treatment	696-99
Fig. 15.32 ABA Treatment, Joint Attention, and	
Symbolic Play	697
Fig. 15.33 Rates of Depression in Teenagers	699
The Use of Medication to Treat Adolescent	
Depressive Disorders is Controversial	699-702
rig. 15.34 Declining Suicide Rates	700
The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression	
Study (TADS)	701

Ethical and Social GOAL Responsibility in a 3 **Diverse World**

Chapter 1 The Science of Psychology

606	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
608	Fig. 1.10 Confucius	12
615	Fig. 1.15 Mary Whiton Calkins	15
632	Culture Provides Adaptive Solutions	23-24
	Fig. 1.25 Cultural Differences	24
	Fig. 1.26 Levels of Analysis	25
646-47	Ethnomusicology	25-26

Chapter 2 Research Methodol	ogy
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 2.9 Participant Observation	45
Correlational Studies Describe and Predict How	
Variables Are Related	48-51
Participants Need to Be Carefully Selected and	
Randomly Assigned to Conditions	54-56
Fig. 2.21 Cross-Cultural Studies	56
with Human Darticipante	E7_E0
Fig. 2.22 Research on Smoking and Cancer	58
Fig. 2.23 Informed Consent	50 59
There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research	
with Animals	59-62
Using Psychology in Your Life: Should I	
Participate in Psychological Research?	60-61
Fig. 2.26 Animal Research	62
Fig. 2.35 LeBron James	69
Chapter 3 Biology and Behavio	or
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 3.12 Exercise and Endorphins	88
Fig. 3.37 Growth Hormone and Cycling	108
Fig. 3.42 The Human Body Down to Its Genes	116
Sickle-Cell Disease and African Americans	119-20
Fig. 3.49 Sickle-Cell Disease	120
Social and Environmental Contexts Influence	
Genetic Expression	122-23
Genetic Expression Can Be Modified	123, 125
Chapter 4 Consciousness	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Unconscious Influences Study at Nijmegen Universit	y 138
Changes in Consciousness Following Brain Injury	140-41
Fig. 4.11 Brain Death	141
Meditation Produces Relaxation	157-58
People Can Lose Themselves in Activities	158-59
Fig. 4.25 Religious Ecstasy	159
Their Daughter	150
People Use-and Abuse-Many Psychoactive Drugs	161-67
Fig. 4.32 Socially Accepted Drinking	165
Addiction Has Physical and Psychological Aspects	167-169
Chapter 5 Sensation and Perce	ntion
	PAGE
Fig. 5.6 Difference Threshold	177
Fig. 5.11 How We Are Able to See	184-85
Fig. 5.39 How We Are Able to Hear	200-201
Cochlear Implants Assist the Hearing Impaired	202-03
Fig. 5.42 Cochlear Implants	203
Culture's Influences on Taste Preferences	206-07
Scientific Thinking: Infant Taste Preferences	
Affected by mother's Diet	206
Chapter 6 Learning	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 6.2 Learning to Learn	222
FIG. 6.8 Sensitization	225
Scientific Thinking: Watson's "Little Albert"	233-30
Experiment	237
Fig. 6.19 Experiencing Coffee	238
Reinforcement Increases Behavior	241-42, 244
Punishment Decreases Behavior	246-50
Fig. 6.32 Legality of Spanking	247

Chapter 7 Memory	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Bartlett's Experiment Involving Canadian First	
Nations Folktale	280
Fig. 7.15 Cultural Influence on Schemas	281
ig. 7.18 Different Types of Long-Term Memory	285
ig. 7.21 Prospective Memory	288
ig. 7.23 Absentmindedness	291
	291
Chapter 8 Thinking, Language, a	and
	DACE
	309-10
in 8.2 Excellent Thinking Skills	310
hinese Characters and Mandarin Pronunciations	311
ig. 8.8 Schemas and Stereotypes	313
Gender Roles	313
ig. 8.9 Gender Roles Revised	313
frican American Scripts Before Civil Rights	314
ig. 8.12 Expected Utility Theory	317
ig. 8.17 Faulty Affective Forecasting	321
ig, 8.27 Maler's Study on Sudden Insight	327
istening Preferences in Newborns Between English	331
and Tagalog	332
Discrimination of Phonemes: Japanese Infants' Ability	to
Differentiate /r/ and /l/	332
ig. 8.33 Joint Attention	333
ig. 8.34 Teaching Language	334
Social and Cultural Influences on Development of	
Language	335
ig. 8.36 Creole Language	335
advants Tig 8.45 Stanban Wiltshirg	345-46
Breast-Feeding Study in Belarus	347
Group Differences in Intelligence Have	
Multiple Determinants	349-51
ig. 8.49 Removing Bias from Tests	349
ig. 8.50 Stereotype Threat	350
ig. 8.51 Stereotype Threat Counteracted	351
Chapter 9 Human Development	;
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Biology and Environment Influence Motor	2(1 (2
Development Walking in Baganda Infants and African American	301-03
Infants	362
Motor Development in Kipsigi Infants	362-63
Fig. 9.6 Learning to Walk	362
Fig. 9.7 Dynamic Systems Theory	363
Fig. 9.16 Piaget's Stages of Cognitive Development	375
ig. 9.17 The Preoperational Stage and the Law of	
Conservation of Quantity	376
/ygotsky's Focus on Social and Cultural Context	377-78
19. 9.19 Culture and Learning	3//
Moral Development Begins in Childhood	381-83
Moral Judgment Study Involving Gay Men	382
A Sense of Identity Forms	385-90
Development of Gender Identity	387-88
David (Bruce) Reimer and Gender Identity	388-89
Ethnic Identity	389-90
Fig. 9.30 Peers and Identity	390
Adults Are Affected by Life Transitions	393-94
rig. 9.32 Marriage	394

$Chapter\,10\quad Emotion\ and\ Motivation$

HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Gabby Douglas	403-04
Fig. 10.1 Gabby Douglas's Motivation to Succeed	404
Fig. 10.14 Moods and Life Satisfaction	417
Facial Expressions Communicate Emotion	418-20
Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial	
Expressions Across Cultures	419
Display Rules Differ Across Cultures and Between	
the Sexes	420-21
Culture Plays a Role	436-37
Fig. 10.30 Tasty Treats	436
Cultural Scripts and Cultural Rules Shape Sexual	
Interactions	441-43
People Differ in Sexual Orientations	443-45
Fig. 10.36 Sexual Orientation	445
Chapter 11 Health and Well-E	Being
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 11.4 Life Expectancy by Race and Sex	456
Health Disparities Among Countries, Cultures, and	
Ethnicities	456-57
Fig. 11.5 The Longest-Living People	456
Cultural Attitudes Toward Obesity	460-61
Fig. 11.10 Variations in Body Image	461
Smoking Is a Leading Cause of Death	465-67
Fig. 11.13 Smoking Is a Global Phenomenon	465
There Are Sex Differences in How People Respond	to
Stressors	472-73
Fig. 11.19 Fight-or-Flight Response	472
Fig. 11.20 Tend-and-Befriend Response	473
Fig. 11.22 Heart Disease	477
Fig. 11.23 Personality Traits Predict Heart Disease	478
Cross-Cultural Study Involving Japanese and	
Non-Japanese College Students	478
Fig. 11.28 Positivity	484
Study of Marriage and Well-Being Across Cultures	485-86
Spirituality Contributes to Well-Being	487, 490
Chapter 12 Social Psychology	,
	DACE
Corry Booker	405-04
Fig. 121. Corry Pooker's Helping Pohavior	495-90
Popula Eavor Their Own Groups	490
Fig. 12.2. Ingroups and Outgroups	471 77
Fig. 12.4 Women and Ingroup Bias	104
Groups Influence Individual Rehavior	470
Fig. 12.6. Effect of Groups in the Stanford Prison	477 JUL
Study and at Abu Ghraib	500
The Stanford Prison Study and Abu Ghraib	500
People Conform to Others	502-03 505
Fig. 12.8. Social Norms	502 00, 503
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning	002
Relative Comparisons: Can Social Norms Marketin	na
Reduce Binge Drinking?	504
Fig. 12.9 A Social Norms Study	504
People Are Often Compliant	505-06
People Are Obedient to Authority	506-07
Scientific Thinking: Milgram's Shock	000 01
Experiments on Obedience	508
Many Factors Can Influence Aggression	510-13
Fig. 12.12 Harming Versus Helping	510
Fig. 12.13 Aggression Varies Across Cultures	512
Fig. 12.14 Aggressive Responses to Insults	513
Many Factors Can Influence Helping Behavior	513-14
Some Situations Lead to Bystander Apathy	514-16
Fig. 12.16 The Bystander Intervention Effect	515

Scientific Thinking: Sherif's Study of Competition	
and Cooperation	517
Jigsaw Classroom	518
Fig. 12.18 The Mere Exposure Effect	520
Fig. 12.19 Socialization Shapes Attitudes	520
Fig. 12.22 Cognitive Dissonance	522
Fig. 12.23 Justifying Effort	523
Fig. 12.25 Reading Nonverbal Behavior	526
People Make Attributions About Others	527-28
Fundamental Attribution Error	527-28
Stereotypes Are Based on Automatic	
Categorization	528-30
Stereotypes Cartoon	529
Stereotypes Can Lead to Prejudice	530-32
Scientific Thinking: Payne's Experiments on	
Stereotypes and Perception	531
Modern Prejudice	531-32
Prejudice Can Be Reduced	532-33
Fig. 12.28 Groups and Communication	533
Situational and Personal Factors Influence	F0F 00
Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships	535-38
Love is an important component of Romantic	520
Relationships	538
Staying in Love can Require work	538-41
Using Psychology in Your Life: How Can Psychology	E 4 0 4 1
Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship?	540-41
Chapter 13 Personality	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 13.4 Three Types of Temperament	553
Personality Studies in China	563
Fig. 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages	
in Five Cultures	571
Culture Influences Personality	573-75
Fig. 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality	
Traits	574
Fig. 13.31 Working Self-Concept	586
People Use Mental Strategies to Maintain a	
Positive Sense of Self	588-91
There Are Cultural Differences in the Self	591-92
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some	
Cultures Less Biased?	592-93
Fig. 13.36 Cultural Differences in Self-Construals	593
Fig. 13.37 Individualist Versus Collectivist Cultures	593
Chapter 14 Psychological Diso	rders
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Overview of Psychopathology	600-601
Psychopathology Is Different from Everyday	
Problems	602-03
Hearing the Voices of Spirits in Native American	
and East Indian Cultures	602
Psychological Disorders Are Classified into	
Categories	603-05
Psychological Disorders Have Many Causes	606-09
Fig. 14.10 Sociocultural Model of Psychopathology	607
Fig. 14.13 Taijin Kyofusho	609
Table 14.2 Cultural Syndromes	610
Fig. 14.19 Informing the Public	619
Psychological Disorders in Women in Non-U.S.	
Countries	619
Delusions in German and Japanese Patients with	
Schizophrenia	620

Cooperation Can Reduce Outgroup Bias

Fig. 12.17 Global Cooperation

516-18

516

Chapter 15 Treatment of	
Psychological Disorders	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Psychotherapy Is Based on Psychological Principles	656-62
Fig. 15.4 Exposure	658
Fig. 15.7 Family Therapy	661
Expressed Emotion and Relapse in Different Countrie	s 661
Cultural Beliefs Affect Treatment	661
Fig. 15.8 Cultural Effects on Therapy	661
Medication Is Effective for Certain Disorders	662-63
Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in	
Extreme Cases	664-65
Fig. 15.10 Prehistoric Skull with Holes	664
Irepanning	664
Effectiveness of freatment is Determined by	666-67
Therapies Not Supported by Scientific Evidence	000-01
Can Be Dangerous	667-68
Fig. 15.14 John Lennon, Yoko Ono, and Primal	001 00
Scream Therapy	667
A Variety of Providers Can Assist in Treatment for	
Psychological Disorders	668-69
Treatments That Focus on Behavior and on	
Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders	672-75
Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for	
Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder	675-77
Many Effective Treatments Are Available for	
Depressive Disorders 6	577, 680-84
What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility:	
Should You Trust Studies Sponsored by Drug	
Companies?	678-79
Gender Issues in Treating Depressive Disorders	684
Effective for Bipolar Disorder	601-06
Antineventies Are Superior for Schizophrenia	686-88
Schizophrenia in Developing Countries	688
Dialectical Rehavior Therapy Is Most Successful for	000
Borderline Personality Disorder	690-91
Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Extremely	
Difficult to Treat	691-92
Fig. 15.29 Children Given Medication	694
Children with ADHD Can Benefit from Various	
Approaches	694-96
Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit	
from Structured Behavioral Treatment	696-99
The Use of Medication to Treat Adolescent	
Depressive Disorders Is Controversial	699-702
The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression	
Study (TADS)	701
GOAL Communication	
-+	
Chapter 1 The Science of Psych HEADING/DESCRIPTION N/A	10logy PAGE

Chapter 2	Research Methodol	ogy
HEADING/DES	SCRIPTION	PAGE

36

Scientific Thinking: Cell Phone Versus Intoxication	36
The Scientific Method Aids Critical Thinking	37-41
Fig. 2.5 The Scientific Method in Action	39
Scientific Thinking: The Hawthorne Effect	46
Scientific Thinking: Rosenthal's Study of Experimenter	
Expectancy Effects	47

Chanter 3	Biology and Behavior	
		DACE
Scientific Thinking	Casni's Study of the Influence of	PAGE
Environment and	Genes	124
	a .	
hapter 4	Consciousness	
IEADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
cientific Thinking	: Change Blindness Studies by	
Simons and Levir) . The Deletienship Detween	136
Consciousness a	. The Relationship Between	120
		139
Chapter 5	Sensation and Percept	tion
IEADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
cientific Thinking	: Infant Taste Preferences	
Affected by Moth	er's Diet	206
hapter 6	Learning	
EADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
cientific Thinking	: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning	228
cientific Thinking	: Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment	237
cientific Thinking	: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning	251
cientific Thinking	: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies	255
cientific Thinking	: Fear Response in Rhesus Monkeys	258
Chapter 7	Memory	
EADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
cientific Thinking	: Sperling's Sensory Memory	
Experiment		274
cientific Thinking	: Godden and Baddeley's Study of	
Context-Depende	ent Memory	283
scientific Thinking	: Loftus's Studies on Suggestibility	298
Chapter 8	Thinking, Language, a	nd
Intelligence	e	
IEADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
cientific Thinking	: Study of Preschoolers' Use of	
Cigarettes and Al anguage Is a Syst	lcohol While Role Playing as Adults em of Communication Using	314
Sounds and Syml	bols	329-31
ig. 8.28 The Units	s of Language	330
ig. 8.31 Left Hemi	isphere Regions involved in Speech	331
anguage Develop	ie muit People's Use of Language	331
istening Proferon	s in an orderly way ces in Newborns Retween	332-33
English and Taga	loa	332
Discrimination of F	honemes: Japanese Infants'	55L
Ability to Differer	ntiate /r/ and /l/	332
ig. 8.34 Teaching	Language	334
locial and Cultural	Influences on Development	
of Language		335
ig. 8.36 Creole La	anguage	335
Chapter 9	Human Development	
	SCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking	: The Memory-Retention Test	366
Scientific Thinking	: Harlow's Monkeys and Their	
"Mothers"	,	370
Chapter 10	Emotion and Mati	Her
Juster 10	Emotion and Motiva	rion
		.1011
HEADING/DE	SCRIPTION	PAGE
HEADING/DE	SCRIPTION : Testing the Schachter-Singer	PAGE

Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial 39 Expressions Across Cultures 419 46 Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and 47 Affiliation 432

Chapter 11 Health and Well-Bei	ng
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: Cohen's Study of Stress and the	
Immune System	476
Chapter 12 Social Psychology	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: Asch's Study on Conformity to	
Social Norms	503
Scientific Thinking: Milgram's Shock Experiments on	
Obedience	508
Scientific Thinking: Sherif's Study of Competition and	
Cooperation	517
Attitudes Can Be Changed Through Persuasion	523
Fig. 12.24 The Elaboration Likelihood Model	524
Scientific Thinking: Payne's Experiments on	
Stereotypes and Perception	531
Prejudice Can Be Reduced	532-33
Fig. 12.28 Groups and Communication	533
Staying in Love Can Require Work	538-41
Using Psychology in Your Life: How Can Psychology	F 40 41
Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship?	540-41
Chapter 13 Personality	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in	
Animals	555
Using Psychology in Your Life: What Personality	
Traits Should I Look for in a Roommate?	580-81
Chapter 14 Psychological Disore	ders
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Scientific Thinking: Inhibition and Social Anxiety	615
Using Psychology in Your Life: I Think My Friend Might	
Be Suicidal. What Should I Do?	622-23
Chapter 15 Treatment of	
Psychological Disorders	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
Using Psychology in Your Life: How Do I Find a	
Therapist Who Can Help Me?	669-70
Scientific Thinking: Mayberg's Study of DBS and	
Depression	683
The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression	
Study (TADS)	701
GOAL Professional	
5 Dovelopment	
Development	
Chanter 1 The Science of Psych	
HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PACE
	FAGE

HEADING/DESCRIPTION

Psychological Science Teaches Critical Thinking

211	ng	Psychological Science Examines How People	
	PAGE	Typically Think	6-9
		Subfields of Psychology	26-27
	476	Using Psychology in Your Life: Will Psychology	
		Benefit Me in My Chosen Career?	28-29
	PAGE	Chapter 2 Research Methodolo	gy
		HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	503	Using Psychology in Your Life: Should I	
		Participate in Psychological Research?	60-61
1	508	Chapter 3 Biology and Behavior	r
	517	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	523	Using Psychology in Your Life: Will My Learning	
	524	Disability Prevent Me from Succeeding in College?	114
	531	Chapter 4 Consciousness	
	532-33	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	533	Laptops and Smartphones in the Classroom and	
	538-41	Multitasking	136-37
	540-41	Sleep Is an Adaptive Behavior	148-51
	J+0 +1	Chapter 5 Sensation and Perce	ption
		HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	PAGE	N/A	
	555	Chapter 6 Learning	
	E00 01	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	580-81	Operant Conditioning Is Influenced by	
rc	lers	Schedules of Reinforcement	245-46
	PAGE	Fig. 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule	245
	615	Fig. 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule	245
t		Fig. 6.29 Fixed Ratio Schedule	246
	622-23	Fig. 6.30 Variable Ratio Schedule	246
		Chapter 7 Memory	
		HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	PAGE	N/A	
	669-70	Chapter 8 Thinking, Language,	and
		Intelligence	
	683	HEADING/DESCRIPTION	PAGE
	701	Fig. 8.13 Anchoring	318
	101	Anchoring and Framing	318-19
		Fig. 8.14 Loss Aversion	318
		What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning:	
		Making Relative Comparisons (Anchoring and	010
10	logy	Framing): WNY IS IT HARD TO KESIST & Sale?	319
10	DACE	Providenti Solving Achieves Goals	321-27
	5-6	Approach Major Decisions?	322-22
	5 0		JLL LJ

Chapter 9 H HEADING/DESC N/A	Human Development CRIPTION	PAGE
Chapter 10	Emotion and Motiva	tion
HEADING/DESC	RIPTION	PAGE
People Are Motivated	t by Incentives	426-28
People Set Goals to A	Achieve	428-30
Chapter 11	Health and Well-Bei	ng
HEADING/DESC		PAGE
Overview of Stress		469-70
Table 11.2 Student St	ress Scale	471
Stress Disrupts the Ir	nmune System	476-77
Coping Reduces the M	Negative Health Effects of	
Stress		480-82
Chapter 12	Social Psychology	
HEADING/DESC	CRIPTION	PAGE
People Are Often Con	npliant	505-06
Attitudes Can Be Cha	nged Through Persuasion	523
Chapter 13	Personality	
HEADING/DESC	CRIPTION	PAGE
N/A		
Chapter 14	Psychological Disord	ders
HEADING/DESC	CRIPTION	PAGE
Fig. 14.7 Assessing a	Client	606
Chapter 15	Treatment of	
Psychologica	d Disorders	
HEADING/DESC	CRIPTION	PAGE
Psychotherapy Is Bas	ed on Psychological	
Principles		656-62
A Variety of Providers	s Can Assist in Treatment	
for Psychological D	isorders	668-69
Table 15.1 Types of Sp	pecialized Mental Health	
Practitioners		669

Instructor Resources

Psychological Science offers instructors a full set of traditional and innovative tools designed to support a broad range of course needs and teaching styles. This support features:

Test Bank

To help you build exams, all 2,500+ questions in the Test Bank for *Psychological Science* have been carefully crafted and thoroughly reviewed to ensure that they are as good as the textbook they support. Features of the Fifth Edition Test Bank include:

- extensive revisions to reflect the advice of subjectmatter experts and star teachers for each chapter;
- higher question quality across all chapters;
- improved question *quantity*, with each chapter offering 160–200 multiple-choice questions;
- questions tagged by Bloom's taxonomy level, APA
 2.0 learning goal, chapter, section, and difficulty.

Video Resources

Psychological Science offers instructors a variety of original videos as well as URLs to YouTube-type web-based videos depicting psychological concepts in everyday life and in popular culture. These URLs are usually accompanied by advice for using them in lecture, including discussion questions about the videos.

There are also two types of original videos—Demonstration Videos and Conceptual Videos:

• **Demonstration Videos** show students enacting 25 important concepts in a classroom setting and are offered in two formats: *Student versions* are suitable for showing in class or online, whereas *instructor versions* show you how to re-create the demonstrations in your class.



"Brain Hemispheres" Demonstration Video for Chapter 2.

 Conceptual Videos feature 20 course concepts that students traditionally struggle to understand.
 Each concept is depicted in a real-life setting to help students better understand the concept as well as to see how it relates to their everyday world.



"Negative Reinforcement" Conceptual Video for Chapter 6.

PowerPoint® Sets

Create your lecture files to suit your specific course needs using this rich variety of PPT slides, which support each chapter of *Psychological Science*:

- **Art PPTs** provide every figure, photo, and table from the textbook, optimized for projection in lecture halls (in JPEGs as well as PPTs).
- Lecture PPTs use outlines and key images from the text to thoroughly summarize the book's presentation.
- Video PPTs include the original Demonstration Videos and Conceptual Videos (described under "Video Resources") to help your students better understand key course concepts.
- **Supplemental Photo PPTs** offer images depicting course concepts not found in the book.
- **Clicker Question PPTs** and **Active Learning PPTs** provide you with examples and ideas for in-class participation activities.



Additional Teaching Resources

Using our **Interactive Instructor's Guide** (IIG) website, you can easily find and quickly download hundreds of teaching tools created for *Psychological Science*. An invaluable tool for novice and veteran instructors alike, the IIG offers all of our Video Resources and PPT sets, as well as these resources for each chapter:

- chapter outlines and summaries;
- class activity ideas and handouts;
- lecture suggestions and discussion questions;
- ideas for using Norton's ZAPS online psychology labs in your course.

Coursepack Digital Content

Norton Coursepacks work with your existing Learning Management System to add rich, book-specific digital materials to your course—at no cost to you or your students. The *Psychological Science* expanded Coursepack includes:

- Pre-Lecture Quizzes, Chapter Quizzes, and Post-Study Quizzes;
- Demonstration Videos and Conceptual Videos (see "Video Resources") with suggested activities and questions;
- **Guided Reading Activities** to help students focus on studying and reading the book;
- Activity Kits for the new "What to Believe?" textbook feature, which include questions, videos, and assignable quizzes.



"Are You Superstitious?" Video in the "What to Believe?" Activity Kit for Chapter 6.

InQuizitive and ZAPS Instructor Tools

Psychological Science offers two great student review tools: **InQuizitive,** Norton's new online formative, adaptive learning tool, and the fully revised **ZAPS: The Norton Online Psychology Labs.** Both of these resources, fully described inside the front cover of this book, offer special capabilities that enable you to integrate them into your course.

INQUIZITIVE 👪

InQuizitive helps your students learn by employing gamelike elements and delivering answer-specific feedback. It is assignable and gradable, and—since all InQuizitive questions are assigned to section-level learning goals—gives you insights into the areas where your students need more help so you can adjust your lectures and class time accordingly.

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Class Activity Reports in InQuizitive allow you to quickly learn how well your students are doing.



The Norton Online Psychology Labs

With ZAPS labs, your students interactively explore key psychological concepts to gain a deeper understanding of the concepts as well as of the scientific process. You can choose from one to three ZAPS labs for each chapter in *Psychological Science*. You will receive summaries of your students' performance for each lab assigned, so credit can be given. You will also receive all the data your students generate in ZAPS, which you can share with the class to help them better understand the concepts. Instructor-only notes and activity ideas for each ZAPS lab are offered through the *Psychological Science* Interactive Instructor's Guide.

Contents

Preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xvi
Correlation with APA Learning Guidelines 2.0	xxi
Instructor Resources	xxviii

The Science of Psychology 1.1 What Is Psychological Science? 4 WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Failing to See Our Own Inadeguacies: Why Are People Unaware of Their Weaknesses?......10 Introspection and Other Methods Led to Structuralism......14 Functionalism Addressed the Purpose of Behavior......14



3

USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE

Will Psychology Benefit Me in My Career?	28
Summing Up: What Are the Latest Developments in Psychology?	28
Measuring Up	29
Your Chapter Review	30



2 Besearch Methodology	22
21. Here let he Scientife Method Herdin Prechology	00
2.1 How is the Scientific Method Used in Psychological Research?	34
Critical Thinking Magne Questioning and Evaluating Information	34
The Scientific Method Aids Critical Thinking	35
Upeypected Eindings Cap Be Valuable	57
Summing Un: How Is the Scientific Method Used in	41
Psychological Research?	42
Measuring Up	42
2.2 What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research?	43
Descriptive Research Consists of Case Studies, Observation, and	
Self-Report Methods	44
Correlational Studies Describe and Predict How Variables Are Related	48
The Experimental Method Controls and Explains	51
Participants Need to Be Carefully Selected and Randomly Assigned to Conditions	54
Summing Up: What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research?	56
Measuring Up	56
2.3 What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research?	57
There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with	
Human Participants	57
There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with Animals	59
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE	
Should I Participate in Psychological Research?	60
Summing Up: What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research?	62
Measuring Up	62
2.4 How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated?	63
Good Research Requires Valid, Reliable, and Accurate Data	63
Descriptive Statistics Provide a Summary of the Data	65
Correlations Describe the Relationships Between Variables	67
Inferential Statistics Permit Generalizations	68
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING	~~~
Misunderstanding Statistics: Should You Bet on a Hot Hand?	69
Summing Up: How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated?	10
measuring up	70

Your Chapter Review 71

Biology and Behavior 7	5
3.1 How Does the Nervous System Operate?	76
The Nervous System Has Two Basic Divisions	76
Neurons Are Specialized for Communication	77
The Resting Membrane Potential Is Negatively Charged	79
Action Potentials Cause Neural Communication	30
Neurotransmitters Bind to Receptors Across the Synapse	32
Neurotransmitters Influence Mental Activity and Behavior	34
Summing Up: How Does the Nervous System Operate?	38
Measuring Up 8	39
3.2 What Are the Basic Brain Structures and Their Functions?	39
Scientists Can Now Watch the Working Brain	9 0
The Brain Stem Houses the Basic Programs of Survival	92
The Cerebellum Is Essential for Movement	93
Subcortical Structures Control Emotions and Appetitive Behaviors	94
The Cerebral Cortex Underlies Complex Mental Activity	96
Splitting the Brain Splits the Mind 10)0
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Failing to Notice Source Credibility: Are There "Left Brain" and "Right Brain" Types of People?	02
Summing Up: What Are the Basic Brain Structures and Their Functions?	23
Measuring Up)4
3.3 How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body?)4
The Peripheral Nervous System Includes the Somatic and Autonomic Systems 10)4
The Endocrine System Communicates Through Hormones)6
Actions of the Nervous System and Endocrine System Are Coordinated 10) 7
Summing Up: How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body?)8
Measuring Up 10)9
3.4 How Does the Brain Change? 10)9
Experience Fine-Tunes Neural Connections1	10
Females' and Males' Brains Are Mostly Similar but May Have Revealing Differences	10
The Brain Rewires Itself Throughout Life	111
The Brain Can Recover from Injury1	12
Summing Up: How Does the Brain Change?1	13
Measuring Up 1	13
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE Will My Learning Disability Prevent Me from Succeeding in College?	14
3.5 What Is the Genetic Basis of Psychological Science?	15
All of Human Development Has a Genetic Basis1	15
Heredity Involves Passing Along Genes Through Reproduction1	16



Genotypic Variation Is Created by	
Sexual Reproduction	
Genes Affect Behavior	120
Social and Environmental Contexts Influence	
Genetic Expression	122
Genetic Expression Can Be Modified	
Summing Up: What Is the Genetic Basis of	
Psychological Science?	126
Measuring Up	126
Your Chapter Review	



4 Consciousness	131
4.1 What Is Consciousness?	
Consciousness Is a Subjective Experience	
Conscious Awareness Involves Attention	
Unconscious Processing Influences Behavior	
Brain Activity Gives Rise to Consciousness	138
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING After-the-Fact Explanations: How Do We Interpret Our Behavior?	142
Summing Un: What Is Consciousness?	144
Measuring Up	
	144
4.2 What IS Sleep?	
Sleep Is an Altered State of Consciousness	
How Can I Get a Good Night's Sleep?	150
People Dream While Sleeping	152
Summing Up: What Is Sleep?	154
Measuring Up	154
4.3 What Is Altered Consciousness?	155
Hypnosis Is Induced Through Suggestion	155
Meditation Produces Relaxation	157
People Can Lose Themselves in Activities	158
Summing Up: What Is Altered Consciousness?	160
Measuring Up	160
4.4 How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness?	160
People Use-and Abuse-Many Psychoactive Drugs	161
Addiction Has Physical and Psychological Aspects	167
Summing Up: How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness?	169
Measuring Up	169
Your Chapter Review	170

Sensation and Perception	173
5.1 How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation?	174
Sensory Information Is Translated into Meaningful Signals	175
Detection Requires a Certain Amount of the Stimulus	176
The Brain Constructs Stable Representations	179
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Misunderstanding Statistics: Does ESP Exist?	180
Summing Up: How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation?	181
Measuring Up	181
5.2 How Are We Able to See?	182
Sensory Receptors in the Eye Transmit Visual Information to the Brain	182
The Color of Light Is Determined by Its Wavelength	185
Perceiving Objects Requires Organization of Visual Information	188
Depth Perception Is Important for Locating Objects	191
Size Perception Depends on Distance	193
Motion Perception Has Internal and External Cues	194
Object Constancies Help When Perspective Changes	196
Summing Up: How Are we Able to See?	197
Measuring op	197
5.3 How Are We Able to Hear?	198
Audition Results from Changes in Air Pressure	198
Pitch is Encoded by Frequency and Location	199
Are My Listening Habits Damaging My Hearing?	202
Cochlear Implants Assist the Hearing Impaired	202
Summing Up: How Are We Able to Hear?	203
Measuring Up	203
5.4 How Are We Able to Taste?	204
There Are Five Basic Taste Sensations	204
Culture Influences Taste Preferences	206
Summing Up: How Are We Able to Taste?	207
Measuring Up	207
5.5 How Are We Able to Smell?	208
Smell Detects Odorants	208
Pheromones Are Processed Like Olfactory Stimuli	210
Summing Up: How Are We Able to Smell?	210
Measuring Up	210
5.6 How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain?	210
The Skin Contains Sensory Receptors for Touch	211
There Are Two Types of Pain	211
Summing Up: How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain?	215
Measuring Up	216
Your Chapter Review	217




6 Transier	0.01
	221
6.1 How Do We Learn?	222
Learning Results from Experience	222
There Are Three Types of Learning.	223
Habituation and Sensitization Are Simple Models of Learning	
Summing Up: How Do We Learn?	
Measuring Up	225
6.2 How Do We Learn Predictive Associations?	226
Behavioral Responses Are Conditioned	226
Classical Conditioning Involves More Than Events	221
Occurring at the Same Time	231
Phobias and Addictions Have Learned Components	235
Summing Up: How Do We Learn Predictive Associations?	
Measuring Up	
6.3 How Does Operant Conditioning Change Behavior?	
Reinforcement Increases Behavior	
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING	
Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start? .	
of Reinforcement	
Punishment Decreases Behavior	
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE	240
Biology and Cognition Influence Operant Conditioning	
Dopamine Activity Underlies Reinforcement	
Summing Up: How Does Operant Conditioning	
Change Behavior?	
Measuring Up	253
6.4 How Does Watching Others Affect Learning?	
Learning Can Occur Through Observation and Imitation	
Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression	257
Fear Can Be Learned Through Observation	
Mirror Neurons Are Activated by Watching Others	259
Summing Up: How Does Watching	200
Measuring Un	
Your Chapter Review	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

\sim		
· (Memory	265
7.1 W	hat Is Memory?	
Memory Retrie	Is the Nervous System's Capacity to Retain and ve Skills and Knowledge	266
Memory	Is the Processing of Information	
Memory	Is the Result of Brain Activity	
Summing	J Up: What Is Memory?	
Measurin	g Up	272
7.2 <mark>Ho</mark>	w Are Memories Maintained over Time?	
Sensory	Memory Is Brief	272
Working	Memory Is Active	273
Long-Ter	m Memory Is Relatively Permanent	
Summing	Up: How Are Memories Maintained over Time?	
Measurin	g Up	
7.3 <mark>H</mark> o	w Is Information Organized in Long-Term Memory?	
Long-Ter	m Storage Is Based on Meaning	
Schemas	Provide an Organizational Framework	
Informati	ion Is Stored in Association Networks	
Retrieval	Cues Provide Access to Long-Term Storage	
Summing Moasurin) Up: How is information Organized in Long-Term Memory?	
wiedsurin		
7.4 W	hat Are the Different Long-Term Memory Systems?	
	lemory Involves Conscious Effort	
Prospoct	ive Memory is Remembering to De Semething	200 297
Summing	I Un: What Are the Different Long-Term Memory Systems?	288
Measurin	g Up	
	han Doog Mamony Fail?	200
7.0 VV Transion	re ls Caused by Interference	
Blocking	Is Temporary	291
Absentm	indedness Results from Shallow Encoding	
Amnesia	Is a Deficit in Long-Term Memory	
Persisten	ice Is Unwanted Remembering	
Summing	Up: When Does Memory Fail?	
Measurin	g Up	
7.6 <mark>H</mark> o	w Are Long-Term Memories Distorted?	
People R	econstruct Events to Be Consistent	
Flashbult	Memories Can Be Wrong	
People M	ake Source Misattributions	
Suggestil -	bility Biases Memory	
People H	ave False Memories	
WHAT TO Ignori	BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING ng Evidence (Confirmation Bias): How Accurate Are Eyewitnesses	\$? 299



Repressed Memories Are Controversial	300
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE Can I Ace Exams Without Cramming?	302
Summing Up: How Are Long-Term Memories Distorted?	304
Measuring Up	304
Your Chapter Review	305



Thinking, Language, and	
O Intelligence	. 309
8.1 What Is Thought?	310
Thinking Involves Two Types of Mental Representations	310
Concepts Are Symbolic Representations	311
Schemas Organize Useful Information About Environments	
Summing Up: What Is Thought?	315
Measuring Up	315
8.2 How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems?	316
Decision Making Often Involves Heuristics	316
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING	
Making Relative Comparisons (Anchoring and Framing): Why Is It Hard to Resist a Sale?	319
Problem Solving Achieves Goals	
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE	
How Should I Approach Major Decisions?	322
Summing Up: How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems?	328
Measuring Up	328
8.3 What Is Language?	329
Language Is a System of Communication Using Sounds and Symbols	329
Language Develops in an Orderly Way	332
There Is an Inborn Capacity for Language	334
Reading Needs to Be Learned	336
Summing Up: What Is Language?	337
Measuring Up	337
8.4 How Do We Understand Intelligence?	338
Intelligence Is Measured with Standardized Tests	338
General Intelligence Involves Multiple Components	341
Intelligence Is Related to Cognitive Performance	343
Genes and Environment Influence Intelligence	
Group Differences in Intelligence Have Multiple Determinants	349
Summing Up: How Do We Understand Intelligence?	351
Measuring Up	352
Your Chapter Review	353

Human Development	
—	
	Human Development

9.1 What Factors Shape Infancy?	
Development Starts in the Womb	
Biology and Environment Influence Motor Development	361
Infants Are Prepared to Learn	
Infants Develop Attachments	
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter?	
Summing Up: What Factors Shape Infancy?	373
Measuring Up	373
9.2 How Do Children Learn About the World? Piaget Emphasized Stages of Cognitive Development	
Children Learn from Interacting with Others	380
Moral Development Begins in Childhood	
Summing Up: How Do Children Learn About the World?	
Measuring Up	
9.3 What Changes During Adolescence? Puberty Causes Physical Changes	
Peers and Parents Help Shape the Adolescent Self	
Summing Up: What Changes During Adolescence?	
Measuring Up	
9.4 What Brings Meaning in Adulthood?	
Would Parenthood Make Me Happy?	
The Transition to Old Age Can Be Satisfying	
Cognition Changes with Age	
Summing Up: What Brings Meaning in Adulthood?	
Measuring Up	
Your Chapter Review	400

10 Emotions and Motivation 403

10.1 What Are Emotions?	404		
Emotions Vary in Valence and Arousal	405		
Emotions Have a Physiological Component	405		
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING			
Confirmation Bias: Are Lie Detector Tests Valid?	409		
There Are Three Major Theories of Emotion	410		
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE How Can I Control My Emotions?	414		





Summing Up: What Are Emotions?41Measuring Up41	15 16
10.2 How Are Emotions Adaptive? 41Emotions Serve Cognitive Functions41Facial Expressions Communicate Emotion41Display Rules Differ Across Cultures and Between the Sexes42Emotions Strengthen Interpersonal Relations42Summing Up: How Are Emotions Adaptive?42Measuring Up42	16 17 18 20 21 22 23
10.3 How Are People Motivated?42Drives Motivate the Satisfaction of Needs42People Are Motivated by Incentives42People Set Goals to Achieve42People Have a Need to Belong43Summing Up: How Are People Motivated?43Measuring Up43	23 24 26 28 30 33 33
10.4 What Motivates Eating?43Many Physiological Factors Influence Eating43Eating Is Influenced by Time and Taste43Culture Plays a Role43Summing Up: What Motivates Eating?43Measuring Up43	34 35 36 37 37
10.5 What Motivates Sexual Behavior?43Biology Influences Sexual Behavior43Cultural Scripts and Cultural Rules Shape Sexual Interactions44People Differ in Sexual Orientations44Summing Up: What Motivates Sexual Behavior?44Measuring Up44Your Chapter Review44	38 38 41 43 45 45 46 47



		Health and Well-Being	451
--	--	-----------------------	-----

11.1 What Affects Health? 49	53
Social Context, Biology, and Behavior Combine to Affect Health	53
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Taking Mental Shortcuts: Why Are People Afraid of Flying but	
Not of Driving (or Smoking)? 45	54
Obesity and Maladaptive Eating Habits Have Many Health Consequences	57
Smoking Is a Leading Cause of Death 46	65
Exercise Has Numerous Benefits	67
Summing Up: What Affects Health?	68
Measuring Up 46	69
11.2 What Is Stress? 46	69
Stress Has Physiological Components	70
There Are Sex Differences in How People Respond to Stressors	72

The General Adaptation Syndrome Is a Bodily Response to Stress	473 474
Measuring Up	475
11.3 How Does Stress Affect Health?	475
Stress Disrupts the Immune System	476
Stress Increases the Risk of Heart Disease	477
Coping Reduces the Negative Health Effects of Stress	180
Summing Up: How Does Stress Affect Health?4	182
Measuring Up	183
11.4 Can a Positive Attitude Keep People Healthy? 4	183
Positive Psychology Emphasizes Well-Being4	183
Being Positive Has Health Benefits 4	184
Social Support Is Associated with Good Health 4	185
Spirituality Contributes to Well-Being	187
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE Can Psychology Improve My Health?	188
Summing Up: Can a Positive Attitude Keep People Healthy?	491
Measuring Up	491
Your Chapter Review	492

12 Social Psychology 495

12.1 How Does Group Membership Affect People?	496
People Favor Their Own Groups	497
Groups Influence Individual Behavior	499
People Conform to Others	502
 WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Relative Comparisons: Can Social Norms Marketing Reduce Binge Drinking? People Are Often Compliant. People Are Obedient to Authority Summing Up: How Does Group Membership Affect People? Measuring Up 	. 504 . 505 . 506 . 508 . 509
12.2 When Do People Harm or Help Others? Many Factors Can Influence Aggression Many Factors Can Influence Helping Behavior Some Situations Lead to Bystander Apathy Cooperation Can Reduce Outgroup Bias Summing Up: When Do People Harm or Help Others? Measuring Up	510 510 513 514 516 518 518
12.3 How Do Attitudes Guide Behavior? People Form Attitudes Through Experience and Socialization Behaviors Are Consistent with Strong Attitudes Attitudes Can Be Explicit or Implicit. Discrepancies Lead to Dissonance.	519 519 520 521 521
Attitudes Can Be Changed Through Persuasion	523



Summing Up: How Do Attitudes Guide Behavior?	524 525
12 4 How Do People Think About Others?	525
12.4 How Do reopie Think About Others:	525
Physical Appearance Affects First Impressions	525
People Make Attributions About Others	527
Stereotypes Are Based on Automatic Categorization	528
Stereotypes Can Lead to Prejudice	530
Prejudice Can Be Reduced	532
Summing Up: How Do People Think About Others?	534
Measuring Up	534
12.5 What Determines the Quality of Relationships?	E21
	554
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction	554
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships.	535
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships	535 538
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships Staying in Love Can Require Work	535 538 538
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships Staying in Love Can Require Work USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE	535 538 538
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships Staying in Love Can Require Work USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE How Can Psychology Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship?	535 538 538 538
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships. Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships Staying in Love Can Require Work. USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE How Can Psychology Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship? Summing Up: What Determines the Quality of Relationship?	535 538 538 538 540 542
Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships Staying in Love Can Require Work USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE How Can Psychology Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship? Summing Up: What Determines the Quality of Relationships? Measuring Up	535 538 538 540 542 542



13 Personality	
13.1 Where Does Personality Come From?	
Personality Is Rooted in Genetics	550
Temperaments Are Evident in Infancy	552
There Are Long-Term Implications of Temperaments	553
Personality Is Adaptive	
Summing Up: Where Does Personality Come From?	
Measuring Up	
13.2 What Are the Theories of Personality?	557
Psychodynamic Theories Emphasize Unconscious and Dynamic Processes	557
Personality Reflects Learning and Cognition	560
Humanistic Approaches Emphasize Integrated Personal Experience	
Trait Approaches Describe Behavioral Dispositions	
Summing Up: What Are the Theories of Personality?	566
Measuring Up	567
13.3 How Stable Is Personality?	568
People Sometimes Are Inconsistent	568
Behavior Is Influenced by the Interaction of Personality and Situations	568
Personality Traits Are Relatively Stable over Time	
Development and Life Events Alter Personality Traits	571
Culture Influences Personality	573
Summing Up: How Stable Is Personality?	575
Measuring Up	576

13.4 How Is Personality Assessed?	577
Personality Refers to Both Unique and Common Characteristics	577
Researchers Use Multiple Methods to Assess Personality	577
Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments	580
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE What Personality Traits Should I Look for in a Roommate?	582
Summing Up: How Is Personality Assessed?	582
Measuring Up	583
13.5 How Do We Know Our Own Personalities?	584
Our Self-Concepts Consist of Self-Knowledge	584
Perceived Social Regard Influences Self-Esteem	586
People Use Mental Strategies to Maintain a Positive Sense of Self	588
There Are Cultural Differences in the Self	591
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased?	592
Summing Up: How Do We Know Our Own Personalities?	594
Measuring Up	594
Your Chapter Review	595

14 Psychological Disorders	599
14.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Conceptualized and Classified?	600
Psychopathology Is Different from Everyday Problems. Psychological Disorders Are Classified into Categories Psychological Disorders Must Be Assessed	602 603 605
Psychological Disorders Have Many Causes Summing Up: How Are Psychological Disorders Conceptualized and Classified? Measuring Up	606 610 611
14.2 Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods? Anxiety Disorders Make People Apprehensive and Tense. Unwanted Thoughts Create Anxiety in Obsessive-Compulsive Disorders . Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Results from Trauma. Depressive Disorders Consist of Sad, Empty, or Irritable Mood . Depressive Disorders Have Biological, Situational, and Cognitive Components . Bipolar Disorders Involve Depression and Mania. USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE I Think My Friend Might Be Suicidal. What Should I Do? . Summing Up: Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods?	612 612 615 617 618 619 621 622 624
Measuring Up	625
14.3 Which Disorders Emphasize Thought Disturbances? Dissociative Disorders Are Disruptions in Memory, Awareness, and Identity Schizophrenia Involves a Split Between Thought and Emotion Summing Up: Which Disorders Emphasize Thought Disturbances? Measuring Up	625 625 628 634
measuring op	000



14.4 What Are Personality Disorders?
Personality Disorders Are Maladaptive Ways of Relating to the World
Borderline Personality Disorder Is Associated with Poor Self-Control
Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Associated with a Lack of Empathy
Summing Up: What Are Personality Disorders?
Measuring Up 641
14.5 Which Psychological Disorders Are Prominent in Childhood? 642
Autistic Spectrum Disorder Involves Social Deficits and
Restricted Interests



Treatment of Psychological Disorders	653
15.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Treated?	
Psychotherapy Is Based on Psychological Principles	656
Medication Is Effective for Certain Disorders	
Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in Extreme Cases	664
Effectiveness of Treatment Is Determined by Empirical Evidence	666
Therapies Not Supported by Scientific Evidence Can Be Dangerous	
A Variety of Providers Can Assist in Treatment for Psychological Disorders	668
USING PSYCHOLOGY IN YOUR LIFE How Do I Find a Therapist Who Can Help Me?	670
Summing Up: How Are Psychological Disorders Treated?	670
Measuring Up	671
15.2 What Are the Most Effective Treatments?	672
Treatments That Focus on Behavior and on Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders	672
Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder	675
Many Effective Treatments Are Available for Depressive Disorders	677
WHAT TO BELIEVE? USING PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONING Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Should You Trust	
Studies Sponsored by Drug Companies?	678

Lithium and Atypical Antipsychotics Are Most Effective for Bipolar Disorder	684
Antipsychotics Are Superior for Schizophrenia	686
Summing Up: What Are the Most Effective Treatments?	689
Measuring Up	689
15.3 Can Personality Disorders Be Treated?	689
Dialectical Behavior Therapy Is Most Successful for Borderline Personality Disorder	690
Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Extremely Difficult to Treat	. 691
Summing Up: Can Personality Disorders Be Treated?	. 693
Measuring Up	. 693
15.4 How Should Childhood and Adolescent	(0)
Disorders Be Treated?	. 693
Children with ADHD Can Benefit from Various Approaches	. 694
Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit from Structured Behavioral Treatment	. 696
The Use of Medication to Treat Adolescent Depressive Disorders Is Controversial	. 699
Summing Up: How Should Childhood Disorders and Adolescent Disorders Be Treated?	. 702
Measuring Up	. 702
Your Chapter Review	. 703
Glossary	. G-1
Pafarancas	P-1

References	R-1
Answer Key for Practice Tests	A-1
Permissions Acknowledgments	P-1
Name Index	N-1
Subject Index	S-1



Psychological Science



Ask & Answer

1.1 What Is Psychological Science? 4

1.2 What Are the Scientific Foundations of Psychology? 12

1.3 What Are the Latest Developments in Psychology? 21

FIGURE 1.1 Digital Interaction People stay wired to their digital media, even in social situations.



The Science of Psychology

THINK OF THE ADVANTAGES THAT DIGITAL MEDIA have brought to so many lives over the past few decades. Thirty years ago, if you wanted to contact someone far away, you most likely wrote a letter. Phoning could be expensive, and email was largely unavailable. Now you might email, text, Skype, tweet, or blog. Twenty years ago, if you wanted a piece of information that was not available in your home, you might have traveled to a library. Now you would probably go straight to the Internet.

Around the world, billions of people now spend much of their time interacting through digital media (**FIGURE 1.1**). In fact, many people, especially young people, feel panicky to be away from their 24/7 connection to the electronic universe. When was the last time you willingly went a week without your phone or computer? A day? Some of you probably cannot last more than a few hours, or you become anxious when your instructor insists that cell phones be turned off in the classroom.

> You might think, therefore, that our more frequent communications with others would bring many benefits to our social lives. Early proponents of social media, such as the creators of Facebook, envisioned a flatter world-that is, a world with fewer obstacles between people. In their view, technology would make us more connected and give us stronger social ties. We would stay in touch with old friends while easily making new ones. Our new friends would be people who

shared our interests, whether they lived on the next street or on some tiny island thousands of miles away.

Facebook now has over a billion users. Many Facebook users visit the site several times a day. None of these people are sad and lonely, right? All of them have become happier through social media?

On the contrary, there is evidence that the more people use Facebook, the less happy they are in their daily lives. In 2013, at the University of Michigan, the psychologist Ethan Kross and his colleagues performed a study concerning Facebook use. The researchers texted the study participants five times a day for two weeks. In those texts, they asked the participants how much they had used Facebook and how they were feeling. The researchers found that the more the participants had used Facebook at one time they were asked, the worse those people felt the next time they were asked. The more the participants used Facebook over the full two weeks, the less satisfied they were with their lives. If you are a Facebook member, would knowing these results make you quit? What if you knew that most of the study participants were college students?

Before acting on this information, you have to react to it-emotionally, mentally, or both. Your first reaction is probably to want to know more about the study. You might want details about how the study was conducted. Or you might wonder about the results. Why did the participants report feeling less happy? Is it because people who are interacting on Facebook are interacting less with others face to face? Is it because many people brag on Facebook, and other people's accomplishments can make us feel inadequate? Is it because many people look passively at Facebook without actively interacting with other users? Maybe sad and lonely people spend more time on Facebook because they have trouble making friends in real life. And how might the ages of the participants have affected their happiness? You might even wonder how the researchers measured "happiness."

The researchers address many of these issues in their paper. They do so because, like much research in psychology, this study raises questions that we want answers for. To get good answers to questions, researchers need to conduct good scientific studies and think carefully about the results. In other words, they need to perform psychological science.

Learning Objectives

- Define psychological science.
- Define critical thinking, and describe what it means to be a critical thinker.
- Identify the eight major biases in thinking, and explain why these biases result in errors in reasoning.

1.1 What Is Psychological Science?

Psychology involves the study of mental activity and behavior. The term *psychologist* is used broadly to describe someone whose career involves understanding mental life or predicting behavior. We humans are intuitive psychologists. That is, we try to understand and predict others' behavior. For example, defensive drivers rely on their intuitive sense of when other drivers are likely to make mistakes. People choose relationship partners they expect will best meet their emotional, sexual, and support needs. People try to predict whether others are kind, are trustworthy, will make good caretakers, will make good teachers, and so on. But people too often rely on apparent common sense or their gut feelings. They cannot intuitively know if many of

the claims related to psychology are fact or fiction. For example, will taking certain herbs increase memory? Will playing music to newborns make them more intelligent? Does mental illness result from too much or too little of a certain brain chemical?

The science of psychology is not simply about intuitions or common sense. **Psychological science** is the study, through research, of mind, brain, and behavior. But what exactly does each of these terms mean, and how are they all related?

Mind refers to mental activity. Examples of the mind in action include the perceptual experiences (sights, smells, tastes, sounds, and touches) we have while interacting with the world. The mind is also responsible for memories, thoughts, and feelings. Mental activity results from biological processes within the *brain*.

Behavior describes the totality of observable human (or animal) actions. These actions range from the subtle to the complex. Some occur exclusively in humans, such as debating philosophy or performing surgery. Others occur in all animals, such as eating, drinking, and mating. For many years, psychologists focused on behavior rather than on mental states. They did so largely because they had few objective techniques for assessing

the mind. The advent of technology to observe the working brain in action has enabled psychologists to study mental states and has led to a fuller understanding of human behavior. Although psychologists make important contributions to understanding and treating mental disorders, most psychological science has little to do with therapeutic clichés such as couches and dreams. Instead, psychologists generally seek to understand mental activity (both normal and abnormal), the biological basis of that activity, how people change as they grow older, how people vary in response to social settings, and how people acquire healthy and unhealthy behaviors.

Psychological Science Teaches Critical Thinking

One of this textbook's most important goals is to provide a basic, state-of-the-art education about the methods of psychological science. Even if your only exposure to psychology is through the introductory course for which *Psychological Science* is the textbook, you will become psychologically literate. With a good understanding of the field's major issues, theories, and controversies, you will also avoid common misunderstandings about psychology. You will learn how to separate the believable from the incredible. You will learn to spot poorly designed experiments, and you will develop the skills necessary to critically evaluate claims made in the popular media.

The media love a good story, and findings from psychological research are often provocative (**FIGURE 1.2**). Unfortunately, media reports can be distorted or even flat-out wrong. Throughout your life, as a consumer of psychological science, you will need to be skeptical of overblown media reports of "brand-new" findings obtained by "ground-breaking" research (**FIGURE 1.3**). With the rapid expansion of the Internet and thousands of new research findings available for searches on just about any topic, you need to be able to sort through and evaluate the information you find in order to gain a correct understanding of the phenomenon (observable thing) you are trying to investigate.

One of the hallmarks of a good scientist—or a savvy consumer of scientific research—is *amiable skepticism*. This trait combines openness and wariness. An amiable skeptic remains open to new ideas but is wary of new "scientific findings" when good evidence and sound reasoning do not seem to support them. An amiable





The Motivated Brain

Understanding the Pursuit of Goals by Elliot Berkman, Ph.D.

Does Brain-Training Work?

Don't believe the hype—there's a catch to mental skills training programs. Published on December 31, 2013 by Dr. Elliot T. Berkman in The Motivated Brain

The <u>recent</u> <u>proliferation</u> of commercial online "brain-training" services that promise to enhance intelligence and other cognitive abilities is understandable: Who wouldn't want to be smarter and have greater working memory and <u>inhibitory control</u>.⁽²⁷ Seeing the potential for low-cost and reliable measurement of performance, some corporations have begun using similar tools to assess potential hires and evaluate employees ("people analytics.⁽²⁷) No doubt there is some amount of benefit to be gained on both fronts. After all, people have an amazing capacity to develop expertise with practice in a huge range of skills (think video games, driving, or crosswords), and it is an open secret that qualitative interviews, the dominant tool currently used for evaluating new hires, are <u>subject</u> of <u>up</u> <u>blas</u> of and <u>on</u>?

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Despite this potential, independent & studies & on brain-training services provide (at best) equivocal support for their effectiveness. This is true for a number of their claims, but particularly the implicit understanding that performance gains earned on the training tasks will generalize to untrained tasks (so-called 'transfer effects'). It's one thing to get better at a particular task, but a more rigorous standard is whether users improve on other ones. Does practicing Tetris make you better at Pac-Man? The begit works' debunking studies claiming to produce training effects has been done by Randall Engel, Zach Shipstead, and their colleagues at Georgia Toch, who find that practice indeed improves skills at the trained tasks, but doesn't transfer to untrained tasks when adequate control groups are used. They also <u>raise concems</u> about the durability of the training over boner periods of time used in the research (usualit's 30 eff eng hts).

FIGURE 1.2 Psychology in the News

Psychological research is often in the news because the findings are intriguing and relevant to people's lives.

psychological science The study, through research, of mind, brain, and behavior.



FIGURE 1.3 "Brand-New" Findings

Media reports seek to grab attention. Their claims can be based on science, but they can also be hype-or worse.



skeptic develops the habit of carefully weighing the facts when deciding what to believe. The ability to think in this way—to systematically question and evaluate information using well-supported evidence—is called **critical thinking**.

Being a critical thinker involves looking for holes in evidence, using logic and reasoning to see whether the information makes sense, and consid-



ering alternative explanations. It also requires considering whether the information might be biased, such as by personal or political agendas. Critical thinking demands healthy questioning and keeping an open mind. Most people are quick to question information that does not fit with their beliefs. But as an educated person, you need to think

critically about all information. Even when you "know" something, you need to keep refreshing that information in your mind. Ask yourself: Is my belief still true? What led me to believe it? What facts support it? Has science produced new findings that require us to reevaluate and update our beliefs? This exercise is important because you may be least motivated to think critically about information that verifies your preconceptions. In Chapter 2, you will learn much more about how critical thinking helps our scientific understanding of psychological phenomena.

Psychological Reasoning Examines How People Typically Think

Critical thinking is useful in every aspect of your life. It is also important in all fields of study throughout the humanities and the sciences. The integration of critical thinking in psychological science adds to our understanding of how people typically think when they encounter information. Many decades of psychological research have shown that people's intuitions are often wrong. Intuitions also tend to be wrong in predictable ways. Indeed, human thought is often biased in ways that make critical thinking very difficult. Through scientific study, psychologists have discovered types of situations in which common sense fails and biases influence people's judgments. In psychology, the term *reasoning* refers to using evidence to draw conclusions. In this book, the term *psychological reasoning* refers to using psychological research to examine how people typically think, to understand when and why they are likely to draw erroneous conclusions.

Does eating too much sugar cause children to become hyperactive? Many people believe this connection has been established scientifically, but in fact a review of the scientific literature reveals that the relationship between sugar consumption and hyperactivity is essentially nonexistent (Wolraich, Wilson, & White, 1995). Some people will argue that they have seen with their own eyes what happens when children eat large amounts of sweets. But consider the contexts of such firsthand observations. Might the children have eaten lots of sweets when they were at parties with many other children? Might the gatherings, rather than the sweets, have caused the children to be very excited and active? People often let their beliefs and their biases determine what they "see." The children's highly active behavior, viewed in connection with eating sweets, is interpreted as sugar-induced hyperactivity. This example actually shows many of the ways that learning to use psychological reasoning can help people become better critical thinkers.

Psychological scientists have catalogued a number of ways that noncritical thinking can lead to erroneous conclusions (Gilovich, 1991, Hines, 2003; Kida, 2006; Stanovich, 2013). These errors and biases do not occur because people lack intelligence or motivation. Just the opposite is true. Most of these biases occur *because* people are motivated to use their intelligence. They want to make sense of events that involve them and happen around them. The human brain is highly efficient at

"For God's sake, think! Why is he being so nice to you?"

critical thinking Systematically questioning and evaluating information using wellsupported evidence. finding patterns and making connections between things. By using these abilities, people can make errors but can also make new discoveries and advance society (Gilovich, 1991).

Our minds are constantly analyzing all the information we receive and trying to make sense of that information. These attempts generally result in relevant and correct conclusions. But sometimes we get things wrong. Sometimes we see patterns that do not really exist. We look at the clouds and see images in them— clowns, faces, horses, what have you. We play recorded music backward and hear satanic messages. We believe that events, such as the deaths of celebrities, happen in threes (FIGURE 1.4).

Often, we see what we expect to see and fail to notice things that do not fit with our expectations. We expect that kids who consume sugar will become hyper, and then we interpret their behavior in ways that confirm our expectations. Likewise, our stereo-types about people shape our expectations about them, and we interpret their behavior in ways that confirm these stereotypes.

Why is it important to care about errors and biases in thinking? The psychologist Thomas Gilovich answers this question insightfully in his book *How We Know What Isn't So: The Fallibility of Human Reason in Everyday Life* (1991). He points out that more Americans believe in extrasensory perception (ESP) than in evolution and that there are twenty times more astrologers than astronomers. Followers of ESP and astrology may base important life decisions on beliefs that are wrong. False beliefs can sometimes lead to dangerous actions. Some people hunt endangered animals because they believe the animals' body parts provide magical cures. Some people rely on fringe therapies to provide what they think is real medical or psychological treatment.

Knowing about psychological reasoning will also help you do better in your classes, including this one. Before they have taken a psychology course, many students have false beliefs, or misconceptions, about psychological phenomena. The psychologists Patricia Kowalski and Annette Kujawski Taylor (2004) found that students who employ critical thinking skills complete an introductory course with a more accurate understanding of psychology than students who complete the same course but do not employ critical thinking skills. As you read this book, you will benefit from the critical thinking skills that are discussed. You can apply these skills in your other classes, your workplace, and your everyday life.

Each chapter of the book draws your attention to at least one major example of psychological reasoning, in a feature called "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning." Following are some of the major biases you will encounter.

Ignoring evidence (confirmation bias): Don't believe everything you think.

People show a strong tendency to place great importance on evidence that supports their beliefs. They tend to downplay evidence that does not match what they believe. When people hear about a study that is consistent with their beliefs, they generally believe the study has merit. When they hear about a study that contradicts those beliefs, they look for flaws or other problems. Think back to the Facebook study described at the beginning of this chapter. Did the study seem to have merit? Your judgment was probably influenced by your feelings about Facebook.

One factor that contributes to confirmation bias is the selective sampling of information. For instance, people with certain political beliefs may visit only Web sites that are consistent with those beliefs. However, if we restrict ourselves to evidence that supports our views, then of course we will believe we are right. Similarly, people show selective memory, tending to better remember information that supports their existing beliefs.



FIGURE 1.4 Patterns That Do Not Exist People often think they see faces in objects. When the owner claimed to see the face of the Virgin Mary on this grilled cheese sandwich, the sandwich sold to a casino for \$28,000 on eBay.



FIGURE 1.5 Actors as "Experts"

Advertisements that feature people portraying medical professionals are successful because they create the illusion that such people have expertise.

- *Failing to accurately judge source credibility: Who can you trust?* Every day, we are besieged with new information. Particularly when we are not sure what to believe, we are faced with the issue of *whom* to believe. You can probably assume that your psychology professor is much more credible in describing the factors that influence dating success than your cousin Vinny is. But as a critical thinker, you know that sources, even experts, need to be able to justify their claims. Your professor can tell you about actual research studies. Vinny probably relies on his personal experience. At the same time, you should be wary of *appeals to authority*, such as when sources refer to their expertise rather than to the evidence. Advertisers can try to exploit our tendencies to rely on expertise. An advertisement using a person who appears to be a physician is likely to be more successful in promoting sales of a drug than one that uses a representative of the drug company (**FIGURE 1.5**). Critical thinking requires us to examine the sources of the information we receive.
- *Misunderstanding or not using statistics: Going with your gut.* People generally fail to understand or use statistics in their efforts to interpret events around them. Gamblers believe that a roulette ball that has landed on red five times in a row is now more likely to land on black. Basketball fans watch players go through hot streaks where they seem never to miss. In fact, these "patterns" do not happen more frequently than would be expected by chance. Suppose you hear that there is a strong relationship between smoking and developing cancer. You might think of your ancient aunt who has smoked for 40 years and is fine. Because of that observation, you might conclude that the relationship is untrue. But the relationship between smoking and cancer is simply that smokers are more likely to get cancer, not that every smoker will get cancer. As you will learn in Chapter 2, statistics help scientists understand the likelihood that events happen simply by chance.
- Seeing relationships that do not exist: Making something out of nothing.
 An extremely common reasoning error is the misperception that two events that happen at the same time must somehow be related. In our desire to find predictability in the world, we sometimes see order that does not exist. Believing that events are related when they are not can lead to superstitious behavior. For example, an athlete thinks she must eat a certain meal before a game in order to win, or a fan believes that wearing his favorite team's jersey helps the team win. But many times events that appear related are just coincidence. Consider a humorous example. Over the last 200 years, the mean global temperature has increased. During that same period, the number of pirates on the high seas has decreased. Would you argue that the demise of



FIGURE 1.6 A Humorous Example Sometimes things that appear related are not.

pirates has led to increased global warming (FIGURE 1.6)?
Using relative comparisons: Now that you put it that way. When people are asked to guess the result of multiplying 8 × 7 × 6 × 5 × 4 × 3 × 2 × 1, the average guess is around 2250. But when people are asked to guess the result of multiplying 1 × 2 × 3 × 4 × 5 × 6 × 7 × 8, the average is only 512 (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). The real answer is 40,320. Why would starting with a larger number lead to a higher guess and starting with a smaller number lead to a lower guess? Information that comes first has a strong influence on how people make relative comparisons. How a question is framed, or presented, also changes how people answer the question. For example, people tend to prefer information that is presented positively rather

than negatively. Consider a medical treatment. People will generally feel more enthusiastic about a treatment if they are told how many lives the treatment can save. People are less enthusiastic if they are told how many people will not be saved by the same treatment. Whichever way the treatment is looked at, the outcome is the same. The framing determines people's relative comparisons.

- Accepting after-the-fact explanations: I can explain! Because people expect the world to make sense, they often come up with explanations for why events happen. They do so even when they have incomplete information. One form of this reasoning bias is known as *hindsight bias*. We are wonderful at explaining why things happened, but we are much less successful at predicting future events. Think about the fatal shootings in 2012 at Sandy Hook Elementary School, in Newtown, Connecticut. In hindsight, we know that there were warning signs that the shooter, Adam Lanza, might become violent (FIGURE 1.7). Yet none of these warning signs prompted anyone to take action. People saw the signs but failed to predict the tragic outcome. More generally, once we know the outcome, we interpret and reinterpret old evidence to make sense of that outcome. Likewise, when political pundits predict an election outcome and get it wrong, they later come out with all sorts of explanations for the election result. If they had really seen those factors as important before the election, they should have made a different prediction. We need to be wary of after-the-fact explanations because they tend to distort the evidence.
- *Taking mental shortcuts: Keeping it simple.* People often follow simple rules, called heuristics, to make decisions. These mental shortcuts are valuable because they often produce reasonably good decisions without too much effort (Kida, 2006). Unfortunately, many heuristics can lead to inaccurate judgments and biased outcomes. One example of this problem occurs when things that come most easily to mind guide our thinking. After hearing a series of news reports about child abductions, people overestimate how often such abductions happen. Parents become overly concerned about their children being abducted. As a result, people may underestimate other dangers facing children, such as bicycle accidents, food poisoning, or drowning. Child abductions are much more likely to be reported in the news than these much more common dangers. The vivid nature of the abduction reports makes them easy to remember. Similar processes lead people to drive rather than fly even though the chances of injury or death from passenger vehicles are much greater than the chances of dying in a plane crash. In Chapter 8, we will consider a number of heuristic biases.
- Failing to see our own inadequacies (self-serving bias): Everyone is better than average. People are motivated to feel good about themselves, and this motivation affects how they think (Kunda, 1990). For example, many people believe they are better than average on any number of dimensions. More than 90 percent of people think they are better-than-average drivers, but this percentage is illogical because only 50 percent can be above average on any dimension. People use various strategies to support their positive views, such as crediting personal strengths for their successes and blaming outside forces for their failures. In general, people interpret information in ways that support their positive beliefs about themselves. One factor that promotes overconfidence is that people often have difficulty recognizing their own weaknesses. This factor is described further in "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning," on the next page.



FIGURE 1.7 Sandy Hook Shootings

In hindsight, there were warning signs that the Newtown shooter, Adam Lanza, was troubled. But it is very difficult to predict violent behavior in advance.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Why Are People Unaware of Their Weaknesses?

You are watching an audition on American Idol, and the singer, while passionate, is just awful (FIGURE 1.8). Everyone in the audience is laughing or holding back laughter out of politeness. When the judges proclaim, "You can't be serious! That was horrible!" the performer is crushed and cannot believe the verdict. "But everyone says lam a great singer," he argues. "Singing is my life!" You sit there thinking, How does he not know how bad he is?

Such moments make us cringe. We feel deeply uncomfortable about them, even as we tune in to watch them. The German language has a word for how we feel, *Fremdschämen*. This term refers to times when we experience embarrassment for other people in part because they do not realize that they should be embarrassed for themselves. Television comedies such as *The Office* owe much of their success to giving us this feeling of *Fremdschämen*.

How is it that people who are tonedeaf can believe their singing talents merit participating in a national singing competition? The social psychologists David Dunning and Justin Kruger have an explanation: People are often blissfully unaware of their weaknesses because they cannot judge those weaknesses at all (Dunning et al., 2003; Kruger & Dunning, 1999). How does this limitation come about?

People are often blissfully unaware of their weaknesses because they cannot judge those weaknesses at all.

To judge whether someone is a good singer, you need to be able to tell the difference between good and bad singing. You need to know the difference



FIGURE 1.8 Judging a Performance Judges on American Idol react to an audition.

even if you are judging your own singing. The same is true for most other activities. A lack of skill not only prevents people from producing good results, it also prevents those people from knowing what good results are. As noted by these researchers, "Thus, if people lack the skills to produce correct answers, they are also cursed with an inability to know when their answers, or anyone else's, are right or wrong" (Dunning et al., 2003, p. 85).



FIGURE 1.9 Personal Ratings Versus

Actual Performance

Students rated their mastery of course material and test performance. Points on the Y-axis reflect how the students perceived their percentile rankings (value on a scale of 100). Points on the X-axis reflect these students' actual performance rank (*quartile* here means that people are divided into four groups). The top students' predictions were close to their actual results. By contrast, the bottom students' predictions were far off.

10

In studies of college students, Dunning and Kruger found that people with the lowest grades rate their mastery of academic skills much higher than is warranted by their performance (**FIGURE 1.9**). A student who receives a grade of C may protest to the instructor, "My work is as good as my roommate's, but she got an A." The protest may simply show that the student lacks the ability to evaluate performance in those areas where she is weakest. To make matters worse, people who are unaware of their weaknesses fail to make any efforts at self-improvements to overcome those weaknesses. They do not try to get better because they already believe they are performing well.

Kruger and Dunning (1999) have shown that teaching people specific skills helps them to be more accurate in judging their performance. This finding implies that people might need help in identifying their weaknesses before they can fix those weaknesses. But why are people so inaccurate in the first place? The likely answer is that they generally start with extremely positive views about their abilities. In Chapter 12, you will learn more about why most people believe they are better than average in many things. Such beliefs influence how people judge their talents and skills across multiple areas. Knowing about these beliefs helps us understand the driver who claims to be very skilled in spite of numerous car accidents and the singer who brags about an awesome vocal ability in spite of a train-wreck performance on national television.

Summing Up

What Is Psychological Science?

- Psychological science is the study, through research, of mind, brain, and behavior.
- Most of us function as intuitive psychologists, but many of our intuitions and beliefs are wrong.
- To improve the accuracy of our own ideas, we need to think critically about them.
- We also need to think critically about research findings, and doing so means understanding the research methods that psychologists use.
- Psychological science has established typical errors that people make in reasoning about the world around them. Such errors include ignoring evidence that does not support one's beliefs (confirmation bias), failing to accurately judge source credibility, misunderstanding or not using statistics, seeing relationships that do not exist, making relative comparisons, accepting after-the-fact explanations, taking mental shortcuts, and failing to see one's own inadequacies (self-serving bias).

Measuring Up

- 1. Critical thinking is
 - a. criticizing the way other people think.
 - b. systematically assessing information to reach conclusions supported by evidence.
 - **c.** questioning everything you read or hear and refusing to believe anything you have not seen for yourself.
 - d. becoming an authority on everything so you never have to rely on other people's judgments.
- Match each example with the psychological reasoning skill it describes: misunderstanding or not using statistics, failing to accurately judge source credibility, self-serving bias, and taking mental shortcuts.
 - **a.** A blackjack player wins three hands in a row and lowers her bet, assuming the next hand must be a loser.
 - **b.** A person takes an herbal treatment to improve sleep because the package says the treatment is effective 100 percent of the time.
 - c. A student thinks he deserves an A on a paper on which he received a D.
 - **d.** Your roommate insists on going to Florida for spring break because it is the first place that comes to mind.

bias; d. taking mental shortcuts.

ANSWERS: (1) b. systematically assessing information to reach conclusions supported by evidence. (2) a. misunderstanding or not using statistics; b. failing to accurately judge source credibility; c. self-serving

Learning Objectives

- Trace the development of psychology since its formal inception in 1879.
- Define the nature/nurture debate and the mind/body problem.
- Identify the major schools of thought that have characterized the history of experimental psychology.

culture

The beliefs, values, rules, and customs that exist within a group of people who share a common language and environment.

nature/nurture debate

The arguments concerning whether psychological characteristics are biologically innate or acquired through education, experience, and culture.

mind/body problem

A fundamental psychological issue: Are mind and body separate and distinct, or is the mind simply the physical brain's subjective experience?



FIGURE 1.10 Confucius Ancient philosophers such as Confucius studied topics that remain important in contemporary psychology.

1.2 What Are the Scientific Foundations of Psychology?

Psychology originated in philosophy, as the great thinkers sought to understand human nature. For example, the ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius emphasized human development, education, and interpersonal relations, all of which remain contemporary topics in psychology around the world (Higgins & Zheng, 2002; **FIGURE 1.10**).

In nineteenth-century Europe, psychology developed into a discipline. As that discipline spread throughout the world and developed into a vital field of science and a vibrant profession, different ways of thinking about the content of psychology emerged. These ways of thinking are called *schools of thought*. As is true in every science, one school of thought would dominate the field for a while. There would be a backlash. Then a new school of thought would take over the field. The following sections consider the major themes and schools of thought in the history of psychology.

The Nature/Nurture Debate Has a Long History

Since at least the times of ancient Greece, people have wondered why humans think and act in certain ways. Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato debated whether an individual's psychology is attributable more to *nature* or to *nurture*. That is, are psychological characteristics biologically innate? Or are they acquired through education, experience, and **culture** (the beliefs, values, rules, norms, and customs existing within a group of people who share a common language and environment)?

The **nature/nurture debate** has taken one form or another throughout psychology's history. Psychologists now widely recognize that both nature and nurture dynamically interact in human psychological development. For example, psychologists study the ways that nature and nurture influence each other in shaping mind, brain, and behavior. In examples throughout this book, nature and nurture are so enmeshed that they cannot be separated.

The Mind/Body Problem Also Has Ancient Roots

The **mind/body problem** was perhaps the quintessential psychological issue: Are the mind and body separate and distinct, or is the mind simply the subjective experience of ongoing brain activity?

Throughout history, the mind has been viewed as residing in many organs of the body, including the liver and the heart. The ancient Egyptians, for example, elaborately embalmed each dead person's heart, which was to be weighed in the afterlife to determine the person's fate. They simply threw away the brain. In the following centuries, especially among the Greeks and Romans, recognition grew that the brain was essential for normal mental functioning. Much of this change came from observing people with brain injuries. At least since the time of the Roman gladiators, it was clear that a blow to the head often produced disturbances in mental activity, such as unconsciousness or the loss of speech.

Nonetheless, scholars continued to believe that the mind was separate from and in control of the body. They held this belief partly because of the strong theological belief



that a divine and immortal soul separates humans from nonhuman animals. Around 1500, the artist Leonardo da Vinci challenged this doctrine when he dissected human bodies to make his anatomical drawings more accurate. Da Vinci's dissections led him to many conclusions about the brain's workings. For example, da Vinci theorized that all sensory messages (vision, touch, smell, etc.) arrived at one location in the brain. He called that region the *sensus communis*, and he believed it to be the home of thought and judgment; its name may be the root of the modern term *common sense* (Blakemore, 1983). Da Vinci's specific conclusions about brain functions were not accurate, but his work represents an early and important attempt to link the brain's anatomy to psychological functions (**FIGURE 1.11**).

In the 1600s, the philosopher René Descartes promoted the influential theory of *dualism*. This term refers to the idea that the mind and the body are separate yet intertwined (**FIGURE 1.12**). In earlier views of dualism, mental functions had been considered the mind's sovereign domain, separate from body functions. Descartes proposed a somewhat different view. The body, he argued, was nothing more than an organic machine governed by "reflex." Many mental functions—such as memory and imagination resulted from body functions. Deliberate action, however, was controlled by the rational mind. And in keeping with the prevailing religious beliefs, Descartes concluded that the rational mind was divine and separate from the body. Nowadays, psychologists reject dualism. In their view, the mind arises from brain activity. It does not exist separately.

Experimental Psychology Began with Introspection

In the mid-1800s in Europe, psychology arose as a field of study built on the experimental method. In *A System of Logic* (1843), the philosopher John Stuart Mill declared that psychology should leave the realms of philosophy and of speculation and become a science of observation and of experiment. Indeed, he defined psychology as "the science

FIGURE 1.11 Da Vinci and the Brain

This drawing by Leonardo da Vinci dates from around 1506. Da Vinci used a wax cast to study the brain. He believed that sensory images arrived in the middle region of the brain. He called this region the *sensus communis*.



FIGURE 1.12 René Descartes

According to Descartes, the mind and the body are separate yet intertwined. As discussed throughout this book, psychologists now reject such dualism.



FIGURE 1.13 Wilhelm Wundt Wundt founded modern experimental psychology.

introspection

A systematic examination of subjective mental experiences that requires people to inspect and report on the content of their thoughts.

structuralism

An approach to psychology based on the idea that conscious experience can be broken down into its basic underlying components.



FIGURE 1.14 William James

In 1890, James published the first major overview of psychology. Many of his ideas have passed the test of time. In theorizing about how the mind works, he moved psychology beyond structuralism and into functionalism. of the elementary laws of the mind" and argued that only through the methods of science would the processes of the mind be understood. As a result, throughout the 1800s, early psychologists increasingly studied mental activity through careful scientific observation.

In 1879, Wilhelm Wundt established the first psychology laboratory and institute (**FIGURE 1.13**). At this facility, in Leipzig, Germany, students could earn advanced academic degrees in psychology for the first time. Wundt trained many of the great early psychologists, a number of whom then established psychological laboratories throughout Europe, Canada, and the United States.

Wundt realized that psychological processes, the products of physiological actions in the brain, take time to occur. Therefore, he used a method developed earlier, called *reaction time*, to assess how quickly people can respond to events. Wundt presented each research participant with a simple psychological task and a related but more complex one. He timed each task. He then performed a mathematical operation: subtracting the time a participant took to complete the simple task from the time the participant took to complete the more complex task. This method enabled Wundt to infer how much time a particular mental event took to occur. Researchers still widely use reaction time to study psychological processes, but their types of equipment are of course more sophisticated than Wundt's.

Wundt was not satisfied with simply studying mental reaction times. He wanted to measure conscious experiences. To do so, he developed the method of **introspection**, a systematic examination of subjective mental experiences that requires people to inspect and report on the content of their thoughts. Wundt asked people to use introspection in comparing their subjective experiences as they contemplated a series of objects—for example, by stating which one they found more pleasant.

Introspection and Other Methods Led to Structuralism

Edward Titchener, a student of Wundt's, used methods such as introspection to pioneer a school of thought that became known as **structuralism**. This school is based on the idea that conscious experience can be broken down into its basic underlying components, much as the periodic table breaks down chemical elements. Titchener believed that an understanding of the basic elements of conscious experience would provide the scientific basis for understanding the mind. He argued that one could take a stimulus such as a musical tone and, through introspection, analyze its "quality," "intensity," "duration," and "clarity." Wundt ultimately rejected such uses of introspection, but Titchener relied on the method throughout his career.

The general problem with introspection is that experience is subjective. Each person brings a unique perceptual system to introspection, and it is difficult for researchers to determine whether each participant in a study is employing introspection similarly. Additionally, the reporting of the experience changes the experience. Over time, psychologists largely abandoned introspection because it was not a reliable method for understanding psychological processes. Nonetheless, Wundt, Titchener, and other structuralists paved the way for developing a pure science of psychology with its own vocabulary and set of rules.

Functionalism Addressed the Purpose of Behavior

One critic of structuralism was William James, a brilliant scholar whose wideranging work has had an enormous, enduring impact on psychology (**FIGURE 1.14**). In 1873, James abandoned a career in medicine to teach physiology at Harvard University. He was among the first professors at Harvard to openly welcome questions from students rather than have them listen silently to lectures. James also was an early supporter of women trying to break into the male-dominated sciences. He trained Mary Whiton Calkins, who was the first woman to set up a psychological laboratory and was the first woman president of the American Psychological Association (**FIGURE 1.15**).

James's personal interests were more philosophical than physiological. He was captivated by the nature of conscious experience. In 1875, he gave his first lecture on psychology. He later quipped that it was also the first lecture on psychology he had ever heard. To this day, psychologists find rich delight in reading James's penetrating analysis of the human mind, *Principles of Psychology* (1890). It was the most influential book in the early history of psychology, and many of its central ideas have held up over time.

In criticizing structuralism's failure to capture the most important aspects of mental experience, James argued that the mind is much more complex than its elements and therefore cannot be broken down. For instance, he noted that the mind consists of an ever-changing, continuous series of thoughts. This **stream of conscious-ness** cannot be frozen in time, according to James, so the structuralists' techniques were sterile and artificial. Psychologists who used the structural approach, he said, were like people trying to understand a house by studying each of its bricks individually. More important to James was that the bricks together form a house and that a house has a particular function. The mind's elements matter less than the mind's usefulness to people.

James argued that psychologists ought to examine the functions served by the mind—how the mind operates. According to his approach, which became known as **functionalism**, the mind came into existence over the course of human evolution. It works as it does because it is useful for preserving life and passing along genes to future generations. In other words, it helps humans *adapt* to environmental demands.

EVOLUTION, ADAPTATION, AND BEHAVIOR One of the major influences on functionalism was the work of the naturalist Charles Darwin (**FIGURE 1.16**). In 1859, Darwin published his revolutionary study *On the Origin of Species*, which introduced the world to **evolutionary theory**. By observing the variations in species and in individual members of species, Darwin reasoned that species change over time. Some of these changes—physical characteristics, skills, and abilities—increase individuals' chances of surviving and reproducing. Surviving and reproducing in turn ensure that these changes will be passed along to future generations. Changes passed along in this way are called **adaptations**.

Earlier philosophers and naturalists—including Darwin's grandfather, Erasmus Darwin—had discussed the possibility that species might evolve. But Charles Darwin first presented the mechanism of evolution. He called this mechanism **natural selection:** the process by which changes that are adaptive (i.e., that facilitate survival and reproduction) are passed along and those that are not adaptive (i.e., that hinder survival and reproduction) are not passed along. In other words, species struggle to survive. Those species that are better adapted to their environments will survive and reproduce, their offspring will survive and reproduce, and so on. This idea has come to be known as the *survival of the fittest*. In this sense, the term *fittest* has to do with reproductive success and survival and not merely strength.

Darwin's ideas have profoundly influenced science, philosophy, and society. Rather than being a specific area of scientific inquiry, evolutionary theory is a way of thinking that can be used to understand many aspects of mind and behavior (Buss, 1999).



FIGURE 1.15 Mary Whiton Calkins Calkins was an important early contributor to psychological science and was the first woman president of the American Psychological Association.

stream of consciousness A phrase coined by William James to describe each person's continuous series of ever-changing thoughts.

functionalism

An approach to psychology concerned with the adaptive purpose, or function, of mind and behavior.



FIGURE 1.16 Charles Darwin

Introduced in *On the Origin of Species*, Darwin's theory of evolution has had a huge impact on how psychologists think about the mind.

evolutionary theory

A theory presented by the naturalist Charles Darwin; it views the history of a species in terms of the inherited, adaptive value of physical characteristics, of mental activity, and of behavior.

adaptations

In evolutionary theory, the physical characteristics, skills, or abilities that increase the chances of reproduction or survival and are therefore likely to be passed along to future generations.

natural selection

In evolutionary theory, the idea that those who inherit characteristics that help them adapt to their particular environments have a selective advantage over those who do not.

Gestalt theory

A theory based on the idea that the whole of personal experience is different from the sum of its constituent elements.

Gestalt Psychology Emphasized Patterns and Context in Learning

Another school of thought that arose in opposition to structuralism was the Gestalt school. This way of thinking was founded by Max Wertheimer in 1912 and expanded by Wolfgang Köhler, among others. According to Gestalt theory, the whole of personal experience is not simply the sum of its constituent elements. In other words, the whole is different from the sum of its parts. So, for example, if a researcher shows people a triangle, they see a triangle-not three lines on a piece of paper, as would be the case for the introspective observations in one of Titchener's structural experiments. (When you look at **FIGURE 1.17**, do you see the parts or the whole?) In experimentally investigating subjective experience, the Gestalt psychologists did not rely on the reports of trained observers. They sought out ordinary people's observations.

The Gestalt movement reflected an important idea that was at the heart of criticisms of structuralism-namely, that the perception of objects is subjective and dependent on context. Two people can look at an object and see different things. Indeed, one person can look at an object and see it in completely different ways. (When you look at **FIGURE 1.18**, how many possible views do you see?) The Gestalt perspective has influenced many areas of psychology, including the study of vision and our understanding of human personality.



FIGURE 1.17 What Do You See?

These fragments make up a picture of a dog sniffing the ground. The mind organizes the picture's elements automatically to produce the perception of the dog. The picture is processed and experienced as a unified whole. Once you perceive the dog, you cannot choose to not see it.



FIGURE 1.18 How Many Do You See? This drawing by the psychologist Roger Shepard can be viewed as either a face behind a candlestick or two separate profiles. The mind organizes the scene into one or another perceptual whole, so the picture looks a specific way each time it is viewed. It is difficult to see both the single face and two profiles at the same time.

Freud Emphasized Unconscious Conflicts

Twentieth-century psychology was profoundly influenced by one of its most famous thinkers, Sigmund Freud (**FIGURE 1.19**). Freud was trained in medicine, and he began his career working with people who had neurological disorders, such as paralysis of various body parts. He found that some of his patients had few medical reasons for their paralysis. Soon he came to believe their conditions were caused by psychological factors.

Psychology was in its infancy at the end of the nineteenth century, when Freud speculated that much of human behavior is determined by mental processes operating below the level of conscious awareness. This subconscious level is called the **unconscious**. Contrary to popular belief, Freud was not the first person to theorize the existence of an unconscious—Darwin's cousin Sir Francis Galton had earlier proposed the idea. However, Freud built on this basic idea. He believed that unconscious mental forces, often sexual and in conflict, produce psychological discomfort and in some cases even psychological disorders. According to Freudian thinking, many of these unconscious conflicts arise from troubling childhood experiences that the person is blocking from memory.

From his theories, Freud pioneered the clinical case study approach and developed **psychoanalysis**. In this therapeutic method, the therapist and the patient work together to bring the contents of the patient's unconscious into his or her conscious awareness. Once the patient's unconscious conflicts are revealed, the therapist helps the patient deal with them constructively. For example, Freud analyzed the apparent symbolic content in a patient's dreams in search of hidden conflicts. He also used *free association*, in which a patient would talk about whatever he or she wanted to for as long as he or she wanted to. Freud believed that through free association, a person eventually revealed the unconscious conflicts that caused the psychological problems.

Freud's influence was considerable. His work and his image helped shape the public's view of psychology. However, many of his ideas, such as the meaning of dreams, are impossible to test using the methods of science. Contemporary psychologists no longer accept much of Freudian theory, but Galton's original idea that mental processes occur below the level of conscious awareness is now widely accepted.

Behaviorism Studied Environmental Forces

In 1913, the psychologist John B. Watson challenged, as inherently unscientific, psychology's focus on conscious and unconscious mental processes (**FIGURE 1.20**). Watson believed that if psychology was to be a science, it had to stop trying to study mental events that could not be observed directly. Scorning methods such as introspection and free association, he developed **behaviorism**. This approach emphasizes environmental effects on observable behavior.

The intellectual issue most central to Watson and his followers was the nature/ nurture question. For Watson and other behaviorists, nurture was all. Heavily influenced by the work of the physiologist Ivan Pavlov (discussed further in Chapter 6, "Learning"), Watson believed that animals—including humans—acquire, or learn, all behaviors through environmental experience. Therefore, we need to study the environmental *stimuli*, or triggers, in particular situations. By understanding the stimuli, we can predict the animals' behavioral *responses* in those situations. Psychologists greeted Watson's approach with great enthusiasm. Many had grown dissatisfied with the ambiguous methods used by those studying mental processes. They believed that psychologists would not be taken seriously as scientists until they studied observable behaviors.



FIGURE 1.19 Sigmund Freud

Freud was the father of psychoanalytic theory. His work hugely influenced psychology in the twentieth century.

unconscious

The place where mental processes operate below the level of conscious awareness.

psychoanalysis

A method developed by Sigmund Freud that attempts to bring the contents of the unconscious into conscious awareness so that conflicts can be revealed.

behaviorism

A psychological approach that emphasizes the role of environmental forces in producing observable behavior.



FIGURE 1.20 John B. Watson Watson developed and promoted behaviorism. His views were amplified by thousands of psychologists, including B. F. Skinner.



FIGURE 1.21 George A. Miller

In 1957, Miller launched the cognitive revolution by establishing the Center for Cognitive Science at Harvard University.

cognitive psychology The study of mental functions such as intelligence, thinking, language, memory, and decision making.

cognitive neuroscience The study of the neural mechanisms underlying thought, learning, perception, language, and memory. B. F. Skinner became the most famous and influential behaviorist. Like Watson, Skinner denied the importance of mental states. In his provocative book *Beyond Free-dom and Dignity* (1971), Skinner argued that concepts about mental processes were of no scientific value in explaining behavior. He believed that mental states were simply another form of behavior, subject to the same behaviorist principles as publicly observable behavior. He wanted to understand how behaviors, whether occurring "inside the skin" or observable, are shaped or influenced by the events or consequences that follow them. For instance, an animal will learn to perform a behavior if doing so in the past led to a positive outcome, such as receiving food.

Behaviorism dominated psychological research well into the early 1960s. In many ways, these times were extremely productive for psychologists. Many of the basic principles established by behaviorists continue to be viewed as critical to understanding the mind, the brain, and behavior. At the same time, sufficient evidence has accumulated to show that thought processes influence outcomes. Few psychologists today describe themselves as strict behaviorists.

Cognitive Approaches Emphasized Mental Activity

During the first half of the twentieth century, psychology was largely focused on studying observable behavior. Evidence slowly emerged, however, that learning is not as simple as the behaviorists believed it to be. Perceptions of situations can influence behavior. Learning theorists were showing that animals could learn by observation. This finding made little sense according to behaviorist theory, because the animals were not being rewarded. The connections were all being made in their minds. Other research was being conducted on memory, language, and child development. These studies showed that the simple laws of behaviorism could not explain, for example, why culture influences how people remember a story, why grammar develops systematically, and why children interpret the world in different ways during different stages of development. All of these findings suggested that mental functions are important for understanding behavior— they demonstrated the limitations of a purely behavioral approach to psychology.

The psychologist George A. Miller began his career with a behavioristic bias. Shortly before 1957, he looked at the data concerning behavior and cognition. As a good scientist who used critical thinking, Miller changed his mind when the data did not support his theories. He and his colleagues launched the *cognitive revolution* in psychology (**FIGURE 1.21**). Ten years later, Ulric Neisser integrated a wide range of cognitive phenomena in his book *Cognitive Psychology*. This 1967 classic named and defined the field and fully embraced the mind, which Skinner had dismissed as the irrelevant "black box."

Cognitive psychology is concerned with mental functions such as intelligence, thinking, language, memory, and decision making. Cognitive research has shown that the way people think about things influences their behavior.

The rise of computers and artificial intelligence influenced many cognitive psychologists, who focused exclusively on the "software" and ignored the "hard-ware." That is, they studied the thought processes but had little interest in the specific brain mechanisms involved. However, some early cognitive psychologists recognized that the brain is important for cognition. In the early 1980s, cognitive psychologists joined forces with neuroscientists, computer scientists, and philosophers to develop an integrated view of mind and brain. During the next decade, **cognitive neuroscience** emerged. Researchers in this field study the neural mechanisms (mechanisms involving the brain, nerves, and nerve cells) that underlie thought, learning, perception, language, and memory.

Social Psychology Studies How Situations Shape Behavior

During the mid-twentieth century, many psychologists came to appreciate that people's behaviors are affected by the presence of others. This shift occurred partly because people sought to understand the atrocities committed in Europe before and during World War II. Why had apparently normal Germans, Poles, and Austrians willingly participated in the murders of innocents—men, women, and children? Was evil an integral part of human nature? If so, why did some people in these countries resist and put their own lives at risk to save others?

Researchers focused on topics such as authority, obedience, and group behavior. Many of these psychologists were still influenced by Freudian ideas. For example, they believed that children absorb the values of authority figures as a result of unconscious processes. They concluded that certain types of people, especially those raised by unusually strict parents, displayed a slightly greater willingness to follow orders.

Almost everyone is strongly influenced by social situations, however. With this idea in mind, pioneering researchers such as Floyd Allport, Solomon Asch, and the Gestalt-trained Kurt Lewin rejected Freudian theorizing (**FIGURE 1.22**). Instead, they emphasized a scientific, experimental approach to understanding how people are influenced by others. The field that emerged from this work, **social psychology**, focuses on the power of the situation and on the way people are shaped through their interactions with others. People do differ in how much they are influenced by social situations. The related field of **personality psychology** involves the study of people's characteristic thoughts, emotions, and behaviors and how they vary across social situations, such as why some people are shy and others outgoing.

Science Informs Psychological Treatments

In the 1950s, psychologists such as Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow pioneered a *humanistic* approach to the treatment of psychological disorders. This approach emphasized how people can come to know and accept themselves in order to reach their unique potentials. Some of the techniques developed by Rogers, such as specific ways of questioning and listening during therapy, are staples of modern treatment. Only in the last four decades, however, has a scientific approach to the study of psychological disorders emerged.

Throughout psychology's history, the methods developed to treat psychological disorders mirrored advances in psychological science. For instance, behaviorism's rise led to a group of treatments designed to modify behavior rather than address hypothetical underlying mental conflicts. Behavioral modification methods continue to be highly effective in a range of situations, from training those with intellectual impairments to treating patients who are especially anxious and fearful. The cognitive revolution in scientific thinking led therapists to recognize the important role of thought processes in psychological disorders. Pioneers such as Albert Ellis and Aaron T. Beck developed treatments to correct faulty cognitions (faulty beliefs about the world).

The nature/nurture debate is also central to the current understanding of psychological disorders. Psychologists now believe that many psychological disorders result as much from the brain's "wiring" (nature) as from how people are reared and treated (nurture). However, some psychological disorders are more likely to occur in certain environments, and this fact suggests that disorders can be affected by context. People's experiences change their brain structures, which in turn influence their experiences within their environments. Recent research also indicates that some people inherit genetic predispositions to developing certain psychological disorders



FIGURE 1.22 Kurt Lewin Lewin pioneered the use of experimentation to test social psychological hypotheses about how people influence each other.

social psychology The study of how people influence other people's thoughts, feelings, and actions.

personality psychology The study of characteristic thoughts, emotions, and behaviors in people and how they vary across social situations. in some situations—in this case, their environment (nurture) activates their genes (nature). The social environment also plays an important role in whether treatment for these and other disorders is successful. For example, family members' negative comments tend to decrease a treatment's effectiveness.

In short, rapid advancements in understanding the biological and environmental bases of psychological disorders are leading to effective treatments that allow people to live normal lives. Scientific research has made it clear that—contrary to the think-ing of Freud, Skinner, and Rogers—no universal treatment or approach fits all psychological disorders (Kazdin, 2008).

Summing Up

What Are the Scientific Foundations of Psychology?

- Although people have pondered psychological questions for thousands of years, the formal discipline of psychology began in Wilhelm Wundt's laboratory in Germany in 1879.
- Wundt believed it necessary to reduce mental processes to their constituent, "structural" parts. His approach was known as structuralism. Edward Titchener was another famous structuralist.
- Functionalists such as William James argued that it is more important to understand the adaptive functions of the mind than to identify its constituent elements.
- Early research in psychology was largely aimed at understanding the subjective mind. For example, the Gestalt movement focused on people's perceptions, and Freud emphasized the unconscious mind.
- Behaviorism was advanced by John Watson and B. F. Skinner. The rise of behaviorism was due to the fact that the study of the mind had been too subjective and therefore unscientific. This view resulted in an emphasis on the study of observable behavior.
- The cognitive revolution in the 1960s, led by psychologists such as George Miller and Ulric Neisser, returned the mind to center stage. Research blossomed on mental processes such as memory, language, and decision making.
- The latter half of the twentieth century was also marked by an increased interest in the influence of social contexts on behavior and on mental activity. This approach was fostered by psychologists such as Solomon Asch and Kurt Lewin.
- The advances in psychological science over the last century have informed the treatment of psychological disorders.

Measuring Up

Identify the school of thought that each statement characterizes. The schools of thought represented here are behaviorism, cognitive psychology, functionalism, Gestalt psychology, psychoanalysis, social psychology, and structuralism.

- **a.** To be a respectable scientific discipline, psychology should be concerned with what people and other animals do-in other words, with observable actions.
- **b.** Psychology should be concerned with the way thoughts and behaviors help people adapt to their environments.
- Psychology should be concerned with the way in which people's thoughts affect their behavior.
- **d.** To understand behavior, psychologists need to understand the social contexts in which people act.
- e. Because the sum is different from the parts, psychologists should study the entirety of how we make sense of the world.
- f. Psychologists should study the "pieces" that make up the mind.
- g. To understand behavior, psychologists should study people's unconscious conflicts.

psychology; f. structuralism; g. psychoanalysis.

ANSWERS: a. behaviorism; b. functionalism; c. cognitive psychology; d. social psychology; e. Gestalt

1.3What Are the LatestDevelopments in Psychology?

In the just over 135 years since psychology was founded, researchers have made significant progress in understanding mind, brain, and behavior. This understanding has progressed incrementally. New knowledge accumulates through the systematic study of questions raised by what is already known. During various periods in the history of the field, psychologists became especially excited about new approaches, such as when the behaviorists objected to the subjective nature of introspection and the hidden unconscious processes favored by the Freudians. We do not know what approaches the future of psychology will bring, but this section outlines some of the developments that contemporary psychologists are most excited about.

Biology Is Increasingly Emphasized in Explaining Psychological Phenomena

The last four decades have seen remarkable growth in our understanding of the biological bases of mental activities (**FIGURE 1.23**). This section outlines three major advances that have helped further the scientific understanding of psychological phenomena: progress in understanding brain chemistry, developments in neuroscience, and advances in decoding the human genome.

BRAIN CHEMISTRY Tremendous progress has been made in understanding brain chemistry. It was long believed that only a handful of chemicals were involved in brain function, but in fact hundreds of substances play critical roles in mental activity and behavior. Why, for instance, do we have more-accurate memories for events that happened when we were aroused than for events that happened when we were calm? Brain chemistry is different when we are aroused than when we are calm, and those same chemicals influence the neural mechanisms involved in memory.

NEUROSCIENCE Since the late 1980s, researchers have been able to study the working brain as it performs its vital psychological functions. They are able to do so because of brain imaging methods, such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). The progress in understanding the neural basis of mental life has been rapid and dramatic. Knowing where in the brain something happens does not by itself reveal much. However, when consistent patterns of brain activation are associated with specific mental tasks, the activation appears to be connected with the tasks. For over a century, scientists had disagreed about whether psychological processes are located in specific parts of the brain or are distributed throughout the brain. Research has made clear that there is some *localization* of function. That is, some areas are important for specific feelings, thoughts, and actions.

However, many brain regions have to work together to produce behavior and mental activity. One of the greatest contemporary scientific challenges is mapping out how various brain regions are connected and how

they work together to produce mental activity. To achieve this mapping, the *Human Connectome Project* was launched in 2010 as a major international research effort involving collaborators at a number of universities. A greater understanding of brain connectivity may be especially useful for understanding how brain circuitry changes in psychological disorders.

Learning Objectives

- Identify recent developments in psychological science.
- Distinguish between subfields of psychology.



FIGURE 1.23 Biological Bases

How much are psychological phenomena, such as sensitivity to pain, influenced or even determined by our biology?

THE HUMAN GENOME Scientists have made enormous progress in understanding the *human genome*: the basic *genetic code*, or blueprint, for the human body. For psychologists, this map represents the foundational knowledge for studying how specific genes-the basic units of hereditary transmission-affect thoughts, actions, feelings, and disorders. By identifying the genes involved in memory, for example, researchers soon may be able to develop treatments, based on genetic manipulation, that will assist people who have memory problems. Decades from now, at least some genetic defects might be corrected.

Meanwhile, the scientific study of genetic influences has made clear that very few single genes cause specific behaviors. Almost all biological and psychological activity is affected by the actions of multiple genes. Nonetheless, many physical and mental characteristics are inherited to some degree. In addition, scientists are beginning to understand the relationship between situations, genes, and behaviors. For example, the presence or absence of specific environmental factors can influence how genes are expressed. Gene expression, in turn, affects behavior.

Evolutionary Thinking Is Increasingly Influential

As William James and his fellow functionalists knew, the human mind has been shaped by evolution. Modern evolutionary theory has driven the field of biology for years, but it has only recently begun to inform psychology. From this perspective, the brain, its activity, and resulting behaviors have evolved over millions of years. The evolutionary changes in the brain have occurred in response to our ancestors' problems related to survival and reproduction. So some of our behaviors have their basis in the behaviors of our earliest ancestors, perhaps going back to the ancestor we share with nonhuman primates. Other human behaviors are unique to our species. Many human behaviors are universal, meaning that they are shared across cultures (D. E. Brown, 1991).

The field of evolutionary psychology attempts to explain mental traits as products of natural selection. In other words, functions such as memory, perception, and language are seen as adaptations. In addition, evidence is accumulating that the mind,



Great moments in evolution

the experience of the brain, also adapts. That is, while the brain adapts biologically, some of the contents of the mind adapt to cultural influences. In this way, the mind helps individuals overcome their particular challenges, but it also provides a strong framework for shared social understandings of how the world works. Some of those understandings, of course, vary from place to place and from culture to culture. For instance, all people prefer particular types of food, but the preferences are influenced by culture. Likewise, all cultures have inequalities in terms of individual members' prestige, but what is considered prestigious varies among cultures.

SOLVING ADAPTIVE PROBLEMS Evolutionary theory is especially useful for considering whether behaviors and physical mechanisms are adaptive-in other words, whether they affect survival and reproduction. Through evolution, specialized mechanisms and adaptive behaviors have been built into our bodies and brains. For instance, a mechanism that produces calluses has evolved, protecting the skin from the abuses of physical labor. Likewise, specialized circuits have evolved in the brain; these structures solve adaptive problems, such as dealing with other people (Cosmides & Tooby, 1997). For example, people who lie, cheat, or steal may drain group resources and thereby decrease the chances of

By GARY LARSON

THE FAR SIDE

survival and reproduction for other group members. Some evolutionary psychologists believe humans have "cheater detectors" on the lookout for this sort of behavior in others (Cosmides & Tooby, 2000).

OUR EVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE Knowledge of the challenges our early ancestors faced helps us understand our current behavior. Humans began evolving about 5 million years ago, but modern humans (*Homo sapiens*) can be traced back only about 100,000 years, to the Pleistocene era. If the human brain slowly adapted to accommodate the needs of Pleistocene hunter-gatherers, scientists should try to understand how the brain works within the context of the environmental pressures humans faced during the Pleistocene era (**FIGURE 1.24**).

For instance, people like sweet foods, especially those high in fat. These foods are also high in calories. In prehistoric times, such foods were rare, and eating them had great survival value. In other words, a preference for sweet, fatty foods was adaptive. Today, many societies have an abundance of foods, many of them high in sugar and fat. We still enjoy them and eat them, sometimes to excess, and this behavior may now be maladaptive. That is, eating foods high in sugar and fat can make us obese when we expend less energy than we consume. Nonetheless, our evolutionary heritage encourages us to eat foods that had survival value when food was relatively scarce. Many of our current behaviors, of course, do not reflect our evolutionary heritage. Driving cars, sitting at a desk all day, using computers, texting, and exercising to intentionally offset calorie intake are among the human behaviors that we have displayed only recently. (Further complexities in the evolutionary process are discussed in Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior.")

Culture Provides Adaptive Solutions

For humans, many of the most demanding adaptive challenges involve dealing with other humans. These challenges include selecting mates, cooperating in hunting and in gathering, forming alliances, competing for scarce resources, and even warring with neighboring groups. This dependency on group living is not unique to humans, but the nature of interactions among and between ingroup and outgroup members is especially complex in human societies. The complexity of living in groups gives rise to culture, and culture's various aspects are transmitted from one generation to the next through learning. For instance, musical preferences, some food preferences, subtle ways of expressing emotion, and tolerance of body odors are affected by the culture one is raised in. Many of a culture's "reflect adaptive solutions worked out by previous generations.

Human cultural evolution has occurred much faster than human biological evolution. The most dramatic cultural changes have come in the last few thousand years. Although humans have changed only modestly in physical terms in that time, they have changed profoundly in regard to how they live together. Even within the last century, dramatic changes have occurred in how human societies interact. The flow of people, commodities, and financial instruments among all regions of the world, often referred to as *globalization*, has increased in velocity and scale over the past century in ways that were previously unimaginable. Even more recently, the Internet has created a worldwide network of humans, essentially a new form of culture with its own rules, values, and customs.

Over the past decade, recognition has grown that culture plays a foundational role in shaping how people view and reason about the world around them—and that people from different cultures possess strikingly different minds. For example, the social psychologist Richard Nisbett and his colleagues (2001) have demonstrated that people from most European and North American countries are much more



FIGURE 1.24 Evolution in the Present To understand who we are as individuals, we need to understand who we are as a species.



(b)



FIGURE 1.25 Cultural Differences (a) Westerners tend to be "independent" and autonomous, stressing their individuality. (b) Easterners–such as this

(b) Easterners—such as this Cambodian family—tend to be more "interdependent," stressing their sense of being part of a collective. analytical than people from most Asian countries. Westerners break complex ideas into simpler components, categorize information, and use logic and rules to explain behavior. Easterners tend to be more holistic in their thinking, seeing everything in front of them as an inherently complicated whole, with all elements affecting all other elements (**FIGURE 1.25**).

The culture in which people live shapes many aspects of their daily lives. Pause for a moment and think about the following questions: How do people decide what is most important in their lives? How do people relate to family members? to friends? to colleagues at work? How should people spend their leisure time? How do they define themselves in relationship to their own culture—or across cultures? For instance, the increased participation of women in the workforce has changed the nature of contemporary Western culture in numerous ways, from a fundamental change in how women are viewed to more practical changes, such as people marrying and having children later in life, a greater number of children in day care, and a greater reliance on convenient, fast foods.

Culture shapes beliefs and values, such as the extent to which people should emphasize their own interests versus the interests of the group. This effect is more apparent when we compare phenomena across cultures. Cultural rules are learned as *norms*, which specify how people ought to behave in different contexts. For example, norms tell us not to laugh uproariously at funerals and to keep quiet in libraries. Culture also has material aspects, such as media, technology, health care, and transportation. Many people find it hard to imagine life without computers, televisions, cell phones, and cars. We also recognize that each of these inventions has changed the fundamental ways in which people interact. Psychologists have played a significant role in our understanding of the complex relationship between culture and behavior.

Psychological Science Now Crosses Levels of Analysis

Throughout the history of psychology, studying a phenomenon at one level of analysis has been the favored approach. Researchers have recently started to explain behavior at several levels of analysis. By crossing levels in this way, psychologists are able to provide a more complete picture of mental and behavioral processes.

Four broadly defined levels of analysis reflect the most common research methods for studying mind and behavior (**FIGURE 1.26**). The *biological level of analysis* deals with how the physical body contributes to mind and behavior (as through the chemical and genetic processes that occur in the body). The *individual level of analysis* focuses on individual differences in personality and in the mental processes that affect how people perceive and know the world. The *social level of analysis* involves how group contexts affect the ways in which people interact and influence each other. The *cultural level of analysis* explores how people's thoughts, feelings, and actions are similar or different across cultures. Differences between cultures highlight the role that cultural experiences play in shaping psychological processes, whereas similarities between cultures reveal evidence for universal phenomena that emerge regardless of cultural experiences.

To understand how research is conducted at the different levels, consider the many ways psychologists have studied listening to music (Renfrow & Gosling, 2003). Why do you like some kinds of music and not others? Do you prefer some types of music when you are in a good mood and other types when you are in a bad mood? If you listen to music while you study, how does it affect how you learn? Music has many

important effects on the mind, brain, and behavior, and psychologists examine these effects using the methods of science. They examine how musical preferences vary among individuals and across cultures, how music affects emotional states and thought processes, and even how the brain perceives sound as music rather than noise.

At the biological level of analysis, for instance, researchers have studied the effects of musical training. They have shown that training can change not only how the brain functions but also its anatomy, such as changing brain structures associated with learning and memory (Herdener et al., 2010). Listening to pleas-

LEVEL	FOCUS	WHAT IS STUDIED?
Biological	Brain systems Neurochemistry Genetics	Neuroanatomy, animal research, brain imaging Neurotransmitters and hormones, animal studies, drug studies Gene mechanisms, heritability, twin and adoption studies
Individual	Individual differences Perception and cognition Behavior	Personality, gender, developmental age groups, self-concept Thinking, decision making, language, memory, seeing, hearing Observable actions, responses, physical movements
Social	Interpersonal behavior Social cognition	Groups, relationships, persuasion, influence, workplace Attitudes, stereotypes, perceptions
Cultural	Thoughts, actions, behaviors—in different societies and cultural groups	Norms, beliefs, values, symbols, ethnicity

ant music appears to increase the activation of brain regions associated with positive experiences (Koelsch, Offermanns, & Franzke, 2010). In other words, music does not affect the brain exactly the way other types of sounds, such as the spoken word, do. Instead, music recruits brain regions involved in a number of mental processes, such as those involved in mood and memory (Levitin & Menon, 2003; Peretz & Zatorre, 2005). Music appears to be treated by the brain as a special category of auditory information. For this reason, patients with certain types of brain injury become unable to perceive tones and melody but can understand speech and environmental sounds perfectly well.

In studies conducted at the individual level of analysis, researchers have used laboratory experiments to study music's effects on mood, memory, decision making, and various other mental states and processes (Levitin, 2006). In one study, music from participants' childhoods evoked specific memories from that period (Janata, 2009; **FIGURE 1.27**). Moreover, music affects emotions and thoughts. Listening to sad background music leads young children to interpret a story negatively, whereas listening to happy background music leads them to interpret the story much more positively (Ziv & Goshen, 2006). Our cognitive expectations also shape how we experience music (Collins, Tillmann, Barrett, Delbé, & Janata, 2014).

A study of music at the social level of analysis might compare the types of music people prefer when they are in groups with the types they prefer when alone. Psychologists have also sought to answer the question of whether certain types of music promote negative behaviors among listeners. For instance, researchers in Quebec found that certain types of rap music, but not hip-hop, were associated with more deviant behaviors, such as violence and drug use (Miranda & Claes, 2004). Of course, such associations do not mean that listening to music causes the behaviors studied. It could just as easily be that people practice the behaviors first and then develop these musical preferences. Listening to music with prosocial lyrics, however, led research participants to be more empathic and increased their helping behavior (Greitemeyer, 2009).

The cross-cultural study of music preferences has developed into a separate field, *ethnomusicology*. One finding from this field is that African music has rhythmic

FIGURE 1.26 Levels of Analysis



FIGURE 1.27 Your Brain on Music

The researcher Petr Janata played familiar and unfamiliar music to study participants. As shown here, many regions of the brain were activited by the music. Activity in green indicates familiarity with the music, activity in blue indicates emotional reactions to the music, and activity in red indicates memories from the past. The yellow section in the frontal lobe links together familiar music, emotions, and memories. This area is active, for example, if you have a fond memory of dancing to a particular song in junior high school.
structures different from those in Western music (Agawu, 1995), and these differences in turn may reflect the important role of dancing and drumming in African culture. Because cultures prefer different types of music, some psychologists have noted that attitudes about outgroup members can color perceptions of their musical styles. For example, researchers from the United States and the United Kingdom found that the societal attitudes toward rap and hip-hop music revealed subtle prejudicial attitudes against blacks and a greater willingness to discriminate against them (Reyna, Brandt, & Viki, 2009).

As these examples show, research at different levels of analysis is creating a greater understanding of the psychology of music. Adding to that understanding is innovative research combining two or more levels of analysis. More and more, psychological science emphasizes examining behavior across multiple levels in an integrated fashion. Often psychologists collaborate with researchers from other scientific fields, such as biology, computer science, physics, anthropology, and sociology. Such collaborations are called *interdisciplinary*. For example, psychologists interested in understanding the hormonal basis of obesity might work with geneticists exploring the heritability of obesity as well as with social psychologists studying human beliefs about eating. Crossing the levels of analysis usually provides more insights than working within only one level. The Gestalt psychologists were right in asserting that the whole is different from the sum of its parts. Throughout this book, you will see how this multilevel approach has led to breakthroughs in understanding psychological activity.

SUBFIELDS IN PSYCHOLOGY FOCUS ON DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

Psychologists work in many different settings. The setting often depends on whether the psychologist's primary focus is on research, teaching, or applying scientific findings to improving the quality of daily living. Researchers who study the brain, the mind, and behavior may work in schools, businesses, universities, or clinics. There are also psychological practitioners, who apply the findings of psychological science to do things such as help people in need of psychological treatment, design safe and pleasant work environments, counsel people on career paths, or help teachers design better classroom curricula. The distinction between science and practice can be fuzzy, since many researchers are also practitioners. For example, many clinical psychologists both study people with psychological disorders and treat those people.

A scientist will choose to study at a particular level of analysis—or more than one level—based on his or her research interests, general theoretical approaches, and training. Because the subject matter of psychology is vast, most psychologists focus within relatively large subfields. Many of the subfields are represented by specific chapters of this book. Following are some of the most popular subfields.

Neuroscience/biological psychologists are particularly interested in examining how biological systems give rise to mental activity and behavior. For example, they may study how certain chemicals in the brain control sexual behavior, how damage to certain brain regions disrupts feeding, or how different environments lead different genes to be expressed.

Cognitive psychologists study cognition, perception, and action. They investigate processes such as thinking, perceiving, problem solving, decision making, using language, and learning. Today, many of these psychologists are *cognitive neuro-scientists*, who study brain activity to understand how the brain accomplishes these processes.

Developmental psychologists study how people change across the life span, from infancy through old age. For example, they are interested in how children learn to

speak, how they become moral beings, how adolescents form their identities, and how older adults can maintain their mental abilities in the face of typical age-related declines in those abilities.

Personality psychologists seek to understand enduring characteristics that people display over time and across circumstances, such as why some people are shy whereas others are outgoing. They examine how genes, circumstances, and cultural context shape personality.

Social psychologists focus on how people are affected by the presence of others and how they form impressions of others. For instance, they might study what people believe about members of other groups, when people are influenced by others to behave in certain ways, or how people form or dissolve intimate relationships.

Cultural psychologists seek to understand how people are influenced by the societal rules that dictate behavior in the cultures in which they are raised. For example, they study how societal rules shape self-perception, how they influence interpersonal behavior, and whether they produce differences in perception, and whether they produce differences in cognition.

Clinical psychologists are interested in the factors that cause psychological disorders and the methods best used to treat them. For example, they might study the factors that lead people to feel depressed, the types of therapy that are most effective for alleviating depression, and ways in which the brain changes as a result of therapy.

Counseling psychologists overlap with clinical psychologists. They seek to improve people's daily lives, but they work more with people facing difficult circumstances than with those who have serious mental disorders. For example, they provide marital and family counseling, provide career advice, and help people manage stress.

School psychologists work in educational settings. They help students with problems that interfere with learning, design age-appropriate curricula, and conduct assessment and achievement testing.

Industrial and organizational psychologists are concerned with behavior and productivity in industry and the workplace. They develop programs to motivate workers by building morale and improving job satisfaction, design equipment and workspaces so that workers can easily perform their duties and avoid accidents, and assist with identifying and recruiting talented workers.

These are the major categories of psychology, but psychologists pursue many more specialties and research areas. For instance, *forensic psychologists* work in legal settings, perhaps helping choose juries or identifying dangerous offenders. *Sports psychologists* work with athletes to improve their performance, perhaps teaching athletes how to control their thoughts during pressure situations. Many psychologists follow an interdisciplinary approach that crosses these categories, such as those who use the methods of neuroscience to study topics traditionally examined by social psychologists. Another interdisciplinary approach is used by *health psychologists*, who study the factors that promote or interfere with physical health, such as how stress may cause disease.

A number of careers in psychology are predicted to grow substantially over the next decade. The growth areas include providing advice for programs that aim to tackle societal problems (e.g., the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation); working with older adults, since they will make up an increasing proportion of the population; working with soldiers returning from conflicts in various parts of the world; working with homeland security to study terrorism; consulting with industry; and advising on legal matters based on courtroom expertise (DeAngelis, 2008). Because psychologists are concerned with nearly every aspect of human life, what they study is remarkably diverse, as you will soon discover in the following chapters.

Using **Psychology** in Your Life



My Career?

Come students take introductory Opsychology courses because of a longstanding interest in people and the desire to learn more about what makes people, including themselves, tick. Others enroll because they wish to fulfill a general education requirement or because the class is a prerequisite for another course they are eager to take. Whatever your reason for being in this class, the things you will learn in this book will be highly relevant to multiple aspects of your life, including your chosen career.

Many careers involve interacting with coworkers, customers, clients, or patients (FIGURE 1.28). In these cases, understanding what motivates people, how to influence them, and how to support them is essential. For instance, a medical practitioner with interpersonal skills will create rapport with patients. That rapport may prompt the patients to be honest about their health behaviors, and the resulting disclosures may improve the practitioner's ability to accurately diagnose the patients' medical conditions. A rehabilitation nurse who understands the psychological challenges of complying with medical advice is better equipped to help patients respond to those challenges and thus improve. Given the many ways psychology is relevant to the medical field, it is not surprising that the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), the standardized test required for admission to medical school, now includes an extensive 95-minute section on the psychological, social, and biological foundations of behavior.

Of course, many people outside the medical field use psychology every day. Teachers manage their students' behavior and foster their students' motivation to learn. Police officers gather eyewitness reports, elicit confessions, and control the behavior of both individuals and crowds. People in sales, marketing, and branding craft messages, create campaigns, and help manufacturers increase the appeal of their products. Anyone who works on a team benefits from knowing how to play nice, to engage in effective problem solving, and to focus on the task at hand.

Other workers shape information or technology that will be used by consumers or the public. For the information or technology to be accessible and effective, these workers need to understand how people make sense of information and the psychological barriers to modifying existing beliefs or adopting new technologies. For example, an engineer who designs cockpits for airplanes benefits

Summing Up

What Are the Latest Developments in Psychology?

- Four themes characterize the latest developments in psychological science:
 - 1. Biology is increasingly emphasized in explaining psychological phenomena. A biological revolution has energized psychological research into how the brain enables the mind. Among the revolutionary developments are increasing knowledge of brain chemistry, the use of technologies that allow researchers to observe the brain in action, and the mapping of the human genome.
 - **2.** Evolution is increasingly important. Psychological science has been influenced heavily by evolutionary psychology, which argues that the brain has evolved in response to our ancestors' problems of survival.
 - 3. Culture provides adaptive solutions. Contemporary psychology is characterized by an increasing interest in cultural norms and their influence on thought processes and behavior. Cultural norms reflect solutions to problems that were worked out by previous generations and transmitted to successive generations through learning.
 - 4. Psychological science now crosses levels of analysis. Psychologists share the goal of understanding mind, brain, and behavior. In approaching that goal, psychologists focus on the same problems at different levels of analysis: biological, individual, social, and cultural.
- Most problems in psychology require studies at each level. There are diverse subfields in psychology, and the subfields focus on different levels of analysis.

from knowing how human attention shifts during an emergency. A statistician who understands how people process visual cues is well equipped to create graphs that will help consumers make accurate impressions of the data.

What about someone who works with animals? A solid grasp of psychological topics, such as the biological basis of behavior, can help in the training and retraining of nonhuman creatures. For example, an animal trainer could use behavior modification techniques (discussed in Chapter 6) to motivate an injured animal to engage in physical therapy.

Psychology is even relevant to traditionally solo enterprises. Fiction writers create compelling characters, convey personalities, indicate psychological depth, depict relatable struggles, and evoke emotions in readers. A fire spotter, who sits alone high above the trees looking for smoke plumes, must notice and interpret environmental anomalies. And that fire spotter, like an explorer who treks through uninhabited lands, must navigate the psychological challenges of extreme isolation.

In fact, is there a single career in which an understanding of psychology



(b)



would not be at least a little bit helpful? Whatever your chosen field, understanding psychology will help you understand yourself and thus help you do your job.



FIGURE 1.28 Studying Psychology Develops Interpersonal Skills

Dealing with other people is an important part of most careers. (a) Medical professionals need to gauge people's moods and their motivations to recover. (b) Teachers need to understand people's behavior and how people learn. (c) To convince people to buy products, salespeople need to understand the relationship between motivation and emotion.

Measuring Up

Match each example below with one of the following recent developments in psychological science: biology is increasingly emphasized in explaining psychological phenomena, evolutionary thinking is increasingly influential, culture provides adaptive solutions, and psychological science now crosses levels of analysis.

- a. In a study of prejudice, psychologists used an attitudes test and brain imaging when participants looked at pictures of African Americans' faces and of European Americans' faces.
- **b.** When psychologists study a disorder of the mind, they frequently look at genetic factors that might be involved in causing the disorder.
- **c.** To understand contemporary human behavior, psychologists often consider the environmental challenges that our ancestors faced.
- **d.** In a study of immigrants, psychologists examined the customs and practices that the immigrants adopted when they migrated to their new country.

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ANSWERS: a. Psychological science now crosses levels of analysis; b. biology is increasingly emphasized in explaining psychological phenomena; c. evolutionary thinking is increasingly influential; d. culture provides

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

1.1 What Is Psychological Science?

- Psychological Science Teaches Critical Thinking: The use of critical thinking skills improves how people think. Amiable skepticism, an important element of science, requires a careful examination of how well evidence supports a conclusion. Using critical thinking skills and understanding the methods of psychological science are important for evaluating research reported in the popular media.
- Psychological Reasoning Examines How People Typically Think: People engage in common errors in thinking, which probably evolved as a way to quickly categorize information to promote rapid decision making. However, these errors often result in faulty conclusions. Some common errors in thinking include ignoring evidence (confirmation bias), failing to accurately judge source credibility, misunderstanding or not using statistics, seeing relationships that do not exist, using relative comparisons, accepting after-the-fact explanations, taking mental shortcuts, and failing to see one's own inadequacies (self-serving bias). Using psychological reasoning can help people overcome these errors and biases in thinking.

1.2 What Are the Scientific Foundations of Psychology?

- The Nature/Nurture Debate Has a Long History: Nature and nurture depend on each other. Their influences often cannot be separated.
- The Mind/Body Problem Also Has Ancient Roots: Dualist notions about the separation of the brain and mind have been replaced with the idea that the (physical) brain enables the mind. Brain and mind are one.
- Experimental Psychology Began with Introspection: Psychology's intellectual history dates back thousands of years. As a formal discipline, psychology began in 1879, in Wilhelm Wundt's laboratory in Germany. Using the technique of introspection, scientists attempted to understand conscious experience.
- Introspection and Other Methods Led to Structuralism: Structuralists used introspection to identify the basic underlying components of conscious experience. Structuralists attempted to understand conscious experience by reducing it to its structural elements.
- Functionalism Addressed the Purpose of Behavior: According to functionalists, the mind is best understood by examining its functions and purpose, not its structure.
- Gestalt Psychology Emphasized Patterns and Context in Learning: Gestalt psychologists asserted that the whole experience (the gestalt) is different from the sum of its parts. As a result, they emphasized the subjective experience of perception.

- Freud Emphasized Unconscious Conflicts: Freud advanced the idea that unconscious processes are not readily available to awareness but nevertheless influence behavior. This understanding had an enormous impact on psychology.
- Behaviorism Studied Environmental Forces: Discoveries that behavior is changed by its consequences caused behaviorism to dominate psychology until the 1960s.
- Cognitive Approaches Emphasized Mental Activity: The cognitive revolution and the computer analogy of the brain led to an emphasis on mental activity. Cognitive neuroscience, which emerged in the 1980s, is concerned with the neural mechanisms (mechanisms involving the brain, nerves, and nerve cells) that underlie thought, learning, and memory.
- Social Psychology Studies How Situations Shape Behavior: Work in social psychology has highlighted how situations and other people are powerful forces in shaping behavior.
- Science Informs Psychological Treatments: Psychological disorders are influenced by both nature (biological factors) and nurture (environmental factors). Scientific research has taught psychologists that no universal treatment exists for psychological disorders. Instead, different treatments are effective for different disorders.

1.3 What Are the Latest Developments in Psychology?

- Biology Is Increasingly Emphasized in Explaining Psychological Phenomena: Tremendous advances in neuroscience have revealed the working brain. Mapping of the human genome has furthered the role of genetics in analyzing both behavior and disease. These advances are changing how we think about psychology.
- Evolutionary Thinking Is Increasingly Influential: Evolution of the brain has helped solve survival and reproductive problems and helped humans adapt to their environments. Many modern behaviors reflect adaptations to environmental pressures faced by our ancestors.
- Culture Provides Adaptive Solutions: Cultural norms specify how people should behave in different contexts. They reflect solutions to adaptive problems that have been worked out by a group of individuals, and they are transmitted through learning.
- Psychological Science Now Crosses Levels of Analysis: Psychologists examine behavior from various analytical levels: biological (brain systems, neurochemistry, genetics), individual (personality, perception, cognition), social (interpersonal behavior), and cultural (within a single culture, across several cultures). Psychology is characterized by numerous subfields. Within each subfield, psychologists may focus on one or more levels of analysis.

Key Terms

adaptations, p. 15 behaviorism, p. 17 cognitive neuroscience, p. 18 cognitive psychology, p. 18 critical thinking, p. 6 culture, p. 12 evolutionary theory, p. 15 functionalism, p. 15 Gestalt theory, p. 16 introspection, p. 14 mind/body problem, p. 12 natural selection, p. 15 nature/nurture debate, p. 12 personality psychology, p. 19 psychoanalysis, p. 17 psychological science, p. 5 social psychology, p. 19 stream of consciousness, p. 15 structuralism, p. 14 unconscious, p. 17

Practice Test

- When you mention to your family that you enrolled in a psychology course, your family members share their understanding of the field. Which comment best reflects psychological science?
 - a. "You're going to learn how to get in touch with your feelings."
 - **b.** "The concept of 'psychological science' is such an oxymoron. It is impossible to measure and study what goes on in people's heads."
 - c. "I think you'll be surprised by the range of questions psychologists ask about the mind, the brain, and behavior, not to mention the scientific methods they use to answer these questions."
 - **d.** "By the end of the class, you'll be able to tell me why I am the way I am."
- **2.** Match each definition with one or more of the following ideas from evolutionary theory: adaptations, natural selection, survival of the fittest.
 - **a.** Changes that endow physical characteristics, skills, and abilities can increase an organism's chances of survival and of reproduction.
 - **b.** Individuals better adapted to their environment will leave more offspring.
 - **c.** Organisms' adaptive changes are passed along, and changes that hinder both survival and reproduction are not.
- **3.** Titles of recent research articles appear below. Indicate which of the four levels of analysis—cultural, social, individual, or biological—each article likely addresses.
 - a. Pals, problems, and personality: The moderating role of personality in the longitudinal association between adolescents' and best friends' delinquency (Yu, Branje, Keijsers, Koot, & Meeus, 2013)
 - **b.** The role of dynamic microglial alterations in stress-induced depression and suppressed neurogenesis (Kreisel et al., 2013)
 - **c.** Culture, gender, and school leadership: School leaders' selfperceptions in China (Law, 2013)
 - Anchoring bullying and victimization in children within a fivefactor model-based person-centred framework (De Bolle & Tackett, 2013)

- 4. Several schools of thought in psychology are listed below. Match each of the following psychologists with the school he is most identified with: William James, Wolfgang Köhler, Kurt Lewin, George Miller, Ulrich Neisser, B. F. Skinner, Edward Titchener, John B. Watson, Max Wertheimer, Wilhelm Wundt.
 - **a.** structuralism
 - $\boldsymbol{b.} \ functionalism$
 - c. Gestalt psychology
 - **d.** behaviorism
 - $\textbf{e.} \ \text{cognitive psychology}$
 - f. social psychology
- **5.** Match each description with one of the following theoretical ideas: dualism, introspection, localization, stream of consciousness.
 - **a.** a systematic examination of subjective mental experience that requires people to inspect and report on the contents of their thoughts
 - **b.** the notion that the mind and the body are separate and distinct
 - **c.** some psychological processes are located in specific parts of the brain
 - $\textbf{d.} \ a \ continuous \ series \ of \ ever-changing \ thoughts$
- 6. Imagine you have decided to seek mental health counseling. You mention this to a few of your friends. Each friend shares an opinion with you. Based on your understanding of psychological science, which friend offers the strongest advice?
 - **a.** "I wouldn't bother if I were you. All therapy is a bunch of psychobabble."
 - **b.** "I know a therapist who uses this really cool method that can fix any problem. Seriously, she knows the secret!"
 - **c.** "That's great! Psychologists do research to figure out which interventions are most helpful for people with different concerns."
 - **d.** "Well, I guess if you like relaxing on couches and talking, you might get a lot out of therapy."

31





Ask & Answer

2.1 How Is the Scientific Method Used in Psychological Research? 34

2.2 What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research? 43

2.3 What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research? 57

2.4 How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated? 63

Research Methodology

ADMIT IT. EVEN THOUGH YOU KNEW it was probably a bad idea at the time, you have used your cell phone to talk or text when it was unwise to do so. Maybe you were in class and could not resist looking at a Snapchat someone just sent you. Or you were walking to class and crossing busy roads while chatting with one of your parents. Or maybe you sent a text message while driving to say you were running late. You are not alone. The risky use of cell phones is common. Various studies have found that 80 percent to 90 percent of college students admit texting while driving on at least one occasion (Harrison, 2011). Unfortunately, texting or phoning while driving can be disastrous.

In 2009, a Boston trolley driver who was texting his girlfriend while on the job rear-ended another trolley, sending 49 people to the hospital and costing the transit system nearly \$10 million. In 2007, five recent high school graduates were killed in an accident in upstate New York. The inexperienced driver had been talking on her cell phone minutes before the accident and might have been responding to a text seconds before she crossed the road and struck a semi-trailer head on. In January 2010, 17-year-old Kelsey Raffaele (**FIGURE 2.1**) was driving after school and decided to pass a slower vehicle in front of her. When she saw an oncoming vehicle in the passing lane, she misjudged the distance and crashed, fatally. Kelsey was talking to a friend on her cell phone while driving. Her last words were "Oh [no], I'm going to crash."

Talking on the phone while driving is risky, but texting while driving is even worse, dramatically increasing your chances of having an accident (Dingus,



FIGURE 2.1 Phoning While Driving Phoning while driving is extremely unsafe. Kelsey Raffaele lost her life because she engaged in this dangerous behavior.

Learning Objectives

- Identify the four primary goals of science.
- Describe the scientific method.
- Differentiate among theories, hypotheses, and research.

data Measurable outcomes of research studies. Hanowski, & Klauer, 2011). In laboratories, researchers have examined these practices by using driving simulators (**FIGURE 2.2**). In studies that examined the effects of texting on driving, participants had either less than six months of driving experience (Hosking et al., 2009) or on average five years of driving experience (Drews et al., 2009). The participants "drove" either undistracted or while sending and receiving texts. All participants texting while driving missed more landmarks, made more driving errors, and crashed more than participants who were driving undistracted.

Yet in a 2012 survey by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), 25 percent of drivers reported that they believed that texting while driving made no difference on driving performance. Why would people hold this belief? As discussed in Chapter 1, we are often poor judges of our own behavior. We feel overconfident about our abilities and fail to see our own weaknesses. Because we tend to overestimate our own driving abilities–seeing ourselves as "good" drivers even when we are not–we also tend to underestimate the dangers we face, such as through texting while driving. In one study, the participants who most overestimated their ability to drive when distracted were the ones who used the cell phone more while driving in everyday life–and they had worse driving records than the other participants (Schlehofer et al., 2010).

So how can we confirm (and convince people) that texting while driving is dangerous? Indeed, how can we confirm (and convince people of) any claim that is made? This chapter will describe how evidence is gathered and verified in psychology. By understanding these processes, you will learn how to interpret information that is being presented to you. And by understanding how to interpret information, you will become an educated consumer and presenter of information.

2.1 How Is the Scientific Method Used in Psychological Research?

This chapter will introduce you to the science and the practice of psychological research methods. You will learn the basics of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the **data** of psychological science, the measurable outcomes of research studies. In this way, you will come to understand how psychologists study behavior and mental processes. You will also learn how to effectively evaluate claims so you can become a more educated consumer of information.

Science Has Four Primary Goals

There are four primary goals of science: *description, prediction, control,* and *explanation*. Thus, the goals of psychological science are to describe *what* a phenomenon is, predict *when* it will occur, control *what causes* it to occur, and explain *why* it occurs. For example, consider the observation that texting interferes with driving. To understand how this interference happens, we need to address each of the four goals.

We begin by asking: How many people really text while driving? Answering this question can help us describe the phenomenon of texting while driving—as in noting how prevalent this unsafe behavior is. Now, under what circumstances are people likely to text while driving? Answering this question can help us predict when texting while driving may occur—as in which people tend to engage in the behavior. Next, how can we know that texting is the source of the problematic driving? Answering this question can help us be sure that it is texting and not some other factor that is responsible for the observed effects. Ultimately, knowing the answers to each of these questions leads to the question of why texting interferes with driving. Is it because people use their hands to text, or that they take their eyes off the road, or that it interferes with their mental ability to focus on driving?

Careful scientific study also allows us to understand other aspects of texting and driving, such as why people do it in the first place. Understanding how texting interferes with driving skills and why people continue to text while driving, even when they know it is dangerous, will allow scientists, technology developers, and policymakers to develop strategies to reduce the behavior.

Critical Thinking Means Questioning and Evaluating Information

As you learned in Chapter 1, one important goal of your education is to become a critical thinker. Critical thinking was defined in Chapter 1 as systematically questioning and evaluating information using well-supported evidence. As this definition makes clear, critical thinking is an *ability*—a skill. It is not something you can just memorize and learn, but something you have to practice and develop over time. Most of your courses should provide opportunities for you to practice being a critical thinker. Critical thinking is not just for scientists. It is essential for becoming an educated consumer of information.

The first step in critical thinking is to question information. What kind of information? To develop the skeptical mindset you need for critical thinking, you should question every kind of information. For any claim you see or hear, ask yourself, "What is the evidence in support of that claim?" For example, in the opening vignette of this chapter, we made the claim that texting while driving is dangerous. What kind of evidence did we present in support of this claim? Was the evidence based on direct, unbiased observation, or did it seem to be the result of rumor, hearsay, or intuition? In fact, think of your own beliefs and behavior. Do you believe that texting while driving is dangerous? If you do, what evidence led you to this belief? If you believe that texting while driving is dangerous, do you still text while driving? If so, why do you do it? Do you think the evidence you have seen or heard is not very good? If so, what makes the evidence not very good?

Another aspect of questioning when thinking critically is to ask for the definition of each part of the claim. For example, imagine you hear the claim that using a cell phone while driving is more dangerous than driving while intoxicated (see "Scientific Thinking: Cell Phone Versus Intoxication," on p. 36). Upon hearing this claim, a critical thinker immediately asks for definitions. For example, what do they mean by "using a cell phone"? Do they mean talking or texting? Do they mean a handheld or a handsfree device? And what do they mean by "intoxicated"? Would achieving this state require only a little alcohol or a lot of alcohol? Could the person have used another drug?



FIGURE 2.2 Driving Simulator This apparatus enables researchers to study driving skills in the laboratory.



Scientific Thinking — Cell Phone <u>Versus Intoxication</u>

HYPOTHESIS: Using a cell phone while driving is more dangerous than driving while intoxicated.

RESEARCH METHOD: Forty adults, ranging in age from 22 to 34, were recruited by a newspaper advertisement to participate in a research study on driving. In the study, the participants were asked to perform two separate tests in a driving simulator: (a) driving while having verbal conversations via a hand-held or handsfree device, and (b) driving after consuming enough alcohol to achieve a .08 percent blood-alcohol content (BAC), a level that is at or above the legal limit for intoxication in most states (see table). To establish their baseline driving performances, all the participants initially drove in the simulator without talking on the phone and without having consumed alcohol.

The tests occurred on two different days. Half of the participants talked on the phone while driving the first day and drank before driving on the second day. The other half drank before driving on the first day and talked on the phone while driving the second day.

RESULTS: Compared to the baseline driving performance, talking on the phone (with either a hand-held or hands-free device) caused a delayed response to objects in the driving scene, including brake lights on the car ahead, and a greater number of rear-end collisions. When they were intoxicated, the participants drove aggressively. They followed other cars more closely and hit the brake pedal much harder than they did in the baseline condition. Talking on a cell phone produced more collisions than driving while intoxicated.

CONCLUSION: Both talking on the cell phone and driving while intoxicated led to impaired driving compared to the baseline condition. Talking on the cell phone, whether holding the phone or not, led to more collisions than when the participants were intoxicated.

SOURCE: Strayer, D. L., Drews, F. A., & Crouch, D. J. (2006). A comparison of the cell phone driver and the drunk driver. *Human Factors: The Journal of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society, 48,* 381–391.

Blood Alcohol Content and Its Effects

In the United States, blood alcohol content is measured by taking a sample of a person's breath or blood and determining the amount of alcohol in that sample. The result is then converted to a percentage. For example, in many states the legal limit is .08 percent. To reach this level, a person's bloodstream needs to have 8 grams of alcohol for every 100 milliliters of blood.

Different blood alcohol levels produce different physical and mental effects. These effects also vary from person to person. This table shows typical effects.

BAC LEVEL	EFFECTS
.0106	Feeling of relaxation Sense of well-being Thought, judgment, and coordination are impaired.
.0710	Loss of inhibitions Extroversion Reflexes, depth perception, peripheral vision, and reasoning are impaired.
.1120	Emotional swings Sense of sadness or anger Reaction time and speech are impaired.
.2129	Stupor Blackouts Motor skills are impaired.
.3039	Severe depression Unconsciousness Breathing and heart rate are impaired.
>.40	Breathing and heart rate are impaired. Death is possible.

SOURCE: Based on U.S. Department of Transportation, http://www-nrd.nhtsa.dot.gov/Pubs/811385.pdf

Answering questions of this kind is the second step in critical thinking: the evaluation of information. To answer our questions, we need to go to the source of the claim.

To get to the source of any claim, you need to think about where you first saw or heard the claim. Did you hear the claim on TV or the radio? Did you read about it in a newspaper? Did you see it on the Internet? Next, you need to think about the evidence offered by the source to support the claim.

Here is where the "well-supported evidence" comes in. Does the evidence at the source of the claim take the form of scientific evidence? Or does it take the form of intuition or simply someone in authority making the claim? Did the source retrieve this information from a news wire? Did it come from an interview with a scientist? Was it summarized from a scientific journal?

In science, well-supported evidence typically means research reports based on empirical data that are published in peer-reviewed journals (**FIGURE 2.3**). "Peer review" is a process by which other scientists with similar expertise evaluate and critique research reports before publication. Peer review ensures that published reports describe research studies that are well designed (using appropriate research and analysis methods, considering all factors that could explain the findings), that are conducted in an ethical manner, and that address an important question.

However, peer review does not mean that flawed studies are never published. Thus, critical thinkers must *always* stay vigilant—always be on the lookout for unreasonable claims and conclusions that may not be valid interpretations of the data. Hone your critical thinking skills by practicing them as often as possible. (At the end of this chapter, the Practice Test includes questions related to designing a scientific study. These questions will both help you practice critical thinking and test the knowledge you have gained from this chapter.)

The Scientific Method Aids Critical Thinking

Critical thinking is determining whether a claim is supported by evidence. Scientific evidence obtained through research is considered the best possible evidence for supporting a claim. **Research** involves the careful collection of data. In conducting research, scientists follow a systematic procedure called the **scientific method**. This procedure begins with the observation of a phenomenon and the question of why that phenomenon occurred.

The scientific method is an interaction among research, theories, and hypotheses (**FIGURE 2.4**). A **theory** is an explanation or model of how a phenomenon works. Consisting of interconnected ideas or concepts, a theory is used to explain prior observations and to make predictions about future events. A **hypothesis** is a specific, testable prediction, narrower than the theory it is based on.

GOOD THEORIES How can we decide whether a theory is good? When we talk about a good theory, we do not mean that it is good because it is supported by research findings. In fact, one key feature of a good theory is that it should be *falsifiable*. That is, it should be possible to test hypotheses generated by the theory that prove the theory is incorrect. Moreover, a good theory produces a wide variety of *testable* hypotheses.

For instance, in the early twentieth century, the developmental psychologist Jean Piaget (1924) proposed a theory of infant and child development (see Chapter 9, "Human Development"). According to Piaget's theory, cognitive development occurs in a fixed series of "stages," from birth to adolescence. From a scientific standpoint, this theory was good because it led to a number of hypotheses. These

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FIGURE 2.3 Peer-Reviewed Journals Research reports in peer-reviewed journals are the most trustworthy source for scientific evidence.

research

A scientific process that involves the careful collection of data.

scientific method

A systematic and dynamic procedure of observing and measuring phenomena, used to achieve the goals of description, prediction, control, and explanation; it involves an interaction among research, theories, and hypotheses.

theory

A model of interconnected ideas or concepts that explains what is observed and makes predictions about future events. Theories are based on empirical evidence.

hypothesis

A specific, testable prediction, narrower than the theory it is based on.



FIGURE 2.4 The Scientific Method

The scientific method reflects a cyclical process: A theory is formulated based on evidence from many observations and refined based on hypothesis tests (scientific studies). From the theory, scientists derive one or more testable hypotheses. Scientists then conduct research to test the hypotheses. Findings from the research might prompt scientists to reevaluate and adjust the theory. A good theory evolves over time, and the result is an increasingly accurate model of some phenomenon. hypotheses concerned the specific kinds of behaviors that should be observed at each stage of development. In the decades since its proposal, the theory has generated thousands of scientific papers. Our understanding of child development has been enhanced both by studies that supported Piaget's stage theory and by those that failed to support it.

In contrast, Piaget's contemporary Sigmund Freud (1900), in his famous treatise *The Interpretation of Dreams*, outlined the theory that all dreams represent the fulfillment of an unconscious wish. From a scientific perspective, Freud's theory was not good, because it generated few testable hypotheses regarding the actual function of dreams. Since the theory lacked testable hypotheses, researchers were left with no way to evaluate whether the wish fulfillment theory was either reasonable or accurate. After all, unconscious wishes are, by definition, not known to anyone, including the person having the dreams. As a result, not only is there no way to prove that dreams do not represent unconscious wishes. Thus, the theory is frequently criticized for not being falsifiable.

Good theories also tend toward simplicity. This idea has historical roots in the writings of the fourteenth-century English philosopher William of Occam. Occam proposed that when two competing theories exist to explain the same phenomenon, the simpler of the two theories is generally preferred. This principle is known as *Occam's Razor* or the *law of parsimony*.

HYPOTHESES NEED TO BE TESTED In order to test hypotheses generated by good theories, we use the scientific method. After an observation has been made and a theory has been formulated, the scientific method follows a series of six steps (**FIGURE 2.5**):

Step 1: Form a Hypothesis

From the opening of this chapter, we have been considering cell phone use while driving. Say that you now propose a theory, derived from news accounts and scientific studies. Your theory is that cell phone use impairs driving ability. How can you determine if this theory is true? You design specific tests—that is, specific research studies—aimed at examining the theory's prediction. These specific, testable research predictions are your hypotheses.

If your theory is true, then the tests should provide evidence that using cell phones while driving causes problems. One of your hypotheses therefore might be: "Using a cell phone while driving will lead to more accidents." To test this hypothesis, you might compare people who use a cell phone frequently while driving with people who do not use a cell phone frequently while driving. You would record how often the people in these groups have accidents. If these results do not differ, this finding raises questions about whether the theory is true.

Step 2: Conduct a Literature Review

Once you form a hypothesis, you want to perform a literature review as soon as possible. A literature review is a review of the scientific literature related to your theory. There are many resources available to assist with literature reviews, including scientific research databases such as PsycINFO and PubMed. You can search these databases by keywords, such as "cell phones and driving" or "cell phones and accidents." The results of your searches will reveal if and how other scientists have been testing your idea. For example, different scientists may have approached this topic at different levels of analysis (see Chapter 1). Their approaches may help guide the direction of your research. For example, you might find a study that compares talking on a cell



Form a Hypothesis



To test the theory "cell phone use impairs driving ability," you form the hypothesis "Using a cell phone while driving will lead to more accidents."



Conduct a Literature Review



You search databases by keywords, such as "cell phones and driving" or "cell phones and accidents."





Step 3

You test your hypothesis by selecting the most appropriate research method, as determined by your literature review. To test whether cell phone use impairs driving ability, you could conduct a survey, conduct a naturalistic observation, or perform an experiment.



Conduct the Study



Recruit participants and measure their responses.

FIGURE 2.5 The Scientific Method in Action This figure lays out the six steps of the scientific method.

39



Step 6



Report results and embark on further inquiry. You submit results to research journals and present them at conferences to share them with the scientific community. You continue to refine the theory with further predictions (hypotheses) and tests.

Step 5

Analyze the Data

Analyze whether the data support or refute the hypothesis. You analyze the data using appropriate statistical techniques and draw conclusions. If the data do not support the hypothesis, you either discard the theory or revise it (and then test the revision).

phone while driving with texting while driving. You discover that texting is much more likely to cause accidents. You might then narrow your hypothesis to examine the specific action of texting.

Step 3: Design a Study

Designing a study refers to deciding which research method (and thus, level of analysis) you want to use to test your hypothesis. To test whether texting causes more accidents, you could conduct a survey: Give people a questionnaire that asks how often they text while driving. This method is used widely to gain initial insight into your hypothesis. In large surveys of high school students and college students, more than 40 percent reported texting while driving at least once in the previous 30 days (Olsen, Shults, & Eaton, 2013).

Instead of a survey, you could conduct a naturalistic observation: Watch a particular group of drivers over time and measure how often they text while driving or talk on a cell phone while driving. To establish how cell phone use affects driving, you could more intensively examine drivers by placing devices in their cars to measure aspects such as driving speed and acceleration. Or you could use video cameras to create an objective record of risky driving behaviors, such as running stop signs. One study of 151 drivers using such methods found that cell phone use, especially texting, was a strong predictor of crashes and near-crashes (Klauer et al., 2013).

Alternatively, you could perform an actual experiment, assigning one group of people to texting while driving and a second group of people to no texting, then comparing the number of accidents they have. Obviously, performing a test of this kind on public roads would be dangerous and unethical. Thus, for research like this, scientists use driving simulators that mimic real-world driving conditions. As you will see later when we discuss the different research methods available to test your hypothesis, there are advantages and disadvantages to each of these methods.

Step 4: Conduct the Study

Once you choose your research method, you have to conduct the study: Recruit participants and measure their responses. Many people call this step collecting data or gathering data. If you conduct a survey to see whether people who use cell phones while driving have more accidents, your data will include both the frequency with which people use cell phones while driving and how many accidents they have. All the research methods require you to clarify how you are defining "driving while texting" and "accidents." You must also take care in defining the appropriate size and type of sample of participants. These issues are addressed more completely later in this chapter, under the discussions of operational definitions and sampling.

Step 5: Analyze the Data

The next step is to analyze your data. There are two main ways to analyze data. First, you want to describe the data. What was the average score? How "typical" is that average? Suppose the average driver in your study has five years of driving experience. Does this statement mean five is the most common number of years of driving experience, or that five is the numerical average if you divide the total number of years driven by the total number of participants, or that about half of drivers have this many years of experience?

Second, you will want to know what conclusions you can draw from your data. You need to know whether your results are meaningful or whether they happened by chance. To determine the usefulness of your data, you analyze the data inferentially. That is, you ask whether you found a significant effect. Asking this question enables you to make inferences about your data-to infer whether your findings might be true for the general population. You accomplish data analyses by using descriptive and inferential statistics, which are described more completely later in the chapter.

Step 6: Report the Results

Unreported results have no value, because no one can use any of the information. Instead, scientists make their findings public to benefit society, support the scientific culture, and also permit other scientists to build on their work. Various forums are available for distributing the results of scientific research.

Brief reports can be presented at scientific conferences. The most popular formats for presenting data at conferences are talks and poster sessions. At the latter, people create large posters that display information about their study. During these sessions,

researchers stand by their posters and answer questions to those who stop by to read the poster. Conference presentations are especially good for reporting preliminary data or for presenting exciting or cutting-edge results.

Full reports should be published in a peer-reviewed scientific journal (see Figure 2.3). Full reports consist of the background and significance of the research, the full methodology for how the question was studied, the complete results of the descriptive and inferential statistical analyses, and a discussion of what the results mean in relation to the accumulated body of scientific evidence.

Sometimes the results of research are of interest to the general public. People in the media attend scientific conferences and read scientific journals so they can report on exciting findings. Eventually, interesting and important science will reach a general audience.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IS CYCLICAL Once the results of a research study are in, the researchers return to the original theory to evaluate the implications of the data. If the study was conducted competently (i.e., used appropriate methods and data analysis to test the hypothesis), the data either support the theory or suggest that the theory be modified or discarded. Then the process starts all over again. Yes, the same sort of work needs to be performed repeatedly. No single study can provide a definitive answer about any phenomenon. No theory would be discarded on the basis of one set of data. Instead, we have more confidence in scientific findings when research outcomes are replicated.

Replication involves repeating a study and getting the same (or similar) results. When the results from two or more studies are the same, or at least support the same conclusion, confidence increases in the findings. Ideally, researchers not affiliated with those who produced the original finding conduct replication studies. These independent replications provide more powerful support because they rule out the possibility that some feature of the original setting may have contributed to the findings. Within the last few years, there has been a growing emphasis on replication within psychological science.

Good research reflects the cyclical process shown in Figure 2.5. In other words, a theory is continually refined by new hypotheses and tested by new research methods. In addition, often more than one theory may apply to a particular aspect of human behavior so that the theory needs to be refined to become more precise.

For instance, the theory that using a cell phone while driving impairs driving skills might be accurate, but you want to know more. How does using a cell phone impair driving? You might develop new theories that take into account the skills needed to be a good driver. You could theorize that using a cell phone impairs driving because it requires taking your hands off the wheel, or perhaps texting requires taking your eyes off the road, or perhaps using a cell phone at all impairs your ability to think about driving. To understand which theory is best, you can design critical studies that directly contrast theories to see which theory better explains the data. Replication is another means of strengthening support for some theories and helping weed out weaker theories.

Unexpected Findings Can Be Valuable

Research does not always proceed in a neat and orderly fashion. On the contrary, many significant findings are the result of serendipity. In its general sense, serendipity means unexpectedly finding things that are valuable or agreeable. In science, it means unexpectedly discovering something important.

In the late 1950s, the physiologists Torsten Wiesel and David Hubel recorded the activity of nerve cells in cats' brains. Specifically, they were measuring the replication Repetition of a research study to confirm the results.







FIGURE 2.6 Wiesel and Hubel's Dot Pattern Experiments

Torsten Wiesel **(foreground)** and David Hubel are shown with their dot projector, 1958. activity of cells in brain areas associated with vision. Hubel and Wiesel (1959) were studying how information travels from the eye to the brain (a process explored extensively in Chapter 5, "Sensation and Perception"). They had hypothesized that certain cells in the visual portion of the brain would respond when the cats looked at dots. To test that hypothesis, they showed slides of dot patterns to the cats (**FIGURE 2.6**). After much disappointing work that produced no significant activity in the brain cells being observed, the projector suddenly jammed between slides. The cells in question began to fire at an astonishing rate! What had caused this firing? Wiesel and Hubel realized that the jammed slide had produced a visual "edge" on the screen.

Because of this little accident, Wiesel and Hubel discovered that these specific cells do not respond to simple dots. They eventually received a Nobel Prize for the serendipitous finding that certain brain cells respond specifically to lines and edges. Although their discovery is an example of serendipity, these researchers were not just lucky. They did not stumble onto a groundbreaking discovery that led straight to a Nobel Prize. Rather, they followed up on their unexpected finding. Thanks to their critical thinking abilities, they were open to new ideas. After a lifetime of hard work, they understood the implications of the rapid firing of certain brain cells in response to straight lines but not to other types of visual stimuli.

Summing Up

How Is the Scientific Method Used in Psychological Research?

- The four primary goals of science are *description* (describing what a phenomenon is), *prediction* (predicting when a phenomenon might occur), *control* (controlling the conditions under which a phenomenon occurs), and *explanation* (explaining what causes a phenomenon to occur).
- Critical thinking is a skill that helps people become educated consumers of information. Critical thinkers question claims, seek definitions for the parts of the claims, and evaluate the claims by looking for well-supported evidence.
- The scientific method helps psychologists achieve their goals of describing, predicting, controlling, and explaining behavior.
- Scientific inquiry relies on objective methods and empirical evidence to answer testable questions.
- The scientific method is based on the use of theories to generate hypotheses that can be tested by collecting objective data through research. Good theories are falsifiable and will generate several testable hypotheses.
- After a theory has been formulated based on observing a phenomenon, the six steps of the scientific method are forming a hypothesis based on the theory, conducting a literature review to see how people are testing the theory, choosing a research method to test the hypothesis, conducting the research study, analyzing the data, and reporting the results.
- Scientists examine the results to see how well they match the original hypothesis. The theory must be adjusted as new findings confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis.
- Unexpected (serendipitous) discoveries sometimes occur, but only researchers who are prepared to recognize their importance will benefit from them. Although unexpected findings can suggest new theories, these findings must be replicated and elaborated.

Measuring Up

- 1. How are theories, hypotheses, and research different?
 - Theories ask questions about possible causes of thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. Hypotheses provide the empirical answers. Research is used to examine whether theories are correct.

- **b.** Theories are broad conceptual frameworks. Hypotheses are derived from theories and are used to design research that will support or fail to support a theory. Research is a test of the hypotheses.
- **c.** Theories are assumed to be true. Hypotheses need to be tested with appropriate experiments. Research is the final step.
- d. Theories do not require data for their verification because they are abstract. Hypotheses depend on experimental findings. Research uses human participants to test theories and hypotheses.

2. Why is critical thinking so important?

- a. Critical thinking is important only for scientists who need to do experiments.
- **b.** Critical thinking enables us to interpret information and evaluate claims.
- **c.** Critical thinking is necessary for science and math, but it is not important for other disciplines.

ANSWERS: (1) **b.** Theories are broad conceptual frameworks. Hypotheses are derived from theories and are used to design research that will support or fail to support a theory. Research is a test of the hypotheses. (2) **b.** Critical thinking enables us to interpret information and evaluate claims.

2.2 What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research?

Once a researcher has defined a hypothesis, the next issue to be addressed is the type of research method to be used. There are three main types of research methods: *descriptive, correlational,* and *experimental*. These methods differ in the extent to which the researcher has control over the variables in the study. The amount of control over the variables in turn determines the type of conclusions the researcher can draw from the data.

All research involves variables. A **variable** is something in the world that can vary and that the researcher can manipulate (change), measure (evaluate), or both. In a study of texting and driving ability, some of the variables would be number of texts sent, number of texts received, familiarity with the texting device, how coordinated a person is, and driving ability and cell phone experience.

Scientists try to be as specific and as objective as possible when describing variables. Different terms are used to specify whether a variable is being manipulated or measured. An **independent variable** is the variable that gets manipulated. A **dependent variable** is the variable that gets measured, which is why it is sometimes called the *dependent measure*. Another way to think of the dependent variable is as the outcome that gets measured after a manipulation occurs. That is, the value of the dependent variable *depends* on the changes produced in the independent variable. Since independent variables are specific to the experimental research method, independent and dependent variables will be described more completely in that section of this chapter.

In addition to determining what variables will be studied, researchers must define these variables precisely and in ways that reflect the methods used to assess them. They do so by developing an **operational definition**. Operational definitions are important for research. They *qualify* (describe) and *quantify* (measure) variables so the variables can be understood objectively. The use of operational definitions enables other researchers to know precisely what variables were used, how they were manipulated, and how they were measured. These concrete details make it possible for other researchers to use identical methods in their attempts to replicate the findings.

For example, if you choose to study how driving performance is affected by cell phone use, how will you qualify cell phone use? Do you mean talking, texting, reading

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between descriptive studies, correlational studies, and experiments.
- List the advantages and disadvantages of different research methods.
- Explain the difference between random sampling and random assignment, and explain when each might be important.

variable

Something in the world that can vary and that a researcher can manipulate (change), measure (evaluate), or both.

independent variable

The variable that gets manipulated in a research study.

dependent variable

The variable that gets measured in a research study.

operational definition

A definition that *qualifies* (describes) and *quantifies* (measures) a variable so the variable can be understood objectively.



FIGURE 2.7 Descriptive Methods

Observational studies-such as this one, using a one-way mirror-are a method that researchers use to describe behavior objectively.

descriptive research

Research methods that involve observing behavior to describe that behavior objectively and systematically.

case study

A descriptive research method that involves the intensive examination of an unusual person or organization.



FIGURE 2.8 Case Study Data

In this image of Patient N.A., you can see where the miniature foil penetrated brain regions that had not traditionally been seen as involved in memory. This case study provided new insights into how the brain creates memories. content, or some combination of these activities? How will you then quantify cell phone use? Will you count how many times a person uses the cell phone in an hour? Then, how will you quantify and qualify driving performance so you can judge whether it is affected by cell phone use? Will you record the number of accidents, the closeness to cars up ahead, the reaction time to red lights or road hazards, speeding? The operational definitions for your study need to spell out the details of your variables.

Descriptive Research Consists of Case Studies, Observation, and Self-Report Methods

Descriptive research involves observing behavior to *describe* that behavior objectively and systematically. Descriptive research helps scientists achieve the goals of describing what phenomena are and (sometimes) predicting when or with what other phenomena they may occur. However, by nature, descriptive research cannot achieve the goals of control and explanation (only the true experimental method, described later in this chapter, can do that).

Descriptive methods are widely used to assess many types of behavior. For example, an observer performing descriptive research might record the types of foods that people eat in cafeterias, measure the time that people spend talking during an average conversation, count the number and types of mating behaviors that penguins engage in during their mating season, or tally the number of times poverty or mental illness is mentioned during a presidential debate (**FIGURE 2.7**). Each of these observations offers important information that can be used to describe current behavior and even predict future behavior. In no case does the investigator control the behavior being observed or explain why any particular behavior occurred.

There are three basic types of descriptive research methods: case studies; observations; and self-report methods and interviews.

CASE STUDIES A **case study** is the intensive examination of an unusual person or organization. By intensive examination, we mean observation, recording, and description. An individual might be selected for intensive study if he or she has a special or unique aspect, such as an exceptional memory, a rare disease, or a specific type of brain damage. An organization might be selected for intensive study because it is doing something very well (such as making a lot of money) or very poorly (such as losing a lot of money). The goal of a case study is to describe the events or experiences that lead up to or result from the exceptional aspect.

One famous case study in psychological science involves a young American man whose freak injury impaired his ability to remember new information (Squire, 1987). N.A. was born in 1938. After a brief stint in college, he joined the Air Force and was stationed in the Azores, where he was trained to be a radar technician. One night, he was assembling a model airplane in his room. His roommate was joking around with a miniature fencing foil, pretending to jab at the back of N.A.'s head. When N.A. turned around suddenly, his roommate accidentally stabbed N.A. through the nose and up into his brain (**FIGURE 2.8**).

Although N.A. seemed to recover from his injury in most ways, he developed extreme problems remembering events that happened to him during the day. He could remember events before his accident, and so he was able to live on his own, keeping his house tidy and regularly cutting his lawn. It was new information that he could not remember. He had trouble watching television because he forgot the storylines, and he had difficulty holding conversations because he forgot what others had just said. Subsequent studies of N.A.'s brain using imaging techniques revealed damage to specific regions not traditionally associated with memory difficulties (Squire, Amaral, Zola-Morgan, Kritchevsky, & Press, 1989). The case study of N.A. helped researchers develop new models of the brain mechanisms involved in memory.

However, not everyone who suffers damage to this brain region experiences the same types of problems as N.A. Such differences highlight the major problem with case studies. Because only one person or organization is the focus of a case study, scientists cannot tell from that study if the same thing would happen to other people or organizations who have the same experience(s). The findings from case studies do not necessarily *generalize*, or apply to the general population.

OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES Two main types of observational techniques are used in research: participant observation and naturalistic observation. In **participant observation** (**FIGURE 2.9**), the researcher is involved in the situation. In **naturalistic observation** (**FIGURE 2.10**), the observer is passive, separated from the situation and making no attempt to change or alter ongoing behavior.

CODING These observational techniques involve the systematic assessment and coding of overt behavior. Suppose you hear about a person who was texting while walking, stumbled off a curb, and was killed by an oncoming truck. You develop the hypothesis that using a cell phone while walking can cause problems with walking. How do you operationally define "problems with walking"? Once you have defined your terms, you need to code the forms of behavior you will observe. Your coding might involve written subjective assessments (e.g., "He almost got hit by a car when he walked into traffic"). Alternatively, your coding might use predefined categories (e.g., "1. Walked slowly," "2. Walked into traffic," "3. Stumbled"). Perhaps, after recording your data, you would create an index of impaired walking behavior by adding together the frequencies of each coded category. You might then compare the total number of coded behaviors when people were using a cell phone or not. Studies such as these have shown that cell phone use does impair walking ability (Schwebel et al., 2012: Stavrinos, Byington, & Schwedel, 2011). Pedestrian accidents-not all of them involving cell phones—kill more than 500 college-age students per year and injure more than 12,000 (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2012b).

REACTIVITY When conducting observational research, scientists must consider the critical question of whether the observer should be visible. The concern here is that the presence of the observer might alter the behavior being observed. Such an alteration is called **reactivity**. People may feel compelled to make a positive impression on an observer, so they may act differently when they believe they are being observed. For example, drivers who know they were being observed might be less likely to use their cell phones.

Reactivity affected a now-famous series of studies on workplace conditions and productivity. Specifically, the researchers manipulated working conditions and then observed workers' behavior at the Hawthorne Works, a Western Electric manufacturing plant in Cicero, Illinois, between 1924 and 1933 (Olson, Hogan, & Santos, 2006; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939). The conditions included different levels of lighting, different pay incentives, and different break schedules. The main dependent variable was how long the workers took to complete certain tasks.

Throughout the studies, the workers knew they were being observed. Because of this awareness, they responded to changes in their working conditions by increasing productivity. The workers did not speed up continuously throughout the various studies. Instead, they worked faster at the start of each new manipulation, regardless of the nature of the manipulation (longer break, shorter break, one of various changes



FIGURE 2.9 Participant Observation

The evolutionary psychologist and human behavioral ecologist Lawrence Sugiyama has conducted fieldwork in Ecuadorian Amazonia among the Shiwiar, Achuar, Shuar, and Zaparo peoples. Here, hunting with a bow and arrow, he is conducting a particularly active form of participant observation.

participant observation A type of descriptive study in which the researcher is involved in the situation.

naturalistic observation

A type of descriptive study in which the researcher is a passive observer, separated from the situation and making no attempt to change or alter ongoing behavior.

reactivity

The phenomenon that occurs when knowledge that one is being observed alters the behavior being observed.



FIGURE 2.10 Naturalistic Observation

Using naturalistic observation, the primatologist Jane Goodall observes a family of chimpanzees. Animals are more likely to act naturally in their native habitats than in captivity.

Scientific Thinking The Hawthorne Effect

HYPOTHESIS: Being observed can lead participants to change their behavior.

RESEARCH METHOD (OBSERVATIONAL):

- 1 During studies of the effects of workplace conditions, the researchers manipulated several independent variables, such as the levels of lighting, pay incentives, and break schedules.
- 2 The researchers then measured the dependent variable, the speed at which workers did their jobs.



RESULTS: The workers' productivity increased when they were being observed, regardless of changes to their working conditions.

CONCLUSION: Being observed can lead participants to change their behavior because people often act in particular ways to make positive impressions.

SOURCE: Roethlisberger, F. J., & Dickson, W. J. (1939). *Management and the worker: An account of a research program conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

to the pay system, and so on). The *Hawthorne effect* refers to changes in behavior that occur when people know that others are observing them (see "Scientific Thinking: The Hawthorne Effect").

How might the Hawthorne effect operate in other studies? Consider a study of the effectiveness of a new reading program in elementary schools. Suppose that the teachers know they have been selected to try out a new program. They also know that their students' reading progress will be reported to the schools' superintendent. It is easy to see how these teachers might teach more enthusiastically or pay more attention to each child's reading progress than would teachers using the old program. One likely outcome is that the students receiving the new program of instruction would show reading gains caused by the teachers' increased attention and not by the new program. Thus, in general, observation should be as unobtrusive as possible.

OBSERVER BIAS In conducting observational research, scientists must guard against **observer bias**. This flaw consists of systematic errors in observation that occur because of an observer's expectations.

Observer bias can especially be a problem if cultural norms favor inhibiting or expressing certain behaviors. For instance, in many societies women are freer to express sadness than men are. If observers are coding men's and women's facial expressions, they may be more likely to rate female expressions as indicating sadness because they believe that men are less likely to show sadness. Men's expressions of sadness might be rated as annoyance or some other emotion. Likewise, in many societies women

observer bias Systematic errors in observation that occur because of an observer's expectations. are generally expected to be less assertive than men. Observers therefore might rate women as more assertive when exhibiting the same behavior as men. Cultural norms can affect both the participants' actions and the way observers perceive those actions.

EXPERIMENTER EXPECTANCY EFFECT There is evidence that observer expectations can even change the behavior being observed. This phenomenon is known as the experimenter expectancy effect.

In a classic study by the social psychologist Robert Rosenthal, college students trained rats to run a maze (Rosenthal & Fode, 1963). Half the students were told their rats were bred to be very good at running mazes. The other half were told their rats were bred to be poor performers. In reality, there were no genetic differences between the groups of rats. Nonetheless, when students believed they were training rats that were bred to be fast maze learners, their rats learned the task more quickly! Thus, these students' expectations altered how they treated their rats. This treatment in turn influenced the speed at which the rats learned. The students were not aware of their biased treatment, but it existed. Perhaps they supplied extra food when the rats reached the goal box at the end of the maze. Or perhaps they gave the rats inadvertent cues as to which way to turn in the maze. They might simply have stroked the rats more often (see "Scientific Thinking: Rosenthal's Study of Experimenter Expectancy Effects").

HYPOTHESIS: Research participants' behavior will be affected by experimenters' biases.

RESEARCH METHOD (EXPERIMENT WITH TWO GROUPS):

- 1 One group of college students were given a group of rats and told to train them to run a maze. These students were told their rats were bred to be very poor at running mazes.
- 2 A second group of college students were given a group of rats to train that were genetically the same as the first group of rats. These students were told their rats were bred to be very good at running mazes.

RESULTS: The rats trained by the students who believed their rats were bred to be fast maze learners did learn the task more quickly.

CONCLUSION: The results for the two groups of rats differed because the students' expectations caused them to give off subtle cues that changed the rats' behavior.

SOURCE: Rosenthal, R., & Fode, K. L. (1963). The effect of experimenter bias on the performance of the albino rat. *Behavioral Science*, *8*, 183–189.

experimenter expectancy effect Actual change in the behavior of the people or nonhuman animals being observed that is due to the expectations of the observer.



FIGURE 2.11 Self-Report Methods

Self-report methods, such as surveys or questionnaires, can be used to gather data from a large number of people. They are easy to administer, cost-efficient, and a relatively fast way to collect data.



FIGURE 2.12 Correlational Studies

There may be a correlation between the extent to which parents are overweight and the extent to which their children are overweight. A correlational study cannot demonstrate the cause of this relationship, which may include biological propensities to gain weight, lack of exercise, and high-fat diets. How do researchers protect against experimenter expectancy effects? It is best if the person running the study is *blind* to, or unaware of, the study's hypotheses. For example, the study just described seemed to be about rats' speed in learning to run through a maze. Instead, it was designed to study experimenter expectancy effects. The students believed they were "experimenters" in the study, but they were actually the participants. Their work with the rats was the subject of the study, not the method. Thus, the students were led to expect certain results so that the researchers could determine whether the students' expectations affected the results of the rats' training.

SELF-REPORTS AND INTERVIEWS Ideally, observation is an unobtrusive approach for studying behavior. By contrast, asking people about themselves, their thoughts, their actions, and their feelings is a much more interactive way of collecting data. Methods of posing questions to participants include surveys, interviews, and questionnaires. The type of information sought ranges from demographic facts (e.g., ethnicity, age, religious affiliation) to past behaviors, personal attitudes, beliefs, and so on: "Have you ever used an illegal drug?" "Should people who drink and drive be jailed for a first offense?" "Are you comfortable sending food back to the kitchen in a restaurant when there is a problem?" Questions such as these require people to recall certain events from their lives or reflect on their mental or emotional states.

Self-report methods, such as surveys or questionnaires, can be used to gather data from a large number of people in a short time (**FIGURE 2.11**). Questions can be mailed out to a sample drawn from the population of interest or handed out in appropriate locations. They are easy to administer and cost-efficient.

Interviews, another type of interactive method, can be used successfully with groups that cannot be studied through surveys or questionnaires, such as young children. Interviews are also helpful in gaining a more in-depth view of a respondent's opinions, experiences, and attitudes. Thus, the answers from interviewees sometimes inspire avenues of inquiry that the researchers had not planned.

A problem common to all asking-based methods of data collection is that people often introduce biases into their answers. These biases make it difficult to discern an honest or true response. In particular, people may not reveal personal information that casts them in a negative light. We know we are not supposed to use cell phones while driving, and so we might be reluctant to admit regularly doing so. Researchers therefore have to consider the extent to which their questions produce *socially desirable responding*, or *faking good*, in which the person responds in a way that is most socially acceptable.

Correlational Studies Describe and Predict How Variables Are Related

Correlational studies examine how variables are naturally related in the real world, without any attempt by the researcher to alter them or assign causation between them (**FIGURE 2.12**). Correlational studies are used to describe and predict relationships between variables. They cannot be used to determine the causal relationship between the variables.

Consider an example. On your college application, you likely had to provide a score from a standardized test, such as the SAT or ACT. Colleges require these numbers because standardized test scores have been shown to *correlate* with college success. That is, generally, people who score higher on standardized tests tend to perform better in college. However, does this mean that scoring well on a standardized test will *cause* you to do better in college? Or that doing well in school will *cause* you to do better on standardized tests? Absolutely not. Many people score well on tests but do not perform well in school. Alternatively, many people score poorly on standardized tests but enjoy great success in college.

DIRECTION OF CORRELATION When higher or lower values on one variable predict higher or lower values on a second variable, we say there is a **positive correla**tion between them. A positive correlation describes a situation where both variables either increase or decrease together—they "move" in the same direction (**FIGURE 2.13A**). For example, people with higher ACT scores generally have higher college GPAs. People with lower ACT scores generally have lower college GPAs. However, remember that correlation does not equal "cause and effect." Scoring higher or lower on the ACT will *not cause* you to earn a higher or lower GPA.

Remember, too, that *positive* in this case does *not* mean "good." For example, there is a very strong positive correlation between smoking and cancer. There is nothing good about this relationship. The correlation simply describes how the two variables are related. In general, people who smoke experience higher rates of cancer. The more they smoke, the higher their risk of getting cancer.

Some variables are negatively correlated. In a **negative correlation**, the variables move in opposite directions. An increase in one variable predicts a decrease in the other variable. A decrease in one variable predicts an increase in the other variable (**FIGURE 2.13B**). Here, *negative* does not mean "bad."

Consider exercise and weight. In general, the more people exercise, the less they weigh. People who take more vitamins experience fewer colds (Meyer, Meister, & Gaus, 2013).

Some variables are just not related. In this case, we say there is a **zero correlation**. That is, one variable is not predictably related to a second variable (**FIGURE 2.13C**). For example, there is a zero correlation between gender and intelligence. As two groups, men and women are equally smart.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT CORRELATIONS Now that we have described the types of relationships that can exist, let us try to practice our critical thinking skills by interpreting what these relationships mean. Recall that there is generally a negative correlation between exercise and weight. For some people, however, there self-report methods Methods of data collection in which people are asked to provide information about themselves, such as in surveys or questionnaires.

correlational studies

A research method that describes and predicts how variables are naturally related in the real world, without any attempt by the researcher to alter them or assign causation between them.

positive correlation

A relationship between two variables in which both variables either increase or decrease together.

negative correlation

A relationship between two variables in which one variable increases when the other decreases.

zero correlation

A relationship between two variables in which one variable is not predictably related to the other.



FIGURE 2.13

Direction of Correlation

(a) In a positive correlation, both variables "move" in the same direction. (b) In a negative correlation, the variables move in opposite directions. (c) In a zero correlation, one variable is not predictably related to a second variable.

is a *positive* correlation between these variables. The more they exercise, the more weight they *gain*. Why? Because exercise builds muscle mass. So if the gain of muscle mass exceeds the loss of fat, exercise will actually increase weight. Sometimes, the same phenomena can exhibit a negative correlation or a positive correlation, depending on the specific circumstances.

Now consider the positive correlation between smoking and cancer. The more a person smokes, the greater that person's risk of cancer. Does that relationship mean smoking causes cancer? Not necessarily. Just because two things are related, even strongly related, does not mean that one is causing the other. Many genetic, behavioral, and environmental variables may contribute both to whether a person chooses to smoke and to whether the person gets cancer. Complications of this kind prevent researchers from drawing causal conclusions from correlational studies. Two such complications are the directionality problem and the third variable problem.

DIRECTIONALITY PROBLEM One problem with correlational studies is in knowing the direction of the relationship between variables. This sort of ambiguity is known as the **directionality problem**. Consider this example. Suppose you survey a large group of people about their sleeping habits and their levels of stress. Those who report sleeping little also report having a higher level of stress. Does lack of sleep increase stress levels, or does increased stress lead to shorter and worse sleep? Both scenarios seem plausible:

Sleep (A) and stress (B) are correlated.

- Does less sleep cause more stress? $(A \rightarrow B)$
 - OY
- Does more stress cause less sleep? $(B \rightarrow A)$

THIRD VARIABLE PROBLEM Another drawback with all correlational studies is the **third variable problem.** Instead of variable A causing variable B, as a researcher might assume, it is possible that a third variable, C, causes both A and B. Consider the relationship between texting while driving and dangerous driving. It is possible that people who are risk takers in their daily lives are more likely to text while driving. It is also possible that these people are likely to drive dangerously. Thus, the cause of both texting while driving and dangerous driving is the third variable, risk-taking:

Texting while driving (A) is correlated with driving dangerously (B).

- Risk taking (C) causes some people to text while driving. $(C \rightarrow A)$ and
- Risk taking (C) causes some people to drive dangerously. $(C \rightarrow B)$

Indeed, research has shown that those who text while driving are also likely to engage in a variety of other risky behaviors, such as not wearing seatbelts, riding with a driver who had been drinking, or even drinking alcohol and driving (Olsen, Shults, & Eaton, 2013). Thus, it is possible that both texting while driving and dangerous driving generally result from risk taking, a third variable.

Sometimes the third variable is obvious. Suppose you were told that the more churches there are in a town, the greater the rate of crime. Would you conclude that churches cause crime? In looking for a third variable, you would realize that the population size of the town affects the number of churches and the frequency of crime. But sometimes third variables are not so obvious and may not even be identifiable. It turns out that even the relationship between smoking and cancer is plagued by the third variable problem. Evidence indicates that there is indeed a genetic predisposition— a built-in vulnerability to smoking—that can combine with environmental factors to

directionality problem

A problem encountered in correlational studies; the researchers find a relationship between two variables, but they cannot determine which variable may have caused changes in the other variable.

third variable problem

A problem that occurs when the researcher cannot directly manipulate variables; as a result, the researcher cannot be confident that another, unmeasured variable is not the actual cause of differences in the variables of interest. increase the probability that some people will smoke *and* that they will develop lung cancer (Paz-Elizur et al., 2003; Thorgeirsson et al., 2008). Thus, it is impossible to conclude on the basis of correlational research that one of the variables is *causing* the other.

ETHICAL REASONS FOR USING CORRELATIONAL DESIGNS

Despite such potentially serious problems, correlational studies are widely used in psychological science. Some research questions require correlational research designs for ethical reasons. For example, as mentioned earlier, it would be unethical to send drivers out into traffic and ask them to text as part of an experiment. Doing so would put the drivers and others at risk.

There are many important real-world experiences that we want to know about but would never expose people to as part of an experiment. Suppose you want to know if soldiers who experience severe trauma during combat have more difficulty learning new tasks after they return home than soldiers who have experienced less-severe trauma during combat. Even if you theorize that severely traumatic combat experiences cause later problems with learning, it would be unethical to induce trauma in some soldiers so that you could compare soldiers who had experienced different degrees of trauma. (Likewise, most research on psychopathology-psychological illness-uses the correlational method, because it is unethical to induce psychological disorders in people to study the effects.) For this research question, you would need to study the soldiers' ability to learn a new task after they had returned home. You might, for example, observe soldiers who were attempting to learn computer programming. The participants in your study would have to include some soldiers who had experienced severe trauma during combat and some who had experienced less-severe trauma during combat. You would want to see which group, on average, performed less well when learning the task.

MAKING PREDICTIONS Correlational studies can be used to determine that two variables are associated with each other. In the example just discussed, the variables would be trauma during combat and learning difficulties later in life. By establishing such connections, researchers are able to make predictions. If you found the association you expected between severe trauma during combat and learning difficulties, you could predict that soldiers who experience severe trauma during combat will—again, on average—have more difficulty learning new tasks when they return than soldiers who do not experience severe trauma during combat. Because your study drew on but did not control the soldiers' wartime experiences, however, you have not established a causal connection (**FIGURE 2.14**).

By providing important information about the natural relationships between variables, researchers are able to make valuable predictions. For example, correlational research has identified a strong relationship between depression and suicide. For this reason, clinical psychologists often assess symptoms of depression to determine suicide risk. Typically, researchers who use the correlational method use other statistical procedures to rule out potential third variables and problems with the direction of the effect. Once they have shown that a relationship between two variables holds even when potential third variables are taken into account, researchers can be more confident that the relationship is meaningful.

The Experimental Method Controls and Explains

Scientists ideally want to explain what causes a phenomenon. For this reason, researchers rely on the experimental method. In experimental research, the researcher has maximal control over the situation. Only the experimental method



FIGURE 2.14 Correlation or Causation?

According to the players on the 2013 Boston Red Sox baseball team, facial hair causes a person to play better baseball. After two newly bearded players made some game-saving plays, the rest of the team stopped shaving (Al-Khatib, 2013). Did their beards cause the Red Sox to win the World Series that year? The facial hair may have been correlated with winning, but it did not cause an increase in talent. The team won through ability, practice, and luck. enables the researcher to control the conditions under which a phenomenon occurs and therefore to understand the cause of the phenomenon. In an **experiment**, the researcher manipulates one variable to measure the effect on a second variable.

An experiment also allows researchers to test multiple hypotheses to examine and refine their theory. Suppose researchers initially theorize that using a cell phone while driving impairs driving. This theory does not explain why the effect happens. Researchers can refine the theory to include possible mechanisms and then test hypotheses related to the refined versions of the more general theory.

Suppose the researchers then theorize that using a cell phone while driving impairs driving because drivers need to use their hands both to drive and to use cell phones. One hypothesis to test this theory is that using a hands-free cell phone while driving will cause fewer problems than holding the phone while talking and driving. Another hypothesis to test the same theory is that any use of the hands, such as eating, will impair driving.

An alternative theory is that taking your eyes off the road—to dial a number or read and respond to a text—is the main factor that affects driving. This theory might yield the hypothesis that any action the driver performs that takes his or her eyes off the road such as reading a map or looking at the radio to change stations—will impair driving.

Yet another theory is that driving requires cognitive resources, such as the ability to pay attention and think about driving. This theory might yield the hypothesis that any activity the driver performs that requires attention or thought—such as thinking about a problem at school—will impair driving. Through experimentation, psychologists test hypotheses about the mechanisms they theorize are responsible for the effect they are studying.

MANIPULATING VARIABLES In an experiment, the independent variable (IV) is manipulated. That is, the researchers choose what the study participants do or are exposed to.

In a study on the effects of using a cell phone while driving, the IV would be the type of cell phone use. While in a driving simulator, some participants might simply hold the phone, some might have to answer questions over the phone, and some might have to read and answer text messages.

An IV has "levels," meaning the different values that are manipulated by the researcher. All IVs must have at least two levels: a "treatment" level and a "comparison" level. In the study of cell phone use and driving ability, the people who actively used the cell phone received the "treatment." A group of study participants who receive the treatment are the **experimental group**. Since in this hypothetical study, some participants talk on the cell phone and others text, there are actually two experimental groups.

In an experiment, you always want to compare your experimental group with at least one **control group**. A control group consists of similar (or identical) participants who receive everything the experimental group receives except for the treatment. In this example, the experimental group uses a cell phone to talk or text while driving. The control group simply holds a cell phone while driving. This use of a control group includes the possibility that simply the presence of a cell phone is disruptive. To test whether handling a cell phone is disruptive, the control group could be drivers not holding a cell phone.

The dependent variable (DV) is whatever behavioral effect is—or behavioral effects are—measured. For example, the researcher could measure how quickly the participants responded to red lights, how fast they drove, and the distance they maintained behind the car in front of them. The researcher would measure each of these DVs as a function of the IV, the type of cell phone use.

experiment

A research method that tests causal hypotheses by manipulating and measuring variables.

experimental group

The participants in an experiment who receive the treatment.

control group

The participants in an experiment who receive no intervention or who receive an intervention that is unrelated to the independent variable being investigated. The benefit of an experiment is that the researcher can study the causal relationship between variables. If the IV (such as type of cell phone use) consistently influences the DV (such as driving performance), then the IV is assumed to cause the change in the DV.

ESTABLISHING CAUSALITY A properly performed experiment depends on rigorous control. Here, *control* means the steps taken by the researcher to minimize the possibility that anything other than the independent variable could be the cause of differences between the experimental and control groups.

A **confound** is anything that affects a dependent variable and that may unintentionally vary between the study's different experimental conditions. When conducting an experiment, a researcher needs to ensure that the only thing that varies is the independent variable. Control thus represents the foundation of the experimental approach, in that it allows the researcher to rule out alternative explanations for the observed data.

In the study of cell phone use and driving performance, what if a car with an automatic transmission is simulated to assess driving when participants are not using a cell phone, but a car with a manual transmission is simulated to assess performance when participants are texting? Given that manual transmissions require greater dexterity to operate than automatic transmissions, any apparent effect of texting on driving performance might actually be caused by the type of car and the fact that it requires greater use of the hands. In this example, the drivers' skills might be *confounded* with the type of transmission, making it impossible to determine the true effect of the texting.

Other potential confounds in research include changes in the sensitivity of the measuring instruments, such as a systematic change in a scale so that it weighs things more heavily in one condition than in another. Changes in the time of day or the season when the experiment is conducted can also confound the results. Suppose you conducted the texting and driving study so that the cell phone users were tested in snowy winter conditions and control participants were tested during dry, sunny weather. The road conditions associated with the season would be an obvious confound. The more confounds and thus alternative explanations that can be eliminated, the more confident a researcher can be that the change in the independent variable is causing the change (or effect) in the dependent variable. For this reason, researchers have to watch vigilantly for potential confounds. As consumers of research, we all need to think about confounds that could be causing particular results. (For a recap of the experimental method, see **FIGURE 2.15**.)

1	2	3	4	5
Researcher manipulates	Researcher randomly assigns participants to	Researcher measures	Researcher assesses result.	Conclusion
independent variable	or experimental group	dependent variable	Are the results in the control group different from the results in the experimental group?	The explanation either supports or does not support the hypothesis. Are there confounds, which would lead to alternative explanations?

FIGURE 2.15 The Experimental Method in Action

Experiments examine how variables are related when one variable is manipulated by the researchers. The results can demonstrate causal relationships between the variables.

confound

Anything that affects a dependent variable and that may unintentionally vary between the experimental conditions of a study.

population

Everyone in the group the experimenter is interested in.

sample A subset of a population.



FIGURE 2.16 Population

The population is the group researchers want to know about (e.g., U.S. college students). For the results of an experiment to be considered useful, the participants should be representative of the population.



FIGURE 2.17 Random Sample

A random sample is taken at random from the population (e.g., selecting students from schools throughout the United States). The best method for making this happen is random sampling.

Participants Need to Be Carefully Selected and Randomly Assigned to Conditions

An important issue for any research method is how to select participants for the study. Psychologists typically want to know that their findings *generalize* to people beyond the individuals in the study. In studying the effects of cell phone use on driving skills, you ultimately would not focus on the behavior of the specific participants. Instead, you would seek to discover general laws about human behavior. If your results generalized to all people, that would enable you, other psychologists, and the rest of humanity to predict, in general, how cell phone use would affect driving performance. Other results, depending on the nature of the study, might generalize to all college students, to students who belong to sororities and fraternities, to women, to men over the age of 45, and so on.

POPULATION AND SAMPLING The group you want to know about is the **population** (**FIGURE 2.16**). To learn about the population, you study a subset from it. That subset, the people you actually study, is the **sample**. *Sampling* is the process by which you select people from the population to be in the sample. In a case study, the sample size is one. The sample should represent the population, and the best method for making this happen is *random sampling* (**FIGURE 2.17**). This method gives each member of the population an equal chance of being chosen to participate. Further, larger samples yield more accurate results (**FIGURE 2.18**). However, sample size is often limited by resource constraints, such as time, money, and space in which to work.

Most of the time, a researcher will use a *convenience sample* (**FIGURE 2.19**). As the term implies, this sample consists of people who are conveniently available for the study. However, because a convenience sample does not use random sampling, the sample is likely to be biased. For instance, a sample of students at a small religious school may differ from a sample of students at a large state university. Researchers acknowledge the limitations of their samples when they present their findings.

FIGURE 2.18 Larger Samples

Suppose researchers want to compare how many women go to the beach versus how many men do. Why might the results be more accurate if the researchers use a large sample (such as the big picture here) rather than a small sample (such as the detail)?









FIGURE 2.19 Convenience Sample A convenience sample is taken from an available subgroup in the population (e.g., students at a particular school). Most of the time, circumstances force researchers to use a convenience sample.

FIGURE 2.20 Random Assignment

In random assignment, participants are assigned at random to the control group or the experimental group. Random assignment is used when the experimenter wants to test a causal hypothesis.

RANDOM ASSIGNMENT Once researchers obtain a representative sample of the population, they use **random assignment** to assign participants to the experimental and control groups (**FIGURE 2.20**). Random assignment gives each potential research participant an equal chance of being assigned to any level of the independent variable.

For your study, there might be three levels: holding a cell phone, answering questions verbally over the phone, and answering questions by texting. First, you would gather participants by taking either a random sample or a convenience sample from the population. Then, to randomly assign those participants, you might have them draw numbers from a hat to determine who is assigned to the control group (holding the phone) and to each experimental group (one talking and the other texting).

Of course, individual differences are bound to exist among participants. For example, any of your groups might include some people with less experience with cell phones and some people who talk or text a great deal, some people with excellent and experienced driving skills and some people with comparably weaker skills. But these differences will tend to average out when participants are assigned to either the control or experimental groups randomly, so that the groups are equivalent *on average*. Random assignment tends to balance out known and unknown factors.

If random assignment to groups is not truly random, and groups are not equivalent because participants in different groups differ in unexpected ways, the condition is known as **selection bias** (also known as *selection threat*). Suppose you have two of the experimental conditions described earlier: a group assigned to hold the phone and a group assigned to respond to text messages. What happens if the group assigned to hold the phone sand the other group includes many college students with lots of experience using cell phones and the other group includes many older adults who have minimal experience texting? How would you know if the people in the different conditions of the study are equivalent? You could match each group for age, sex, cell phone use habits, and so on, but you can never be sure that you have assessed all possible factors that may differ between the groups. Not using random assignment can create confounds that limit causal claims.

random assignment

Placing research participants into the conditions of an experiment in such a way that each participant has an equal chance of being assigned to any level of the independent variable.

selection bias

In an experiment, unintended differences between the participants in different groups; it could be caused by nonrandom assignment to groups.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 2.21 Cross-Cultural Studies

(a) The living space and treasured possessions of a family in Japan, for example, differ from (b) those of a family in Mali. Cross-cultural researchers might study how either family would react to crowding or to the loss of its possessions.

culturally sensitive research Studies that take into account the role that culture plays in determining thoughts, feelings, and actions. **GENERALIZING ACROSS CULTURES** It is important for researchers to assess how well their results generalize to other samples, particularly in cross-cultural research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). One difficulty in comparing people from different cultures is that some ideas and practices do not translate easily across cultures, just as some words do not translate easily into other languages. Apparent differences between cultures may reflect such differences in language, or they may reflect participants' relative willingness to report things about themselves publicly. A central challenge for cross-cultural researchers is to refine their measurements to rule out these kinds of alternative explanations (**FIGURE 2.21**).

Some psychological traits are the same across all cultures (e.g., care for the young). Others differ widely across cultures (e.g., behaviors expected of adolescents). **Culturally sensitive research** takes into account the significant role that culture plays in how people think, feel, and act (Adair & Kagitcibasi, 1995; Zebian, Alamuddin, Mallouf, & Chatila, 2007). Scientists use culturally sensitive practices so that their research respects—and perhaps reflects—the "shared system of meaning" that each culture transmits from one generation to the next (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993, p. 630).

In cities with diverse populations, such as Toronto, London, and Los Angeles, cultural differences exist among different groups of people living in the same neighborhoods and having close daily contact. Researchers therefore need to be sensitive to cultural differences even when they are studying people in the same neighborhood or the same school. Researchers must also guard against applying a psychological concept from one culture to another without considering whether the concept is the same in both cultures. For example, Japanese children's attachment to their parents looks quite different from the attachment styles common among North American children (Miyake, 1993).

Summing Up

What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research?

- Three main types of studies are used in psychological research: descriptive, correlational, and experimental.
- Descriptive and correlational designs are useful for describing and predicting behavior, but they do not allow researchers to assess causality.
- Only experiments allow researchers to determine causality.
- In an experiment, a researcher manipulates an independent variable to study how it affects a dependent variable, while controlling all other potential influences.
- When performing research, sampling allows researchers to draw a representative sample of the population and generalize the findings to the population.

Measuring Up

- 1. The main reason researchers randomly assign participants to different conditions in an experiment is that
 - a. it is easier to assign participants to different conditions than it is to find people who
 naturally fit into different conditions.
 - **b.** random assignment controls for any intuitions the participants may have at the start of the experiment.
 - **c.** random assignment is used when there are ethical reasons for not using observational or correlational research designs.

- **d.** random assignment helps to ensure that the experimental groups are (on average) equal and that any difference in the dependent variable is due to the participants' being in different experimental groups.
- 2. Match each of the following with the research method it describes. Choose from among case study, correlational, experimental, naturalistic observation, and survey.
 - **a.** An end-of-semester course evaluation that asks students to rate the class.
 - **b.** Collection of data showing that on average, students who studied more hours for a psychology examination earned higher grades.
 - **c.** A study comparing the driving performance between people randomly assigned to text while driving or to drive without distractions.
 - **d.** A research report describing a person with an extremely rare psychological disorder.
 - **e.** A study comparing voting preferences for people in wealthy neighborhoods compared to people in middle-class neighborhoods.
 - f. A study describing how 8-year-old children interacted on their school playground.
 - **g.** A study comparing tumor size in three groups of mice, each given a different dose of nicotine.
 - **h.** A study comparing the rate of cancer in people who are nonsmokers, light smokers, or heavy smokers.

observation; **g.** experimental; **h.** correlational.

groups. (2) a. survey; b. correlational; c. experimental; d. case study; e. correlational; f. naturalistic

ANSWERS: (1) d. random assignment helps to ensure that the experimental groups are (on average) equal and that any difference in the dependent variable is due to the participants' being in different experimental

2.3 What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research?

There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with Human Participants

Psychologists want to know why and how we act, think, feel, and perceive the way we do. In other words, they want to understand the human condition. As a result, it makes sense for psychological studies to involve human participants. As in any science that studies human behavior, however, there are limits to how researchers can manipulate what people do in studies. For ethical and practical reasons, researchers cannot always use the experimental method.

Consider the question of whether smoking causes cancer. To explain why a phenomenon (e.g., cancer) occurs, experimenters must control the conditions under which that phenomenon occurs. And to establish that a cause-and-effect relationship exists between variables, experimenters need to use random assignment. So to determine causality between smoking and cancer, some study participants would have to be randomly "forced" to smoke a controlled number of cigarettes in a specific fashion for a controlled amount of time, while an equal number of different (but similar) participants would have to be randomly "prevented" from smoking for the same amount of time. However, ethics prevent researchers from randomly forcing people to smoke, so researchers cannot experimentally answer this question using human participants (**FIGURE 2.22**).

Learning Objectives

- Identify ethical issues associated with conducting psychological research on human participants.
- Apply ethical principles to conducting research on animals, identifying the key issues regarding the humane treatment of animal subjects.



(a)

FIGURE 2.22 Research on Smoking and Cancer

Researchers can compare **(a)** a nonsmoker's lungs with **(b)** a smoker's lungs. They can compare the rates of cancer in nonsmokers with the rates of cancer in smokers. Ethically, however, they cannot perform an experiment that entails randomly forcing study participants to smoke, even though such experiments could help establish a link between smoking and cancer.

institutional review boards (IRBs)

Groups of people responsible for reviewing proposed research to ensure that it meets the accepted standards of science and provides for the physical and emotional well-being of research participants.



When conducting research, we have to carefully consider ethics. Is the study intended to do good for humanity? What exactly will the participants be asked to do? Are the requests reasonable, or will they put the participants in danger of physical or emotional harm over the short term or long term? Are the burdens of research shared justly among the portions of society that are involved?

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS (IRBS) To ensure

the health and well-being of all study participants, strict guidelines exist regarding research. These guidelines are shared by all places where research is conducted, including ad reasonab institutes. Institutional region boards (IBBs) are

colleges, universities, and research institutes. Institutional review boards (IRBs) are the guardians of the guidelines.

Convened at schools and other institutions where research is done, IRBs consist of administrators, legal advisers, trained scholars, and members of the community. At least one member of the IRB must not be a scientist. The purpose of the IRB is to review all proposed research to ensure that it meets scientific and ethical standards to protect the safety and welfare of participants. Most scientific journals today ask for proof of IRB approval before publishing research results. Four key issues are addressed in the IRB approval process: privacy, relative risks, informed consent, and access to data.

PRIVACY One major ethical concern about research is the expectation of privacy. Two main aspects of privacy must be considered. One aspect is *confidentiality*. This term means that personal, indentifying information about participants absolutely cannot be shared with others. Research participants must be assured that any such information collected in a study will remain private. In some studies, *anonymity* is used. Although this term is often confused with confidentiality, anonymity means that the researchers do not collect personal, identifying information. Without such information, responses can never be traced to any individual. Anonymity helps make participants comfortable enough to respond honestly.

Another important aspect of privacy is participants' knowledge that they are being studied. If behaviors are going to be observed, is it okay to observe people without their knowledge? This question obviously depends on what sorts of behaviors researchers might be observing. If the behaviors tend to occur in public rather than in private, researchers might be less concerned about observing people without their knowledge. For example, even without their knowledge, it would be okay to observe people texting while they walk. The concern over privacy is compounded by the everincreasing technology for monitoring people remotely. Although it might be useful to compare men's and women's behaviors in public bathrooms, it would not be acceptable to install discreet video cameras to monitor people in restrooms.

RELATIVE RISKS OF PARTICIPATION Another ethical issue is the relative risk to participants' mental or physical health. Researchers must always remain aware of what they are asking of participants. They cannot ask people to endure unreasonable amounts of pain or of discomfort, either from stimuli or from the manner in which data measurements are taken.

Fortunately, in the vast majority of studies being conducted, these types of concerns are not an issue. However, even though risk may be low, researchers still have to think carefully about the potential for risk. Therefore, the IRB will evaluate the relative trade-off between risk and benefit for any research study it approves. In some cases, the potential gains from the research may require asking participants to

expose themselves to some risk to obtain important findings. The *risk/benefit ratio* is an analysis of whether the research is important enough to warrant placing participants at risk. If a study has any risk associated with it, then participants must be notified *before* they agree to participate. This process is known as *informed consent*.

INFORMED CONSENT Research involving human participants is a partnership based on mutual respect and trust. People who volunteer for psychological research have the right to know what will happen to them during the course of the study. Compensating people either with money or course credit for their participation in research does not alter this fundamental right. Ethical standards require giving people all relevant information that might affect their willingness to become participants (**FIGURE 2.23**).

Informed consent means that participants make a knowledgeable decision to participate. Typically, researchers obtain informed consent in writing (**FIGURE 2.24**). In observational studies of public behavior, the observed individuals remain anonymous to the researchers to protect their privacy, so informed consent is not required. People under the age of 18 and those with severe cognitive disabilities or mental health disorders cannot legally provide informed consent. If such an individual is to participate in a study, a legal guardian must grant permission.

It is not always possible to inform participants fully about a study's details. If knowing the study's specific goals may alter the participants' behavior, thereby rendering the results meaningless, researchers may need to use deception. That is, they might mislead the participants about the study's goals or not fully reveal what will take place. Researchers use deception only when other methods are not appropriate and when the deception does not involve situations that would strongly affect people's willingness to participate. If deception is used, a careful *debriefing* must take place after the study's completion. Here, the researchers inform the participants of the study's goals. They also explain the need for deception, to eliminate or counteract any negative effects produced by the deception.

ACCESS TO DATA No matter what research method they use, researchers must also consider who will have access to the data they collect. Participant confidentiality should always be guarded carefully so that personal information is not linked publicly to the study's findings. When participants are told that their information will remain confidential, the implicit promise is that their information will be kept secret or made available to only the few people who need to know it. Often the quality and accuracy of data depend on the participants' certainty that their responses will be kept confidential. When emotionally or legally sensitive topics are involved, people are especially likely to provide valid data after they are promised confidentiality.

There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with Animals

Many people have ethical concerns about research with nonhuman animals. These concerns involve two questions: Does research threaten the health and well-being of the animals? And is it fair to the animals to study them to improve the human condition?



FIGURE 2.23 Informed Consent

The need for informed consent is illustrated by one of the most infamous unethical studies. Between 1932 and 1972, the U.S. Public Health Service and the Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, studied the natural progression of untreated syphilis in rural African American men. Without their knowledge, 400 impoverished men with the venereal disease were randomly assigned to receive treatment or not. In 1987, the U.S. government publicly apologized to the participants and their families. Here, President Bill Clinton and Vice President AI Gore appear at a news conference with participant Herman Shaw.

Dartmouth College Brain Imaging Center

Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences 6207 Moore Hall Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Consent to Participate in Research

Title of Study: Neural Correlates of Scene Processing

Introduction: You are being asked to participate in a <u>research</u> study. Your participation is <u>voluntary</u>. If you are a student your decision whether or not to participate will not have any affect on your academic status. Please feel free to ask questions at any time if there is anything you do not understand.

Purpose of this fMRI investigation. The goal of these experiments is to investigate how the brain functions while people are viewing different images or watching different visual scenes (e.g., people, objects, landscapes) and how that relates to responses to various stimuli and behavior. You are being asked to participate because you are a normal healthy adult. Your participation allows us to determine basic principles of brain organization. The data obtained through your participation will be included with that from other subjects as part of a scientific study to appear in the peer-reviewed literature.

FIGURE 2.24

Informed Consent Form

This portion of an approved form gives you a sense of how researchers typically obtain informed consent in writing.

59

Using Psychology in Your Life



Should I Participate in Psychological Research?

Comeday, perhaps even this term, Jyou will be invited to participate in a psychological research study (FIGURE 2.25). Because psychological researchers are a creative lot, they enjoy figuring out clever ways to study the human mind. As a result, participation in research can be a lot of fun. Even studies that simply involve answering self-report questions offer opportunities to reflect on your inner world and behaviors. However, some students in introductory psychology may worry that researchers will trick them into doing something they do not want to do. Others may feel anxious because they have no idea what to expect once they walk through the doors of a psychology laboratory. Understanding the ethical principles that guide psychological research arms potential research participants-like yourself-with insight about what to expect when participating in a study.

Psychologists in the United States conduct their studies according to a set of ethical principles called the Belmont Report. To read the full report, go to http://www. hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/ belmont.html. These principles, a few of which are described below, guide many aspects of participants' experiences in research studies.

First, no one can force you to participate in a study. Although many psychology departments "require" students to



FIGURE 2.25 Student Participation in Psychological Research These students are enjoying the opportunity to contribute to scientific knowledge. Join them by participating in a study.

participate in research as part of their course work, they offer students alternatives for fulfilling this requirement. For example, in some departments, students can read and write about articles published in journals in lieu of participating in research. Even if you volunteer for a study, you have the right to discontinue your participation at any time, for any reason, and without penalty. And you can skip any questions you do not care to answer, perhaps because you find them intrusive or offensive. You are in the driver's seat when it comes to choosing if, and to what extent, you would like to participate in a study.

Second, you are legally and ethically entitled to know what you are getting



"WHAT IT COMES DOWN TO IS YOU HAVE TO FIND OUT WHAT REACTION THEY TRE LOOKTING FOR, AND YOU GIVE THEM THAT REACTION." **HEALTH AND WELL-BEING** Research with animals must always be conducted with regard to the health and well-being of the animals. Federal mandates govern the care and use of animals in research, and these mandates are strictly enforced. An accounting and reporting system is in place for all institutions conducting animal research. Violators of the mandates are prevented from conducting further research.

All colleges, universities, and research institutions conducting research with vertebrate animals must have an Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC). This committee is like an institutional review board (discussed earlier), but it evaluates animal research proposals. In addition to scientists and nonscientists, every IACUC includes a certified doctor of veterinary medicine, who must review each proposal to ensure that the research animals will be treated properly before, during, and after the study.

Research facilities must comply with the IACUC's standards. Facilities are given scheduled and surprise inspections. Noncompliance can result in suspended or terminated research, monetary fines, federal charges, and even jail time. into so you can make an informed decision about participating. Although the researchers will not be able to reveal their exact research questions and hypotheses, they will be able to tell you the general purpose of the study and the kinds of activities you will be asked to complete. You might be asked to answer questions, perform computer tasks, engage in moderate physical activity, navigate a real or imagined social scenario, rate the appeal of different consumer products, and so on. In addition, researchers must tell you about the risks and potential benefits faced by participants. For example, researchers studying ostracism would inform participants they might find the experimental tasks distressing. So even before a study begins, you will actually know a good deal about the research.

Third, after you complete the study, you can expect the researchers to debrief you. During the debriefing, the researchers will tell you if they used deception in the study. For example, if you participate in a study about cooperation, you might learn during the debriefing that the "person" you interacted with online was really a computer program.

Finally, you can expect that the data you provide will remain confidential. To protect confidentiality, the researchers will remove all identifying information, such as your name, from any data you submit. They will store consent forms separately from data, password-protect electronic files containing sensitive information, and keep all files in a secure location.

While researchers are governed by formal ethical guidelines (in addition to their own moral compasses), good study participants also engage the research process respectfully. When you sign up to participate in a study, record the researcher's contact information in case an emergency arises and you are unable to fulfill your commitment. Arrive at your session on time, and bring any paperwork your institution might require in order for you to receive class credit for your participation. During the study, minimize potential distractions, such as by turning off your cell phone. And, importantly, ask questions! One of the benefits of volunteering in research is learning firsthand about the research process. Getting answers to your questions helps you derive this benefit.

Study participants are essential to the research enterprise. The principles and procedures described here emerged out of concern for the well-being of participants. Understanding your rights and responsibilities prepares you to contribute meaningfully and confidently, without fear of trickery or unknown risks, to psychologists' efforts to understand and improve the human condition. On behalf of psychologists everywhere, thank you for joining us in this endeavor.

FAIRNESS Animals are not used to study aspects of the human condition because animals are not the same as humans. However, some species share similarities with humans that make them good "models" for particular human behaviors or conditions. For example, as you will learn more about in Chapters 3 and 7, the human brain has a region called the hippocampus, and people with damage to this region suffer from memory loss. It would be unethical for researchers to reproduce hippocampal damage in people in an effort to find treatments for their memory loss. However, many animals also have a hippocampus, and they display similar types of memory loss when this region is damaged. As a way to help humans, researchers thus may find it necessary to conduct animal research. For example, scientists can damage or temporarily "turn off" the hippocampus in rats or mice to test treatments that may help to reverse the resulting memory loss.

Another valuable animal model is the transgenic mouse. Transgenic mice have been produced by manipulating genes in developing mouse embryos—for example, by inserting strands of foreign DNA into the genes. Studying the behavior of mice with


specific genetic changes allows scientists to discover the role that genes play in behavior and disease (**FIGURE 2.26**).

Are such treatments fair to the research animals? Scientists must balance their concern for individual animals' lives with their concern for humanity's future. The pursuit of scientific knowledge and medical advances is noble, and animals' lives are given a kind of nobility—a meaning—when the animals are used respectfully in research.

FIGURE 2.26 Animal Research

Researchers observe the behaviors of transgenic mice to understand how certain genes affect behavior.

Summing Up

What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research?

- Psychological researchers must consider the ethical consequences of their data collection.
- Strict rules govern research with both human participants and research animals.
- Each research study with human participants is evaluated for scientific and ethical validity. The evaluation is done by an Institutional Review Board (IRB), which consists of scientists and nonscientists.
- The four key issues addressed in the IRB approval process are privacy, relative risks, informed consent, and access to data.
- Each animal research study is evaluated by an Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC), which consists of scientists, nonscientists, and a veterinarian. The IACUC ensures the ethical treatment of the animals before, during, and after the study.

Measuring Up

Determine whether each of the following statements is true (T) or false (F).

- 1. _____ Confidentiality is the same as anonymity, because both mean that study results are not revealed to nonscientists.
- **2.** _____ Even if research does not involve deception, it still needs to be approved by an IRB.
- **3.** _____ Informed consent is required only when a research study poses a risk to safety or health.
- **4.** _____ Students who participate in psychological research to receive course credit give up their right to privacy.
- 5. _____ Ethical rules govern research with both human participants and animals.
- 6. _____ Any team of animal researchers must include a veterinarian.
- 7. _____ Violations in the ethical treatment of animals in research may be justified if the study has sufficient scientific merit.
- **8.** _____ An IRB reviews proposals for research with humans, whereas an IACUC reviews animal research proposals.

ANSWERS: 1. F; 2. T; 3. F; 4. F; 5. T; 6. F; 7. F; 8. T.

2.4 How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated?

So far, this chapter has presented the essential elements of scientific inquiry in psychology: thinking critically; asking an empirical question using theories, hypotheses, and research; deciding what type of study to run; considering the ethics of particular research; collecting and presenting data. This section focuses on the data. Specifically, it examines the characteristics that make for good data and the statistical procedures that researchers use to analyze data.

Good Research Requires Valid, Reliable, and Accurate Data

If you collect data to answer a research question, the data must be *valid*. That is, the data must accurately measure the constructs (concepts) that you think they measure, accurately represent phenomena that occur outside of the laboratory, and accurately reveal effects due specifically and only to manipulation of the independent variable.

Construct validity is the extent to which variables measure what they are supposed to measure. For example, suppose at the end of the semester your psychology professor gives you a final examination that consists of chemistry problems. This kind of final examination would lack construct validity—it would not accurately measure your knowledge of psychology (**FIGURE 2.27**).

Now imagine you are a psychological researcher. You hypothesize that "A students" spend more time studying than "C students." To test your hypothesis, you assess the amount of time students spend studying. However, what if "C students" tended to do other things—such as sleeping, playing video games, or checking their Facebook status—while they claimed to be studying? If this were the case, the data would not accurately reflect studying and would therefore lack construct validity.

External validity is the degree to which the findings of a study can be generalized to other people, settings, or situations. A study is externally valid if (1) the participants accurately represent the intended population, and (2) the variables were manipulated and measured in ways similar to how they occur in the "real world."

Internal validity is the degree to which the effects observed in an experiment are due to the independent variable and not to confounds. For data to be internally valid, the experiment must be well designed and well controlled. That is, all the participants must be as similar as possible, and there must be a control group. Only by comparing experimental groups to control groups can you determine that any changes observed in the experimental groups are caused by Learning Objectives

- Identify three characteristics that reflect the quality of data.
- Describe measures of central tendency and variability.
- Describe the correlation coefficient.
- Discuss the rationale for inferential statistics.

construct validity The extent to which variables measure what they are supposed to measure.

external validity

The degree to which the findings of a study can be generalized to other people, settings, or situations.

internal validity

The degree to which the effects observed in an experiment are due to the independent variable and not confounds.

PROBLEMS		09.5°		120°	180°
		/		/	/
5.19.	19. Rank the following molecular geometries in order of				
increasing bond angles: (a) trigonal planar; (b) linear;					
	(c) tetrahéd	ral.	c <a<b< th=""><th></th><th></th></a<b<>		

5.20. Rank the following molecules in order of increasing bond angles: (a) NH₃; (b) CH₄; (c) H₂O. $H_2O < NH_3 < CH_4$

5.21. Which of the following electron-group geometries is not consistent with a linear molecular geometry, assuming three atoms per molecule? (a) tetrahedral; (b) octahedral; (c) trigonal planar.

5.22. How many lone pairs of electrons would there have to be on a SN = 6 central atom for it to have a linear molecular geometry?

6 - 2 = 4

the independent variable and not something else (for example, practice or the passage of time).

To understand internal validity, suppose you are conducting a study to see if special tutoring causes better grades. You randomly sample 50 students from introductory psychology classes at your university and give them special tutoring for 6 weeks. At the end of the 6 weeks, you find that the students earned an average score of

FIGURE 2.27 Construct Validity

Imagine having to answer questions like this on your psychology final. The results would lack construct validity because the course is about psychology, not chemistry.

Population:

Population Students





FIGURE 2.28 A Study Lacking Internal Validity In this study, your entire population is one experimental group, which receives the treatment of special tutoring. You determine the group's average score on the final exam, but you cannot compare that result to a control group.

FIGURE 2.29 A Study with Internal Validity

In this better study, you divide the population into an experimental group and a control group. Only the experimental group receives the treatment. You can then compare the results with the results from the control group.



82.5 percent on the final exam (**FIGURE 2.28**). Can you conclude that the tutoring caused the grade? Wait a minute. How do you know if 82.5 is an improvement over scores typically received on the exam? Maybe all students in introductory psychology "mature" over the semester so that the average final exam grade is about 82, regardless of tutoring. Or perhaps having 6 weeks of practice taking other tests results in higher exam grades, even without tutoring. Only by having an equal comparison group—a control group of students who are otherwise identical to the experimental group except for the treatment—can you determine if your treatment caused the observed effect.

Indeed, a better way to conduct this study would be to sample 50 students from the class, randomly assign 25 of them the special tutoring for 6 weeks (the experimental group), and not give any special treatment to the other 25 (the control group). Say the 25 students in the experimental group average 82.5 percent on the final exam and the 25 students in the control group average 74.2 percent (**FIGURE 2.29**). The control

reliability

The degree to which a measure is stable and consistent over time.

accuracy

The degree to which an experimental measure is free from error.

descriptive statistics Statistics that summarize the data collected in a study. group was similar in every way to the experimental group. As a result, you are fairly safe to conclude that the tutoring—not something else—led to higher exam grades. Thus, having a true control group can ensure that a study maintains internal validity.

Another important aspect of data is **reliability**, the stability and consistency of a measure over time. If the measurement is reliable, the data collected will not vary substantially over time. For instance, one option for measuring the duration of studying would be to have an observer use a stopwatch. There is likely to be some variability, however, in when the observer starts and stops the watch relative to when the student actually starts studying. As a consequence, the data in this scenario would be less reliable than data collected by an online homework system that measured how much time students spent working on assignments.



The third and final characteristic of good data is **accuracy**, the degree to which the measure is error free. A measure may be reliable but still not be accurate. Psychologists think about this problem by turning it on its head and asking, How do errors creep into a measure?

Suppose you use a stopwatch to measure the duration of studying. The problem with this method is that each measurement will tend to overestimate or underestimate the duration (because of human error or variability in recording times). This type of problem is known as a *random error* or *unsystematic error*. Although an error is introduced into each measurement, the value of the error differs each time (**FIGURE 2.30**).

But suppose the stopwatch has a glitch, so that it always overstates the time measured by 1 minute. This type of problem is known as a *systematic error* or *bias*, because the amount of error introduced into each measurement is constant (**FIGURE 2.31**). Generally, systematic error is more problematic than random error because the latter tends to average out over time and therefore is less likely to produce inaccurate results.

Descriptive Statistics Provide a Summary of the Data

The first step in evaluating data is to inspect the *raw values*. This term refers to data that are as close as possible to the form in which they were collected. In examining raw data, researchers look for errors in data recording. For instance, they assess whether any

of the responses seem especially unlikely (e.g., studying for 72 hours or a 113-yearold participant). Once the researchers are satisfied that the data make sense, they summarize the basic patterns using **descriptive statistics**. These mathematical forms provide an overall summary of the study's results. For example, they might show how the participants, on average, performed in one condition compared with another.

The simplest descriptive statistics are measures of **central tendency**. This single value describes a typical response or the behavior of the group as a whole. The most intuitive measure of central tendency is the **mean**, the arithmetic average of a set of numbers. The class average on an exam is an example of a mean score. Consider our earlier hypothetical study of cell phone use and driving performance. A basic way to summarize the data would be to calculate the means for driving performances using number of seconds they took to travel once around a virtual racetrack in a driving simulator: You would calculate one mean for when participants were simply holding a cell phone and a second mean for when they were texting. If texting affects driving, you would expect to see a difference in the means between those holding cell phones and those using them.

FIGURE 2.30 Random Error

Data accuracy can be affected by random error. For example, say you time the same research participant several times. The stopwatch works accurately. But because your judgment of starting and stopping times differs each time, the degree of error varies each time.



FIGURE 2.31 Systematic Error

Data accuracy can be affected by systematic error. Here, you time the same research participant several times, but the stopwatch is off by 1 minute each time. The degree of error is constant.

central tendency

A measure that represents the typical response or the behavior of a group as a whole.

mean

A measure of central tendency that is the arithmetic average of a set of numbers.

median

A measure of central tendency that is the value in a set of numbers that falls exactly halfway between the lowest and highest values.

mode

A measure of central tendency that is the most frequent score or value in a set of numbers. A second measure of central tendency is the **median**, the value in a set of numbers that falls exactly halfway between the lowest and highest values. For instance, if you received the median score on a test, half the people who took the test scored lower than you and half the people scored higher.

Sometimes researchers will summarize data using a median instead of a mean because if one or two numbers in the set are dramatically larger or smaller than all the others, the mean will give either an inflated or a deflated summary of the average. This effect occurs in studies of average incomes. Perhaps approximately 50 percent of Americans make more than \$52,000 per year, but a small percentage of people make so much more (multiple millions or billions for the richest) that the mean income is much higher (around \$70,000) than the median and is not an accurate measure of what most people earn. The median provides a better estimate of how much money the average person makes.

A third measure of central tendency is the **mode**, the most frequent score or value in a set of numbers. For instance, the modal number of children in an American family is two, which means that more American families have two children than any other number of children. (For examples of how to calculate all three central tendency measures, see **FIGURE 2.32**.)



FIGURE 2.32 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics are used to summarize a data set and to measure the central tendency and variability in a set of numbers. The mean, median, and mode are different measures of central tendency. The range is a measure of variability.

In addition to measures of central tendency, another important characteristic of data is the **variability** in a set of numbers. In many respects, the mean is meaningless without knowing the variability. Variability refers to how widely dispersed the values are from each other and from the mean. The most common measure of variability—how spread out the scores are—is the **standard deviation.** This measure reflects how far away each value is, on average, from the mean. For instance, if the mean score for an exam is 75 percent and the standard deviation is 5, most people scored between 70 percent and 80 percent. If the mean remains the same but the standard deviation becomes 15, most people scored between 60 and 90—a much larger spread.

Another measure of how spread out scores are is the *range*, the distance between the largest value and the smallest value. Often the range is not very useful, however, because it is based on only those two scores.

Correlations Describe the Relationships Between Variables

The descriptive statistics discussed so far are used for summarizing the central tendency and variability in a set of numbers. Descriptive statistics can also be used to summarize how two variables relate to each other. The first step in examining the relationship between two variables is to create a **scatterplot**. This type of graph provides a convenient picture of the data (**FIGURE 2.33**).

In analyzing the relationship between two variables, researchers can compute a **correlation coefficient**. This descriptive statistic provides a numerical value (between -1.0 and +1.0) that indicates the strength of the relationship between the two variables. Some sample scatterplots and their corresponding correlation coefficients can be seen in **FIGURE 2.34**.

Here we are considering only one type of relationship: a linear relationship. In a linear relationship, an increase or decrease in one variable is associated with an increase or decrease in the other variable. When a linear relationship is strong, knowing how people measure on one variable enables you to predict how they will measure on the other variable. The two types of linear relationship, as discussed in Section 2.2, are positive correlations and negative correlations.

If two variables have a positive correlation, they increase or decrease together. For example, the more people study, the more likely they are to have a higher GPA.



variability

In a set of numbers, how widely dispersed the values are from each other and from the mean.

standard deviation

A statistical measure of how far away each value is, on average, from the mean.

scatterplot

A graphical depiction of the relationship between two variables.

correlation coefficient

A descriptive statistic that indicates the strength of the relationship between two variables.



FIGURE 2.33 Scatterplots

Scatterplots are graphs that illustrate the relationship between two variables. In general, as this scatterplot indicates, study time is positively correlated with GPA.

FIGURE 2.34 Correlation Coefficient

Correlations can have different values between -1.0 and +1.0. These values reveal different kinds of relationships between two variables. The greater the scatter of values, the lower the correlation. A perfect correlation occurs when all the values fall on a straight line. A perfect positive correlation is indicated by a value of +1.0 (see Figure 2.34e). If two variables have a *negative correlation*, as one increases in value, the other decreases in value. For example, as people spend more time multitasking, they become less able to study for their exams, so multitasking and GPA have a negative correlation. A perfect negative correlation is indicated by a value of -1.0 (see Figure 2.34a). If two variables show no apparent relationship, the value of the correlation will be a number close to zero (assuming a linear relationship for the purposes of this discussion; see Figure 2.34c).

Inferential Statistics Permit Generalizations



"I think you should be more explicit here in step two."

inferential statistics

A set of assumptions and procedures used to evaluate the likelihood that an observed effect is present in the population from which the sample was drawn.

meta-analysis

A "study of studies" that combines the findings of multiple studies to arrive at a conclusion.

Researchers use descriptive statistics to summarize data sets. They use **inferential statistics** to determine whether effects actually exist in the populations from which samples were drawn. For instance, suppose you find that the mean driving performance for drivers using cell phones is lower than the mean driving performance for those not using cell phones. How different do these means need to be for you to conclude that using a cell phone reduces people's ability to drive?

A review of 206 studies found that the skills necessary to drive a car can become impaired when people perform a second task (i.e., multitask; Ferdinand & Menachemi, 2014). Pretend for a moment, however, that cell phone use does not influence driving performance. If you measure the driving performances of those using cell phones and those not using them, just by chance there will be some variability in the mean performance of the two groups. The key is that if cell phone use does not affect driving performance, the probability of showing a large difference between the two means is relatively small. Researchers use statistical techniques to determine if the differences among the sample means are (probably) chance variations or if they reflect actual differences in the populations.

When the results obtained from a study would be very unlikely to occur if there really were no differences between the groups of subjects, the researchers conclude that the results are *statistically significant*. According to generally accepted standards, researchers typically conclude there is a significant effect only if the obtained results would occur by chance less than 5 percent of the time.

META-ANALYSIS Meta-analysis is a type of study that, as its name implies, is an analysis of multiple analyses. In other words, it is a study of studies that have already been conducted. With meta-analysis, many studies that have addressed the same issue are combined and summarized in one "study of studies." The study we described that looked at 206 studies is an example of a meta-analysis.

Suppose that ten studies have been conducted on men's and women's effectiveness as leaders. Among these ten studies, five found no differences, two favored women, and three favored men. Researchers conducting a meta-analysis would not just count up the numbers of different findings from the research literature. Instead, they would weight more heavily those studies that had larger samples. Large samples are more likely to provide more accurate reflections of what is true in populations (see Figure 2.18). The researchers would also consider the size of each effect. That is, they would factor in whether each study found a large difference, a small difference, or no difference between the groups being compared—in this case, between women and men. (The researchers who conducted such a meta-analysis on men's and women's effectiveness found no overall differences; Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995.)

Because meta-analysis combines the results of separate studies, many researchers believe that meta-analysis provides stronger evidence than the results of any single study. As discussed earlier in this chapter, we can be more confident about results when the research findings are replicated. Meta-analysis has the concept of replication built into it.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Misunderstanding Statistics: Should You Bet on a Hot Hand?

n 2013, the Miami Heat's LeBron James set a basketball record by scoring over 30 points, while making over 60 percent of his shots, for six straight games (**FIGURE 2.35**). In the seventh game, James's streak ended, when he scored on just under 60 percent of his shots.

Did James have a "hot hand" during this streak? Are there periods when particular athletes are relaxed, confident, and "in the zone" and play particularly well? Team members try to get the ball to a person who has made several shots in a row, because they think the person's hot hand will increase their chance of winning. Many sports journalists, coaches, athletes, and fans believe in some form of the phenomenon.

The psychologist Tom Gilovich and his colleagues (1985) conducted a series of studies on the hot hand, to assemble beliefs about the phenomenon and to scientifically examine whether it exists. Their first and crucial step was to turn the idea of the hot hand into a testable hypothesis: After a basketball shooter has made two or three shots in a row, that shooter will be more likely to make the next shot than after missing the last two or three shots. When the researchers asked 100 knowledgeable basketball fans, 91 agreed that this outcome was likely. If their belief were accurate, then an analysis of shooting records should show the increased probability of making a shot after previous successes than after previous failures.

To test whether the "hot hand" hypothesis is supported by evidence, Gilovich and colleagues examined the shooting records of the Philadelphia 76ers during the 1980-81 season. The 76ers kept records of the order that shots had been taken as well as the outcome of those shots. The data did not support the hot hand hypothesis. When events in the world seem to happen in clusters, people develop explanations such as the hot hand to make sense of them.

Players made on average 51 percent of their shots after making one previous shot, 50 percent after making two previous shots, and 46 percent after making three in a row. If anything, players were more likely to be successful after prior misses: 51 percent after one prior miss, 53 percent after two prior misses, and 56 percent after missing three in a row.

As a critical thinker, you might wonder whether the defensive team stops the streak by paying more attention to hot shooters and putting in more effort to defend against them. To test this alternative explanation, Gilovich and colleagues examined free throw shooting, where the defense does not matter and players get two free shots. Players made about the same number of second free throws whether they made the first one or not.

Upon hearing the results of this research, the famous coach Red Auerbach, of the Boston Celtics, exclaimed, "Who is this guy? So he makes a study. I couldn't care less" (Gilovich, 1991, p. 17). Any one study might be questionable until other scientists have replicated the findings. Indeed, the occasional study supports the idea of the hot hand for some sports, such as volleyball (Raab, Gula, & Gigerenzer, 2011). However, a metaanalysis of all studies that have examined this phenomenon enables us to consider all the outcomes at the same time. A meta-analysis of 22 published articles found no evidence that the hot hand exists (Avugos, Köppen, Czienskowski, Raab, & Bar-Eli, 2012). Athletes across various sports were no more likely to be successful after a prior success than after a prior failure.

Why do people believe in shooting streaks? The best answer is that people are bad at recognizing chance outcomes. If a fair coin is flipped, most people intuitively expect there to be a greater alternation of heads and tails than occurs by chance. If you flip a coin 20 times in a row, however, there will be streaks of six heads or tails in a row 10 percent of the time, five in a row 25 percent of the time, and four in a row 50 percent of the time. Players do occasionally sink the shot six, seven, or eight times in a row, but these occurrences do not happen any more often than what we expect from chance, given the number of shots they take in a game.



FIGURE 2.35 LeBron James Did a "hot hand" help James during his sixgame streak in 2013?

Summing Up

How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated?

- Data must be valid, reliable, and accurate.
- Data should have construct validity (measure what they are supposed to measure), external validity (apply outside of the laboratory), and internal validity (accurately represent effects of manipulations to the independent variable and not something else).
- Descriptive statistics summarize data. They include measures of central tendency and measures of variability.
- Measures of central tendency-such as the mean, median, and mode-indicate the typical response of a group as a whole.

Measuring Up

 When researchers want to summarize in a single number all the data they collect, they compute a measure of central tendency. Here are hypothetical data for a study in which 10 people in a sample consumed alcohol. The researchers measured the number of glasses of alcohol each person consumed and assessed her or his motor control after consuming the alcohol. The scores on motor control ranged from 1 (poor motor control) to 10 (good motor control). Compute the mean, median, and mode for the amount of alcohol consumed and the ratings of motor control.

Amount of alcohol consumed	Rating of motor control		
3	4		
1	9		
5	1		
2	7		
3	5		
3	3		
1	8		
4	2		
5	1		
2	6		

- Measures of variability, such as standard deviation, indicate how widely numbers are distributed about the mean or average score.
- A correlation coefficient describes the strength and nature of the relationship between two variables.
- Inferential statistics indicate whether the results of a study reflect a true difference between groups or are likely to be due to chance.
- Meta-analysis combines the results of several studies to arrive at a conclusion.
- 2. Which is an accurate description of the rationale for inferential statistics?
 - a. When the means of two sample groups are significantly different, we still need to compute a mean value for each population before we can conclude that the groups really are different.
 - **b.** When the means of two sample groups are significantly different, we can be fairly certain that we did not make any mistakes in our research.
 - c. When the means of two sample groups are significantly different, we can be certain that the data are not correlated.
 - **d.** When the means of two sample groups are significantly different, we can infer that the differences between the two groups are unlikely to be due to chance.

groups were selected from are different.

(2) d. When the means of two sample groups are significantly different, we can infer that the populations the

.f = 9bom bns ,Z.A = nsib9m ,O.A = ns9m

(1) Amount of alcohol consumed: meaban = 2.9, median = 3, and mode = 3; rating of motor control:

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

2.1 How Is the Scientific Method Used in Psychological Research?

- Science Has Four Primary Goals: The four primary goals of science are *description* (describing what a phenomenon is), *prediction* (predicting when a phenomenon might occur), *control* (controlling the conditions under which a phenomenon occurs), and *explanation* (explaining what causes a phenomenon to occur).
- Critical Thinking Means Questioning and Evaluating Information: Critical thinking is a skill that helps people become educated consumers of information. Critical thinkers question claims, seek definitions for the parts of the claims, and evaluate the claims by looking for well-supported evidence.
- The Scientific Method Aids Critical Thinking: Scientific inquiry relies on objective methods and empirical evidence to answer testable questions. The scientific method is based on the use of theories to generate hypotheses that can be tested by collecting objective data through research. After a theory has been formulated based on observing a phenomenon, the six steps of the scientific method are forming a hypothesis based on the theory, reviewing the scientific literature to see how people are testing the theory, choosing a research method to test the hypothesis, conducting the research study, analyzing the data, and disseminating the results.
- Unexpected Findings Can Be Valuable: Unexpected (serendipitous) discoveries sometimes occur, but only researchers who are prepared to recognize their importance will benefit from them. Although unexpected findings can suggest new theories, these findings must be replicated and elaborated.

2.2 What Types of Studies Are Used in Psychological Research?

Descriptive Research Consists of Case Studies, Observation, and Self-Report Methods: Researchers observe and describe naturally occurring behaviors to provide a systematic and objective analysis. A case study, one kind of descriptive study, examines an individual or an organization. However, the findings of a case study may not generalize. Data collected by observation must be defined clearly and collected systematically. Bias may occur in the data because the participants are aware they are being observed or because of the observer's expectations. Surveys, questionnaires, and interviews can be used to directly ask people about their thoughts and behaviors. Self-report data may be biased by the

respondents' desire to present themselves in a particular way (e.g., smart, honest).

- Correlational Studies Describe and Predict How Variables Are Related: Correlational studies are used to examine how variables are naturally related in the real world. These studies cannot be used to establish causality or the direction of a relationship (which variable caused changes in another variable).
- The Experimental Method Controls and Explains: Experiments can demonstrate causal relationship between variables. Experimenters manipulate one variable, the independent variable, to determine its effect on another, the dependent variable. Research participants are divided into experimental groups and control groups. The experimental groups experience the independent variable, and the control groups are used for comparison. In evaluating the data, researchers must look for confounds—elements, other than the variables, that may have affected the results.
- Random Sampling and Random Assignment Are Important for Research: Researchers sample participants from the population they want to study (e.g., drivers). They use random sampling when everyone in the population is equally likely to participate in the study, a condition that rarely occurs. To establish causality between an intervention and an outcome, random assignment must be used. When random assignment is used, all participants have an equal chance of being assigned to any level of the independent variable, and preexisting differences between the groups are controlled. Culturally sensitive research recognizes the differences among people from different cultural groups and from different language backgrounds.

2.3 What Are the Ethics Governing Psychological Research?

- There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with Human Participants: Ethical research is governed by principles that ensure fair, safe, and informed treatment of participants. Institutional review boards (IRBs) judge study proposals to make sure the studies will be ethically sound.
- There Are Ethical Issues to Consider in Research with Animals: Research involving nonhuman animals provides useful, although simpler, models of behavior and of genetics. The purpose of such research may be to learn about animals' behavior or to make inferences about human behavior. Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC) judges study proposals to make sure the animals will be treated properly. Researchers must weigh their concerns for individual animals against their concerns for humanity's future.

2.4 How Are Data Analyzed and Evaluated?

- Good Research Requires Valid, Reliable, and Accurate Data: Data must be meaningful (valid) and their measurement reliable (i.e., consistent and stable) and accurate.
- Descriptive Statistics Provide a Summary of the Data: Measures of central tendency (mean, median, and mode) and variability are used to describe data.
- Correlations Describe the Relationships Between Variables: A correlation coefficient is a descriptive statistic that describes the

strength and direction of the relationship between two variables. Correlations close to zero signify weak relationships. Correlations near +1.0 or -1.0 signify strong relationships.

Inferential Statistics Permit Generalizations: Inferential statistics allow us to decide whether differences between two or more groups are probably just chance variations (suggesting that the populations the groups were drawn from are the same) or whether they reflect true differences in the populations being compared. Meta-analysis combines the results of several studies to arrive at a conclusion.

Key Terms

accuracy, p. 65 case study, p. 44 central tendency, p. 65 confound, p. 53 construct validity, p. 63 control group, p. 52 correlation coefficient, p. 67 correlational studies, p. 48 culturally sensitive research, p. 56 data, p. 34 dependent variable, p. 43 descriptive research, p. 44 descriptive statistics, p. 65 directionality problem, p. 50 experiment, p. 52 experimental group, p. 52 experimenter expectancy effect, p. 47 external validity, p. 63 hypothesis, p. 37 independent variable, p. 43 inferential statistics, p. 68 institutional review boards (IRBs), p. 58 internal validity, p. 63 mean, p. 65 median, p. 66 meta-analysis, p. 68 mode, p. 66 naturalistic observation, p. 45 negative correlation, p. 49 observer bias, p. 46 operational definition, p. 43 participant observation, p. 45 population, p. 54 positive correlation, p. 49

random assignment, p. 55 reactivity, p. 45 reliability, p. 65 replication, p. 41 research, p. 37 sample, p. 54 scatterplot, p. 67 scientific method, p. 37 selection bias, p. 55 self-report methods, p. 48 standard deviation, p. 67 theory, p. 37 third variable problem, p. 50 variability, p. 67 variable, p. 43 zero correlation, p. 49

Practice Test

- 1. Which of the following is a technique that increases scientists' confidence in the findings from a given research study?
 - **a.** meta-analysis
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.$ operationalization of variables
 - $\boldsymbol{c}.$ replication
 - **d.** serendipity

For the following four questions, imagine you are designing a study to investigate whether deep breathing causes students to feel less stressed. Because you are investigating a causal question, you will need to employ experimental research. For each step in the design process, indicate the most scientifically sound decision.

- 2. Which hypothesis is stronger? Why?
 - **a.** Stress levels will differ between students who engage in deep breathing and those who do not.
 - **b.** Students who engage in deep breathing will report less stress than those who do not engage in deep breathing.
- 3. Which sampling method is strongest? Why?
 - Obtain an alphabetical list of all students enrolled at the college. Invite every fifth person on the list to participate in the study.
 - b. Post a note to your Facebook page letting friends know you would like their help with the study. Ask your friends to let their friends know about the study, too.
 - **c.** Post fliers around local gyms and yoga studios inviting people to participate in your study.

- **4.** Which set of conditions should be included in the study? Why?
 - **a.** All participants should be given written directions for a deep-breathing exercise.
 - b. Some participants should be given written directions for a deep-breathing exercise. Other participants should be given a DVD with demonstrations of deep-breathing exercises.
 - **c.** Some participants should be given written directions for a deep-breathing exercise. Other participants should be given no instructions regarding their breathing.
- 5. How should participants be chosen for each condition? Why?
 - **a.** Once people agree to participate in the study, flip a coin to decide if each will be in the experimental condition or the control condition.
 - **b.** Let participants select which condition they would like to be in.

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.





Ask & Answer

3.1 How Does the Nervous System Operate? 76

3.2 What Are the Basic Brain Structures and Their Functions? 89

3.3 How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body? 104

3.4 How Does the Brain Change? 109

3.5 What Is the Genetic Basis of Psychological Science? 115

Biology and Behavior

IN 2012, JACK OSBOURNE, THE SON OF OZZY AND SHARON OSBOURNE,

was 26 years old (**FIGURE 3.1**). Two weeks after the birth of his daughter Pearl, he noticed a disturbing problem with his vision. He told *People* magazine (July 9, 2012) about an experience he had at a gas station: "I was talking to the attendant, and all of a sudden a black dot appeared in my vision ... I was like, 'That's weird.' The next day I woke up and the dot had turned into a cigar shape." Eventually his vision deteriorated to the point that Jack could barely see out of his right eye. After a series of tests, physicians determined that Jack was in the early stages of multiple sclerosis (MS). On his mother's television talk show *The Talk* (June 21, 2012), Osbourne said: "I guess I've been having symptoms for the last three or four years, but I didn't realize it.... I had problems with my bladder, problems with my stomach, and then, about two years ago, my legs went numb for two months, and I just thought I had pinched a nerve."

Multiple sclerosis is a disorder of the nervous system that is typically diagnosed between the ages of 20 and 40. It affects the brain and spinal cord, so that movements become jerky and victims lose the ability to coordinate their actions. Movement, coordination, vision, and cognition gradually deteriorate until they become severely impaired. MS affects about 2.5 million people throughout the world. The exact cause has not been identified, but research indicates that genetics and environment are important contributing factors. Although MS is incurable, symptoms are now manageable in some forms of the disease.



FIGURE 3.1 Multiple Sclerosis as a Disorder of the Nervous System

Jack Osbourne is one of millions of people with multiple sclerosis. This disease damages nerve cells in the brain.

neurons

The basic units of the nervous system; cells that receive, integrate, and transmit information in the nervous system. They operate through electrical impulses, communicate with other neurons through chemical signals, and form neural networks.

central nervous system (CNS) The brain and the spinal cord.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between the two basic divisions of the nervous system.
- Distinguish between the functions of distinct types of neurons.
- Describe the structure of the neuron.
- Describe the electrical and chemical changes that occur when neurons communicate.
- Identify the major neurotransmitters and their primary functions.

Looking closely at multiple sclerosis helps us understand how the nervous system is critical in our ability to think and behave normally. In MS, damage to nerve cells limits their ability to send signals to other nerve cells and to receive signals from other nerve cells. To picture how a nerve cell communicates, imagine the plastic around a wire such as the cord for a lamp. Like the lamp cord, one part of the nerve cell is covered. The cord is covered not by plastic but by a fatty layer, which helps the cell to transmit signals to other nerve cells and other parts of the body. In MS, the fatty layer deteriorates, short-circuiting normal communication between nerve cells. And normal communication between nerve cells makes all thought, feeling, and behavior possible.

So, to know what makes us who we are, we need to understand how the nervous system works. We need to understand physiological processes and the genetic underpinnings of those processes. We also need to understand how aspects of our biology interact with our environments: How does nurture influence nature, and how does nature influence nurture?

As technology has advanced over the past three decades, researchers have learned a great deal about the biological basis of brain activity. Brain imaging techniques have shed light on the functions of different brain regions. Genetic analysis has revealed how certain disorders are passed from one generation to the next, made it possible to predict who will develop specific disorders, and helped identify the functions of specific genes related to psychological processes. You are about to learn how psychological activity is related to several aspects of biology, including genes, the endocrine system, and the nervous system.

3.1 How Does the Nervous System Operate?

The nervous system is responsible for everything people think, feel, or do. Essentially, each of us *is* a nervous system. The basic units of this system are the nerve cells, called **neurons** (**FIGURE 3.2**). These cells receive, integrate, and transmit information in the nervous system. Complex networks of neurons sending and receiving signals are the functional basis of all psychological activity. Although the actions of single neurons are simple to describe, human complexity results from billions of neurons. Each neuron makes contact with tens of thousands of other neurons. Neurons do not communicate randomly or arbitrarily, however. They communicate selectively with other neurons to form circuits, or *neural networks*. These networks develop through maturation and experience and repeated firing. In other words, permanent alliances form among groups of neurons.

The Nervous System Has Two Basic Divisions

Neural networks are linked, and together they form the nervous system. The entire nervous system is divided into two basic units: the central nervous system and the

peripheral nervous system. The **central nervous system (CNS)** consists of the brain and the spinal cord, both of which contain massive numbers of neurons (**FIGURE 3.3**). The **peripheral nervous system (PNS)** consists of all the other nerve cells in the rest of the body. The CNS and PNS are anatomically separate, but their functions are highly interdependent. The PNS sends a variety of information to the CNS. The CNS organizes and evaluates that information and then directs the PNS to perform specific behaviors or make bodily adjustments.

As discussed more fully later in this chapter, the PNS includes the somatic and autonomic nervous systems. The somatic component of the PNS is involved in voluntary behavior, such as when you reach for an object to see how it feels. The autonomic component of the PNS is responsible for the less voluntary actions of your body, such as controlling heart rate and other bodily functions.

Neurons Are Specialized for Communication

Neurons are specialized for communication. That is, unlike other cells in the body, nerve cells are excitable: They are powered by electrical impulses and communicate with other nerve cells through chemical signals. During the reception phase, neurons take in the chemical signals from neighboring neurons. During integration, incoming signals are assessed. During transmission, they pass their own signals to yet other receiving neurons.

TYPES OF NEURONS The three basic types of neurons are sensory neurons, motor neurons, and interneurons (**FIGURE 3.4**). **Sensory neurons** detect information from the physical world and pass that information along to the brain, usually through the spinal cord. To get a sense of how fast that process can work, think of the last time you touched something hot or accidentally pricked yourself with a sharp object, such as a tack. Those signals triggered your body's nearly instantaneous response and sensory



FIGURE 3.2 Human Neuron

Neurons like this one are the basic units of the human nervous system.

peripheral nervous system (PNS)

All nerve cells in the body that are not part of the central nervous system. The peripheral nervous system includes the somatic and autonomic nervous systems.

sensory neurons

One of the three types of neurons; these neurons detect information from the physical world and pass that information to the brain.



FIGURE 3.3 The Basic Divisions of the Nervous System

77

FIGURE 3.4

The Three Types of Neurons

(Red line) Receptors send signals to the brain for processing. Those signals travel through sensory neurons and the spinal cord. (Blue line) To produce a response, a signal is sent from the brain to the body through the spinal cord and motor neurons.



experience of the impact. The sensory nerves that provide information from the skin and muscles are called *somatosensory nerves*. (This term comes from the Greek for "body sense." It means sensations experienced from within the body.)

Motor neurons direct muscles to contract or relax, thereby producing movement. Interneurons communicate within local or short-distance circuits. That is, interneurons integrate neural activity within a single area rather than transmitting information to other brain structures or to the body organs.

Sensory and motor neurons work together to control movement. For instance, if you are using a pen to take notes as you read these words, you are contracting and relaxing your hand muscles and finger muscles to adjust your fingers' pressure on the pen. When you want to use the pen, your brain sends a message via motor neurons to your finger muscles so they move in specific ways. Receptors in both your skin and your muscles send back messages through sensory neurons to help determine how much pressure is needed to hold the pen. This symphony of neural communication for a task as simple as using a pen is remarkable, yet most of us employ motor control so easily that we rarely think about it. In fact, our *reflexes*, automatic motor responses, occur before we even think about those responses. For each reflex action, a handful of neurons simply convert sensation into action.

motor neurons

One of the three types of neurons; these neurons direct muscles to contract or relax, thereby producing movement.

interneurons

One of the three types of neurons; these neurons communicate within local or short-distance circuits.

dendrites

Branchlike extensions of the neuron that detect information from other neurons.

cell body

The site in the neuron where information from thousands of other neurons is collected and integrated.

axon

A long narrow outgrowth of a neuron by which information is transmitted to other neurons.

NEURON STRUCTURE In addition to performing different functions, neurons have a wide assortment of shapes and sizes. A typical neuron has four structural regions that participate in communication functions: the dendrites, the cell body, the axon, and the terminal buttons (**FIGURE 3.5**). The **dendrites** are short, branchlike appendages that detect chemical signals from neighboring neurons. In the **cell body**, also known as the *soma* (Greek for "body"), the information received via the dendrites from thousands of other neurons is collected and integrated.

Once the incoming information from many other neurons has been integrated in the cell body, electrical impulses are transmitted along a long, narrow outgrowth known as the **axon**. Axons vary tremendously in length, from a few millimeters to more than a meter. The longest axons stretch from the spinal cord to the big toe. You have heard the term *nerve*, as in Jack Osbourne's reference to a "pinched nerve." In

78



FIGURE 3.5 Neuron Structure

Messages are received by the dendrites, processed in the cell body, transmitted along the axon, and sent to other neurons via chemical substances released from the terminal buttons across the synapse. (The myelin sheath, glial cells, and the nodes of Ranvier are discussed on pp. 81-82.)

this context, a nerve is a bundle of axons that carry information between the brain and other specific locations in the body. At the end of the axon are knoblike structures called **terminal buttons.**

The site where chemical communication occurs between neurons is called the **synapse**. Neurons communicate by sending chemicals into the synapse, a tiny gap between the axon of the "sending" neuron and the dendrites of the "receiving" neurons. Chemicals leave one neuron, cross the synapse, and pass signals along to other neurons' dendrites.

The neuron is covered with a *membrane*, a fatty barrier that does not dissolve in the watery environment inside and outside the neuron. The membrane is semipermeable. In other words, some substances move in or out of the membrane, and some do not. Located on the membrane are *ion channels*. These specialized pores allow *ions* to pass in and out of the cell when the neuron transmits signals down the axon. Ions are molecules, some charged negatively and some charged positively. By controlling the movement of ions, the membrane plays an important role in communication between neurons: It regulates the concentration of electrically charged molecules that are the basis of the neuron's electrical activity.

The Resting Membrane Potential Is Negatively Charged

When a neuron is resting, not active, the electric charge inside and outside the membrane is different. This difference is the **resting membrane potential**. The difference in the electrical charge occurs because the ratio of negative to positive ions is greater inside the neuron than outside it. Therefore, the electrical charge inside the neuron is slightly more negative than the electrical charge outside—typically –70 millivolts (about $1/_{20}$ the charge of a AA battery). When a neuron has more negative ions inside than outside, the neuron is described as being *polarized*. The polarized state of the resting neuron creates the electrical energy necessary to power the firing of the neuron.

THE ROLES OF SODIUM AND POTASSIUM IONS Two types of ions that contribute to a neuron's resting membrane potential are *sodium ions* and *potassium ions*. Although other ions are involved in neural activity, sodium and potassium are most important for this discussion.

terminal buttons

At the ends of axons, small nodules that release chemical signals from the neuron into the synapse.

synapse

The gap between the axon of a "sending" neuron and the dendrites of a "receiving" neuron; the site at which chemical communication occurs between neurons.

resting membrane potential The electrical charge of a neuron when it is not active.

FIGURE 3.6

Resting Membrane Potential

A neuron at rest is polarized: It has a more negative electrical charge inside than outside. The passage of negative and positive ions inside and outside the membrane is regulated by ion channels, such as those located at the nodes of Ranvier.



Ions pass through the neuron membrane at the ion channels (**FIGURE 3.6**). Each channel matches a specific type of ion: Sodium channels allow sodium ions but not potassium ions to pass through the membrane, and potassium channels allow passage of potassium ions but not sodium ions. The flow of ions through each channel is controlled by a gating mechanism. When a gate is open, ions flow in and out of the cell membrane. A closed gate prevents their passage. Ion flow is also affected by the cell membrane's selective permeability. That is, much like a bouncer at an exclusive nightclub, the membrane allows some types of ions to cross more easily than others. Partially as a result of this selective permeability of the cell membrane, more potassium than sodium is inside the neuron.

Another mechanism in the membrane that contributes to polarization is the *sodium-potassium pump*. This pump increases potassium and decreases sodium inside the neuron, activity that helps maintain the resting membrane potential.

Action Potentials Cause Neural Communication

Neural communication depends on a neuron's ability to respond to incoming stimulation. The neuron responds by changing electrically and then passing along signals to other neurons. An **action potential**, also called *neural firing*, is the electrical signal that passes along the axon. This signal causes the terminal buttons to release chemicals that transmit signals to other neurons. The following sections examine some factors that contribute to the firing of an action potential.

CHANGES IN ELECTRICAL POTENTIAL LEAD TO ACTION A neuron receives chemical signals from nearby neurons through its dendrites. By affecting polarization, these chemical signals tell the neuron whether to fire. The signals arrive at the dendrites by the thousands and are of two types: excitatory and inhibitory. *Excitatory signals* depolarize the cell membrane (i.e., decrease polarization by decreasing the negative charge inside the cell). Through depolarization, these signals increase the likelihood that the neuron will fire. *Inhibitory signals* hyperpolarize the cell (i.e., increase polarization by increasing the negative charge inside the cell). Through hyperpolarization, these signals decrease the likelihood that the neuron will fire. *Excitatory and inhibitory signals* received by the dendrites are combined within the neuron. If the total amount of excitatory input surpasses the neuron's firing threshold (-55 millivolts), an action potential is generated.

When a neuron fires, the sodium gates in the cell membrane open. The open gates allow sodium ions to rush into the neuron. This influx of sodium causes the inside of the neuron to become slightly more positively charged than the outside. A fraction of a second later, potassium channels open to allow the potassium ions inside the cell membrane to rush out. This change from a negative charge to a positive one inside the neuron is the basis of the action potential. As the sodium ion channels close, the sodium ions stop entering the cell. Similarly, as the potassium ion channels close, potassium ions stop exiting the cell. Thus, during this process, the electrical charge inside the cell starts out slightly negative in its initial resting state. As the cell fires and allows more positive ions inside, the charge becomes positive. Through natural restoration, including the activity of the sodium-potassium pump, the charge then returns to its slightly negative resting state (**FIGURE 3.7**).

ACTION POTENTIALS SPREAD ALONG THE AXON When the neuron fires, the cell membrane's depolarization moves along the axon like a wave. Sodium ions rush through their channels, causing adjacent sodium channels to open. Thus, like toppling dominoes, sodium ion channels open in a series. The action potential always moves down the axon away from the cell body to the terminal buttons. These



action potential

The electrical signal that passes along the axon and subsequently causes the release of chemicals from the terminal buttons.

electrical signals travel quickly down most axons because of the fatty myelin sheath that encases and insulates many axons like the plastic tubing around wires in an electrical cord (see Figure 3.5).

The myelin sheath is made up of *glial cells*, commonly called *glia* (Greek for "glue"). The sheath grows along an axon in short segments. Between these segments are small gaps of exposed axon called the nodes of Ranvier (after the researcher who first described them). Because of the insulation provided by the myelin sheath, the action potential skips quickly along the axon. It pauses briefly to be recharged at each node along the axon. The entire process takes about $1/_{1,000}$ of a second, permitting the fast and frequent adjustments required for coordinating motor activity. For those axons without myelin, sodium channels along each part of the membrane must open. Action potentials are still generated, but the speed of conduction is decreased greatly.

Recall from the chapter opener that Jack Osbourne's vision was affected because multiple sclerosis destroys the myelin sheath. Sensory and motor neurons must maintain their myelin to generate fast signals over long distances. Think of how fast you are able to remove your hand from a hot surface to avoid being burned. That speed of movement is the result of myelin, which allows you to feel the heat and reflexively remove your hand. Sensory and motor axons that have no insulation cannot transmit their action potentials as quickly or efficiently. The loss of myelin means that visual information is disrupted and motor actions become jerky and uncoordinated.

ALL-OR-NONE PRINCIPLE Any one signal received by the neuron has little influence on whether the neuron fires. Normally, a neuron is barraged by thousands of excitatory and inhibitory signals, and its firing is determined by the number and frequency of those signals. If the sum of excitatory and inhibitory signals leads to a positive change in voltage that exceeds the neuron's firing threshold, an action potential is generated.

A neuron either fires or it does not. It works like a light switch that is either on or off, not like a dimmer switch. The all-or-none principle dictates that a neuron fires with the same potency each time. In other words, it does not fire in a way that can be described as weak or strong. What is affected by the strength of the stimulation is how often the neuron fires: The stronger the stimulation, the more frequently it fires action potentials.

For the sake of comparison, suppose you are playing a video game in which you fire missiles by pressing a button. Every time you press the button, a missile is launched at the same velocity as the previous one. It makes no difference how hard you press the button. If you keep your finger on the button, additional missiles fire in rapid succession. Likewise, if a neuron in the visual system, for example, receives information that a light is bright, it might respond by firing more rapidly and more often than when it receives information that the light is dim. Regardless of whether the light is bright or dim, the strength of the firing will be the same every time.

Neurotransmitters Bind to Receptors Across the Synapse

As noted earlier, neurons do not touch one another. They are separated by a small space known as the synapse, the site of chemical communication between neurons. Action potentials cause neurons to release chemicals from their terminal buttons. These chemicals travel across the synapse and are received by other neurons' dendrites. The neuron that sends the signal is called the *presynaptic neuron*, and the one that receives the signal is called the *postsynaptic neuron*.

myelin sheath

A fatty material, made up of glial cells, that insulates some axons to allow for faster movement of electrical impulses along the axon.

nodes of Ranvier

Small gaps of exposed axon, between the segments of myelin sheath, where action potentials take place.

all-or-none principle

The principle that when a neuron fires, it fires with the same potency each time; a neuron either fires or not-it cannot partially fire, although the frequency of firing can vary.



How do these chemical signals work (**FIGURE 3.8**)? Inside each terminal button are **neurotransmitters**, chemicals that are made in the axon and stored in vesicles (small, fluid-filled sacs). When released by the vesicles, the neurotransmitters convey signals across the synapse to postsynaptic cells.

After an action potential travels to the terminal button, it causes the vesicles to attach to the presynaptic membrane and release their neurotransmitters into the synapse. These neurotransmitters then travel across the synapse and attach themselves, or *bind*, to receptors on the postsynaptic neuron. **Receptors** are specialized protein molecules located on the postsynaptic membrane that specifically respond to the chemical structure of the neurotransmitter available in the synapse. The binding of a neurotransmitter with a receptor can cause ion channels to open or close more tightly, producing an excitatory or an inhibitory signal in the postsynaptic neuron. As mentioned previously, an excitatory signal encourages the neuron to fire. An inhibitory signal discourages it from firing.

neurotransmitters Chemical substances that transmit signals from one neuron to another.

receptors

In neurons, specialized protein molecules on the postsynaptic membrane; neurotransmitters bind to these molecules after passing across the synapse.

NEUROTRANSMITTERS BIND WITH SPECIFIC RECEPTORS More than 60 chemicals convey information in the nervous system. Different neurotransmitters influence emotion, thought, or behavior. In much the same way as a lock opens only with the correct key, each receptor can be influenced by only one type of neurotransmitter.

Once a neurotransmitter is released into the synapse, it continues to bind with receptors and continues to exert an inhibitory or excitatory effect. It also blocks new signals until its influence is terminated. The three major events that terminate the neurotransmitter's influence in the synapse are *reuptake*, *enzyme deactivation*, and autoreception. Reuptake occurs when the neurotransmitter is taken back into the presynaptic terminal buttons. An action potential prompts terminal buttons to release the neurotransmitter into the synapse and then take it back for recycling. The cycle of reuptake and release repeats continuously. Enzyme deactivation occurs when an enzyme destroys the neurotransmitter in the synapse. Different enzymes break down different neurotransmitters. Neurotransmitters can also bind with receptors on the presynaptic neuron. These autoreceptors monitor how much neurotransmitter has been released into the synapse. When an excess is detected, the autoreceptors signal the presynaptic neuron to stop releasing the neurotransmitter.

All neurotransmitters have excitatory or inhibitory effects on action potentials. They do so by affecting the polarization of the postsynaptic cells. The effects are a function of the receptors that the neurotransmitters bind to. Recall the lock and key idea, in which a specific neurotransmitter binds only with certain receptors. The receptor always has a specific response, either excitatory or inhibitory. The same neurotransmitter can send excitatory or inhibitory postsynaptic signals, depending on the particular receptor's properties. In other words, the effects of a neurotransmitter are not a property of the chemical. Instead, the effects are a function of the receptor to which the neurotransmitter binds. Any neurotransmitter can be excitatory or inhibitory. Alternatively, it can produce radically different effects, depending on the properties of the receptor and on the receptor's location in the brain.

Neurotransmitters Influence Mental Activity and Behavior

Much of what we know about neurotransmitters has been learned through the systematic study of how drugs and toxins affect emotion, thought, and behavior. Drugs and toxins can alter a neurotransmitter's action in many ways. For example, they can alter how a neurotransmitter is synthesized. They can raise or lower the amount of a neurotransmitter released from the terminal buttons. Or, by blocking reuptake, they can change the way a neurotransmitter is deactivated in the synapse and therefore affect the concentration of the neurotransmitter.

Drugs and toxins that enhance the actions of neurotransmitters are known as agonists. Drugs and toxins that inhibit these actions are known as antagonists. Drugs and toxins can also mimic neurotransmitters and bind with their receptors as if they were the real thing (FIGURE 3.9). Addictive drugs such as heroin, for example, have their effects because they are chemically similar to naturally occurring neurotransmitters. The receptors cannot differentiate between the ingested drug and the real neurotransmitter released from a presynaptic neuron. That is, although a neurotransmitter fits a receptor the way a key fits a lock, the receptor/lock cannot tell a real neurotransmitter/key from a forgery-either will open it.

reuptake

The process whereby a neurotransmitter is taken back into the presynaptic terminal buttons, thereby stopping its activity.

acetylcholine (ACh)

The neurotransmitter responsible for motor control at the junction between nerves and muscles; it is also involved in mental processes such as learning, memory, sleeping, and dreaming.

Agonists



FIGURE 3.9 How Drugs Work

Antagonists



Researchers often inject agonists or antagonists into animals to assess how neurotransmitters affect behavior. The goal is to develop drug treatments for many psychological and medical disorders. For instance, researchers can test the hypothesis that a certain neurotransmitter in a specific brain region leads to increased eating. Injecting an agonist into that brain region should increase eating. Injecting an antagonist should decrease eating.

TYPES OF NEUROTRANSMITTERS There are many kinds of neurotransmitters. Eight of them are particularly important in understanding how we think, feel, and behave (**TABLE 3.1**).

The neurotransmitter **acetylcholine (ACh)** is responsible for motor control at the junctions between nerves and muscles. After moving across synapses, ACh (pronounced A-C-H) binds with receptors on muscle cells, making the muscles contract or relax. For instance, ACh excites skeletal muscles and inhibits heart muscle. As is true of all neurotransmitters, whether ACh's effects will be excitatory or inhibitory depends on the receptors.

Botulism, a form of food poisoning, is caused by Botulinum toxin. This neurotoxin inhibits the release of ACh. The resulting paralysis of muscles leads to difficulty in chewing, difficulty in breathing, and often death. Because of its ability to paralyze muscles, very small doses of Botulinum toxin are used for cosmetic surgery. Physicians inject the toxin, popularly known as Botox, into the eyebrow region, paralyzing muscles that produce certain wrinkles (**FIGURE 3.10**). Because the effects wear off over time, a new dose of Botox needs to be injected every two to four months. If too much Botox is



FIGURE 3.10 Acetylcholine and Botox Acetylcholine (ACh) is responsible for

motor control between nerves and muscles. Botox inhibits the release of ACh, paralyzing muscles. Here, a woman receives a Botox injection to remove wrinkles in her forehead.

NEUROTRANSMITTER	PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS
Acetylcholine	Motor control over muscles
	Learning, memory, sleeping, and dreaming
Epinephrine	Energy
Norepinephrine	Arousal, vigilance, and attention
Serotonin	Emotional states and impulsiveness
	Dreaming
Dopamine	Reward and motivation
	Motor control over voluntary movement
GABA (gamma-aminobutyric acid)	Inhibition of action potentials
	Anxiety reduction
Glutamate	Enhancement of action potentials
	Learning and memory
Endorphins	Pain reduction
	Reward

TABLE 3.1 Common Neurotransmitters and Their Major Functions

injected, however, the result can be an expressionless face, because Botox paralyzes the facial muscles used to express emotions, as in smiling and frowning.

Acetylcholine is also involved in complex mental processes such as learning, memory, sleeping, and dreaming. Because ACh affects memory and attention, drugs that are ACh antagonists can cause temporary amnesia. In a similar way, Alzheimer's disease, a condition characterized primarily by severe memory deficits, is associated with diminished ACh functioning (Geula & Mesulam, 1994). Drugs that are ACh agonists may enhance memory and decrease other symptoms, but so far drug treatments for Alzheimer's have experienced only marginal success.

Four transmitters (epinephrine, norepinephrine, serotonin, and dopamine) are grouped together because each has the same basic molecular structure. Together they are called *monoamines*. Their major functions are to regulate arousal, regulate feelings, and motivate behavior.

The neurotransmitter **epinephrine** was initially called *adrenaline*. This name is the basis for the phrase *adrenaline rush*, a burst of energy caused by the release of epinephrine that binds to receptors throughout the body. This energy boost is part of a system that prepares the body for dealing with threats from an environment (the fight-or-flight response, discussed in Chapter 11, "Health and Well-Being"). **Norepinephrine** is involved in states of arousal and alertness. It is especially important for vigilance, a heightened sensitivity to what is going on around you. Norepinephrine appears useful for fine-tuning the clarity of attention.

Serotonin is involved in a wide range of psychological activities. It is especially important for emotional states, impulse control, and dreaming. Low levels of serotonin are associated with sad and anxious moods, food cravings, and aggressive behavior. Some drugs block serotonin reuptake and thus leave more serotonin at the synapse to bind with the postsynaptic neurons. These drugs are used to treat a wide array of mental and behavioral disorders, including depression, obsessive-compulsive disorders, eating disorders, and obesity (Tollesfson, 1995). One class of drugs that specifically target serotonin is prescribed widely to treat depression. These drugs,

epinephrine

A monoamine neurotransmitter responsible for bursts of energy after an event that is exciting or threatening.

norepinephrine

A monoamine neurotransmitter involved in states of arousal and attention.

serotonin

A monoamine neurotransmitter important for a wide range of psychological activity, including emotional states, impulse control, and dreaming.

dopamine

A monoamine neurotransmitter involved in motivation, reward, and motor control over voluntary movement.

GABA

Gamma-aminobutyric acid; the primary inhibitory transmitter in the nervous system.

glutamate

The primary excitatory transmitter in the nervous system.

which include Prozac, are referred to as *selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors*, or *SSRIs*.

Dopamine serves many significant brain functions, especially motivation and reward. Many theorists believe dopamine communicates which activities may be rewarding. For example, eating when hungry, drinking when thirsty, and having sex when aroused activate dopamine receptors and therefore are experienced as pleasurable. When we see food, dopamine activity motivates us to want to eat it. Dopamine activation is also involved in motor control and planning. It helps guide behavior toward things—objects and experiences—that will lead to additional reward.

A lack of dopamine may be involved in problems with movement, and dopamine depletion is implicated in Parkinson's disease. Parkinson's is a degenerative and fatal neurological disorder marked by muscular rigidity, tremors, and difficulty initiating voluntary action. It affects about 1 in every 200 older adults and occurs in all known cultures. The actor Michael J. Fox is one of the many famous people who have developed this disease (**FIGURE 3.11**). Most people with Parkinson's do not expe-



rience symptoms until after age 50, but as Fox's case makes clear, the disease can occur earlier in life.

With Parkinson's disease, the dopamine-producing neurons slowly die off. In the later stages of the disorder, people suffer from cognitive and mood disturbances. Injections of one of the chief building blocks of dopamine, *L-DOPA*, help the surviving neurons produce more dopamine. When used to treat Parkinson's disease, L-DOPA often produces a remarkable, though temporary, recovery.

A promising development in Parkinson's research is *deep brain stimulation*. This procedure involves surgically implanting electrodes deep within the brain and then using mild electrical stimulation in the regions affected by the disorder, much the way a pacemaker stimulates the heart. Deep brain stimulation of motor regions of the brains of Parkinson's patients reverses many of the movement problems associated with the disease (DeLong & Wichmann, 2008). Researchers have reported successful results from this treatment, lasting as long as eleven years (Rizzone et al., 2014). Although DBS helps with the motor symptoms of Parkinson's, other symptoms of the disease progressively become worse over time.

GABA (gamma-aminobutyric acid) is the primary inhibitory neurotransmitter in the nervous system. It is more widely distributed throughout the brain than most other neurotransmitters. Without the inhibitory effect of GABA, synaptic excitation might get out of control and spread through the brain chaotically. Epileptic seizures may be caused by low levels of GABA (Upton, 1994). Drugs that are GABA agonists are widely used to treat anxiety disorders. For instance, benzodiazepines, which include drugs such as Valium and Xanax, help people relax. Ethyl alcohol—the type people drink—also facilitates GABA transmission, which is why alcohol is typically experienced as relaxing.

In contrast, **glutamate** is the primary excitatory transmitter in the nervous system and is involved in fast-acting neural transmission throughout the brain. Glutamate receptors aid learning and memory by strengthening synaptic connections. Excessive glutamate release can lead to overexcitement of the brain, which can produce seizures as well as destruction of neurons. Overexcitement caused by excess glutamate is



FIGURE 3.11 A Public Figure with Parkinson's

Michael J. Fox was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease in 1991 and disclosed his condition to the public in 1998. He has since created the Michael J. Fox Foundation, which advocates for research toward finding a cure for Parkinson's.

87

endorphins

Neurotransmitters involved in natural pain reduction and reward.



FIGURE 3.12 Exercise and Endorphins

Endorphins are involved in both pain reduction and reward, and scientists think that endorphin production can be stimulated by strenuous exercise. An endurance event, such as a marathon or a speed skating competition, will yield an enormous endorphin rush. Here, the final leg runner in the Saudi men's 4×400 relay team, Yousef Ahmed Masrahi, celebrates after finishing first in the men's relay final at the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou on November 26, 2010. linked to many diseases and types of brain damage. For example, much of the damage inflicted to the brain following a stroke or trauma to the brain is caused by the excessive release of glutamate that naturally occurs following brain injury (Choi & Rothman, 1990; Dhawan et al., 2011).

Endorphins are involved in both natural pain reduction and reward (**FIGURE 3.12**). In the early 1970s, researchers established that opiate drugs such as heroin and morphine bind to receptors in the brain, and this finding led to the discovery of naturally occurring substances in the body that bind to those sites (Pert & Snyder, 1973). Called *endorphins* (short for *endogenous morphine*), these substances are part of the body's natural defense against pain.

Pain is useful because it signals to animals, human and nonhuman, that they are hurt or in danger and therefore should try to escape or withdraw. Pain can also interfere with adaptive functioning, however. If pain prevents animals from engaging in behaviors such as eating, competing, and mating, the animals fail to pass along their genes. Endorphins' painkilling, or analgesic, effects help animals perform these behaviors even when they are in pain. In humans, the administration of drugs, such as morphine, that bind with endorphin receptors reduces the subjective experience of pain. Apparently, morphine alters the way pain is experienced rather than blocking the nerves that transmit pain signals: People still feel pain, but they report detachment and do not care about the pain (Foley, 1993).

Summing Up

How Does the Nervous System Operate?

- Neurons are the nervous system's basic units. Their task is to receive, process, and pass information to other neurons.
- The nervous system is divided into two basic units: The central nervous system consists of the brain and spinal cord. The peripheral nervous system consists of all nerve cells beyond the brain and spinal cord.
- A neuron receives information at the dendrites and processes that information in its cell body. If the information is excitatory, the neuron will generate an action potential, or "fire." Firing sends a signal down the axon to release neurotransmitters into the synapse.
- Many neurons are insulated by a myelin sheath, which surrounds the axon and allows the action potential to travel rapidly.
- When a neuron is in a resting state, it is negatively charged. Whether a neuron fires depends on the combination of excitatory and inhibitory signals it receives. Receiving excitatory signals encourages the neuron to fire. Receiving inhibitory signals discourages it from firing.
- The intensity of the excitatory signal affects the frequency of neural firing but not its strength. Neurons fire on an all-or-none basis.
- After firing, ion channels close and the neuron returns to its negative resting state. Action potentials are terminated by the removal of neurotransmitters from the synapse. This removal occurs through reuptake, enzyme deactivation, or the actions of autoreceptors.
- Substances that enhance the actions of neurotransmitters are agonists. Substances that inhibit the actions of neurotransmitters are antagonists.
- Eight neurotransmitters are especially important for psychological research: Acetylcholine is involved in motor control and mental processes, such as memory. Epinephrine and norepinephrine are associated with energy, arousal, and attention. Serotonin is important for emotional states, impulse control, and dreaming. Dopamine is involved in reward, motivation, and motor control. GABA and glutamate are related to general inhibition and excitation. Endorphins are important in pain reduction.

Measuring Up

- Neurons communicate by electrochemical signal. Imagine that a neurotransmitter binds to a postsynaptic receptor. What would happen afterward? Put the following steps in the correct order so they describe this process.
 - **a.** An action potential is generated down the axon.
 - **b.** Neurotransmitters are released into the synapse.
 - c. Through reuptake, the neurotransmitter returns to the presynaptic neuron.
 - $\textbf{d.} \hspace{0.1 cm} \text{Sodium channels open.}$
- 2. Match each major neurotransmitter with its major functions.

Neurotransmitter

er Major functions

- 1. emotional states, impulse control, dreaming
- **a.** norepinephrine**b.** glutamate
- 2. reward, motivation, voluntary muscle control

5. motor control, learning, memory, sleeping, dreaming

- c. acetylcholine
- 3. generates excitatory action potentials, facilitates
- d. serotonin
- learning and memory 4. arousal, vigilance, attention
- e. endorphinsf. dopamine
- g. GABA
- 6. reward, pain reduction

7. energy

- h. epinephrine
- 8. inhibits action potentials, reduces anxiety

3.2What Are the Basic BrainStructures and TheirFunctions?

The brain is best viewed as a collection of interacting neural circuits. These circuits have accumulated and developed throughout human evolution. As our ancestors adapted to their environments, the brain has evolved specialized mechanisms to regulate breathing, food intake, body fluids, and sexual and social behavior, as well as sensory systems to aid in navigation and assist in recognizing friends and foes. Everything we are and do is orchestrated by the brain and, for more rudimentary actions, by the spinal cord (**FIGURE 3.13**). Early in life, overabundant connections form among the brain's neurons. Subsequently, life experiences help "prune" some of these connections to strengthen the rest, much as pruning weak or nonproductive branches will strengthen a fruit tree.

The brain's basic structures and their functions enable people to accomplish feats such as seeing, hearing, remembering, and interacting with others. Understanding these relationships also helps us understand psychological disorders.

EARLY RESEARCHERS DEBATED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRUC-

TURE AND FUNCTION By the beginning of the nineteenth century, anatomists understood the brain's basic structure reasonably well. But debates raged over how the brain produced mental activity. Did different parts do different things? Or were all areas of the brain equally important in cognitive activities such as problem solving and memory?

Learning Objective

 Identify the basic structures of the brain and their primary functions.



FIGURE 3.13 The Brain and the Spinal Cord This drawing illustrates the brain's exterior and its connection with the spinal cord. The view is from the left side of the body.

89



FIGURE 3.14 Phrenology

In a phrenological map, each region of the skull is associated with a feature. Each association is meant to reflect a process occurring in the brain under the skull.

Broca's area

A small portion of the left frontal region of the brain, crucial for the production of language.

In the early nineteenth century, the neuroanatomist Franz Gall and his assistant, the physician Johann Spurzheim, hypothesized about the effects of mental activity on brain anatomy. Gall and Spurzheim proposed that if a person used a particular mental function more than other mental functions, the part of the brain where the emphasized function was performed would grow. This growth would produce a bump in the overlying skull. By carefully feeling the skull, one could describe the personality of the individual. This practice came to be known as *phrenology* (**FIGURE 3.14**).

Gall was a physician, not a scientist. He noted correlations, but he did not practice the scientific method and sought only to confirm, not disprove, his ideas. In any case, at the time, the technology was not available to test this theory scientifically. Phrenology soon fell into the hands of frauds and quacks, but it helped spread the seemingly scientific principle that brain functions were localized.

The first strong scientific evidence that brain regions perform specialized functions came from the work of the nineteenth-century physician and anatomist Paul Broca (Finger, 1994). One of Broca's patients had lost the ability to say anything other than the word *tan*, though he could still understand language. After the patient died, in 1861, Broca performed an autopsy. When he examined the patient's brain, Broca found a large area of damage in a section of the front left side. This observation led him to conclude that this particular region was important for speech. Broca's theory has survived the test of time. This left frontal region, crucial for the production of language, became known as **Broca's area** (**FIGURE 3.15**).

For most of human history, theorists and researchers have not had methods for studying ongoing mental activity in the working brain. In the 1980s, the invention of brain imaging methods changed that situation swiftly and dramatically. As discussed in the following section, the new imaging techniques have advanced our understanding of the human brain the way the development of telescopes advanced our understanding of astronomy—and the brain's structures and functions may be as complex as distant galaxies.

Scientists Can Now Watch the Working Brain

Psychologists collect data about the ways people's bodies respond to particular tasks or events. For instance, when people are frightened, their muscles become tense and







FIGURE 3.15 Broca's Area

(a) Paul Broca studied a patient's brain and identified the damaged area as crucial for speech production.(b) This illustration shows the location of Broca's area.

their hearts beat faster. Other bodily systems influenced by mental states include blood pressure, blood temperature, perspiration rate, breathing rate, and pupil size. Measurements of these systems are examples of *psychophysiological assessment*. In this type of testing, researchers examine how bodily functions (physiology) change in association with behaviors or mental states (psychology).



FIGURE 3.16

A polygraph (lie detector) measures

changes in bodily functions (e.g.,

pressure) related to behaviors or mental states. These changes are not

reliable measures of lying.

heart rate, perspiration rate, blood

Polygraph

Police investigators often use *polygraphs*, popularly known as "lie detectors," to assess some bodily states (FIGURE 3.16). The assumption behind these devices is that people who are lying experience more arousal and therefore are more likely to show physical signs of stress. This method is not precise, however, and so lie detectors do not accurately measure whether someone is lying. (The limitations of lie detectors are discussed further in the "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning" feature in Chapter 10.)

ELECTROPHYSIOLOGY *Electrophysiology* is a data collection method that measures electrical activity in the brain. Small electrodes on the scalp act like small microphones that pick up the brain's electrical activity instead of sounds. The device that measures brain activity is an electroencephalograph (EEG; FIGURE 3.17). This measurement is useful because different behavioral states produce different and predictable EEG patterns. As a measure of specific cognitive states, however, the EEG is limited. Because the recordings

(electroencephalograms) reflect all brain activity, they are too "noisy" or imprecise to isolate specific responses to particular stimuli. A more powerful way of examining how brain activity changes in response to a specific stimulus involves conducting many trials with a single individual and averaging across the trials. Because this method enables researchers to observe patterns associated with specific events, it is called event-related potential (ERP).

BRAIN IMAGING The brain's electrical activity is associated with changes in the flow of blood carrying oxygen and nutrients to the active brain regions. Brain imaging methods measure changes in the rate, or speed, of the flow of blood to different regions of the brain. By keeping track of these changes, researchers can monitor which brain areas are active when people perform particular tasks or experience particular events. Imaging is a powerful tool for uncovering where different systems

reside in the brain and how different brain areas interact to process information.

- **Positron emission tomography (PET)** After the injection of a relatively harmless radioactive substance into the bloodstream, a positron emission tomography (PET) scan enables researchers to find the most active brain areas (FIGURE 3.18). The increased blood flow carrying the radioactive material leads these regions to emit more radiation. One downside of PET is the need to inject a radioactive substance into the body. For safety reasons, researchers limit the use of this technology.
- Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) With magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), a powerful magnetic field is used to momentarily disrupt the brain's



FIGURE 3.17 Electroencephalograph

An electroencephalograph (EEG) measures the brain's electrical activity.

electroencephalograph (EEG) A device that measures electrical activity in the brain.

positron emission tomography (PET)

A method of brain imaging that assesses metabolic activity by using a radioactive substance injected into the bloodstream.



FIGURE 3.18 **Positron Emission Tomography** Positron emission tomography (PET) scans the brain's metabolic activity.





FIGURE 3.19 Magnetic Resonance Imaging Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) produces a high-resolution image of

magnetic resonance imaging

the brain.

(MRI)

A method of brain imaging that uses a powerful magnetic field to produce high-quality images of the brain.

functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI)

An imaging technique used to examine changes in the activity of the working human brain by measuring changes in the blood's oxygen levels.

transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS)

The use of strong magnets to briefly interrupt normal brain activity as a way to study brain regions. magnetic forces (**FIGURE 3.19**). During this process, energy is released from brain tissue in a form that can be measured by detectors surrounding the head. Because different types of brain tissue release energy differently, the researchers can produce a high-resolution image of the brain. (The amount of energy released is very small, so having an MRI is not dangerous. Nor is there any danger in being exposed to the magnetic field at the levels used in research.) MRI is extremely valuable for providing information about the structure of the brain. For instance, it can be used to

determine the location of brain damage or of a brain tumor.

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) makes use of the brain's blood flow to map the working brain (FIGURE 3.20). Whereas PET measures blood flow directly by tracking a radioactive substance, fMRI measures blood flow indirectly by assessing changes in the blood's oxygen level. As with all brain imaging methods, the participant performs a task that differs from the first one in only one way and that reflects the particular mental function of interest. The researchers then compare images to examine differences in blood flow and therefore brain activity.

TRANSCRANIAL MAGNETIC STIMULATION One limitation of brain imaging is that the findings are necessarily correlational. We know that certain brain regions are active while a task is performed. We do not know whether each brain region is necessary for that particular task. To see whether a brain region is important for a task, researchers ideally want to compare performances when that area is working effectively and when it is not. **Transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS)** uses a very fast but powerful magnetic field to disrupt brain activity momentarily in a specific brain region (**FIGURE 3.21**). This technique has its limitations, particularly that it can be used only for short durations to examine brain areas close to the scalp. When used along with imaging, however, it is a powerful method for examining which brain regions are necessary for specific psychological functions.

The following sections discuss specific brain areas. While these areas do not work in isolation, each one is linked with particular mental processes and particular behaviors.



FIGURE 3.20 Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) maps mental activity by assessing the blood's oxygen level in the brain.

The Brain Stem Houses the Basic Programs of Survival

The spinal cord is a rope of neural tissue. As shown in Figure 3.13, the cord runs inside the hollows of the vertebrae from just above the pelvis up into the base of the skull. One of its functions is the coordination

of reflexes, such as the reflexive movement of your leg when a doctor taps your knee or the reflexive movement of your arm when you jerk your hand away from a flame. The cord's most important function is to carry sensory information up to the brain and carry motor signals from the brain to the body parts below to initiate action.

In cross section, the spinal cord is seen to be composed of two distinct tissue types: the *gray matter*, which is dominated by neurons' cell bodies, and the *white matter*, which consists mostly of axons and the fatty myelin sheaths that surround them. Gray matter and white matter are clearly distinguishable throughout the brain as well. In the brain, gray matter consists mostly of neuron bodies that have nonmyelinated axons and communicate only with nearby neurons. White matter consists mostly of myelinated axons that travel between brain regions.



In the base of the skull, the spinal cord thickens and becomes more complex as it transforms into the **brain stem** (**FIGURE 3.22**). The brain stem consists of the *medulla oblongata*, the *pons*, and the *midbrain*. It houses the nerves that control the most basic functions of survival, such as heart rate, breathing, swallowing, vomiting, urination, and orgasm. A significant blow to this region can cause death. As a continuous extension of the spinal cord, the brain stem also performs functions for the head similar to those that the spinal cord performs for the rest of the body. Many reflexes emerge from here, analogous to the spinal reflexes; gagging is one example.

The brain stem also contains a network of neurons, known collectively as the *reticular formation*. The reticular formation projects up into the *cerebral cortex* (outer portion of the brain—discussed shortly) and affects general alertness. It is also involved in inducing and terminating the different stages of sleep (as discussed in Chapter 4, "Consciousness").

The Cerebellum Is Essential for Movement

The **cerebellum** (Latin, "little brain") is a large protuberance connected to the back of the brain stem (**FIGURE 3.23**). Its size and convoluted surface make it look like an extra brain. The cerebellum is extremely important for proper motor function, and damage to its different parts produces very different effects. For example, damage to the little nodes at the very bottom causes head tilt,

balance problems, and a loss of smooth compensation of eye position for head movement.

Try turning your head while looking at this (thous book. Notice that your eyes remain focused on the material. Your eyes would not be able to do that if an injury affected the bottom of your cerebellum. Damage to the ridge that runs up the back of the cerebellum would affect your walking. Damage to the bulging lobes on either side would cause a loss of limb coordination, so you would not be able to perform tasks such as reaching smoothly to pick up a pen.

The cerebellum's most obvious role is in motor learning and motor memory. It seems to be "trained" by the rest of the nervous system and operates independently and unconsciously. For example, the cerebellum allows you to ride a bicycle effortlessly while planning your next meal. In fact, the cerebellum may be involved in cognitive processes such as making plans, remembering events, using language, and experiencing emotion.

FIGURE 3.21 Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation

Transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) momentarily disrupts brain activity in a specific brain region.

brain stem

An extension of the spinal cord; it houses structures that control functions associated with survival, such as heart rate, breathing, swallowing, vomiting, urination, and orgasm.

cerebellum

A large, convoluted protuberance at the back of the brain stem; it is essential for coordinated movement and balance.



FIGURE 3.22 The Brain Stem This drawing shows the brain stem and its parts, in relation to the cerebral cortex.



Subcortical Structures Control Emotions and Appetitive Behaviors

Above the brain stem and cerebellum is the *fore-brain*, which consists of the two cerebral hemispheres (left and right; **FIGURE 3.24**). From the outside, the most noticeable feature of the forebrain is the cerebral cortex. Below the cerebral cortex are the *subcortical* regions, which are so named because they lie under the cortex. Subcortical structures that are important for understanding psychological functions include the hypothalamus, the thalamus, the hippocampus, the amygdala, and the basal ganglia. Some of these structures belong to the *limbic system*.

Limbic is the Latin word for "border," and this system serves as the border between the evolutionarily older parts of the brain (the brain stem and the cerebellum) and the evolutionarily newer part (the cerebral cortex). The brain structures in the limbic system are especially important for controlling appetitive behaviors (such as eating and drinking) and emotions (as discussed in Chapter 10, "Emotion and Motivation").

THALAMUS The **thalamus** is the gateway to the cortex: It receives almost all incoming sensory information, organizes it, and relays it to the cortex. The only exception to this rule is the sense of smell. The oldest and most fundamental sense, smell has a direct route to the cortex. During sleep, the thalamus partially shuts the gate on incoming sensations while the brain rests. (The thalamus is discussed further in Chapter 5, "Sensation and Perception.")

HYPOTHALAMUS The **hypothalamus** is the brain's master regulatory structure. It is indispensable to the organism's survival. Located just below the thalamus, it receives input from almost everywhere in the body and brain, and it projects its influence to almost everywhere in the body and brain. It affects the functions of many internal organs, regulating body temperature, body rhythms, blood pressure, and blood glucose levels. It is also involved in many motivated behaviors, including thirst, hunger, aggression, and lust.

HIPPOCAMPUS AND AMYGDALA The **hippocampus** takes its name from the Greek for "sea horse," because of its sea horse shape. This structure plays an important role in the formation of new memories. It seems to do this important work by creating new interconnections within the cerebral cortex with each new experience.

The hippocampus may be involved in how we remember the arrangements of places and objects in space, such as how streets are laid out in a city or how furniture is positioned in a room. An interesting study to support this theory focused on London taxi drivers. Maguire and colleagues (2003) found that one region of the hippocampus was much larger in taxi drivers' brains than in most other London

thalamus

The gateway to the brain; it receives almost all incoming sensory information before that information reaches the cortex.

FIGURE 3.23 The Cerebellum

The cerebellum is located at the back

of the brain: It is below the cerebral

cortex and behind the brain stem.

hypothalamus

A brain structure that is involved in the regulation of bodily functions, including body temperature, body rhythms, blood pressure, and blood glucose levels; it also influences our basic motivated behaviors.

hippocampus

A brain structure that is associated with the formation of memories.

amygdala

A brain structure that serves a vital role in learning to associate things with emotional responses and in processing emotional information.

basal ganglia

A system of subcortical structures that are important for the planning and production of movement.

drivers' brains. Moreover, the volume of gray matter in the hippocampal region was highly correlated with the number of years of experience as a taxi driver. Is a person with a large hippocampus more likely to drive a taxi? Or does the hippocampus grow as the result of navigational experience? Recall from Chapter 2 that correlation does not prove causation. The Maguire study did not *conclude* that the hippocampus changes with experience. However, there is evidence that the hippocampus is important for navigating in our environments (Nadel et al., 2013).

The **amygdala** takes its name from the Latin for "almond," because it has an almond shape. This structure is located immediately in front of the hippocampus. The



amygdala is involved in learning about biologically relevant stimuli, such as those important for survival (Whalen et al., 2013). It plays a special role in responding to stimuli that elicit fear. The emotional processing of frightening stimuli in the amygdala is a hardwired circuit that has developed over the course of evolution to protect animals from danger. The amygdala is also involved in evaluating a facial expression's emotional significance (Adolphs et al., 2005). It appears to be part of a system that automatically directs visual attention to the eyes when evaluating facial expressions (Kennedy & Adolphs, 2010). Imaging studies have found that the amygdala activation is especially strong in response to a fearful face (Whalen et al., 1998).

The amygdala also intensifies the function of memory during times of emotional arousal. For example, a frightening experience can be seared into your memory for life, although (as discussed further in Chapter 7, "Memory") your memory of the event may not be completely accurate. Research also shows that emotional arousal can influence what people attend to in their environments (Schmitz, De Rosa, & Anderson, 2009).

THE BASAL GANGLIA The **basal ganglia** are a system of subcortical structures crucial for planning and producing movement. These structures receive input from the entire cerebral cortex. They send that input to the motor centers of the brain stem. Via the thalamus, they also send the input back to the motor planning area of the cerebral cortex. Damage to the basal ganglia can produce symptoms that range from the tremors and rigidity of Parkinson's disease to the involuntary writhing movements of Huntington's disease. In addition, damage to the basal ganglia can impair the learning of movements and habits, such as automatically looking for cars before you cross the street.

One structure in the basal ganglia, the *nucleus accumbens*, is important for experiencing reward and motivating behavior. As discussed in Chapter 6, nearly every pleasurable experience—from eating food you like to looking at a person you find attractive—involves dopamine activity in the nucleus accumbens and makes you want the thing or person you are experiencing. The more desirable objects are, the more they activate basic reward circuitry in our brains.

FIGURE 3.24 The Forebrain and the Subcortical Regions

The subcortical regions are below the forebrain. They are responsible for many aspects of emotion and motivation.



(a) This diagram identifies the lobes of the cerebral cortex.(b) The colored areas mark important regions within those lobes.

cerebral cortex

The outer layer of brain tissue, which forms the convoluted surface of the brain; the site of all thoughts, perceptions, and complex behaviors.

corpus callosum

A massive bridge of millions of axons that connects the hemispheres and allows information to flow between them.



FIGURE 3.26 The Corpus Callosum

In this top view of the brain, the right cerebral hemisphere has been pulled away to expose the corpus callosum. This fibrous structure connects the two hemispheres of the cerebral cortex.

The Cerebral Cortex Underlies Complex Mental Activity

The **cerebral cortex** is the outer layer of the cerebral hemispheres and gives the brain its distinctive wrinkled appearance. (*Cortex* is Latin for "bark"—the kind on trees. The cerebral cortex does not feel like bark, however. It has the consistency of a softboiled egg.) Each hemisphere has its own cortex. In humans, the cortex is relatively enormous—the size of a large sheet of newspaper—and folded in against itself many times so as to fit within the skull. It is the site of all thoughts, detailed perceptions, and complex behaviors. It enables us to comprehend ourselves, other people, and the outside world. By extending our inner selves into the world, it is also the source of culture and communication. Each cerebral hemisphere has four "lobes": the occipital, parietal, temporal, and frontal lobes (**FIGURE 3.25**). The **corpus callosum**, a massive bridge of millions of axons, connects the hemispheres and allows information to flow between them (**FIGURE 3.26**).

The **occipital lobes** are at the back portion of the head. Devoted almost exclusively to vision, they include many visual areas. By far, the largest of these areas is the *primary visual cortex*, the major destination for visual information. Visual information is typically organized for the cerebral cortex in a way that preserves spatial relationships. That is, the image relayed from the eye is "projected" more or less faithfully onto the primary visual cortex. As a result, two objects near one another in a visual image will activate neurons near one another in the primary visual cortex. Surrounding the primary visual cortex is a patchwork of secondary visual areas that process various attributes of the visual image, such as its colors, forms, and motions.

The **parietal lobes** are devoted partially to touch. Their labor is divided between the cerebral hemispheres. The left hemisphere receives touch information from the right side of the body, and the right hemisphere receives touch information from the left side of the body. In each parietal lobe, this information is directed to the *primary somatosensory cortex*, a strip in the front part of the lobe, running from the top of the brain down the sides. The primary somatosensory cortex groups nearby sensations: For example, sensations on the fingers are near sensations on the palm. The result, covering the primary somatosensory area, is a distorted representation of the entire body: the *somatosensory homunculus* (the latter term is Greek for "little man"). The homunculus is distorted because more cortical area is devoted to the body's more sensitive areas, such as the face and the fingers (**FIGURE 3.27A**).

occipital lobes

Regions of the cerebral cortex-at the back of the brain-important for vision.

parietal lobes

Regions of the cerebral cortex-in front of the occipital lobes and behind the frontal lobes-important for the sense of touch and for attention to the environment.





body surface is organized in strips that run down the side of the brain. Connected areas of the body tend to be represented next to each other in the cortex, and more-sensitive skin regions have more cortical area devoted to them. (b) Wilder Penfield's mappings of the brain provided the basis for our knowledge of the homunculus. This photograph shows one of Penfield's patients immediately before direct stimulation of the brain. (c) Here, you can see the exposed surface of the patient's cortex. The numbered tags denote locations that were electrically stimulated.


FIGURE 3.28 Hemineglect

This drawing, made by a hemineglect patient, omits much of the flower's left side.

temporal lobes

Regions of the cerebral cortex-below the parietal lobes and in front of the occipital lobes-important for processing auditory information, for memory, and for object and face perception.

frontal lobes

Regions of the cerebral cortex-at the front of the brain-important for movement and higher-level psychological processes associated with the prefrontal cortex.

prefrontal cortex

The frontmost portion of the frontal lobes, especially prominent in humans; important for attention, working memory, decision making, appropriate social behavior, and personality. This homunculus is based on brain mappings by the pioneering neurological researcher Wilder Penfield. Penfield created these mappings as he examined patients who were to undergo surgery for epilepsy (**FIGURE 3.27B**). The idea behind this work was to perform the surgery without damaging brain areas vital for functions such as speech. After a local anesthetic was applied to the scalp and while the patient was awake, Penfield would electrically stimulate regions of the brain and ask the patient to report what he or she was experiencing (**FIGURE 3.27C**). Penfield's studies provided important evidence about the amount of brain tissue devoted to each sensory experience.

The parietal lobe is also involved in attention. A stroke or other damage to the right parietal region can result in the neurological disorder *hemineglect*. Patients with this syndrome fail to notice anything on their left side even though their eyes work perfectly well. Looking in a mirror, they will shave or put makeup on only the right side of their face. If two objects are held up before them, they will see only the one on the right. Asked to draw a simple object, they will draw only its right half (**FIGURE 3.28**).

The **temporal lobes** hold the *primary auditory cortex*, the brain region responsible for hearing. Also within the temporal lobes are specialized visual areas (for recognizing detailed objects such as faces), plus the hippocampus and the amygdala (both critical for memory, as discussed earlier). At the intersection of the temporal and occipital lobes is the *fusiform face area*. Its name comes from the fact that this area is much more active when people look at faces than when they look at other things. In contrast, other regions of the temporal lobe are more activated by objects, such as houses or cars, than by faces. Damage to the fusiform face area can cause specific impairments in recognizing people but not in recognizing objects.

The **frontal lobes** are essential for planning and movement. The rearmost portion of the frontal lobes is the *primary motor cortex*. The primary motor cortex includes neurons that project directly to the spinal cord to move the body's muscles. Its responsibilities are divided down the middle of the body, like those of the sensory areas: For example, the left hemisphere controls the right arm, whereas the right hemisphere controls the left arm. The rest of the frontal lobes consists of the **prefrontal cortex**, which occupies about 30 percent of the brain in humans. Scientists have long thought that what makes humans unique in the animal kingdom is our extraordinarily large prefrontal cortex. However, there is evidence that what separates humans from other animals is not how much of the brain the prefrontal cortex occupies but rather the complexity and organization of prefrontal circuits—the way different regions within the prefrontal cortex are connected (Bush & Allman, 2004; Schoenemann, Sheehan, & Glotzer, 2005).

Parts of the prefrontal cortex are responsible for directing and maintaining attention, keeping ideas in mind while distractions bombard people from the outside world, and developing and acting on plans. The entire prefrontal cortex is indispensable for rational activity. It is also especially important for many aspects of human social life, such as understanding what other people are thinking, behaving according to cultural norms, and contemplating one's own existence. It provides both the sense of self and the capacity to empathize with others or feel guilty about harming them.

THE PREFRONTAL CORTEX IN CLOSE-UP Psychologists have learned a great deal of what they know about the functioning of different brain regions through the careful study of people whose brains have been damaged by disease or injury. Perhaps the most famous historical example of brain damage is the case of Phineas Gage. Gage's case provided the basis for the first modern theories of the prefrontal cortex's role in both personality and self-control.

In 1848, Gage was a 25-year-old foreman on the construction of Vermont's Rutland and Burlington Railroad. One day, he dropped a tool called a tamping iron, which was over a yard long and an inch in diameter. The iron rod hit a rock, igniting some blasting powder. The resulting explosion drove the rod into his cheek, through his frontal lobes, and clear out through the top of his head (**FIGURE 3.29**). Gage was still conscious as he was hurried back to town on a cart, and he was able to walk, with assistance, upstairs to his hotel bed. He wryly remarked to the awaiting physician, "Doctor, here is business enough for you." He said he expected to return to work in a few days. In fact, Gage lapsed into unconsciousness and remained unconscious for two weeks. Afterward, his condition steadily improved. Physically, he recovered remarkably well.

Unfortunately, Gage's accident led to major personality changes. Whereas the old Gage had been regarded by his employers as "the most efficient and capable" of workers, the new Gage was not. As one of his doctors later wrote, "The equilibrium or balance, so to speak, between his intellectual faculties and animal propensities seems to have been destroyed. He is fitful, irreverent, indulging at times in the grossest profanity . . . impatient of restraint or advice when it conflicts with his desires. . . . A child in his intellectual capacity and manifestations, he has the animal passions of a strong man" (Harlow, 1868, p. 340). In summary, Gage was "no longer Gage."

Unable to get his foreman's job back, Gage exhibited himself in various New England towns and at the New York Museum (owned by the circus showman P. T. Barnum). He worked at the stables of the Hanover Inn at Dartmouth College. In Chile, he drove coaches and tended horses. After a decade, his health began to decline, and in 1860 he started having epileptic seizures and died within a few months. Gage's recovery was initially used to argue that the entire brain works uniformly and that the healthy parts of Gage's brain had taken over the work of the damaged parts. However, the medical community eventually recognized that Gage's psychological impairments had been severe and that some areas of the brain in fact have specific functions.

Reconstruction of Gage's injury through examination of his skull has made it clear that the prefrontal cortex was the area most damaged by the tamping rod (Damasio, Grabowski, Frank, Galaburda, & Damasio, 1994). Recent studies of patients



FIGURE 3.29 Phineas Gage

Analysis of Gage's damaged skull provided the basis for the first modern theories about the role of the prefrontal cortex in both personality and self-control. (a) This photo shows Gage holding the rod that passed through his skull. (b) Here, you can see the hole in the top of Gage's skull. (c) This computer-generated image reconstructs the rod's probable path through the skull.



FIGURE 3.30 Lobotomy

This photo shows Dr. Walter Freeman performing a lobotomy in 1949. Freeman is inserting an ice pick-like instrument under the upper eyelid of his patient to cut the nerve connections in the front part of the brain.

split brain

A condition that occurs when the corpus callosum is surgically cut and the two hemispheres of the brain do not receive information directly from each other. with injuries to this brain region reveal that it is particularly concerned with social phenomena, such as following social norms, understanding what other people are thinking, and feeling emotionally connected to others. People with damage to this region do not typically have problems with memory or general knowledge, but they often have profound disturbances in their ability to get along with others.

In the late 1930s, António Egas Moniz developed the *lobotomy*, a form of brain surgery that deliberately damaged the prefrontal cortex (**FIGURE 3.30**). Why would a surgeon want to perform this procedure? At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a significant increase in the number of patients living in mental institutions, and psychiatrists sought a physical means of treating these patients. The lobotomy generally left patients lethargic, emotionally flat, and therefore much easier to manage. It also left them disconnected from their social surroundings. Most lobotomies were performed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1949, Egas Moniz received the Nobel Prize for developing the procedure, which was phased out with the arrival of drugs to treat psychological disorders.

Splitting the Brain Splits the Mind

Studying people who have undergone brain surgery has given researchers a better understanding of the conscious mind. For example, on rare occasions when epilepsy does not respond to modern medications, surgeons may remove the part of the brain in which the seizures begin. Another strategy, pioneered in the 1940s and sometimes still practiced when other interventions have failed, is to cut connections within the brain to try to isolate the site where the seizures begin. After the procedure, a seizure that begins at that site is less likely to spread throughout the cortex.

The major connection between the hemispheres that may readily be cut without damaging the gray matter is the corpus callosum (see Figure 3.26). When this massive fiber bundle is severed, the brain's halves are almost completely isolated from each other. The resulting condition is called **split brain**. This surgical procedure has provided many important insights into the basic organization and specialized functions of each brain hemisphere (**FIGURE 3.31**).

What is it like to have your brain split in half? Perhaps the most obvious thing about split-brain patients after their operations is how normal they are. Unlike patients after other types of brain surgery, split-brain patients have no immediately apparent problems. In fact, some early investigations suggested the surgery had not affected the patients in any discernible way. They could walk normally, talk normally, think clearly, and interact socially. In the 1960s, this book's coauthor Michael Gazzaniga, working with the Nobel laureate Roger Sperry, conducted a series of tests on split-brain patients. The results were stunning: Just as the brain had been split in two, so had the mind!

The hemispheres normally work together. Images from the visual field's left side (left half of what you are looking at) go to the right hemisphere. Images from the visual field's right side go to the left hemisphere (**FIGURE 3.32**). The left hemisphere also controls the right hand, and the right hemisphere controls the left hand. In a healthy person, the corpus callosum allows the hemispheres to communicate so that the right brain knows what the left is doing. By contrast, in split-brain patients, the hemispheres are separated, so this communication cannot take place—the hemispheres function as completely independent entities. This division allows researchers to independently examine the function of each hemisphere without the influence of the other. The researchers can provide information to, and receive information from, a single hemisphere at a time.



Psychologists have long known that in most people the left hemisphere is dominant for language. If a split-brain patient sees two pictures flashed on a screen briefly and simultaneously—one to the visual field's right side and one to the left side—the patient will report that only the picture on the right was shown. Why is this? The left hemisphere (or "left brain"), with its control over speech, sees only the picture on the right side. It is the only picture a person with a split brain can talk about.

In many split-brain patients, the right hemisphere has no discernable language capacity. The mute right hemisphere (or "right brain"), having seen the picture on the left, is unable to articulate a response. However, the right brain can act on its perception: If the picture on the left was of a spoon, the right hemisphere can easily pick out an actual spoon from a selection of objects. It uses the left hand, which is controlled by the right hemisphere. Still, the left hemisphere does not know what the right one saw.



FIGURE 3.31 Split Brain

(a) This image shows the brain of a normal person whose corpus callosum is intact. (b) This image shows the brain of a patient whose corpus callosum has been cut (area indicated by the red outline). With the corpus callosum severed, the two hemispheres of the brain are almost completely separated.

FIGURE 3.32 Visual Input

Images from the left side go to the brain's right hemisphere. Images from the right side go to the left hemisphere.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Failing to Notice Source Credibility: Are There "Left Brain" and "Right Brain" Types of People?

Many psychologists are leery about dealing with the popular press. They want psychological studies to become known by the public, but they do not want the findings to be garbled by the media. Seeing their research twisted in the press can be maddening in part because it overshadows the very findings the scientists have so proudly obtained. One of the authors of this textbook knows about such problems from personal experience.

As noted in the text, Michael Gazzaniga and Roger Sperry conducted research on the activity of the two hemispheres after the corpus callosum was severed. When the hemispheres have been surgically disconnected and are separately examined, each hemisphere displays different abilities. This discovery provided a wealth of data, but the media has gone far beyond Gazzaniga and Sperry's early findings.

You have probably heard the idea that some people are "left brain" logical types and others are "right brain" artistic types. According to this popular notion, people differ to the extent that their right or left hemispheres dominate their thinking styles. Left-brain thinkers are said to be more analytiThe evidence is overwhelming: People are not either leftbrain or right-brain dominant.

cal, rational, and objective. Right-brain thinkers are said to be more creative and to view the world more holistically and subjectively. Moreover, a dominant left brain supposedly suppresses right-brain creativity, so people could become more creative and passionate if their right hemisphere were released.

This false idea has permeated society (**FIGURE 3.33**). Multiple tests are available, particularly on the Internet, to determine whether you are left- or right-brain dominant. Countless pop psychology books give advice on living better by emphasizing your particular brain style or drawing on the other style. Teachers have been heavily influenced by the idea (Alferink & Farmer-Dougan, 2010). They have been urged to develop different classroom plans

for left-brain thinkers than for right-brain thinkers, and they have been encouraged to liberate the "more creative" right brain. According to one recent study, nearly 90 percent of teachers in the U.K. and the Netherlands believe in the idea of leftbrain versus right-brain thinking (Dekker et al., 2012). As noted in Chapter 1, the media loves a good story. To make scientific studies attention grabbing, journalists often oversimplify research findings and apply them in ways that go far beyond what can be concluded from the evidence. In this case, the evidence is overwhelming: People are not either left-brain or right-brain dominant (Hines, 1987).

The hemispheres are specialized for certain functions, such as language or spatial relationships. However, each hemisphere is capable of carrying out most cognitive processes, though sometimes in different ways. Most cognitive processes involve the coordinated efforts of both hemispheres. A recent study that examined brain activity in over 1,000 individuals ages 7 to 29 found no differences between people in the extent to which their right or left hemisphere was active (Nielsen et al., 2013). In contrast to the theory that a liberated right brain leads to better learning, some evidence suggests that people who perform best at math are those whose two hemispheres work most closely together (Prescott et al., 2010).

Of course, whenever you read media stories about psychological findings, you need to think about the source of your information. If you are really interested in the finding, consider looking up the original article to see if the journalist represented that article accurately. This advice is especially important if you plan to use the information in your life. Findings from psychological science often have practical implications for daily living, but the value of research can be spoiled if the media outlet spreading the information gets it wrong.



FIGURE 3.33 Left Brain Versus Right Brain The media has helped promote the false ideas that individuals are dominant on one side of the brain or the other and that such different styles are important for classroom learning.



FIGURE 3.34 Split-Brain Experiment: The Left Hemisphere Versus the Right Hemisphere

Splitting the brain, then, produces two half brains. Each half has its own perceptions, thoughts, and consciousness (**FIGURE 3.34**).

Normally, the competencies of each hemisphere complement each other. The left brain is generally hopeless at spatial relationships, whereas the right hemisphere is much more proficient. In one experiment (Bogen & Gazzaniga, 1965), a split-brain participant is given a pile of blocks and a drawing of a simple arrangement in which to put them. For example, the participant is asked to produce a square. When using the left hand, controlled by the right hemisphere, the participant arranges the blocks effortlessly. However, when using the right hand, controlled by the left brain, the participant produces only an incompetent, meandering attempt. During this dismal performance, the right brain presumably grows frustrated, because it makes the left hand try to slip in and help! You will learn more about split-brain patients in Chapter 4, "Consciousness."

Summing Up

What Are the Basic Brain Structures and Their Functions?

- Early researchers debated the relationship between human brain structures and brain functions. New imaging techniques have advanced our understanding of the brain.
- The spinal cord carries sensory information from the body to the brain and motor information from the brain to the body. It also produces reflexes.
- The brain stem serves survival functions, such as breathing, swallowing, and urination.
- At the back of the brain stem is the cerebellum. This structure is associated with coordinated movement, balance, and motor learning.
- Beneath the cerebral cortex are a number of structures that serve unique functions: The hypothalamus regulates bodily functions. The thalamus serves as a way station through which sensory information travels to the cortex. The hippocampus is involved in memory formation. The amygdala influences emotional states. The structures of the basal ganglia are involved in the planning and production of movement as well as in reward.
- The cerebral cortex is the outer surface of the brain and is divided into lobes. The occipital lobes are associated with vision. The parietal lobes are associated with touch and attention. The temporal lobes are associated with hearing, memory, facial perception, and object

perception. The frontal lobes, which contain the prefrontal cortex, are associated with movement, higher-level psychological processes, and personality.

 When the two hemispheres of the brain are surgically split, the left hemisphere displays different abilities than the right hemisphere.

Measuring Up

1. Match each of the following brain structures with its role or function. (You will need to remember these terms and facts to understand later discussions of learning, memory, emotions, mental illness, anxiety, and other aspects of mind and behavior.)

Brain structure

Role/function

a. brain stem 1. primary structure for memory **b.** cerebellum 2. sensory relay station c. basal ganglia 3. important for emotions **d.** hypothalamus 4. divided into four lobes e. thalamus 5. regulates vital functions such as body temperature **f.** hippocampus 6. involved in reward **g.** amygdala 7. regulates breathing and swallowing h. cerebral cortex 8. "little brain," involved in movement

2. Match each lobe of the brain with its function.

Lobe		Function
a.	frontal	1. hearing
b.	occipital	2. thought
c.	parietal	3. touch
d.	temporal	4. vision

(2) a. 2; b. 4; c. 3; d. 1; (2) a. 2; b. 4; c. 3; d. 1;

Learning Objectives

- Differentiate between the subdivisions of the nervous system.
- Identify the primary structures of the endocrine system.
- Explain how the nervous system and the endocrine system communicate to control thought, feeling, and behavior.

3.3 How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body?

Recall that the peripheral nervous system (PNS) transmits a variety of information to the central nervous system (CNS). It also responds to messages from the CNS to perform specific behaviors or make bodily adjustments. In the production of psychological activity, however, both of these systems interact with a different mode of communication within the body, the endocrine system.

The Peripheral Nervous System Includes the Somatic and Autonomic Systems

Recall that the PNS has two primary components: the somatic nervous system and the autonomic nervous system (see Figure 3.3). The **somatic nervous system (SNS)** transmits sensory signals to the CNS via nerves. Specialized receptors in the skin, muscles, and joints send sensory information to the spinal cord, which relays it to the brain. In addition, the CNS sends signals through the SNS to muscles, joints, and skin to initiate, modulate, or inhibit movement.

The second major component of the PNS, the **autonomic nervous system (ANS)**, regulates the body's internal environment by stimulating glands (such as sweat glands) and by maintaining internal organs (such as the heart). Nerves in the ANS also carry somatosensory signals from the glands and internal organs to the CNS.

These signals provide information about, for example, the fullness of your stomach or how anxious you feel.

SYMPATHETIC AND PARASYMPATHETIC DIVISIONS Two types of signals, sympathetic and parasympathetic, travel from the central nervous system to organs and glands, controlling their activity (**FIGURE 3.35**). To understand these signals, imagine you hear a fire alarm. In the second after you hear the alarm, signals go out to parts of your body telling them to prepare for action. As a result, blood flows to skeletal muscles; epinephrine is released, increasing your heart rate and blood sugar; your lungs take in more oxygen; your digestive system suspends activity as a way of conserving energy; your pupils dilate to maximize visual sensitivity; and you perspire to keep cool.

These preparatory actions are prompted by the autonomic nervous system's **sympathetic division.** Should there be a fire, you will be physically prepared to flee. If the alarm turns out to be false, your heart will return to its normal steady beat, your breathing will slow, you will resume digesting food, and you will stop perspiring. This return to a normal state will be prompted by the ANS's **parasympathetic division.** Most of your internal organs are controlled by inputs from sympathetic and parasympathetic systems. The more aroused you are, the greater the sympathetic system's dominance. somatic nervous system (SNS) A component of the peripheral nervous system; it transmits sensory signals and motor signals between the central nervous system and the skin, muscles, and joints.

autonomic nervous system (ANS)

A component of the peripheral nervous system; it transmits sensory signals and motor signals between the central nervous system and the body's glands and internal organs.

sympathetic division

A division of the autonomic nervous system; it prepares the body for action.

parasympathetic division A division of the autonomic nervous system; it returns the body to its resting state.



FIGURE 3.35 The Sympathetic and Parasympathetic Divisions of the Autonomic Nervous System endocrine system A communication system that uses hormones to influence thoughts, behaviors, and actions. It does not take a fire alarm to activate your sympathetic nervous system. For example, when you meet someone you find attractive, your heart beats quickly, you perspire, you might start breathing heavily, and your pupils widen. Such signs of sexual arousal provide nonverbal cues during social interaction. These signs occur because sexual arousal has activated the ANS's sympathetic division. The SNS is also activated by psychological states such as anxiety or unhappiness. Some people worry a great deal or do not cope well with stress. Their bodies are in a constant state of arousal. Important research in the 1930s and 1940s by Hans Selye demonstrated that chronic activation of the SNS is associated with medical problems that include heart disease and asthma. Selye's work is discussed further in Chapter 11, "Health and Well-Being."

The Endocrine System Communicates Through Hormones

Like the nervous system, the **endocrine system** is a communication network that influences thoughts, behaviors, and actions. Both systems work together to regulate psychological activity. For instance, from the nervous system the brain receives information about potential threats to the organism. The brain communicates with the endocrine system to prepare the organism to deal with those threats. (The threats could involve physical injury or be psychological, such as nervousness at having to talk in front of a group.) The main differences between the two systems are in their mode and speed of communication: Whereas the nervous system is fast and uses electrochemical signals, the endocrine system is slower and uses *hormones*.

Hormones are chemical substances released into the bloodstream by the ductless *endocrine glands*, such as the pancreas, thyroid, and testes or ovaries (**FIGURE 3.36**). Once released, hormones travel through the bloodstream until they reach their target tissues, where they bind to receptor sites and influence the tissues. Because they travel through the bloodstream, hormones can take from seconds to hours to exert



FIGURE 3.36 The Hypothalamus and the Major Endocrine Glands their effects. Once hormones are in the bloodstream, their effects can last for a long time and affect multiple targets.

HORMONES' EFFECTS ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR An example of hormonal influence is in sexual behavior. The main endocrine glands influencing sexual behavior are the **gonads:** the testes in males and the ovaries in females. Although many people talk about "male" and "female" hormones, the two major gonadal hormones are identical in males and females. What differs is the quantity: *Androgens* such as testosterone are more prevalent in males, whereas *estrogens* such as estradiol and progesterone are more prevalent in females. Gonadal hormones influence the development of secondary sex characteristics (e.g., breast development in females, growth of facial hair in males). Gonadal hormones also influence adult sexual behavior.

For males, successful sexual behavior depends on having at least a minimum amount of testosterone. Prior to puberty, surgical removal of the testes, or *castration*, diminishes the capacity for developing an erection and lowers sexual interest. Yet a man castrated after puberty will be able to perform sexually if he receives an injection of testosterone. Testosterone injections do not increase sexual behavior in healthy men, however, and this finding suggests that a healthy man needs only a minimum amount of testosterone to perform sexually (Sherwin, 1988).

In females, the influence of gonadal hormones is much more complex. Many nonhuman female animals experience a finite period, *estrus*, when the female is sexually receptive and fertile. During estrus, the female displays behaviors designed to attract the male. Surgical removal of the ovaries terminates estrus: No longer receptive, the female ends her sexual behavior. However, injections of estrogen reinstate estrus. Women's sexual behavior may have more to do with androgens than estrogens (Morris, Udry, Khan-Dawood, & Dawood, 1987).

According to pioneering work by Barbara Sherwin (1994, 2008), women with higher blood levels of testosterone report greater interest in sex, and testosterone injections increase women's sexual interest after surgical removal of the uterus.

Women's sexual activity is not particularly linked to the menstrual cycle (Breedlove, Rosenzweig, & Watson, 2007). However, when they are ovulating, heterosexual women find men who look and act masculine more attractive (Gangestad, Simpson, Cousins, Garver-Apgar, & Christensen, 2004), and they show greater activity in brain regions associated with reward while viewing attractive male faces (Rupp et al., 2009). In addition, women report having lower self-esteem when ovulating, and their greater motivation to find a mate during that time may increase their efforts to appear attractive (Hill & Durante, 2009). Indeed, one study found that when their fertility was highest, women showed up for a laboratory study wearing more-revealing clothing than they normally wore (Durante, Li, & Haselton, 2008). Multiple recent studies are now providing evidence that using hormonal contraceptives might significantly alter both female and male mate choice by removing the hormone-related mid-cycle change in preferences (for a review: Alvergne & Lummaa [2010]).

Actions of the Nervous System and Endocrine System Are Coordinated

All the communication systems described in this chapter link neurochemical and physiological processes to behaviors, thoughts, and feelings. These systems are fully



"You've been charged with driving under the influence of testosterone."

hormones

Chemical substances, released from endocrine glands, that travel through the bloodstream to targeted tissues; the tissues are subsequently influenced by the hormones.

gonads

The main endocrine glands involved in sexual behavior: in males, the testes; in females, the ovaries.

pituitary gland

A gland located at the base of the hypothalamus; it sends hormonal signals to other endocrine glands, controlling their release of hormones.



FIGURE 3.37 Growth Hormone and Cycling In January 2013, Lance Armstrong appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* to admit using doping techniques to

enhance his cycling performance.

integrated and interact to facilitate survival. They use information from the organism's environment to direct adaptive behavioral responses. Ultimately, the endocrine system is under the central nervous system's control. The brain interprets external and internal stimuli, then sends signals to the endocrine system. The endocrine system responds by initiating various effects on the body and on behavior.

The endocrine system is primarily controlled by the hypothalamus (for the location of this structure, see Figure 3.36; for a more detailed look, see Figure 3.24) via signals to the **pituitary gland**, which is located at the base of the hypothalamus. Neural activation causes the hypothalamus to secrete a particular one of its many *releasing factors*. The particular releasing factor causes the pituitary to release a hormone specific to that factor, and the hormone then travels through the bloodstream to endocrine sites throughout the body. Once the hormone reaches the target sites, it touches off the release of other hormones, which subsequently affect bodily reactions or behavior. The pituitary is often referred to as the "master gland" of the body: By releasing hormones into the bloodstream, it controls all other glands and governs major processes such as development, ovulation, and lactation. This integration can be finely tuned.

Consider physical growth. *Growth hormone (GH)*, a hormone released from the pituitary gland, prompts bone, cartilage, and muscle tissue to grow or helps them regenerate after injury. Since the 1930s, many people have administered or self-administered GH to increase body size and strength. Many athletes have sought a competitive advantage by using GH. For example, in early 2013, the legendary cyclist Lance Armstrong admitted to using GH and other hormones, including testosterone, to gain a competitive advantage. In an interview with Oprah Winfrey, Armstrong claimed that because doping was so pervasive in the sport, it was impossible for any cyclist to win a major championship without doping (**FIGURE 3.37**).

The releasing factor for GH stimulates the eating of protein by making it especially enjoyable (Dickson & Vaccarino, 1994). The area of the hypothalamus that stimulates release of GH is also involved in sleep/wake cycles. Thus, the bursts of GH, the need for protein, and the consumption of protein are controlled by the body's internal clock. All these connections illustrate how the CNS, the PNS, and the endocrine system work together to ensure the organism's survival: These systems prompt the behaviors that provide the body with the substances it needs when it needs them.

Summing Up

How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body?

- The central nervous system-the brain and spinal cord-attends to the body and its environment, initiates actions, and directs the peripheral nervous system and endocrine system to respond appropriately.
- The peripheral nervous system is made up of the somatic nervous system and autonomic nervous system. The autonomic nervous system controls sympathetic and parasympathetic activity.
- The endocrine system consists of a number of endocrine glands, such as the pituitary and the adrenal glands. The central nervous system, peripheral nervous system, and endocrine system use chemicals to transmit their signals. Transmission in the nervous system occurs across synapses, whereas transmission in the endocrine system uses hormones that travel through the bloodstream.
- Gonadal hormones (estrogen, progesterone, and testosterone) are important in the development of secondary sex characteristics and in sexual behavior.

- The hypothalamus controls the endocrine system by directing the pituitary to release hormones that affect other endocrine glands.
- The various communication systems are integrated and promote behavior that is adaptive to the organism's environment.

Measuring Up

- 1. Complete each statement by choosing one of the following terms: peripheral nervous system (PNS); somatic nervous system; autonomic nervous system (ANS); sympathetic division; parasympathetic division.
 - a. You are studying quietly in the library when a friend jumps out from behind a partition and scares you, making your heart race. Your ______ has been affected.

 - **c.** The ______ controls movement by carrying signals from the central nervous system to the muscles.
 - **d.** The ______ has two primary components: the somatic nervous system and the autonomic nervous system.
 - e. The _____ consists of two main divisions that regulate the body's internal environment.

2. Which of the following statements are true? Choose as many as apply.

- **a.** All (normal) people of both sexes secrete testosterone and estrogen.
- **b.** Men have gonads, and women have ovaries.
- c. The endocrine system acts more slowly than the nervous system.
- d. Hormones are secreted from several places in the body.
- e. The pituitary gland is called the master gland.
- **f.** The central nervous system and the peripheral nervous system work together, whereas the endocrine system works independently.
- **g.** Women's sexual responsiveness is related more to androgens (such as testosterone) than to estrogen.

(2) Choices a, c, d, e, and g are true.

MSPERS: (1) a. sympathetic division; b. parasympathetic division; c. somatic nervous system (SUS); d. peripheral nervous system (PUS); e. autonomic nervous system (AUS).

3.4 How Does the Brain Change?

When Michelle Mack was a youngster, her parents realized that she was different from other children because even simple tasks could give her problems. They could not explain these differences. When Mack was 27 years old, they learned that she was missing the left hemisphere of her brain (**FIGURE 3.38**). Doctors suspected that Mack's condition was the result of a stroke she had experienced in the womb.

Without a left hemisphere, Mack should have shown severe deficits in skills processed in that half of the brain. For example, the left hemisphere controls language, and it controls motor actions for the right side of the body. Losing a hemisphere as an adult would result in devastating loss of function. But Mack's speech is only minimally affected, and she can move the right side of her body with some difficulty. Mack is able to lead a surprisingly independent life. She graduated from high school, has a job, pays her bills, and does chores. Where did her capabilities come from? Somehow, her right hemisphere developed language processing capabilities as well as functions that ordinarily occur across both hemispheres.

Michelle Mack's case shows that nurture can influence nature. Over time, Mack interacted with the world. Her experiences enabled her brain to reorganize itself. Her right hemisphere took over processing for the missing left hemisphere.

Learning Objectives

- Explain how environmental factors, including experiences, influence brain organization.
- Describe sex differences in brain structure and function.



(b)



FIGURE 3.38 Michelle Mack and a Case of Extreme Plasticity

(a) While in her mother's womb, Michelle Mack suffered a stroke that obliterated her left hemisphere (shown here, in a scan taken when she was an adult, as the black areas on the right).
(b) Over time, Mack's right hemisphere took over the duties of the left hemisphere–language production and moving the right side of the body–to a surprising extent. Mack's case shows the plasticity of the brain.

plasticity

A property of the brain that allows it to change as a result of experience or injury.

In fact, despite the great precision and the specificity of its connections, the brain is extremely adaptable. Over the course of development, throughout a constant stream of experience, and after injury, the brain continually changes. This property is known as **plasticity**.

Experience Fine-Tunes Neural Connections

Connections form between brain structures when growing axons are directed by certain chemicals that tell them where to go and where not to go. The major connections are established by chemical messengers, but the detailed connections are governed by experience. If a cat's eyes are sewn shut at birth, depriving the animal of visual input, the visual cortex fails to develop properly. If the sutures are removed weeks later, the cat is permanently blind, even though its eyes function normally. Adult cats that are similarly deprived do not lose their sight (Wiesel & Hubel, 1963). Evidently, ongoing activity in the visual pathways is necessary in order to refine the visual cortex enough for it to be useful. In general, such plasticity has *critical periods*. During these times, particular experiences must occur for development to proceed normally.

To study the effects of experience on development, researchers reared rats in a number of different laboratory environments. For instance, one group was raised in deprived circumstances compared to that of normal laboratory rats, with minimal comfort and no opportunities for social interaction. Another group was raised in an enriched environment, with many companions, interesting things to look at, puzzles, obstacles, toys, running wheels, and even balance beams. The "luxury" items might simply have approximated rat life in the wild, but they enabled the luxury group to develop bigger, heavier brains than the deprived group (Rosenzweig, Bennett, & Diamond, 1972). Thus, it appears that experience is important for normal development and maybe even more so for superior development. Nowadays, as a result of these findings, most laboratory animals are kept in environments that provide enrichment (Simpson & Kelley, 2011). Some evidence suggests that the opportunity for physical exercise might have the most beneficial effects on brain development and learning (Mustroph et al., 2012).

Females' and Males' Brains Are Mostly Similar but May Have Revealing Differences

Everything a person experiences alters his or her brain, and females and males differ in their life experiences. They also differ in their hormonal makeups. The differences between females' and males' brains reveal the intertwined influences of biology and environment. In general, males have larger brains than females, but for both sexes the sizes of brain structures are highly variable (Giedd et al., 1997). In any case, larger brains are not necessarily better, because longer distances between brain regions can translate into slower communication. Both in the womb and after birth, hormonal differences between the sexes affect brain development (Lombardo et al., 2012). As a result, hormonal difference might influence the way males and females differ on some cognitive tasks, such as the ease with which they mentally rotate objects or recall parts of a story (Kimura, 1999). But the different ways that men and women are treated in society may also contribute to these differences on cognitive tasks (Miller & Halpern, 2014).

There is evidence that men and women may perform the same task by using different parts of the brain. For example, Richard Haier and colleagues (2005) found that females and males may solve some complex problems, such as items on IQ tests, differently. Females show greater use of language-related brain regions, whereas males show greater use of spatial-related brain regions, even when participants are matched for intelligence. As discussed earlier in the chapter, to some extent the brain's two hemispheres are lateralized: Each hemisphere is dominant for different cognitive functions. A considerable body of evidence indicates that females' brains are more bilaterally organized for language. In other words, the brain areas important in processing language are more likely to be found in both halves of females' brains. In males' brains the equivalent language areas are more likely to be in only one hemisphere, usually the left (Phillips et al., 2001; **FIGURE 3.39**).

One source of data that supports this distinction between male and female brains is people's experiences following strokes. Even when patients are matched on the location and severity of the brain damage caused by a stroke, women are less impaired in language use than men are (Jiang, Sheikh, & Bullock, 2006). A possible reason for women having better outcomes is that, because language is represented in both halves of their brain, damage to half of the brain will have less effect on a woman's ability to process language than it would if most of the language areas were in the damaged half of the brain.

A related hypothesis, in accord with the idea that women's brains are more bilaterally organized, is that the halves of women's brains are connected by more neural fibers than men's are. Remember that the corpus callosum connects the brain's two halves (see Figure 3.20). Some researchers have found that a portion of the corpus callosum is larger in women (Gur & Gur, 2004). More recently, researchers have shown that many of the connections in the typical female brain run from side to side across the hemispheres, whereas in the typical male brain they run from back to front within each hemisphere (Ingalhalikar et al., 2014).

While differences between females' brains and males' brains may be revealing, in fact their brains are mostly similar. Ultimately, the interplay of biological and environmental effects on the brain is reflected in both the differences and the similarities between females' and males' brains.

The Brain Rewires Itself Throughout Life

Brain plasticity decreases with age. Even into very old age, however, the brain can grow new connections among neurons and even grow new neurons. The rewiring and growth within the brain represents the biological basis of learning.

CHANGE IN THE STRENGTH OF CONNECTIONS UNDERLIES LEARNING In

every moment of life, we gain memories: experiences and knowledge that are acquired instantaneously and may be recalled later, as well as habits that form gradually. All these memories are reflected in the brain's physical changes.

Psychologists widely accept that changes in the brain are most likely not in its larger wiring or general arrangement. The changes are mainly in the strength of existing connections. One possibility is that when two neurons fire simultaneously, the synaptic connection between them strengthens. The strengthened synaptic connection makes these neurons more likely to fire together in the future. Conversely, *not* firing simultaneously tends to weaken the connection between two neurons. This theory can be summarized by the catchphrase *fire together, wire together*. First proposed in the 1940s, by the renowned psychologist Donald Hebb (1949), this idea is consistent with much experimental evidence and many theoretical models. It accounts for two phenomena: the "burning in" of an experience (a pattern of neural firing becomes more likely to recur, and its recurrence leads the mind to recall an event) and the ingraining of habits (repeating a behavior makes the person tend to perform that behavior automatically). More rarely, entirely new connections grow between neurons. This new growth is a major factor in recovery from brain injury.



(b)

FIGURE 3.39 Males' Brains Versus Females' Brains

A considerable body of evidence indicates that female brains are more bilaterally organized for language than males' brains. For example, researchers studied men and women listening to someone reading aloud. As these fMRI images show, (a) the men listened with one side of their brains, whereas (b) the women tended to listen with both sides. Until about 20 years ago, scientists believed that adult brains produced no new brain cells. There is now evidence that new neurons are produced in some brain regions (Eriksson et al., 1998). The production of new neurons is called *neurogenesis*. A fair amount of neurogenesis apparently occurs in the hippocampus. Recall from earlier in this chapter that the hippocampus is involved in the storage of new memories. These memories are eventually transferred to the cortex as the hippocampus is continuously overwritten. Perhaps, without disrupting memory, neurons in the hippocampus can be lost and replaced.

Elizabeth Gould and her colleagues have demonstrated that environmental conditions can play an important role in neurogenesis. For example, they have found that for rats, shrews, and marmosets, stressful experiences—such as being confronted by strange males in their home cages—interfere with neurogenesis during development and adulthood (Gould & Tanapat, 1999). When animals are housed together, they typically form dominance hierarchies that reflect social status. Dominant animals, those who possess the highest social status, show greater increases in new neurons than subordinate animals do (Kozorovitskiy & Gould, 2004). Thus, social environment can strongly affect brain plasticity, a dynamic process we are only beginning to understand. Neurogenesis may underlie neural plasticity. If so, further research might enable us, through neurogenesis, to reverse the brain's natural loss of neurons, thereby slowing age-based mental decline.

EXPERIENCE CHANGES THE BRAIN The functions of portions of the cerebral cortex shift in response to their activity. Recall the somatosensory homunculus (see Figure 3.21a). As that representation makes clear, more cortical tissue is devoted to body parts that receive more sensation or are used more. Again, wiring in the brain is affected by amount of use.

Cortical reorganization can also have bizarre results. For example, an amputee can be afflicted with a *phantom limb*, the intense sensation that the amputated

> body part still exists. Some phantom limbs are experienced as moving normally, such as being used to gesture in conversation, whereas some are frozen in position. Moreover, a phantom limb is often accompanied by pain sensations, which may result from the misgrowth of the severed pain nerves at the stump. The cortex misinterprets the pain as coming from the place where those nerves originally came from. This phenomenon suggests that the brain has not reorganized in response to the injury and that the missing limb's cortical representation remains intact.

> The neurologist V. S. Ramachandran has discovered that an amputee who has lost a hand may, when his or her eyes are closed, perceive a touch on the cheek as if it were on the missing hand (Ramachandran & Hirstein, 1998). Apparently, on the somatosensory homunculus the hand is represented next to the face. The unused part of the amputee's cortex (the part that would have responded to the now-missing limb) assumes to some degree the function of the closest group, representing the face. Somehow, the

rest of the brain has not kept pace with the somatosensory area enough to figure out these neurons' new job, so the neurons formerly activated by a touch on the hand are activated by a touch on the amputee's face. The brain still codes the input as coming from the hand, and thus the amputee experiences a "phantom hand" (**FIGURE 3.40**).

The Brain Can Recover from Injury

Just as the brain reorganizes in response to amount of use, it also reorganizes in response to brain damage. Following an injury in the cortex, the surrounding gray



FIGURE 3.40 Cortical Remapping Following Amputation

The participant felt a cotton swab touching his cheek as touching his missing hand.

matter assumes the function of the damaged area, like a local business scrambling to pick up the customers of a newly closed competitor. This remapping seems to begin immediately, and it continues for years. Such plasticity involves all levels of the central nervous system, from the cortex down to the spinal cord.

Reorganization is much more prevalent in children than in adults, in accord with the sensitive periods of normal development. Young children afflicted with severe and uncontrollable epilepsy that has paralyzed one or more limbs sometimes undergo a *radical hemispherectomy*. This surgical procedure removes an entire cerebral hemisphere. Just as in the case of Michelle Mack, the remaining hemisphere eventually takes on most of the lost hemisphere's functions. The children regain almost complete use of their limbs. However, adults cannot undergo radical hemispherectomy. If the procedure were performed on adults, the lack of neural reorganization in their brains would lead to permanent paralysis and loss of function.

Summing Up

How Does the Brain Change?

- During development and across the life span, the circuitry of the brain is constantly reworked in response to experience.
- Males' brains and females' brains are mainly similar, but their differences may be revealing. Males' brains are larger, which does not necessarily mean better. Females' brains are organized more bilaterally for language. Men and women may perform the same cognitive task by using different parts of the brain.
- An understanding of the brain's organization and plasticity has enabled researchers to better understand conditions such as phantom limb syndrome. Neurogenesis, the creation of new neurons, may underlie neural plasticity.
- The brain can reorganize after a brain injury. However, children's brains demonstrate much greater reorganization after brain injury than adults' brains.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements are examples of how environment can affect brain development or function? Place an X next to each example.
 - **a.** The hippocampus may be larger than average in experienced taxi drivers.
 - **b.** Laboratory rats raised in enriched environments developed heavier brains than laboratory rats raised in standard environments.
 - ____ c. Neurogenesis is more likely in socially dominant animals than in subordinate ones.
 - **d.** Lack of visual stimulation from birth can result in a lack of development of the visual cortex, even if the eyes function normally.
- 2. Indicate whether the following statements, about the ways in which females' and males' brains differ, are true or false.
 - **a.** Males' brains generally are larger than females' brains.
 - **b.** Males' brains are more likely to be bilaterally organized.
 - **c.** Researchers have found that sex differences in the brain are caused entirely by hormonal differences.
 - **d.** Sex differences in the brain indicate that males and females have essentially different abilities.
 - Females tend to use language-related areas for problem-solving, whereas males tend to use spatial-related areas.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, b, c, and d are all examples of how environment can affect brain development or function. (2) a. true; b. false; c. false; d. true; e. false.

Using Psychology in Your Life

Will My Learning Disability Prevent Me from Succeeding in College? Have you been diagnosed with a learning disability? Do you suspect you might have one?

According to the National Center for Learning Disabilities (2009), a learning disability is a "neurological disorder that affects the brain's ability to receive, process, store, and respond to information." One of the most common learning disabilities is dyslexia, which involves difficulties in acquiring and processing language, leading to problems with reading, spelling, or writing (**FIGURE 3.41**). Someone who has difficulty spelling or writing might, alternatively, have the learning disability dysgraphia, a disorder of written expression.

Learning disabilities may become apparent in childhood or later in life. Individuals might excel academically in high school, but the new academic and organizational challenges of college might help reveal a learning disability.

If you have a learning disability or suspect you have one, the earlier you seek help, the sooner you will have access to the resources available on your campus that will help you learn. Contact the disability support office or someone at Student Affairs, and they will be able to direct you. If your learning disability is verified, disability support office staff will work with you to determine the types of accommodations necessary to enable you to get the most of your academic experience.

Given your particular strengths and weaknesses in processing information, some types of accommodations will be helpful, whereas others will not. Disability support office staff will let your professors know you are entitled to a specific type of accommodation, but they will not tell your professors about the nature of your learning disability. For example, a disability support office staff member might send a note to your professors that reads "[Your name will go here], a student in your introductory psychology course, has provided evidence of a condition that requires academic accommoda-



FIGURE 3.41 An Inspiring Example

The celebrity chef Jamie Oliver suffers from dyslexia. His disability has hardly kept him from achieving his career goals. Here, in June 2010, Oliver is announcing Home Cooking Skills, a new and inspirational program he has co-created to teach basic cooking skills to young people in England.

tion. As a result, please provide [him or her] with time and a half on exams and on in-class writing assignments."

Of course, you can also speak directly with individual professors about your learning disability and the kinds of resources likely to help you. Linda Tessler, a psychologist who works with persons with learning disabilities, writes:

It must be clear that you are not asking for standards to be lowered. You are using tools to help you perform. To pass, you must perform the task that your classmates perform. You may, however, need to get there in a different way. Dyslexic students have to read the textbook just as nondyslexic students do. They may just do it differently through the use of books on tape. (Tessler, 1997, p. 2)

Will a learning disability prevent you from succeeding in college? Not if you can help it, and you can help it by advocating for yourself. Line up the resources you need to ensure that you are able to reap the rewards of college.

3.5 What Is the Genetic Basis of Psychological Science?

Jack Osbourne is experiencing the symptoms of MS because the neurons in his brain are becoming demyelinated. The affected neurons cannot carry the electrical signals that tell his muscles what to do. But why does he have this disease? Is it a genetic condition he inherited from his parents? Could environmental influences such as childhood nutrition be involved? Some researchers believe that people inherit a predisposition to respond to particular—as yet unknown—environmental triggers that produce MS. Whatever the cause of Jack Osbourne's disorder, how he copes with the condition will depend partly on his psychological makeup.

So far, this chapter has presented the basic biological processes underlying psychological functions. The following section considers how genes and environment affect psychological functions. From the moment of conception, we receive the genes we will possess for the remainder of our lives, but to what extent do those genes determine our thoughts and behaviors? How do environmental influences, such as the families and cultures in which we are raised, alter how our brains develop and change?

Until the last few years, genetic research focused almost entirely on whether people possessed certain types of genes, such as genes for psychological disorders or for particular levels of intelligence. Although it is important to discover the effects of individual genes, this approach misses the critical role of environmental factors in shaping who we are. While the term *genetics* is typically used to describe how characteristics such as height, hair color, and eye color are passed along to offspring through inheritance, it also refers to the processes involved in turning genes "on" and "off." Research has shown that environmental factors can affect **gene expression.** This term refers to whether a particular gene is turned on or off. Environmental factors may also influence how a gene, once turned on, influences our thoughts, feelings, and behavior.

Genetic predispositions are often important in determining the environments people select for themselves. So, once again, biology and environment mutually influence each other. All the while, biology and environment—in other words, one's genes and every experience one ever has—influence the development of one's brain.

All of Human Development Has a Genetic Basis

Within nearly every cell in the body is the genome for making the entire organism. The *genome* is the master blueprint that provides detailed instructions for everything from how to grow a gallbladder to where the nose gets placed on a face. Whether a cell becomes part of a gallbladder or a nose is determined by which genes are turned on or off within that cell, and these actions are in turn determined by cues from both inside and outside the cell. The genome provides the options, and the environment determines which option is taken (Marcus, 2004).

Within each cell are **chromosomes.** These structures are made of *deoxyribonucleic acid* (*DNA*), a substance that consists of two intertwined strands of molecules in a double helix shape. Segments of those strands are called **genes** (**FIGURE 3.42**).

In a typical human, nearly every cell contains 23 pairs of chromosomes. One member of each pair comes from the mother, the other from the father. In other words, each parent contributes half of a person's DNA, half of his or her genes.

Each gene—a particular sequence of molecules along a DNA strand—specifies an exact instruction to manufacture a distinct *polypeptide*. One or more polypeptides

Learning Objectives

- Explain how genes are transmitted from parents to offspring.
- Discuss the goals and methods of behavioral genetics.
- Explain how environmental factors, including experience, influence genetic expression.

gene expression Whether a particular gene is turned on or off.

chromosomes

Structures within the cell body that are made up of DNA, segments of which comprise individual genes.

genes

The units of heredity that help determine the characteristics of an organism.



FIGURE 3.42 The Human Body Down to Its Genes

Each cell in the human body includes pairs of chromosomes, which consist of DNA strands. DNA has a double helix shape, and segments of it consist of individual genes.

(a)



(b)



FIGURE 3.43 Gene Expression and Environment

The North American buckeye butterfly has seasonal forms that differ in the color patterns on their wings. (a) Generations that develop to adulthood in the summer–when temperatures are higher–take the "linea" form, with pale beige wings. (b) Generations that develop to adult in the autumn–when the days are shorter–take the "rosa" form, with dark reddish-brown wings. make up a protein. Proteins are the basic chemicals that make up the structure of cells and direct their activities. There are thousands of different types of proteins, and each type carries out a specific task. The environment determines which proteins are produced and when they are produced.

For example, a certain species of butterfly becomes colorful or drab, depending on the season in which it is born (Brakefield & French, 1999). The environment causes a gene to be expressed during the butterfly's development that is sensitive to temperature or day length (**FIGURE 3.43**). Similarly, although each cell in the human body contains the same DNA, cells become specialized, depending on which of their genes are expressed. As noted earlier, gene expression determines the body's basic physical makeup, but it also determines specific developments throughout life. It is involved in all psychological activity. Gene expression allows us to sense, to learn, to fall in love, and so on.

In February 2001, two groups of scientists published separate articles that detailed the results of the first phase of the *Human Genome Project*, an international research effort. This achievement represents the coordinated work of hundreds of scientists around the world to map the entire structure of human genetic material. The first step of the Human Genome Project was to map the entire sequence of DNA. In other words, the researchers set out to identify the precise order of molecules that make up each of the thousands of genes on each of the 23 pairs of human chromosomes (**FIGURE 3.44**).

One of the most striking findings from the Human Genome Project is that people have fewer than 30,000 genes. That number means humans have only about twice as many genes as a fly (13,000) or a worm (18,000), not much more than the number in some plants (26,000), and fewer than the number estimated to be in an ear of corn (50,000). Why are we so complex if we have so few genes? The number of genes might be less important than subtleties in how those genes are expressed and regulated (Baltimore, 2001).

Heredity Involves Passing Along Genes Through Reproduction

The first clues to the mechanisms responsible for heredity were discovered by the monk Gregor Mendel around 1866. The monastery where Mendel lived had a long history of studying plants. For studying inheritance, Mendel developed an



experimental technique, *selective breeding*, that strictly controlled which plants bred with which other plants.

In one simple study, Mendel selected pea plants that had either only purple flowers or only white flowers (**FIGURE 3.45**). He then cross-pollinated the two types to see which color of flowers the plants would produce. Mendel found that the first generation of pea offspring tended to be completely white or completely purple. If he had stopped there, he would never have discovered the basis of heredity. However, he then allowed each plant to self-pollinate into a second generation. This second generation revealed a different pattern: Of the hundreds of pea plants, about 75 percent had purple flowers and 25 percent had white flowers. This 3:1 ratio repeated itself in additional studies. It also held true for other characteristics, such as pod shape.

From this pattern, Mendel deduced that the plants contained separate units, now referred to as genes, that existed in different versions (e.g., white and purple). In determining an offspring's features, some of these versions would be dominant and others would be recessive. We now know that a **dominant gene** from either parent is expressed (becomes apparent or physically visible) whenever it is present. A **recessive gene** is expressed only when it is matched with a similar gene from the other parent. In pea plants, white flowers are recessive, so white flowers occur only when the gene for purple flowers is not present. All "white genes" and no purple ones was one of the four possible combinations of white and purple genes in Mendel's experiments.

GENOTYPE AND PHENOTYPE The existence of dominant and recessive genes means that not all genes are expressed. The **genotype** is an organism's genetic makeup. That genetic constitution is determined at the moment of conception and never changes. The **phenotype** is that organism's observable physical characteristics and is always changing.

Genetics, or nature, is one of the two influences on phenotype. So, for instance, in Mendel's experiments, two plants with purple flowers had the same phenotype but might have differed in genotype. Either plant might have had two (dominant) genes for purple. Alternatively, either plant might have had one (dominant) purple gene and

FIGURE 3.44 Human Genome Project

A map of human genes is presented by J. Craig Venter, president of the research company Celera Genomics, at a news conference in Washington on February 12, 2001. This map is one part of the international effort by hundreds of scientists to map the entire structure of human genetic material.

dominant gene

A gene that is expressed in the offspring whenever it is present.

recessive gene

A gene that is expressed only when it is matched with a similar gene from the other parent.

genotype

The genetic constitution of an organism, determined at the moment of conception.

phenotype

Observable physical characteristics, which result from both genetic and environmental influences.

(a)



(b)



FIGURE 3.45 Parent Plants Display Genetic Differences

Mendel studied pea plants. To observe the effects of cross-breeding, he started with **(a)** pea plants with purple flowers, and **(b)** pea plants with white flowers.

FIGURE 3.46

Genotypes and Phenotypes

Mendel's experiments with cross-breeding pea plants resulted in purple flowers 75 percent of the time and white flowers 25 percent of the time.



one (recessive) white gene (**FIGURE 3.46**). Environment, or nurture, is the second influence on phenotype. For instance, humans inherit their height and skin color. But good nutrition leads to increased size, and sunlight can change skin color.

POLYGENIC EFFECTS Mendel's flower experiments dealt with single-gene characteristics. Such traits appear to be determined by one gene each. When a population displays a range of variability for a certain characteristic, such as height or intelligence, the characteristic is *polygenic*. In other words, the trait is influenced by many genes (as well as by environment).

Consider human skin color. There are not just three or four separate skin colors. There is a spectrum of colors. The huge range of skin tones among Americans alone shows that human skin color is not inherited the same way as flower color was in Mendel's research. The rich variety of skin colors (phenotype) is not the end product of a single dominant/recessive gene pairing (genotype). Instead, the variety shows the effects of multiple genes.

Genotypic Variation Is Created by Sexual Reproduction

Although they have the same parents, siblings may differ from each other in many ways, such as eye color, height, and personality. These differences occur because each

person has a specific combination of genes. Most cells in the human body contain 23 pairs of chromosomes. These pairs include the sex chromosomes, which are denoted X and Y because of their shapes. Females have two X chromosomes. Males have one X chromosome and one Y (**FIGURE 3.47**).

After one sperm and one egg combine during fertilization, the resulting fertilized cell, known as a *zygote*, contains 23 pairs of chromosomes. Half of each pair of chromosomes comes from the mother, and the other half comes from the father. From any two parents, 8 million different combinations of the 23 chromosomes are possible. The net outcome is that a unique genotype is created at conception, accounting for the *genetic variation* of the human species.

The zygote grows through *cell division*. This process has two stages: First the chromosomes duplicate. Then the cell divides into two new cells with an identical chromosome structure. Cell division is the basis of the life cycle and is responsible for growth and development.

GENETIC MUTATIONS: ADVANTAGEOUS, DISADVANTAGEOUS, OR BOTH?

Errors sometimes occur during cell division, leading to *mutations*, or alterations in the DNA. Most mutations are benign and have little influence on the organism. Occasionally, a genetic mutation produces a selective advantage or disadvantage in terms of survival or reproduction. That is, mutations can be adaptive or maladaptive. The evolutionary significance of such a change in adaptiveness is complex. If a mutation produces an ability or behavior that proves advantageous to the organism, that mutation may spread through the population. The mutation may spread because those who carry the gene are more likely to survive and reproduce.

Consider *industrial melanism*. This phenomenon accounts for the fact that in areas of the world with heavy soot or smog, moths and butterflies tend to be darker in color. What has created this dark coloration? Before industrialization, landscapes (trees, buildings, etc.) were lighter in color. Predators were more likely to spot darker insects against pale backgrounds, so any mutation that led to darker coloring in insects was disadvantageous and was eliminated quickly through natural selection. But with industrialization, pollution darkened the landscapes. Darker coloring in insects therefore became advantageous and more adaptive because the darker insects were harder to see against the darker backgrounds (**FIGURE 3.48**).

What about genetic mutations that are disadvantageous adaptively, such as by leading to disease? Genes that lead to diseases that do not develop until well beyond reproductive age do not have a reproductive disadvantage and are not removed from the population. The dominance or recessiveness of a gene also helps determine if it remains in the gene pool.

For instance, *sickle-cell disease* is a genetic disorder that alters the bloodstream's processing of oxygen. It can lead to pain, organ and bone damage, and anemia. The disease occurs mainly in African Americans: Approximately 8 percent of African Americans are estimated to have the (recessive) gene for it (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011b). Because the sickle-cell gene is recessive, only those African Americans who receive it from both parents will develop the disease. Those who receive a recessive gene from only one parent have what is called *sickle-cell trait*. They may exhibit symptoms under certain conditions (such as during exercise), but they will have a generally healthy phenotype in spite of a genotype that includes the trait (**FIGURE 3.49**).

Recessive genes do not interfere with most people's health. For this reason, the recessive genes for diseases such as sickle-cell anemia can survive in the gene pool. This particular gene also has some benefit in that it increases resistance to malaria, a parasitic disease prevalent in certain parts of Africa. People with only one sickle-cell



FIGURE 3.47 Sex Chromosomes

(a) In females, the 23rd pair of chromosomes consists of two X chromosomes. (b) In males, the 23rd pair consists of one X and one Y chromosome. The Y chromosome is much smaller than the X chromosome.



FIGURE 3.48 Industrial Melanism

These moths illustrate industrial melanism. As shown here, it is easier to spot light-colored insects against dark backgrounds. Because predators have an easier time catching insects they can spot, darker moths and darker butterflies are better able to survive in more-polluted areas. As a result, the lighter moths and lighter butterflies in those areas tend to die off, leaving more of the moths and butterflies with the selective advantage of darkness.



FIGURE 3.49 Sickle-Cell Disease

Sickle-cell disease occurs when people receive recessive genes for the trait from both parents. It causes red blood cells to assume the distinctive "sickle" shape seen here in the left cell. Sicklecell disease is most common among African Americans.

gene enjoy this resistance without suffering from sickle-cell disease. In contrast to recessive gene disorders like this one, most dominant gene disorders are lethal for most of their carriers and therefore do not last in the gene pool.

Genes Affect Behavior

What determines the kind of person you are? What factors make you more or less bold, intelligent, or able to read a map? Your abilities and your psychological traits are influenced by the interaction of your genes and the environment in which you were raised or to which you are now exposed. The study of how genes and environment interact to influence psychological activity is known as *behavioral genetics*. Behavioral genetics has provided important information about the extent to which biology influences mind, brain, and behavior.

Any research suggesting that abilities to perform certain behaviors are biologically based is controversial. Most people do not want to be told that what they can achieve is limited or promoted by something beyond their control, such as their genes. It is easy to accept that genes control physical characteristics such as sex, race, eye color, and predisposition to diseases such as cancer and alcoholism. But can genes determine whether people will get divorced, how happy they are, or what careers they choose?

Increasingly, science indicates that genes lay the groundwork for many human traits. From this perspective, people are born essentially like undeveloped photographs: The image is already captured, but the way it eventually appears can vary based on the development process. Psychologists study the ways in which characteristics are influenced by nature, nurture, and their combination. In other words, who we are is determined by how our genes are expressed in distinct environments.

BEHAVIORAL GENETICS METHODS Most of us, at one time or another, have marveled at how different siblings can be, even those raised around the same time and in the same household. The differences are to be expected, because most siblings do not share identical genes or identical life experiences. Within the household and outside it, environments differ subtly and not so subtly. Siblings have different birth orders. Their mother may have consumed different foods and other substances during her pregnancies. They may have different friends and teachers. Their parents may treat them differently. Their parents are at different points in their own lives.

It is difficult to know what causes the similarities and differences between siblings, who always share some genes and often share much of their environments. Therefore, behavioral geneticists use two methods to assess the degree to which traits are inherited: twin studies and adoption studies.

Twin studies compare similarities between different types of twins to determine the genetic basis of specific traits. Monozygotic twins, or *identical twins*, result from one zygote (fertilized egg) dividing in two. Each new zygote, and therefore each twin, has the same chromosomes and the same genes on each chromosome (FIGURE 3.50A). However, monozygotic twins' DNA might not be as identical as long thought, due to subtle differences in how the mother's and father's genes are combined (Bruder et al., 2008). Dizygotic twins, sometimes called *fraternal* or *nonidentical twins*, result when two separately fertilized eggs develop in the mother's womb simultaneously. The resulting twins are no more similar genetically than any other pair of siblings (FIGURE 3.50B). To the extent that monozygotic twins are more similar than dizygotic twins, the increased similarity is considered most likely due to genetic influence.

Adoption studies compare the similarities between biological relatives and adoptive relatives. Nonbiological adopted siblings may share similar home environments,

monozygotic twins

Also called identical twins; twin siblings that result from one zygote splitting in two and therefore share the same genes.

dizygotic twins

Also called fraternal twins; twin siblings that result from two separately fertilized eggs and therefore are no more similar genetically than nontwin siblings.

(a) Monozygotic (identical) twins

One sperm fertilizes one egg...

and the zygote splits in two.



but they will have different genes. Therefore, the assumption is that similarities among nonbiological adopted siblings have more to do with environment than with genes.

How much influence would you say your home life has had on you? It turns out that growing up in the same home has relatively little influence on many traits, including personality traits. Indeed, after genetic similarity is controlled for, even biological siblings raised in the same home are no more similar than two strangers plucked at random off the street. (This point is examined in greater detail in Chapter 9, "Human Development," and Chapter 13, "Personality.")

One way to conduct a behavioral genetic study is to compare monozygotic twins who have been *raised together* with ones who were *raised apart*. Thomas Bouchard and his colleagues at the University of Minnesota identified more than 100 pairs of identical and nonidentical twins, some raised together and some raised apart (1990). The researchers examined a variety of these twins' characteristics, including intelligence, personality, well-being, achievement, alienation, and aggression. The general finding from the Minnesota Twin Project was that identical twins, whether they were raised together or not, were likely to be similar (**FIGURE 3.51**).

Some critics have argued that most of the adopted twins in the Minnesota study were raised in relatively similar environments. This similarity came about, in part, because adoption agencies try to match the child to the adoptive home. However, this argument does not explain the identical twins Oskar Stohr and Jack Yufe, who were born in Trinidad in 1933 (Bouchard, Lykken, McGue, Segal, & Tellegen, 1990). Oskar was raised Catholic in Germany and eventually joined the Nazi Party. Jack was raised Jewish in Trinidad and lived for a while in Israel. Few twins have more-different backgrounds. Yet when they met, at an interview for the study, they were wearing similar clothes, exhibited similar mannerisms, and shared odd habits, such as flushing the toilet before using it, dipping toast in coffee, storing rubber bands on their wrists, and enjoying startling people by sneezing loudly in elevators.

FIGURE 3.51 Identical Twins Raised Apart Are Also Similar

Identical twins Gerald Levey and Mark Newman, participants in Dr. Bouchard's study, were separated at birth. Reunited at age 31, they discovered they were both firefighters and had similar personality traits.

FIGURE 3.50

The Two Kinds of Twins (a) Monozygotic (identical) twins result when one fertilized egg splits in two. (b) Dizygotic (fraternal) twins result when two separate eggs are fertilized at the same time. Some critics feel that nothing more than coincidence is at work in these case studies. They argue that if a researcher randomly selected any two people of the same age, many surprising similarities would exist in those people and their lives, just by coincidence, even if the people and their lives differed in most other ways. But twins and other relatives share similarities beyond coincidental attributes and behavior quirks. For instance, intelligence and personality traits such as shyness tend to run in families because of strong genetic components.

Moreover, there is some evidence that twins raised apart may be more similar than twins raised together. This phenomenon might occur if parents encouraged individuality in twins raised together by emphasizing different strengths and interests as a way of helping each twin develop as an individual. In effect, the parents would actively create a different environment for each twin.

UNDERSTANDING HERITABILITY *Heredity* is the transmission of characteristics from parents to offspring by means of genes. A term that is often confused with *hered-ity* but means something different is **heritability**. This term refers to the proportion of the variation in some specific trait in a population, not in an individual, that is due to genetics. That is, the trait cannot be due to environment or random chance.

Consider a specific trait, height, in a particular population, American women. The heritability for a trait depends on the *variation*: the measure of the overall difference among a group of people for that particular trait. To know the heritability of height, we need to know how much individual American women vary in that trait. Once we know the typical amount of variation within the population, we can see whether people who are related—sisters or a mother and daughter—show less variation than women chosen at random.

Say that within the population of American women, height has a heritability of .60. This figure means that 60 percent of the variation in height among American women is genetic. It does not mean that any individual necessarily gets 60 percent of her height from genetics and 40 percent from environment. Heritability estimates aid in identifying the causes of differences between individuals in a population.

For researchers to perform a heritability analysis, there must be variation in the population. For instance, almost everyone has two legs. There is very little variability in the population. More people lose legs through accidents than are born without them. Thus, the heritability value for having two legs is nearly zero, despite the obvious fact that the human genome includes instructions for growing two legs. The key lesson here is: Estimates of heritability are concerned only with the extent that people differ in terms of their genetic makeup within the group. So, the next time you hear that some trait or other is heritable, you need to appreciate that this refers to the distribution of that trait within a group, not to particular persons in that group.

Social and Environmental Contexts Influence Genetic Expression

In a longitudinal study of criminality, Avshalom Caspi and his colleagues (2002) followed a group of more than 1,000 New Zealanders from their births in 1972–73 until adulthood. The group was made up of all the babies that were born in the town of Dunedin over the course of a year. Every few years, the researchers collected enormous amounts of information about the participants and their lives. When the participants were 26 years old, the investigators examined which factors predicted who became a violent criminal.

heritability

A statistical estimate of the extent to which variation in a trait within a population is due to genetics. Prior research had demonstrated that children who are mistreated by their parents are more likely to become violent offenders. But not all mistreated children become violent, and these researchers wanted to know why not. They hypothesized that the enzyme monoamine oxidase (MAO) is important in determining susceptibility to the effects of mistreatment, because low levels of MAO have been implicated in aggressive behaviors (this connection is discussed further in Chapter 12, "Social Psychology").

The gene that controls MAO is called MAOA and comes in two forms. One form of the MAOA gene leads to higher levels of MAO, and the other form leads to lower levels. Caspi and colleagues found that boys with the low-MAOA gene appeared to be especially susceptible to the effects of early-childhood mistreatment. Those boys were also much more likely to be convicted of a violent crime than those with the high-MAOA gene. Only 1 in 8 boys was mistreated *and* had the low-MAOA gene. That minority, however, were responsible for nearly half of the violent crimes committed by the group (see "Scientific Thinking: Caspi's Study of the Influence of Environment and Genes," on p. 124).

The New Zealand study is a good example of how nature and nurture together affect behavior—in this case, unfortunately, violent behavior. Nature and nurture are inextricably entwined.

EPIGENETICS An exciting new field of genetic study is *epigenetics* (Berger, Kouzarides, Shiekhattar, & Shilatifard, 2009; Holliday, 1987). This term literally means "on top of genetics." Here, environment is seen as layered over genetics. Epigenetics researchers are looking at the processes by which the environment affects genetic expression. They have found that various environmental exposures do not alter DNA, but they *do* alter DNA expression. That alteration makes it more or less likely that a gene will be expressed. For example, living under stress or consuming a poor diet makes some genes more active and some less active.

According to recent research, these changes in how DNA is expressed can be passed along to future generations (Daxinger & Whitelaw, 2012). The process is somewhat like giving a child a broken toy and saying, "Here is the toy, but it doesn't work very well." The child may then give that toy to his or her own child. The biological mechanisms are too complex to consider here. A simple way to think about epigenetic processes is that a parent's experiences create tags on DNA that tell it when to express, and these tags are passed along with the DNA. They may then be passed along to future generations.

The potential implications of epigenetics for understanding health problems and health benefits are enormous. It is possible that smoking cigarettes or drinking alcohol, like chronic stress or bad nutrition, can create epigenetic tags (Pembrey et al., 2006). Further research will reveal how individuals' life circumstances might change how their genes operate and how such processes may affect future generations (Grossniklaus, Kelly, Ferguson-Smith, Pembrey, & Lindquist, 2013).

Genetic Expression Can Be Modified

Researchers can employ various gene manipulation techniques to enhance or reduce the expression of a particular gene or even to insert a gene from one animal species into the embryo of another. The researchers can then compare the genetically modified animal with an unmodified one to test theories about the affected gene's function (**FIGURE 3.52**). Such techniques have dramatically increased our understanding of how gene expression influences thought, feeling, and behavior.

For instance, some of the transgenic mice discussed in Chapter 2 are called *knockouts*. Within these research mice, particular genes have been "knocked out," or rendered inactive by being removed from the genome or disrupted within the genome. If a gene is important for a specific function, knocking out that gene should interfere



FIGURE 3.52 Genetic Modifications

The two white mice and three brown mice in this photo are genetically normal. The sixth mouse is hairless because it has been genetically modified. Specifically, this mouse has received two *nu* genes, which cause the "nude" mutation. These genes also affect the immune system, so the mouse is a good laboratory subject for studies related to immune function.

Scientific Thinking —— Caspi's Study of the Influence of Environment and Genes

HYPOTHESIS: The MAOA gene regulates enzyme monoamine oxidase (MAO) and may be important in determining susceptibility to the effects of maltreatment, because low levels of MAO have been implicated in aggressive behaviors.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 A group of more than 1,000 New Zealanders were followed from birth to adulthood.
- 2 Researchers measured which children were mistreated by their parents (**nurture**).



4 Researchers measured the tendency toward criminal behavior.



3 Researchers measured the presence of the

MAOA gene, which comes in two forms. One form leads to higher levels of MAO, and the



RESULTS: Those who had the MAOA gene for low MAO activity were much more likely than others to have been convicted of violent crimes if they had been maltreated as children. The effects of maltreatment had less influence on those with the high-MAOA gene.



CONCLUSION: Nature and nurture can work together to affect human behavior.

SOURCE: Caspi, A., McClay, J., Moffit, T. E., Mill, J., Martin, J., Craig, I. W., et al. (2002). Role of genotype in the cycle of violence in maltreated children. *Science*, *29*, 851–854.

with the function. This experimental technique has revolutionized genetics, and in recognition the 2007 Nobel Prize was awarded to the three scientists who developed it: Mario Capecchi, Oliver Smithies, and Sir Martin Evans.

One remarkable finding from genetic manipulation is that changing even a single gene can dramatically change behavior. Through various gene manipulations, researchers have created anxious mice, hyperactive mice, mice that cannot learn or remember, mice that groom themselves to the point of baldness, mice that fail to take care of their offspring, and even mice that progressively increase alcohol intake when stressed (Marcus, 2004; Ridley, 2003).

In one study, a gene from the highly social prairie vole was inserted into the developing embryos of normally antisocial mice. The resulting transgenic mice exhibited social behavior more typical of prairie voles than of mice (Insel & Young, 2001). Another study found that knocking out specific genes led mice to forget other mice they had previously encountered. These "knockouts" also failed to investigate new mice placed in their cages, though normal mice would do so readily. In essence, knocking out one gene led to multiple impairments in social recognition (Choleris et al., 2003).

These findings do not indicate that mice have a specific gene for being social. It indicates that—in mice and in humans—changing one gene's expression leads to the expression or nonexpression of a series of other genes. This effect ultimately influences even complex behaviors. In other words, genes seldom work in isolation to influence mind and behavior. Rather, complex interaction among thousands of genes gives rise to the complexity of human experience.

OPTOGENETICS One problem with most studies of brain function is that they use correlational methods. Recall from Chapter 2 that correlational techniques do not allow us to show causality. For example, fMRI studies show which areas of the brain are most active while a person performs a task. These findings do not mean there is a causal relationship between the brain activity and the task.

To address this limitation, scientists have recently pioneered *optogenetics*. This research technique provides precise control over when a neuron fires. That control enables researchers to better understand the causal relationship between neural firing and behavior. Optogenetics combines the use of light (optics) with gene alterations (Boyden et al., 2005; **FIGURE 3.53**). The genes are altered to change a particular subpopulation of neurons in the brain. Specifically, the membrane ion channels are changed within the neurons (recall that ion channels allow ions to enter the neuron and trigger action potentials). The changes to the membrane ion channels make these specific neurons sensitive to different types of light (e.g., red, green, blue). By inserting fiberoptics into that region of the brain and shining a particular type of light, researchers are able to trigger action potentials in the neurons of interest (Williams & Deisseroth, 2013). Using similar techniques, researchers can modify neurons so that firing is inhibited when light is presented (Berndt, Lee, Ramakrishnan, & Deisseroth, 2014).

These techniques allow researchers to show that activating or deactivating specific neurons causes changes in brain activity or behavior. For instance, turning on one set of neurons led animals to act more anxiously (Tye et al., 2011). Turning off another set of neurons reduced cocaine use in animals addicted to that drug (Stefanik et al., 2013).

However, shining a light in a particular brain region will not be used to change human behavior. Rather, the technique allows researchers to better understand the causal relationships between brain activity and behavior. The development of optogenetics is an excellent example of how cutting-edge methods allow researchers to ask increasingly direct questions about biology and behavior.



FIGURE 3.53 Optogenetics This mouse is showing optogenetic display.

Summing Up

What Is the Genetic Basis of Psychological Science?

- Human behavior is influenced by genes.
- People inherit physical attributes and personality traits from their parents.
- The Human Genome Project has mapped the basic sequence of DNA, providing information that will help scientists increase their understanding of individual differences in people's characteristics and develop treatments for genetically based disorders.
- In addition to studying the heritability of traits, researchers study how and when genes are expressed. Genetic expression is affected by environment, including experience.
- Epigenetics is the study of how environment can alter genetic expression.
- Scientific techniques, including the study of transgenic mice and optogenetics, help scientists learn more about how genes and brain activity control behavior.

Measuring Up

- 1. What is the difference between genotype and phenotype?
 - **a.** Genotype refers to an organism's genetic makeup. Phenotype refers to observable characteristics that result from genetic and environmental influences.
 - **b.** Genotype refers to monozygotic twins' (nearly) identical genetic makeup. Phenotype refers to dizygotic twins' genetic makeup.
 - **c.** Genotypes can be modified by experiences. Phenotypes can be modified only if the underlying genes are knocked out.
 - **d.** Genotypes direct the experiences organisms seek for themselves. Phenotypes cannot affect environmental events.

2. What is the relation between optogenetics and gene manipulation studies?

- **a.** Gene manipulations and optogenetics after membrane ion channels so that different neurotransmitters bind with receptors.
- **b.** Gene manipulations and optogenetics alter membrane ion channels so that optogenetics can trigger neural firing.
- c. Gene manipulations lead to epigenetic changes, but optogenetics does not.
- d. Optogenetic tags are passed to future generations, but gene manipulations are not.

characteristics that result from genetic and environmental influences. (2) b. Gene manipulations alter membrane ion channels so that optogenetics can trigger neural firing.

ANSWERS: (1) a. Genotype refers to an organism's genetic makeup. Phenotype refers to observable

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

3.1 How Does the Nervous System Operate?

- The Nervous System Has Two Basic Divisions: Nerve cells, or neurons, are the basic units of the human nervous system. Neurons are linked as neural networks, and neural networks are linked together. The entire nervous system is divided into two basic units: the central nervous system (the brain and the spinal cord) and the peripheral nervous system (all the other nerve cells in the rest of the body).
- Neurons Are Specialized for Communication: Neurons receive and send electrical and chemical messages. All neurons have the same basic structure, but neurons vary by function and by location in the nervous system.
- The Resting Membrane Potential Is Negatively Charged: A neuron at rest is polarized. That is, it has a greater negative electrical charge inside than outside. The passage of negative and positive ions inside and outside the membrane is regulated by ion channels, such as those located at the nodes of Ranvier.
- Action Potentials Cause Neural Communication: Changes in a neuron's electrical charge are the basis of an action potential, or neural firing. Firing is the means of communication within networks of neurons.
- Neurotransmitters Bind to Receptors Across the Synapse: Neurons do not touch. They release chemicals (neurotransmitters) into the synapse, a small gap between the neurons. Neurotransmitters bind with the receptors of postsynaptic neurons, thus changing the charge in those neurons. Neurotransmitters' effects are halted by reuptake of the neurotransmitters into the presynaptic neurons, by enzyme deactivation, or by autoreception.
- Neurotransmitters Influence Mental Activity and Behavior: Neurotransmitters have been identified that influence aspects of the mind and behavior in humans. For example, neurotransmitters influence emotions, motor skills, sleep, dreaming, learning and memory, arousal, pain control, and pain perception. Drugs and toxins can enhance or inhibit the activity of neurotransmitters by affecting their synthesis, their release, and the termination of their action in the synapse.

3.2 What Are the Basic Brain Structures and Their Functions?

• Scientists Can Now Watch the Working Brain: Electrophysiology (often using an electroencephalograph, or EEG) measures the brain's electrical activity. Brain imaging is done using positron emission tomography (PET), magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). Transcranial

magnetic stimulation (TMS) disrupts normal brain activity, allowing researchers to infer the brain processing involved in particular thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.

- The Brain Stem Houses the Basic Programs of Survival: The top of the spinal cord forms the brain stem, which is involved in basic functions such as breathing and swallowing. The brain stem includes the medulla, which controls heart rate, breathing, and other autonomic functions. The brain stem also includes the pons and the reticular formation, a network of neurons that influences general alertness and sleep.
- The Cerebellum Is Essential for Movement: The cerebellum ("little brain") is the bulging structure connected to the back of the brain stem. This structure is essential for movement and controls balance.
- Subcortical Structures Control Emotions and Appetitive Behaviors: The subcortical structures play a key part in psychological processes because they control vital functions (the hypothalamus), relay of sensory information (the thalamus), memories (the hippocampus), emotions (the amygdala), and the planning and production of movement (the basal ganglia).
- The Cerebral Cortex Underlies Complex Mental Activity: The lobes of the cortex play specific roles in vision (occipital), touch (parietal), hearing and speech comprehension (temporal), and movement, rational activity, social behavior, and personality (frontal).
- Splitting the Brain Splits the Mind: The hemispheres can be split from each other to reveal their primary functions.

3.3 How Does the Brain Communicate with the Body?

- The Peripheral Nervous System Includes the Somatic and Autonomic Systems: The somatic system transmits sensory signals and motor signals between the central nervous system and the skin, muscles, and joints. The autonomic system regulates the body's internal environment through the sympathetic division, which responds to alarm, and the parasympathetic division, which returns the body to its resting state.
- The Endocrine System Communicates Through Hormones: Endocrine glands produce and release chemical substances. These substances travel to body tissues through the bloodstream and influence a variety of processes, including the stress response and sexual behavior.
- Actions of the Nervous System and Endocrine System Are Coordinated: The endocrine system is largely controlled through the actions of the hypothalamus and the pituitary gland. The hypothalamus controls the release of hormones from the pituitary gland. The pituitary controls the release of hormones from other endocrine glands in the body.

3.4 How Does the Brain Change?

- Experience Fine-Tunes Neural Connections: Chemical signals influence cell growth and cell function. Experiences, particularly during critical periods, influence cell development and neural connections.
- Females' and Males' Brains Are Mostly Similar but May Have Revealing Differences: Females' and males' brains are more similar than different. They are different, however: Males' brains are larger than females' (on average), though larger does not necessarily mean better. Females' brains are organized more bilaterally for language. Men and women may perform the same cognitive task by using different parts of the brain.
- The Brain Rewires Itself Throughout Life: Although brain plasticity decreases with age, the brain retains the ability to rewire itself throughout life. This ability is the biological basis of learning. Anomalies in sensation and in perception, such as phantom limb syndrome, are attributed to the cross-wiring of connections in the brain.
- The Brain Can Recover from Injury: The brain can reorganize its functions in response to brain damage. However, this capacity decreases with age.

3.5 What Is the Genetic Basis of Psychological Science?

 All of Human Development Has a Genetic Basis: Human behavior is influenced by genes. Through genes, people inherit both physical attributes and personality traits from their parents. Chromosomes are made of genes, and the Human Genome Project has mapped the genes that make up humans' 23 chromosomal pairs.

- Heredity Involves Passing Along Genes Through Reproduction: Genes may be dominant or recessive. An organism's genetic constitution is referred to as its genotype. The organism's observable characteristics are referred to as its phenotype. Many characteristics are polygenic.
- Genotypic Variation Is Created by Sexual Reproduction: An offspring receives half of its chromosomes from its mother and half of its chromosomes from its father. Because so many combinations of the 23 pairs of chromosomes are possible, there is tremendous genetic variation in the human species. Mutations resulting from errors in cell division also give rise to genetic variation.
- Genes Affect Behavior: Behavioral geneticists examine how genes and environment interact to influence psychological activity and behavior. Twin studies and research on adoptees provide insight into heritability.
- Social and Environmental Contexts Influence Genetic Expression: Genes and environmental contexts interact in ways that influence observable characteristics. Epigenetics studies how genes may change due to experience.
- Genetic Expression Can Be Modified: Genetic manipulation has been achieved in mammals such as mice. Animal studies using gene knockouts, which allow genes to be turned on and off, are valuable tools for understanding genetic influences on behavior and on health. In optogenetics, researchers modify genes to trigger action potentials in neurons.

Key Terms

acetylcholine (ACh), p. 85 action potential, p. 81 all-or-none principle, p. 82 amygdala, p. 95 autonomic nervous system (ANS), p. 104 axon, p. 78 basal ganglia, p. 95 brain stem, p. 93 Broca's area, p. 90 cell body, p. 78 central nervous system (CNS), p. 77 cerebellum, p. 93 cerebral cortex, p. 96 chromosomes, p. 115 corpus callosum, p. 96 dendrites, p. 78 dizygotic twins, p. 120 dominant gene, p. 117 dopamine, p. 87 electroencephalograph (EEG), p. 91 endocrine system, p. 106 endorphins, p. 88 epinephrine, p. 86

frontal lobes, p. 98 functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), p. 92 GABA, p. 87 gene expression, p. 115 genes, p. 115 genotype, p. 117 glutamate, p. 87 gonads, p. 107 heritability, p. 122 hippocampus, p. 94 hormones, p. 106 hypothalamus, p. 94 interneurons, p. 78 magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), p. 91 monozygotic twins, p. 120 motor neurons, p. 78 myelin sheath, p. 82 neurons, p. 76 neurotransmitters, p. 83 nodes of Ranvier, p. 82 norepinephrine, p. 86 occipital lobes, p. 96

parasympathetic division, p. 105 parietal lobes, p. 96 peripheral nervous system (PNS), p. 77 phenotype, p. 117 pituitary gland, p. 108 plasticity, p. 110 positron emission tomography (PET), p. 91 prefrontal cortex, p. 98 receptors, p. 83 recessive gene, p. 117 resting membrane potential, p. 79 reuptake, p. 84 sensory neurons, p. 77 serotonin, p. 86 somatic nervous system (SNS), p. 104 split brain, p. 100 sympathetic division, p. 105 synapse, p. 79 temporal lobes, p. 98 terminal buttons, p. 79 thalamus, p. 94 transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), p. 92

Practice Test

- 1. Which label accurately describes neurons that detect information from the physical world and pass that information along to the brain?
 - a. motor neuron
 - **b.** sensory neuron
 - **c.** interneuron
 - **d.** glia
- **2.** Parkinson's disease is associated with the loss of neurons that produce which of the following neurotransmitters?
 - a. acetylecholine
 - **b.** norepinephrine
 - c. dopamine
 - d. serotonin
- **3.** Drugs can produce the following actions on neurotransmitter activity. Label each example as either an agonist or antagonist effect.
 - **a.** mimic the neurotransmitter and activate the postsynaptic receptor
 - **b.** block the reuptake of neurotransmitter
 - **c.** decrease neurotransmitter release
 - $\textbf{d.}\ clear\ neurotransmitter\ from\ the\ synapse$
- **4.** Which of the following statements about behavioral genetics is false?
 - a. Heritability refers to traits passed from parent to offspring.
 - **b.** Similarities among nonbiological adopted siblings are inferred to reflect environmental influences.
 - **c.** Identical twins raised apart are often more similar than identical twins raised together.
 - **d.** Greater similarities between monozygotic twins compared to dyzygotic twins are inferred to reflect genetic influences.

- **5.** In what order are incoming signals processed by a neuron? Place a 1, 2, 3, or 4 in front of each of the following parts of a neuron.
 - ___ soma
 - ____ terminal buttons
 - ____ dendrites
 - ____axon
- 6. Which statement about the resting membrane potential is false?
 - **a.** The inside of the neuron is negatively charged relative to the outside.
 - **b.** The cell membrane allows more sodium than potassium ions to cross easily.
 - **c.** Action of the sodium potassium pump results in more potassium inside the neuron.
 - **d.** The polarization of charge creates the electrical energy that powers the action potential.
- 7. Which of the following techniques can provide infonnation about whether a particular brain region is necessary for a task?
 - **a.** electroencephalograph (EEG)
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.\ functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI)$
 - **c.** positron emission tomography (PET)
 - $\textbf{d.}\ transcranial\,magnetic\,stimulation\,(TMS)$
- 8. Which statement about split-brain patients is true?
 - a. They have had surgery to therapeutically remove one hemisphere of the brain.
 - **b.** The left hemisphere can perceive stimuli, but the right hemisphere cannot.
 - **c.** The left hemisphere can verbally report its perception. The right hemisphere cannot articulate what it saw but can act on its perception.
 - **d.** The left hemisphere is analytical, and the right hemisphere is creative.



Ask & Answer

4.1 What Is Consciousness? 132

4.2 What Is Sleep? 144

4.3 What Is Altered Consciousness? 155

4.4 How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness? 160

Consciousness

IMAGINE WAKING UP IN THE HOSPITAL and the only thing you can move is your eyelids. You cannot talk or indicate that you are in pain. Finally, someone notices that you can voluntarily blink, and together you work out a system of communication. In 2000, when he was 16 years old, this situation happened to Erik Ramsey after his brain stem was damaged in a car accident. Since then, Ramsey has suffered from locked-in syndrome. In this rare condition, all or nearly all of a person's voluntary muscles are paralyzed. Even when Ramsey is awake and alert, he cannot communicate with those around him except by moving his eyes up and down (**FIGURE 4.1**).



As a psychological state, locked-in syndrome has been compared to being buried alive. Imagine that you see all the sights around you and hear every noise, but you cannot respond physically to these sights and noises. Imagine that you can feel every itch, but you cannot scratch yourself or move to gain relief. Hard as it is to imagine, Erik was lucky in that he was able to blink. Other such patients have no voluntary muscle movement. They

FIGURE 4.1 Conscious but Locked In

Erik Ramsey (**right**, with his father, Eddie) suffers from locked-in syndrome. He has total awareness, but his condition leaves him almost completely unable to communicate.



have often been mistakenly thought to be in a coma for years, receiving no pain medication or socially appropriate communication.

Recent scientific advances have raised the possibility that Ramsey and patients like him will be able to communicate. That is, we might be able to "read" their thoughts by imaging brain activity in real time. Communication of this kind is the goal of researchers who,

in 2004, planted electrodes in the speech region of Ramsey's left hemisphere. For the past decade or so, Ramsey has been listening to recordings of vowel sounds and mentally simulating those sounds. His simulation of each vowel sound should produce its own distinct pattern of brain activity. Ultimately, the researchers hope to use this brain activity to create a voice synthesizer that will translate Ramsey's neural patterns into understandable speech (Bartels et al., 2008). So far, researchers working with Ramsey have demonstrated that he can produce numerous specific vowel sounds (Guenther et al., 2009).

Other researchers have obtained similarly promising results. A 23-year-old woman in an apparent coma was asked to imagine playing tennis or walking through her house (Owen et al., 2006). This woman's pattern of brain activity became quite similar to the patterns of control subjects who also imagined playing tennis or walking through a house (FIGURE 4.2). The woman could not give outward signs of awareness, but researchers believe she was able to understand language and respond to the experimenters' requests.

The implications of this finding are extraordinary. Could the researchers' method be used to reach other people who are in comas, aware of their surroundings, but unable to communicate? Indeed, this research team has now evaluated 54 coma patients and found 5 who could willfully control brain activity to communicate (Monti et al., 2010). One 29-year-old man was able to answer five of six yes/no questions correctly by thinking of one type of image to answer yes and another type to answer no. The ability to communicate from a coma might allow some patients to express thoughts, ask for more medication, and increase the quality of their lives (Fernández-Espejo & Owen, 2013). These advances add up to one astonishing fact: Some people in comas are conscious!

What Is Consciousness? 4.1

This chapter looks at consciousness and its variations. The cases discussed in the chapter opener highlight the chapter's two main points. First, people can be conscious of their surroundings even when they do not appear to be. Second, conscious experiences are associated with brain activity. To understand the relationship between the brain and consciousness, we need to consider how conscious experiences differ. As explored later in this chapter, there are natural variations in consciousness (e.g., sleep). Moreover, people manipulate consciousness through natural methods

Similar regions of the brain were activated in the coma patient . . .

... and in healthy volunteers, when patient and volunteers visualized the same activities.

FIGURE 4.2 In a Coma but Aware

The brain images on the top are from the patient, a young woman in a coma who showed no outward signs of awareness. The images on the bottom are a composite from the control group, which consisted of healthy volunteers. Both the patient and the control group were told to visualize, first, playing tennis and, second, walking around a house. Right after the directions were given, the neural activity in the patient's brain appeared similar to the neural activity in the control group's brains.

Learning **Objectives**

- Define consciousness.
- Identify varied states of consciousness.
- Discuss how unconscious processes influence thought and behavior.
- Explain how brain activity gives rise to consciousness.

(e.g., meditation) as well as artificial methods (e.g., drugs). In addition, because of the very nature of consciousness, conscious experiences differ from person to person.

Consciousness Is a Subjective Experience

Consciousness refers to moment-by-moment subjective experiences. Paying attention to your immediate surroundings is one such experience. Reflecting on your current thoughts is another. You know you are conscious because you are experiencing the outside world through your senses and because you know that you are thinking. But what gives rise to your consciousness? Are you conscious simply because many neurons are firing in your brain? If so, how are the actions of these brain circuits related to your subjective experiences of the world? Your body includes many highly active biological systems, such as your immune system, that do not produce the sort of consciousness you are experiencing right now. At every minute, your brain is regulating your body temperature, controlling your breathing, calling up memories as necessary, and so on. You are not conscious of the brain operations that do these things. Why are you conscious only of certain experiences?

Philosophers have long debated questions about the nature of consciousness. As discussed in Chapter 1, the seventeenth-century philosopher René Descartes stated that the mind is physically distinct from the brain, a view called *dualism*. Most psychologists reject dualism. Instead, they believe that the brain and the mind are inseparable. According to this view, the activity of neurons in the brain produces the contents of consciousness: the sight of a face, the smell of a rose. More specifically, for each type of content—each sight, each smell—there is an associated pattern of brain activity. The activation of this particular group of neurons in the brain somehow gives rise to conscious experience. But because each of us experiences consciousness personally—that is, subjectively—we cannot know if any two people experience the world in exactly the same way. What does the color red look like to you (**FIGURE 4.3**)? How does an apple taste?

As discussed in Chapter 1, early pioneers in psychology attempted to understand consciousness through introspection. Psychologists largely abandoned this method because of its subjective nature. Conscious experiences exist, but their subjective nature makes them difficult to study empirically. There is no way to know whether each person's experience of a thing (its shape, size, color, and so on) is the same or whether each person is using the same words to describe a different experience. When children play the game "I spy, with my little eye," the players might be looking at the same thing—say, "something that is red"—but they might be experiencing that thing differently. The labels applied to experience do not necessarily do justice to the experience.

Conscious Awareness Involves Attention

Conscious experience is usually unified and coherent. In this view, the mind is a continuous stream and thoughts float on that stream. There is a limit, however, to how many things the mind can be conscious of at the same time.

As you read this chapter, where are you directing your *attention*, or conscious awareness? Are you focused intently on the material? Is your mind wandering, occasionally or often? You cannot pay attention to reading while doing several other things, such as watching television or texting. As you focus on what is going on in the TV show, you might realize that you have no idea what you just read or what your friend just replied. Likewise, you can think about what you will do tomorrow, what kind of car you would like to own, and where you most recently went on vacation—but you cannot think about them all at the same time. While driving to a familiar destination, have you ever begun to think about something other than your driving? Before you

consciousness One's subjective experience of the world, resulting from brain activity.



FIGURE 4.3 Seeing Red

One difficult question related to consciousness is whether people's subjective experiences of the world are similar. For instance, does red look the same to everyone who has normal color vision?


(b)



(c)



FIGURE 4.4 Automatic Processing Versus Controlled Processing

 (a) An experienced driver can rely on automatic processing while performing this task.
 (b) An inexperienced driver must use controlled processing.
 (c) During a rainstorm, an experienced driver must revert to controlled processing. knew it, you had arrived. But how did you get there? You knew you had driven, but you could not remember details of the drive, such as whether you stopped at traffic lights or passed other vehicles. Attention involves being able to focus selectively on some things and avoid focusing on others. Although they are not the same thing, attention and consciousness often go hand-in-hand.

In his book Thinking, Fast and Slow (2011), the Nobel laureate Daniel Kahneman differentiates between automatic and controlled processes. In general, all of us can execute routine or automatic tasks (such as driving, walking, or understanding the meanings of the words on this page) that are so well learned that we do them without much attention. Indeed, paying too much attention can interfere with these automatic behaviors. Try thinking of each step you take as you walk-it makes walking much more awkward. By contrast, difficult or unfamiliar tasks require people to pay attention. Such *controlled* processing is slower than automatic processing, but it helps people perform in complex or novel situations. For example, if a rainstorm starts while you are driving, you will need to pay more attention to your driving and be very conscious of the road conditions (FIGURE 4.4). As noted in Chapter 2, behaviors such as reading, eating, talking on a cell phone, or texting are dangerous while driving because they distract the driver's attention. Hands-free cell phones do not solve the attention problem. Because drivers using hands-free phones still have to divide their attentional resources among multiple tasks, using a hands-free phone may be just as dangerous as talking while holding the phone (Ishigami & Klein, 2009).

In thinking about the power of distraction, consider the cocktail party phenomenon. In 1953, the psychologist E. C. Cherry described the process this way: You can focus on a single conversation in the midst of a chaotic cocktail party. However, a particularly pertinent stimulus—such as hearing your name mentioned in another conversation or hearing a juicy piece of gossip—can capture your attention. Because your attention is now divided, what you can understand of the new stimulus is less than if you had been giving it your full attention. If you really want to hear the other conversation or piece of gossip, you need to focus your attention on it. Of course, when you redirect your attention in this way, you probably will not be able to follow what the closer (and therefore probably louder) partygoer is saying. You will lose the thread of your original conversation.

Cherry developed selective-listening studies to examine what the mind does with unattended information when a person pays attention to one task. He used a technique called *shadowing*. In this procedure, a participant wears headphones that deliver one message to one ear and a different message to the other. The person is asked to attend to one of the two messages and "shadow" it by repeating it aloud. As a result, the person usually notices the unattended sound (the message given to the other ear) but will have little knowledge about the content of the unattended sound (**FIGURE 4.5**).

Imagine you are participating in an experiment about what happens to unattended messages. You are repeating whatever is spoken into one ear (shadowing) and ignoring the message spoken into the other ear. What would happen if your own name were spoken into the unattended ear? You would probably hear your own name but know nothing about the rest of the message. Some important information gets through the filter of attention. It has to be personally relevant information, such as your name or the name of someone close to you, or it has to be particularly loud or different in some obvious physical way.

SELECTIVE ATTENTION In 1958, the psychologist Donald Broadbent developed filter theory to explain the selective nature of attention. He assumed that people have a limited capacity for sensory information. They screen incoming information to let in only the most important material. In this model, attention is like a gate that

opens for important information and closes for irrelevant information. But can we really close the gate to ignore some information? When and how do we close the gate?

Some stimuli demand attention and virtually shut off the ability to attend to anything else. Imagine you are focusing all your attention on reading this book, and suddenly you develop a muscle cramp. What will happen to your attention? The sharp jab of the cramp will demand your attention, and whatever you are reading will leave your consciousness until you attend to the muscle. Similarly, some stimuli, such as those that evoke emotions, may readily capture attention because they provide important information about potential threats in an environment (Phelps, Ling, & Carrasco, 2006). An object produces a stronger attentional response



when it is viewed as socially relevant (e.g., an eye) than when it is viewed as nonsocial (e.g., an arrowhead; Tipper, Handy, Giesbrecht, & Kingstone, 2008).

Decisions about what to attend to are made early in the perceptual process. At the same time, however, unattended information is processed at least to some extent. Several selective-listening studies have found that even when participants cannot repeat an unattended message, they still have processed its contents. In one experiment, participants were told to attend to the message coming in one ear: "They threw stones at the bank yesterday." At the same time, the unattended ear was presented with one of two words: "river" or "money." Afterward, participants could not report the unattended words. However, those presented with "river" interpreted the sentence to mean someone had thrown stones at a riverbank. Those presented with "money" interpreted the sentence to mean someone had thrown stones at a financial institution (MacKay, 1973). Thus the participants extracted meaning from the word even though they did not process the word consciously.

CHANGE BLINDNESS To understand just how inattentive we can be, consider the phenomenon known as **change blindness**. Because we cannot attend to everything in the vast array of visual information available, we are often "blind" to large changes in our environments. For example, would you notice if the person you were talking to suddenly changed into another person? In two studies, participants were on a college campus when a stranger approached them and asked for directions. Then the stranger was momentarily blocked by a large object and while out of view was replaced with another person of the same sex and race. Fifty percent of the people giving directions never noticed that they were talking to a different person. When giving directions to a stranger, we normally do not attend to the distinctive features of the stranger's face or clothing. If we are unable to recall those features later, it is not because we forgot them. More likely, it is because we never processed those features very much in the first place. After all, how often do we need to remember such information (Simons & Levin, 1998)? (See "Scientific Thinking: Change Blindness Studies by Simons and Levin," on p. 136.)

In Simons and Levin's first study, older people were especially likely not to notice a change in the person asking them for directions. Younger people were pretty good at noticing the change. Are older people especially inattentive? Or do they tend to process a situation's broad outlines rather than its details? Perhaps the older people encoded the stranger as simply "a college student" and did not look for more-individual characteristics. To test this idea, Simons and Levin (1998) conducted an additional study. This time, the stranger was an easily recognizable type of person from a different social group. That is, the same experimenters dressed as

FIGURE 4.5 Shadowing

In this procedure, the participant receives a different auditory message in each ear. The participant is required to repeat, or "shadow," only one of the messages.

change blindness A failure to notice large changes in one's environment.

HYPOTHESIS: People can be "blind" to large changes around them. **RESEARCH METHOD:**



3 While being blocked, the original stranger is replaced by another person.



RESULTS: Half the participants giving directions never noticed they were talking to a different person (as long as the replacement was of the same race and sex as the original stranger).

CONCLUSION: Change blindness results from inattention to certain visual information.

SOURCE: Photos from Simons, D. J., & Levin, D. T. (1998). Failure to detect changes to people during a real-world interaction. *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review, 5*, 644–649. © 1998 Psychonomic Society, Inc. Figure courtesy Daniel J. Simons.



FIGURE 4.6 Technology in the Classroom Today's students use electronic devices in the classroom productively (as in taking notes) and nonproductively (as in texting).

construction workers and asked college students for directions. Sure enough, the college students failed to notice the replacement of one construction worker with another. This finding supports the idea that the students encoded the strangers as belonging to a broad category of "construction workers" without looking more closely at them. For these students, construction workers seemed pretty much all alike and interchangeable. Subsequent research has shown that people with a greater ability to maintain attention in the face of distracting information are less likely to experience a similar type of change blindness (Seegmiller, Watson, & Strayer, 2011).

As change blindness illustrates, we can attend to a limited amount of information. Large discrepancies exist between what most of us believe we see and what we actually see. Thus, our perceptions of the world are often inaccurate, and we have little awareness of our perceptual failures. We simply do not know how much information we miss in the world around us. This is why using cell phones while driving—or even walking—can be dangerous. We fail to notice important objects in the environment that might indicate threats to our safety. In one study (Hyman et al., 2010), students using cell phones while walking across campus failed to notice a brightly colored clown riding a unicycle who was heading toward their walking path. Students who were listening to music were much more likely to notice the clown.

LAPTOPS IN THE CLASSROOM It can be hard to pay complete attention for an entire class period even with the most engaging lecturers. For this reason, many of your instructors try to include active participation during class. The rise of laptop computers and smartphones in the classroom over the last decade has increased the difficulty for instructors to hold students' attention (**FIGURE 4.6**). Ideally, such technology enables students to take notes, access supplementary materials, or participate with

classroom exercises. Unfortunately, students can also tune out lectures by checking Facebook or email, texting, or watching YouTube videos.

After reading the earlier sections of this chapter, you might not be surprised that attending to your computer or smartphone might lead you to miss important details going on around you, such as crucial information in the lecture. Overwhelming evidence shows that students who use Facebook, text, surf the Internet, and so on do more poorly in college courses (Gingerich & Lineweaver, 2014; Junco & Cotten, 2012). Poor performance can happen even if students do not multitask. According to one study, taking notes on a laptop rather than by hand leads to moresuperficial processing and worse performance on tests of conceptual knowledge (Mueller & Oppenheimer, 2014). Even those who are simply sitting near someone playing around on the Internet score lower grades (Sana, Weston, & Cepeda, 2013). If you use your laptop or smartphone to look at irrelevant materials, you are hurting yourself and others.

Students often do not feel like they are missing anything when they multitask. The irony is that it takes attention to know what you are missing. If your attention is elsewhere and you miss something vital mentioned by your instructor, not only did you miss what she or he said, but you will not even know that you

missed anything. Students have the illusion that they are paying attention because they have no awareness of events that happened when their attention was otherwise occupied.

Unconscious Processing Influences Behavior

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Sir Francis Galton (1879) first proposed the notion that mental activity below the level of consciousness can influence behavior. The influence of unconscious thoughts was also at the center of many of Freud's theories of human behavior. For example, the classic mistake called a *Freudian slip* occurs when an unconscious thought is suddenly expressed at an inappropriate time or in an inappropriate social context.

Many of the ways that Freud proposed that the unconscious works are difficult to test using scientific methods, and few psychologists today believe his interpretation of the unconscious is correct. However, psychologists agree that unconscious processes influence people's thoughts and actions as they go through their daily lives. Consider that smokers who watch a movie that has images of smoking, even if they are unaware of those images, report stronger cravings for cigarettes after they leave the theater (Sargent, Morgenstern, Isensee, & Hanewinkel, 2009). When smokers watch movies that show smoking, there is activation of brain regions involved in the handling of cigarettes, as if the viewers were sharing cigarettes with the on-screen characters (Wagner, Dal Cin, Sargent, Kelley, & Heatherton, 2011). Now consider a similar unconscious influence in many people's lives: the subtle smells of food in the mall. Might they encourage a visit to the food court?

Over the last several decades, many researchers have explored different ways in which unconscious cues, or **subliminal perception**, can influence cognition. Subliminal perception occurs when stimuli get

processed by sensory systems but, because of their short durations or subtle forms, do not reach consciousness.

Advertisers have long been accused of using subliminal cues to persuade people to purchase products (**FIGURE 4.7**). The evidence suggests that subliminal messages



subliminal perception The processing of information by sensory systems without conscious awareness.



FIGURE 4.7 Subliminal Perception Do you see the subliminal message in this advertisement? The ice cubes spell out S-E-X. have minimal effects on purchasing behavior (Greenwald, 1992). Material presented subliminally can influence how people think, however, even if it has little or no effect on complex actions. (Buying something you did not intend to buy would count as a complex action.) That is, considerable evidence indicates that people are affected by events—stimuli—they are not aware of. In one study, participants exerted greater physical effort when large images of money were flashed at them, even though the flashes were so brief the participants did not report seeing the money (Pessiglione et al., 2007). The subliminal images of money also produced brain activity in areas of the limbic system, which is involved in emotion and motivation. Subliminal cues may be most powerful when they work on people's motivational states. For example, flashing the word *thirst* may prove more effective than flashing the explicit directive *Buy Coke*. Indeed, researchers found that subliminal presentation of the word *thirst* led participants to drink more Kool-Aid, especially when they were actually thirsty (Strahan, Spencer, & Zanna, 2002).

To study the power of unconscious influences, John Bargh and colleagues (1996) supplied participants with different groups of words. Some of the participants received words associated with the elderly, such as *old*, *Florida*, and *wrinkles*. The participants were asked to make sentences out of the supplied words. After they had made up a number of sentences, they were told the experiment was over. But the researchers continued observing the participants. They wanted to know whether the unconscious activation of beliefs about the elderly would influence the participants' behavior. Indeed, participants primed with stereotypes about old people walked much more slowly than did those who had been given words unrelated to the elderly. When questioned later, the slow-walking participants were not aware that the concept of "elderly" had been activated or that it had changed their behavior.

Other researchers have obtained similar findings. For instance, Ap Dijksterhuis and Ad van Knippenberg (1998) found that people at Nijmegen University, in the Netherlands, were better at answering trivia questions when they were subtly presented with information about "professors" than when they were subtly presented with information about "soccer hooligans." The participants were unaware that their behavior was influenced by the information. Such findings indicate that much of human behavior occurs without awareness or intention (Bargh, 2014; Dijksterhuis & Aarts, 2010).

Brain Activity Gives Rise to Consciousness

Scientists cannot (yet) read your mind by looking at your brain activity, but they can identify objects you are seeing by looking at your brain activity (Kay, Naselaris, Prenger, & Gallant, 2008). For instance, researchers can use fMRI to determine, based on your pattern of brain activity at that moment, whether the picture you are seeing is of a house, a shoe, a bottle, or a face (O'Toole, Jiang, Abdi, & Haxby, 2005). Similarly, brain imaging can reveal whether a person is looking at a striped pattern that is moving horizontally or vertically, whether a person is looking at a face or a body, which of three categories a person is thinking about during a memory task, and so on (Norman, Polyn, Detre, & Haxby, 2006; O'Toole et al., 2014). Some people have referred to these techniques as "mind reading," although that term implies a level of sophistication that researchers have not yet obtained.

The question of what it means to be conscious of something has been around for centuries. Psychologists now examine, even measure, consciousness and other mental states that were previously viewed as too subjective to be studied. For example, Frank Tong and colleagues (1998) studied the



THE BIRTH OF SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Scientific Thinking

The Relationship Between Consciousness and Neural Responses in the Brain

HYPOTHESIS: Specific patterns of brain activity can predict what a person is seeing.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 Participants were shown images with houses superimposed on faces.
- 2 Participants were asked to report whether they saw a house or a face.
- Researchers used fMRI to measure neural responses in participants' brains.





RESULTS: Activity increased in the fusiform face area when participants reported seeing a face, but activity increased in temporal cortex regions associated with object recognition when participants reported seeing a house.

CONCLUSION: Type of awareness is related to which brain region processes the particular sensory information.

SOURCE: Tong, F., Nakayama, K., Vaughan, J. T., & Kanwisher, N. (1998). Binocular rivalry and visual awareness in human extrastriate cortex. *Neuron*, *21*, 753–759.

relationship between consciousness and neural responses in the brain. Participants were shown images in which houses were superimposed on faces. When participants reported seeing a face, neural activity increased within temporal lobe regions associated with face recognition. When participants reported seeing a house, neural activity increased within temporal lobe regions associated with object recognition. This finding suggests that different types of sensory information are processed by different brain areas: The particular type of neural activity determines the particular type of awareness (see "Scientific Thinking: The Relationship Between Consciousness and Neural Responses in the Brain").

THE GLOBAL WORKSPACE MODEL Many different models for consciousness have been proposed. One, the *global workspace model*, posits that consciousness arises as a function of which brain circuits are active (Baars, 1988; Dehaene, Changeux, Naccache, Sackur, & Sergent, 2006). That is, you experience your brain regions' output as conscious awareness.

This idea is supported by studies of people with brain injuries, who are sometimes unaware of their deficits (that is, the consciousness-related problems that arise from their injuries). For instance, a person who has vision problems caused by an eye injury will know about those problems because the brain's visual areas will notice they are not getting input and that something is wrong. But if that same person then suffers damage to the brain's cortical visual areas so that they stop



FIGURE 4.8 Areas of Awareness

A central theme emerging from cognitive neuroscience is that awareness of different aspects of the world is associated with functioning in different parts of the brain. This simplified diagram indicates major areas of awareness. delivering output, the person may have no visual information to consider and thus will not be aware of vision problems. Of course, if the person suddenly becomes blind, that individual will know he or she cannot see. But someone who loses part of the visual field because of a brain injury tends not to notice the gap in visual experience. This tendency appears with hemineglect, for example (see Figure 3.28). A hemineglect patient is not aware of missing part of the visual world. In one patient's words, "I knew the word 'neglect' was a sort of medical term for whatever was wrong, but the word bothered me because you only neglect something that is actually there, don't you? If it's not there, how can you neglect it?" (Halligan & Marshall, 1998, p. 360). The hemineglect patients' unawareness of their visual deficits supports the idea that consciousness arises through the brain processes active at any point in time.

Most important, the global workspace model presents no single area of the brain as responsible for general "awareness." Rather, different areas of the brain deal with different types of information. Each of these systems in turn is responsible for conscious awareness of its type of

information (**FIGURE 4.8**). From this perspective, consciousness is the mechanism that makes people actively aware of information and that prioritizes what information they need or want to deal with at any moment.

CHANGES IN CONSCIOUSNESS FOLLOWING BRAIN INJURY As noted by the cognitive neuroscientist Steven Laureys (2007), medical advances are enabling a greater number of people to survive traumatic brain injuries. For example, doctors now save the lives of many people who previously would have died from injuries sustained in car accidents or on battlefields. A good example is the remarkable survival of Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, who was shot in the head by an assailant in 2011.

Surviving is just the first step toward recovery, however, and many of those who sustain serious brain injuries fall into comas or, like Giffords, are induced into coma as part of medical treatment. The coma allows the brain to rest. Most people who regain consciousness after such injuries do so within a few days, but some people do not regain consciousness for weeks. In this state, they have sleep/wake cycles—they open their eyes and appear to be awake, close their eyes and appear to be asleep—but they do not seem to respond to their surroundings. When this condition lasts longer than a month, it is known as a *persistent vegetative state*.

Evidence indicates that the brain can sometimes process information in coma (Gawryluk, D'Arcy, Connolly, & Weaver, 2010). Recall the woman, discussed at the opening of this chapter, who imagined playing tennis and walking around a house. But the persistent vegetative state is not associated with consciousness. Normal brain activity does not occur when a person is in this state, in part because much of the person's brain may be dead. The longer the persistent vegetative state lasts, the less likely it is that the person will ever recover consciousness or show normal brain activity. Terri Schiavo, a woman living in Florida, spent more than 15 years in a persistent vegetative state. Eventually, her husband wanted to terminate her life support, but her parents wanted to continue it. Both sides waged a legal battle. A court ruled in the husband's favor, and life support was terminated. After Schiavo's



FIGURE 4.9 Persistent Vegetative State

Terri Schiavo spent more than 15 years in a persistent vegetative state before she was taken off life support. Her parents and their supporters believed she showed some awareness. As the dark areas of the brain scan on the left indicate, however, there was no activity in Schiavo's cortex and she was beyond recovery. By using imaging to examine the brain of a person in an apparent coma, doctors can determine whether the patient is a good candidate for treatment.



death, an autopsy revealed substantial and irreversible damage throughout her brain and especially in cortical regions known to be important for consciousness (**FIGURE 4.9**).

Between the vegetative state and full consciousness is the *minimally conscious state*. In this state, people with brain injuries are able to make some deliberate movements, such as following an object with their eyes. They may try to communicate. The prognosis for those in a minimally conscious state is much better than for those in a persistent vegetative state. Consider the case of the Polish railroad worker Jan Grzebski, who in June 2007, at age 67, woke up from a 19-year coma. He lived for another 18 months. Grzebski remembered events that were going on around him during his coma, including his children's marriages. There is some indication that he tried to speak on occasion but was not understood (Scislowska, 2007; **FIGURE 4.10**). Differentiating between states of consciousness by behavior alone is difficult, but brain imaging may prove useful for identifying the extent of a patient's brain injury and likelihood of recovery.

Imaging brain activity can also be used to tell whether a person is brain dead. *Brain death* is the irreversible loss of brain function. Terri Schiavo had severe brain injury, but there was still activity in her brain stem. She was never declared brain dead. With brain death, no activity is found in any region of the brain. As discussed in Chapter 3, the brain is essential for integrating brain activity that keeps the bodily organs, such as the heart and lungs, alive. When the brain no longer functions, the rest of the body quickly stops functioning. Under the right circumstances, machines may keep the organs functioning and make eventual organ donations possible.

Unfortunately, family members and others sometimes have difficulty accepting brain death and go to extraordinary lengths to try to keep the person's body "alive." Such was the case for 13-year-old Jahi McMath, who suffered brain death after routine tonsil surgery (**FIGURE 4.11**). McMath's family argued that she was still alive because her heart was still beating. They had her transferred from the hospital to a private facility that would continue her care. But when the brain is dead, the person is dead. The heart can beat only if it is artificially stimulated.

PLEASE PRAYME

FIGURE 4.11 Brain Death Jahi McMath, depicted here on a necklace, was declared brain dead after complications from surgery.

FIGURE 4.10

Minimally Conscious State Jan Grzebski was in a minimally conscious state for 19 years before he awoke and reported that he had in fact been aware of events around him. After-the-Fact Explanations: How Do We Interpret Our Behavior?

Before reading further, think of your phone number. If you are familiar enough with the number, you probably remembered it quickly. Yet you have no idea how your brain worked this magic. That is, you do not have direct access to the neural or cognitive processes that lead to your thoughts and behavior. You thought about your phone number, and (if the magic worked) the number popped into your consciousness.

Since you were asked to recall your number, you know why it came into your head. At other times, you may be unsure about why you think certain things, hold particular beliefs, or perform certain actions. In such cases, you probably "make sense" of your thoughts, beliefs, or actions. As noted in Chapter 1, many biases in psychological reasoning occur because people's minds are trying to make sense of the world around them. Sometimes unconscious processes lead people to do things that their conscious minds struggle to explain.

In a classic experiment by the social psychologists Richard Nisbett and Timothy Wilson (1977), research participants were asked to examine pairs of words, such as *ocean-moon*, that had obvious semantic associations between the words. They were then asked to free-associate on single words, such as *detergent*. Nisbett and Wilson wanted to find out to what degree, if any, the word pairs would influence the free associations. And if the influence occurred, would the participants be conscious of it?

When given the word *detergent* after the word pair ocean-moon, participants typically free-associated the word *tide*. However, when asked why they said "tide," they usually gave reasons citing the detergent's brand name, such as "My mom used Tide when I was a kid." They were not aware that the word pair had influenced their thoughts.

The capacity to make up afterthe-fact explanations appears to be a product of left-hemisphere processing. Recall from Chapter 3 the splitbrain condition, in which the surgically disconnected two hemispheres show lateralization of cognitive functions.

Sometimes unconscious processes lead people to do things that their conscious minds struggle to explain.

Studies of split-brain patients have revealed an interesting relationship between the brain's hemispheres, which work together to construct coherent conscious experiences. This collaboration can be demonstrated by asking a split-brain patient to use his or her disconnected left hemisphere to explain behavior produced by the right hemisphere. Keep in mind that the left hemisphere does not know why the behavior was produced.

In one such experiment (Gazzaniga & LeDoux, 1978), the split-brain patient saw different images flash simultaneously on the left and right sides of a screen. Below those images was a row of other images. The patient was asked to point with each hand to a bottom image that was most related to the image flashed on that side of the screen above. In a particular trial, a picture of a chicken claw was flashed to the left hemisphere. A picture of a snow scene was flashed to the right hemisphere. In

response, the left hemisphere pointed the right hand at a picture of a chicken head. The right hemisphere pointed the left hand at a picture of a snow shovel. The (speaking) left hemisphere could have no idea what the right hemisphere had seen nor why the left hand pointed to the snow shovel. When the participant was asked why he pointed to those pictures, he (or, rather, his left hemisphere) calmly replied, "Oh, that's simple. The chicken claw goes with the chicken, and you need a shovel to clean out the chicken shed." The left hemisphere evidently had interpreted the left hand's response in a manner consistent with the left brain's knowledge, which was a chicken claw (FIGURE 4.12).

The left hemisphere's propensity to construct a world that makes sense is called the interpreter. This term means that the left hemisphere is interpreting what the right hemisphere has done with only the information that is available to it (Gazzaniga, 2000). In this last example, the left hemisphere interpreter created a ready way to explain the left hand's action. Although the disconnected right hemisphere controlled the left hand, the left hemisphere's explanation was unrelated to the right hemisphere's real reason for commanding that action. Yet to the patient, the movement seemed perfectly plausible once the action had been interpreted.

To give another example: If the command *Stand up* is flashed to a splitbrain patient's right hemisphere, the patient will stand up. But when asked why he or she has stood up, the patient will not reply, "You just told me to," because the command is not available to the (speaking) left hemisphere. Instead, unaware of the command, the patient will say something like,



FIGURE 4.12

The Left Hemisphere Interprets Outcomes

On the basis of limited information, the left hemisphere attempts to explain behavior produced by the right hemisphere.

"I just felt like getting a soda." The left hemisphere is compelled to concoct a "makes sense" story that explains, or interprets, the patient's action after it has occurred.

Of course, only a tiny percentage of people have disconnected hemi-

spheres. Yet they still need to explain all sorts of thoughts and behaviors for which they have limited information. The lack of direct access to neural or cognitive processes means that people often need to interpret why they behaved in a certain way. As you will learn later in this book, when people act in ways that are inconsistent with their beliefs, they often rationalize their behavior or provide excuses. Some of these explanations are simply after-the-fact attempts to make sense of behavior.

Summing Up

What Is Consciousness?

- Consciousness is a person's subjective experience of the world.
- The relationship between the physical brain and consciousness has been debated for centuries. Today, most psychologists believe that consciousness results from the workings of the brain.
- We need to attend to information to be conscious of it. However, information can be processed subliminally (without conscious awareness).
- According to the Global Workspace Model, consciousness arises as a result of which brain circuits are active.
- Severe brain injury can result in a persistent vegetative state, a minimally conscious state, or even brain death.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements are correct according to our understanding of consciousness? Choose as many as apply.
 - **a.** Students who multitask during class would be aware of missing important information.
 - **b.** Brain research shows that some people in comas have higher brain activity levels than others.
 - c. The contents of consciousness cannot be labeled.
 - d. Any biological process can be made conscious through effortful processing.
 - e. Our behaviors and thoughts are affected by some events about which we have no conscious knowledge.
 - f. Consciousness is subjective.
 - g. Without brain activity, there is no consciousness.
 - **h.** People in comas may differ in the extent to which they are conscious.
 - i. People are either conscious or unconscious; there is no middle ground.
- 2. If a person in a coma shows some evidence of being aware of his surroundings, the condition is known as
 - a. brain death.
 - b. minimally conscious state.
 - c. permanent vegetative state.
 - **d.** consciousness.

ANSWERS: (1) b, e, f, g, and h. (2) b. minimally conscious state.

Learning Objectives

- Describe the stages of sleep.
- Identify common sleep disorders.
- Discuss the functions of sleeping and dreaming.

4.2 What Is Sleep?

At regular intervals, the brain does a strange thing: It goes to sleep. A common misconception is that the brain shuts itself down during sleep. Nothing could be further from the truth. Many brain regions are more active during sleep than during wakefulness. It is even possible that some complex thinking, such as working on difficult problems, occurs in the sleeping brain (Walker & Stickgold, 2006).

Sleep is part of the normal rhythm of life. Brain activity and other physiological processes are regulated into patterns known as **circadian rhythms**. (*Circadian* roughly translates to "about a day.") For example, body temperature, hormone levels, and

sleep/wake cycles operate according to circadian rhythms. Regulated by a biological clock, circadian rhythms are influenced by the cycles of light and dark. Humans and nonhuman animals continue to show these rhythms, however, even when removed from light cues.

Multiple brain regions are involved in producing and maintaining circadian rhythms and sleep. For instance, information about light detected by the eyes is sent to a small region of the hypothalamus called the *suprachiasmatic nucleus*. This region then sends signals to a tiny structure called the *pineal gland* (**FIGURE 4.13**). The pineal gland then secretes *melatonin*, a hormone that travels through the bloodstream and affects various receptors in the body, including the brain. Bright light suppresses the production of melatonin, whereas darkness triggers its release. Researchers have noted that taking melatonin can help people cope with jet lag and shift work, both of which interfere with circadian rhythms (Petrie, Dawson, Thompson, & Brook, 1993). Taking melatonin also appears to help people fall asleep (Ferracioli-Oda, Qawasmi, & Bloch, 2013), although it is unclear why this happens.

The average person sleeps around 8 hours per night, but individuals differ tremendously in the number of hours they sleep. Infants sleep much of the day. People tend to sleep less as they age. Some adults report needing 9 or 10 hours of sleep a night to feel rested, whereas others report needing only an hour or two a night. It might be that your genes influence the amount of sleep you need, as researchers have identified a gene that influences sleep (Koh et al., 2008). Called *SLEEPLESS*, this gene regulates a protein that, like many anesthetics, reduces action potentials in the brain. Loss of this protein leads to an 80 percent reduction in sleep.

People's sleep habits can be quite extreme. When a 70-year-old retired nurse, Miss M., reported sleeping only an hour a night, researchers were skeptical. On her first two nights in a research laboratory, Miss M. was unable to sleep, apparently because of the excitement. But on her third night, she slept for only 99 minutes, then awoke refreshed, cheerful, and full of energy (Meddis, 1977). You might like the idea of sleeping so little and having all those extra hours of spare time, but most of us do not function well with a lack of sleep. And as discussed in later chapters, sufficient sleep is important for memory and good health and is often affected by psychological disorders, such as depression.

Sleep Is an Altered State of Consciousness

The difference between being awake and being asleep has as much to do with conscious experience as with biological processes. When you sleep, your conscious experience of the outside world is largely turned off. To some extent, however, you remain aware of your surroundings and your brain still processes information. Your mind is analyzing potential dangers, controlling body movements, and shifting body parts to maximize comfort. For this reason, people who sleep next to children or to pets tend not to roll over onto them. Nor do most people fall out of bed while sleep-ing—in this case, the brain is aware of at least the edges of the bed. (Because the ability to not fall out of bed when asleep is learned or perhaps develops with age, infant cribs have side rails and young children may need bed rails when they transition from crib to bed.)

Before the development of objective methods to assess brain activity, most people believed the brain went to sleep along with the rest of the body. In the 1920s, researchers invented the electroencephalograph, or EEG. As discussed in Chapter 2, this machine measures the brain's electrical activity. When people are awake, they



FIGURE 4.13 The Pineal Gland and the Sleep/ Wake Cycle

Changes in light register in the suprachiasmatic nucleus of the hypothalamus. In response, this region signals the pineal gland when the time for sleep or the time for wakefulness has come.

circadian rhythms Biological patterns that occur at regular intervals as a function of time of day.



FIGURE 4.14 Brain Activity During Sleep

Using an EEG, researchers measured these examples of the patterns of electrical brain activity during different stages of normal sleep.

REM sleep

The stage of sleep marked by rapid eye movements, dreaming, and paralysis of motor systems. have many different sources of sensory activity. As a result, the neurons in their brains are extremely active. The EEG shows this activity as short, frequent, irregular brain signals known as *beta waves* (shown in **FIGURE 4.14**). When people really focus their attention on something or when they close their eyes and relax, brain activity slows and becomes more regular. This pattern produces *alpha waves*.

STAGES OF SLEEP As evidenced by changes in EEG readings, sleep occurs in stages (see Figure 4.14). When you drift off to sleep, you enter stage 1. Here, the EEG shows *theta waves*. You can easily be aroused from stage 1, and if awakened, you will probably deny that you were sleeping. In this light sleep, you might see fantastical images or geometric shapes. You might have the sensation of falling or that your limbs are jerking. As you progress to stage 2, your breathing becomes more regular, and you become less sensitive to external stimulation. You are now really asleep. Although the EEG continues to show theta waves, it also shows occasional bursts of activity called *sleep spindles* and large waves called *K-complexes*. Some researchers believe that these bursts are signals from brain mechanisms involved with shutting out the external world and keeping people asleep (Steriade, 1992). Two findings indicate that the brain must work

to maintain sleep. First, abrupt noises can trigger K-complexes. Second, as people age and sleep more lightly, their EEGs show fewer sleep spindles.

The progression to deep sleep occurs through stages 3 and 4, which nowadays are typically seen as one stage because their brain activity is nearly identical (Silber et al., 2007). This period is marked by large, regular brain patterns called *delta waves*, and it is often referred to as *slow-wave sleep*. People in slow-wave sleep are very hard to wake and are often very disoriented when they do wake up. People still process some information in slow-wave sleep, however, because the mind continues to evaluate the environment for potential danger. For example, parents in slow-wave sleep can be aroused by their children's cries. Yet they can blissfully ignore sounds, such as sirens or traffic noise, that are louder than the crying children but are not necessarily relevant.

REM SLEEP After about 90 minutes of sleep, the sleep cycle reverses, returning to stage 1. At this point, the EEG suddenly shows a flurry of beta wave activity that usually represents an awake, alert mind. The eyes dart back and forth rapidly beneath closed eyelids. Because of these *rapid eye movements*, this stage is called **REM sleep**. It is sometimes called *paradoxical sleep* because of the paradox of a sleeping body with an active brain. Indeed, some neurons in the brain, especially in the occipital cortex and brain stem regions, are more active during REM sleep than during waking hours. But while the brain is active during REM episodes, most of the body's muscles are paralyzed. At the same time, the body shows signs of genital arousal: Most males of all ages develop erections, and most females of all ages experience clitoral engorgement.

REM sleep is psychologically significant because of its relation to dreaming. About 80 percent of the time when people are awakened during REM sleep, they report dreaming, compared with less than half of the time during non-REM sleep (Solms, 2000). As discussed later, the dreams differ between these two types of sleep.

Over the course of a typical night's sleep, the cycle repeats about five times. The sleeper progresses from slow-wave sleep through to REM sleep, then back to



slow-wave sleep and through to REM sleep (**FIGURE 4.15**). As morning approaches, the sleep cycle becomes shorter, and the sleeper spends relatively more time in REM sleep. People briefly awaken many times during the night, but they do not remember these awakenings in the morning. As people age, they sometimes have more difficulty going back to sleep after awakening.

SLEEP DISORDERS Sleep problems are relatively common throughout life. Nearly everyone occasionally has trouble falling asleep, but for some people the inability to sleep causes significant problems in their daily lives. **Insomnia** is a sleep disorder in which people's mental health and ability to function are compromised by their inability to sleep. Indeed, insomnia is associated with diminished psychological well-being, including feelings of depression (Bootzin & Epstein, 2011; Hamilton et al., 2007).

An estimated 12 percent to 20 percent of adults have insomnia; it is more common in women than in men and in older adults than in younger adults (Espie, 2002; Ram, Seirawan, Kumar, & Clark, 2010). One factor that complicates the estimation of how many people have insomnia is that many people who believe they are poor sleepers overestimate how long it takes them to fall asleep and often underestimate how much sleep they get on a typical night. For instance, some people experience *pseudoinsomnia*, in which they dream they are not sleeping. Their EEGs would indicate sleep. But if you roused them, they would claim to have been awake.

In an odd twist, a major cause of insomnia is worrying about sleep. When people experience this kind of insomnia, they may be tired enough to sleep. As they try to fall asleep, however, they worry about whether they will get to sleep and may even panic about how a lack of sleep will affect them. This anxiety leads to heightened arousal, which interferes with normal sleep patterns. To overcome these effects, many people take sleeping pills, which may work in the short run but can cause significant problems down the road. People may come to depend on the pills to help them sleep. Then if they try to stop taking the pills, they may lie awake wondering whether they can get to sleep on their own.

According to research, the most successful treatment for insomnia combines drug therapy with cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT, discussed in Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders"). CBT helps people overcome their worries about sleep and relieves the need for the drugs, which should be discontinued before the end of therapy (Morin et al., 2009). Other factors that contribute to insomnia include poor sleeping habits. Ways to improve sleeping habits are given in this chapter's "Using Psychology in Your Life" feature, "How Can I Get a Good Night's Sleep?" (p. 150).

Another fairly common sleeping problem is **obstructive sleep apnea**. While asleep, a person with this disorder stops breathing for short periods. Basically, the

FIGURE 4.15 Stages of Sleep

This chart illustrates the normal stages of sleep over the course of the night.

insomnia A disorder characterized by an inability to sleep.

obstructive sleep apnea A disorder in which a person, while asleep, stops breathing because his or her throat closes; the condition results in frequent awakenings during the night.



FIGURE 4.16 Obstructive Sleep Apnea

This man suffers from obstructive sleep apnea. Throughout the night, a continuous positive airway pressure (CPAP) device blows air into his nose or mouth to keep his throat open.

narcolepsy

A sleep disorder in which people experience excessive sleepiness during normal waking hours, sometimes going limp and collapsing. sleeper's throat closes during these periods. In struggling to breathe, the person briefly awakens and gasps for air. Obstructive sleep apnea is most common among middle-aged men and is often associated with obesity, although it is unclear if obesity is the cause or consequence of apnea (Pack & Pien, 2011; Spurr, Graven, & Gilbert, 2008). People with apnea are often unaware of their condition, since the main symptom is loud snoring and they do not remember their frequent awakenings during the night. Yet chronic apnea causes people to have poor sleep, which is associated with daytime fatigue and even problems such as an inability to concentrate while driving. Moreover, apnea is associated with cardiovascular problems and stroke. For serious cases, physicians often prescribe a continuous positive airway pressure (CPAP) device. During sleep, this device blows air into the person's nose or nose and mouth (**FIGURE 4.16**).

A student who falls asleep during a lecture is likely sleep deprived, but a professor who falls asleep while lecturing is probably experiencing an episode of **narcolepsy**. In this rare disorder, excessive sleepiness occurs during normal waking hours. During an episode of narcolepsy, a person may experience the muscle paralysis that accompanies REM sleep, perhaps causing him or her to go limp and collapse. Obviously, people with narcolepsy have to be very careful about the activities they engage in during the day, as unexpectedly falling asleep can be dangerous or fatal, depending on the situation. Evidence suggests that narcolepsy is a genetic condition that affects the neural transmission of a specific neurotransmitter in the hypothalamus (Chabas, Taheri, Renier, & Mignot, 2003; Nishino, 2007). The most widely used treatments for this condition are drugs that act as stimulants. Some researchers have found evidence, however, that narcolepsy may be an autoimmune disorder and that treating it as such (using the protein immunoglobulin) produces excellent results (Cvetkovic-Lopes et al., 2010; Mahlios, De la Herrán-Arita, & Mignot, 2013).

REM behavior disorder is roughly the opposite of narcolepsy. In this condition, the normal paralysis that accompanies REM sleep is disabled. Sufferers act out their dreams while sleeping, often striking their sleeping partners. No treatment exists for this rare sleep disorder. The condition is caused by a neurological deficit and is most often seen in elderly males.

By contrast, sleepwalking is most common among young children. Technically called *somnambulism*, this relatively common behavior occurs during slow-wave sleep, typically within the first hour or two after falling asleep. During an episode, the person is glassy-eyed and seems disconnected from other people and/or the surroundings. No harm is done if the sleepwalker wakes up during the episode. Being gently walked back to bed is safer for the sleepwalker than leaving the person to wander around and potentially get hurt.

Sleep Is an Adaptive Behavior

In terms of adaptiveness, sleep might seem illogical. Tuning out the external world during sleep can be dangerous and thus a threat to survival. Beyond that, humans might have advanced themselves in countless ways if they had used all their time productively rather than wasting it by sleeping. But we cannot override indefinitely the desire to sleep. Eventually, our bodies shut down and we sleep whether we want to or not.

Why do we sleep? Some animals, such as some frogs, never exhibit a state that can be considered sleep (Siegel, 2008). Most animals sleep, however, even if they have peculiar sleeping styles. (For example, some dolphin species have *unihemispherical sleep*, in which the cerebral hemispheres take turns sleeping.) Sleep must serve an important biological purpose. Research suggests sleep is adaptive for three functions: restoration, following of circadian rhythms, and facilitation of learning.

RESTORATION AND SLEEP DEPRIVATION According to the *restorative theory*, sleep allows the body, including the brain, to rest and repair itself. Various kinds of evidence support this theory: After people engage in vigorous physical activity, such as running a marathon, they generally sleep longer than usual. Growth hormone, released primarily during deep sleep, facilitates the repair of damaged tissue. Sleep apparently enables the brain to replenish energy stores and also strengthens the immune system (Hobson, 1999). More recently, researchers have demonstrated that sleep may help the brain clear out metabolic by-products of neural activity, just as a janitor takes out the trash (Xie et al., 2013). Neural activity creates by-products that can be toxic if they build up. These by-products are removed in the interstitial space—a small fluid-filled space between the cells of the brain. During sleep, a 60 percent increase in this space permits efficient removal of the debris that has accumulated while the person is awake.

Numerous laboratory studies have examined sleep deprivation's effects on physical and cognitive performance. Surprisingly, most studies find that two or three days of sleep deprivation have little effect on strength, athletic ability, or the performance of complex tasks. When deprived of sleep, however, people find it difficult to perform quiet tasks, such as reading. They find it nearly impossible to perform boring or mundane tasks.

A long period of sleep deprivation causes mood problems and decreases cognitive performance. People who suffer from chronic sleep deprivation may experience attention lapses and reduced short-term memory, perhaps in part because of the accumulation of metabolic by-products of neural activity (Kuchibhotla et al., 2008). Studies using rats have found that extended sleep deprivation compromises the immune system and leads to death. Sleep deprivation is also dangerous and potentially disastrous because it makes people prone to *microsleeps*, in which they fall asleep during the day for periods ranging from a few seconds to a minute (Coren, 1996).

Sleep deprivation might serve one very useful purpose: When people are suffering from depression, depriving them of sleep sometimes alleviates their depression. This effect appears to occur because sleep deprivation leads to increased activation of serotonin receptors, as do drugs used to treat depression (Benedetti et al., 1999; the treatment of depression is discussed in Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders"). For people who are not suffering from depression, however, sleep deprivation is more likely to produce negative moods than positive ones.

CIRCADIAN RHYTHMS The *circadian rhythm theory* proposes that sleep has evolved to keep animals quiet and inactive during times of the day when there is greatest danger, usually when it is dark. According to this theory, animals need only a limited amount of time each day to accomplish the necessities of survival, and it is adaptive for them to spend the remainder of the time inactive, preferably hidden. Thus, an animal's typical amount of sleep depends on how much time that animal needs to obtain food, how easily it can hide, and how vulnerable it is to attack. Small animals tend to sleep a lot. Large animals vulnerable to attack, such as cows and deer, sleep little. Large predatory animals that are not vulnerable sleep a lot (**FIGURE 4.17**). We humans depend greatly on vision for survival. We are adapted to sleeping at night because our early ancestors were more at risk in the dark.



FIGURE 4.17 Sleeping Predator After a fresh kill, a lion may sleep for days.

Using Psychology in Your Life

How Can I Get a Good Night's

Sleep?

College students are incredibly busy. They juggle their academic work with extracurricular activities, jobs, volunteer positions, social calendars, and family commitments. Obligations seemingly expand beyond the available hours in a day. Not surprisingly, when it comes time to go to bed, racing thoughts can make it difficult to fall asleep. Over time, however, sleep deprivation poses risks to mind, body, and spirit. Thankfully, four simple "sleep hygiene" strategies can set you up for sleep success:

- 1. **Plan.** Create a weekly calendar. Use it to schedule your classes, study time, social time, exercise, down time, and so on. Honestly estimate the amount of time it will take you to complete tasks. Schedule sufficient time for each task in your calendar.
- 2. Know your priorities. There will be occasions when your schedule simply cannot accommodate all the to-dos. When you are so pressed for time, you will need to make decisions about what to cut. Knowing your priorities can help you make those decisions. If doing well on your biology exam is a top priority, consider skipping the party that weekend. Yes, your decision will have consequences (you might miss your friend's crazy antics), but knowing your priorities will make it easier to accept those consequences.

- 3. Stick to the plan. Procrastination can wreak havoc on your sleep. If you find yourself procrastinating on important tasks, consider working with a mental health practitioner to figure out why you procrastinate and how you might overcome this tendency.
- 4. Practice saying no. College is a great time to explore the activities available on your campus or in your community, but exploring all those options simultaneously is a recipe for disaster. Be selective.

Of course, sometimes sleep may elude you. Even when you long for sleep as you lie in bed, you may find yourself dog-tired but unable to doze off. In such cases, the strategies described below might help you develop better sleep:

- 1. Establish a routine to help set your biological clock. Every day (including weekends), go to bed at the same time and wake up at the same time. Changing the time you go to bed or wake up each day alters your regular nightly sleep cycle and can disrupt other physiological systems.
- 2. Avoid alcohol and caffeine just before going to bed. Alcohol might help you get to sleep more quickly, but it will interfere with your sleep cycle and may cause you to wake up early the next day. Caffeine is a stimulant: It

FACILITATION OF LEARNING Scientists have found that neural connections made during the day, which serve as the basis of learning, are strengthened during sleep (Wilson & McNaughton, 1994). When research participants sleep after learning, their recall is better than in control conditions where participants remain awake (Drosopoulos, Schulze, Fischer, & Born, 2007). Robert Stickgold and colleagues (2000) conducted a study in which participants had to learn a complex task. After finding that participants improved at the task only if they had slept for at least 6 hours following training, the researchers argued that learning the task required neural changes that normally occur only during sleep. Both slow-wave sleep and REM sleep appear to be important for learning to take place. People who dream about the task while sleeping may be especially likely to perform better. In one study, participants learned how to run a complex maze. Those who then slept for 90 minutes performed better on the maze than the sleepless competitors. Those who dreamed about the maze, however, performed the best (Wamsley, Tucker, Payne, Benavides, & Stickgold, 2010).

interferes with a chemical (adenosine) that helps you sleep, so it will prevent you from falling asleep.

- **3. Exercise regularly.** Regular exercise will help maintain your sleep cycle. Exercising creates arousal that interferes with sleep, however, so do not exercise right before going to bed. But a little stretching before bedtime can help your mind and body relax.
- 4. Remember, your bed is for sleeping. Most of us do not sleep in our kitchens, nor should we eat in our beds. Or watch TV. Or study. Your mind needs to associate your bed with sleeping. The best way to make that association is to use your bed exclusively for sleeping. And maybe a little cuddling.
- 5. Relax. Do not worry about the future (easier said than done, right?). Have a warm bath or listen to soothing music. Download a couple of meditation and relaxation podcasts. Use the techniques presented in them to help you deal with chronic stress and guide you to restfulness.
- 6. Get up. When you cannot fall asleep, get up and do something else. Do not lie there trying to force sleep (we all know how well that works, or rather does not work; FIGURE 4.18). If you





FIGURE 4.18 One Strategy for Better Sleep

(a) When you cannot fall asleep, do not stay in bed. (b) Instead, get up and do something else, especially something relaxing, such as reading and drinking a cup of warm milk or (uncaffeinated) herbal tea.

start feeling sleepy a bit later, crawl back into bed and give sleep another try.

7. Do not try to catch up on sleep. When you have trouble falling asleep on a particular night, do not try to make up for the lost sleep by sleeping late the next morning or napping during the day. Those zzzz's are gone. You want to be sleepy when you go to bed the next night. Sleeping late, napping, or both will make the next night's sleep more difficult.

The sleep attitudes and habits you establish during college will be with you for the rest of your life. Be good to yourself. Set yourself up for academic success, as well as physical and mental health, by prioritizing good sleep and taking charge of your sleep.

For additional resources, visit the National Sleep Foundation's Web site: www.sleepfoundation.org/

Indeed, there is some evidence that when students study more, such as during exam periods, they experience more REM sleep—that is, if they sleep and do not pull all-nighters—and during this sleep, a greater mental consolidation of information might be expected to take place (Smith & Lapp, 1991). The argument that sleep, especially REM sleep, promotes the development of brain circuits for learning is also supported by the changes in sleep patterns that occur over the life course. Infants and the very young, who learn an incredible amount in a few years, sleep the most and also spend the most time in REM sleep.

Findings linking sleep to learning should give caution to students whose main style of studying is the all-nighter. In one recent study, students who were sleep deprived for one night showed reduced activity the next day in the hippocampus, a brain area essential for memory (Yoo, Hu, Gujar, Jolesz, & Walker, 2007). These sleep-deprived students also showed poorer memory at subsequent testing. According to the investigators, there is substantial evidence that sleep does more than consolidate memories. Sleep also seems to prepare the brain for its memory needs for the next day.

dreams

Products of an altered state of consciousness in which images and fantasies are confused with reality.

People Dream While Sleeping

Because **dreams** are the products of an altered state of consciousness, dreaming is one of life's great mysteries. Indeed, no one knows if dreaming serves any biological function. Why does the sleeper's mind conjure up images, fantasies, stories that make little sense, and scenes that ignore physical laws and rules of both time and space? Why does the mind then confuse these conjurings with reality? Why does it sometimes allow them to scare the dreamer awake? Usually, only when people wake up do they realize they have been dreaming. Of course, dreams sometimes incorporate external sounds or other sensory experiences, but this happens without the type of consciousness experienced during wakefulness.



"Look, don't try to weasel out of this. It was my dream, but you had the affair in it." Although some people report that they do not remember their dreams, everyone dreams unless a particular kind of brain injury or a particular kind of medication interferes. In fact, the average person spends six years of his or her life dreaming. If you want to remember your dreams better, you can teach yourself to do so: Keep a pen and paper or a voice recorder next to your bed so you can record your dreams as soon as you wake up. If you wait, you are likely to forget most of them.

REM DREAMS AND NON-REM DREAMS Dreams occur in REM and non-REM sleep, but the dreams' contents differ in the two types of sleep. REM dreams are more likely to be bizarre. They may involve intense emotions, visual and auditory hallucina-

tions (but rarely taste, smell, or pain), and an uncritical acceptance of illogical events. Non-REM dreams are often very dull. They may concern mundane activities such as deciding what clothes to wear or taking notes in class.

The activation and deactivation of different brain regions during REM and non-REM sleep may be responsible for the different types of dreams. During non-REM sleep, there is general deactivation of many brain regions; during REM sleep, some areas of the brain show increased activity, whereas others show decreased activity (Hobson, 2009). The contents of REM dreams result from the activation of brain structures associated with motivation, emotion, and reward (e.g., the amygdala); the activation of visual association areas; and the deactivation of various parts of the prefrontal cortex (Schwartz & Maquet, 2002; **FIGURE 4.19**). As discussed in Chapter 3, the prefrontal cortex is indispensable for self-awareness, reflective thought, and conscious input from the external world. Because this brain region is deactivated during REM dreams, the brain's emotion centers and visual association areas interact without rational thought. Note, however, that REM and dreaming appear to be controlled by different neural signals (Solms, 2000). In other words, REM does not produce the dream state. REM is simply linked with the contents of dreams.

WHAT DO DREAMS MEAN? Sleep researchers are still speculating about the meaning of dreams. Sigmund Freud published one of the first theories in his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). Freud speculated that dreams contain hidden content that represents unconscious conflicts within the mind of the dreamer. The *manifest content* is the dream the way the dreamer remembers it. The *latent content* is what the dream symbolizes; it is the material disguised to protect the dreamer from confronting a conflict directly. Virtually no support exists for Freud's ideas that



FIGURE 4.19

Brain Regions and REM Dreams

These two views of the brain show the regions that are activated (shown in red) and deactivated (shown in blue) during REM sleep. **(a)** As seen here from the side, the motor cortex, the brain stem, and visual association areas are activated, as are brain regions involved in motivation, emotion, and reward (e.g., the amygdala). The prefrontal cortex is deactivated. **(b)** As shown here from below, other visual association areas are activated as well. (This view also reveals the full size of the prefrontal cortex.)

dreams represent hidden conflicts and that objects in dreams have special symbolic meanings. Daily life experiences do, however, influence the contents of dreams. For example, you may be especially likely to have dreams with anxious content while studying for exams.

Although most people think their dreams are uniquely their own, many common themes occur in dreams. Have you ever dreamed about showing up unprepared for an exam or finding that you are taking the wrong test? Many people in college have dreams like these. Even after you graduate and no longer take exams routinely, you probably will have similar dreams about being unprepared. Retired instructors sometimes dream about being unprepared to teach classes!

ACTIVATION-SYNTHESIS THEORY The sleep researchers John Alan Hobson and Robert McCarley (1977) proposed the **activation-synthesis theory**, which has dominated scientific thinking about dreaming. Hobson and McCarley theorized that random brain activity occurs during sleep and that this neural firing can activate mechanisms that normally interpret sensory input. The sleeping mind tries to make sense of the resulting sensory activity by synthesizing it with stored memories. From this perspective, dreams are the side effects of mental processes produced by random neural firing.

In 2000, Hobson and his colleagues revised the activation-synthesis theory to take into account recent findings in cognitive neuroscience. For instance, they included activation of the limbic regions, associated with emotion and motivation, as the source of dreams' emotional content. They also proposed, as mentioned earlier, that deactivation of the prefrontal cortex contributes to the delusional and illogical aspects of dreams.

activation-synthesis theory A theory of dreaming; this theory proposes that the brain tries to make sense of random brain activity that occurs during sleep by synthesizing the activity with stored memories. Critics of Hobson's theory argue that dreams are seldom as chaotic as might be expected if they were based on random brain activity (Domhoff, 2003). Indeed, the conscious experience of most dreams is fairly similar to waking life, albeit with some intriguing differences. The differences include a lack of self-awareness, reduced attention and voluntary control, increased emotionality, and poor memory (Nir & Tononi, 2010).

Meanwhile, the "mind-reading" methods described earlier in this chapter are being used to try to decode the content of dreams. Researchers had people sleep in the brain imaging machine, awakened them numerous times, and asked them what they were dreaming about (Horikawa, Tmaki, Miyawaki, & Kamitani, 2013). They then examined whether the brain activity that occurred just before the dream report was similar to how the brain responded when the participants were presented with various related images in a later imaging study. The researchers showed items that had appeared in many of the dream reports (e.g., person, house, car). They found that the brain activity associated with the content of the dream was similar to brain activity observed when people were looking at the related pictures. One day, it may be possible to know what people are dreaming about simply by recording their brain activity.

Summing Up

What Is Sleep?

- Most animals experience sleep. In this altered state of consciousness, the sleeper loses substantial contact with the external world.
- Sleep is characterized by five stages: 1, 2, 3, 4, and REM. Stages of sleep are associated with
 unique patterns of electrical activity in the brain, as reflected in EEG readings.
- Insomnia (inability to sleep), sleep apnea (interruptions in breathing), and narcolepsy (unexpectedly falling asleep) are common sleep disorders.
- Why animals sleep remains unknown. Sleep may serve a restorative function by helping the brain recover from its metabolic activity during the day. Sleep deprivation causes decreases in cognitive function, and it can induce illness and even death if prolonged. Sleep also facilitates learning.
- Dreams occur in both REM sleep and non-REM sleep, but the content of dreams differs between these two types. Non-REM dreams tend to be very realistic, whereas REM dreams tend to be more bizarre. The differences between REM and non-REM dreams may be due to the activation and deactivation of different brain structures during these types of sleep.
- It is not clear why people dream. Freud's controversial theory of dreaming suggests that the symbolic images in dreams help us resolve unconscious conflicts. Hobson and McCarley's activation-synthesis theory suggests that dreams result from neural activation produced during REM sleep. Other researchers point out that the content of dreams has many similarities to waking cognition.

Measuring Up

- 1. When people sleep:
 - the brain shuts down so it can rest and cannot process information from the outside world.
 - **b.** brain activity goes through several cycles of different stages, and different stages have their own characteristic patterns of brain waves.
 - the brain goes into a random pattern of firing that causes dreaming; dreaming is the left hemisphere interpreter making sense of brain activity.
 - **d.** Sleep cycles get longer and REM episodes get shorter as the night progresses.

2. Which of the following is a major hypothesis theory of why we dream?

- **a.** Dreams get rid of excessive energy that accumulates throughout the day.
- **b.** Dreams are a way of making sense of neural firing patterns.
- $\boldsymbol{c}.$ Dreams help us forget information we no longer need to remember.
- d. Dreams restore natural brain waves to their original state.

their own characteristic patterns of brain waves. (2) b. Dreams are a way of making sense of neural firing patterns.

ANSWERS: (1) b. brain activity goes through several cycles of different stages, and different stages have

4.3 What Is Altered Consciousness?

A person's consciousness varies naturally over the course of the day. Often this variation is due to the person's actions. Watching television might encourage zoning out, whereas learning to play a piece on the piano might focus attention. The following sections discuss three ways of altering consciousness: hypnosis, meditation, and immersion in an action.

Hypnosis Is Induced Through Suggestion

"You are getting sleeeeeeepy. Your eyelids are drooping.... Your arms and legs feel very heavy." Your eyelids really are drooping. You are fully relaxed. You hear, "You want to bark like a dog," and the next thing you know, you are bow-wowing at the moon. In this way, stage performers or magicians sometimes hypnotize audience members and instruct them to perform silly behaviors. Has the hypnotist presented a real change in mental state or just good theater? Would you really sit up on stage and start bowwowing on command? What exactly is hypnosis?

Hypnosis is a social interaction during which a person, responding to suggestions, experiences changes in memory, perception, and/or voluntary action (Kihlstrom, 1985; Kihlstrom & Eich, 1994). Psychologists generally agree that hypnosis affects some people, but they do not agree on whether it produces a genuinely altered state of consciousness (Jamieson, 2007).

During a hypnotic induction, the hypnotist makes a series of suggestions to at least one person (**FIGURE 4.20**). As the listener falls more deeply into the hypnotic state, the hypnotist makes more suggestions. If everything goes according to plan, the listener follows all the suggestions as though they are true.

Sometimes the hypnotist suggests that, after the hypnosis session, the listener will experience a change in memory, perception, or voluntary action. Such a *posthypnotic suggestion* is usually accompanied by the instruction to not remember the suggestion. For example, a stage performer or magician serving as a hypnotist might suggest, much to the delight of the audience, "When I say the word *dog*, you will stand up and bark like a dog. You will not remember this suggestions to help them diet or quit smoking, but evidence suggests that hypnosis has quite modest effects on these behaviors (Barnes et al., 2010; Wadden & Anderton, 1982). Evidence clearly indicates, however, that posthypnotic suggestions can at least subtly influence behaviors.

Consider a study of moral judgment conducted by Thalia Wheatley and Jonathan Haidt (2005). Participants in this study received a posthypnotic suggestion to feel a

Learning Objectives

- Compare and contrast the theories of hypnosis.
- Discuss the effects of meditation on consciousness.
- Define the concept of "flow."

hypnosis

A social interaction during which a person, responding to suggestions, experiences changes in memory, perception, and/or voluntary action.



FIGURE 4.20 Hypnosis Are hypnotized people merely playing a part suggested to them by the hypnotist? pang of disgust whenever they read a certain word. The word itself was neutral (e.g., the word *often*). Subsequently, participants made more-severe moral judgments when reading stories that included the word, even when the stories were innocuous. Like split-brain patients, the participants were surprised by their reactions and sometimes made up justifications to explain their harsh ratings, such as saying that the lead character seemed "up to something." This result suggests that the left hemisphere interpreter might be involved in people's understanding their own behavior when that behavior results from posthypnotic suggestion or another unconscious influence. (The interpreter is discussed in this chapter's "What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning" feature, "After-the-Fact Explanations: How Do We Interpret Our Behavior," on p. 142.)

Many people cannot be hypnotized. Hypnosis works primarily on those who score high on standardized tests for hypnotic suggestibility (Kallio & Revonsuo, 2003). Researchers have a hard time identifying the personality characteristics of the highly suggestible. Suggestibility seems related less to obvious traits such as intelligence and gullibility than to the tendencies to get absorbed in activities easily, to not be distracted easily, and to have a rich imagination (Balthazard & Woody, 1992; Crawford, Corby, & Kopell, 1996; Silva & Kirsch, 1992). Even with these tendencies, a person who dislikes the idea of being hypnotized or finds it frightening would likely not be hypnotized easily. To be hypnotized, a person must willingly go along with the hypnotist's suggestions. No evidence indicates that people will do things under hypnosis that they find immoral or otherwise objectionable.

THEORIES OF HYPNOSIS Some psychologists believe that a person under hypnosis essentially plays the role of a hypnotized person. That person is not faking hypnosis. Rather, he or she acts the part as if in a play, willing to perform actions called for by the "director," the hypnotist. According to this *sociocognitive theory of hypnosis*, hypnotized people behave as they expect hypnotized people to behave, even if those expectations are faulty (Kirsch & Lynn, 1995; Spanos & Coe, 1992). Alternatively, the *neodissociation theory of hypnosis* acknowledges the importance of social context to hypnosis, but it views the hypnotic state as an altered state (Hilgard, 1973). Accord-

red	blue	green	red	blue	yellow	red blue
blue	red	green	yellow	red	blue	green red
yellow	blue	green	red	blue	yellow	red green
green	yellov	w red	yellow	blue	red	green blue

ing to this theory, hypnosis is a trancelike state in which conscious awareness is separated, or dissociated, from other aspects of consciousness (Gruzelier, 2000).

It seems unlikely that a person could alter his or her brain activity to please a hypnotist, even if that hypnotist is a psychological researcher, and numerous brain imaging studies have supported the dissociation theory of hypnosis (Rainville, Hofbauer, Bushnell, Duncan, & Price, 2002). In one of

the earliest such studies, Stephen Kosslyn and colleagues (2000) demonstrated that when hypnotized participants were asked to imagine black-and-white objects as having color, they showed activity in visual cortex regions involved in color perception. Hypnotized participants asked to drain color from colored images showed diminished activity in those same brain regions. This activity pattern did not occur when participants were not hypnotized. These results suggest that the brain follows hypnotic suggestions.

Another study used the Stroop test, which is explained in **FIGURE 4.21**. Participants took the test having received the posthypnotic suggestion that they would be looking at meaningless symbols instead of words. The participants apparently followed that suggestion and therefore did not show the standard interference of the Stroop effect, which is believed to result from automatic cognitive processes that cannot be controlled (Raz, Shapiro, Fan, & Posner, 2002). In a subsequent imaging study,

FIGURE 4.21 The Stroop Test

This test involves naming the color in which a color's name is printed. Here, for example, each color name is printed in red, blue, green, and yellow ink. Most people take longer to name the ink color when it differs from the color name (bottom two rows) than when it matches the color name (top two rows). According to the Stroop effect, named after the psychologist John Ridley Stroop, the tendency to automatically read the word interferes with the process of naming the color. the same researchers found that their suggestion to view the words as meaningless was associated with less activity in brain regions typically activated when people read or perform the Stroop test. Thus, these participants seem to have perceived the stimuli as nonwords. This alteration of brain activity would be hard for people to accomplish just to please a hypnotist—or a researcher (Raz, Fan, & Posner, 2005).

HYPNOSIS FOR PAIN One of the most powerful uses of hypnosis is *hypnotic analgesia*, a form of pain reduction. Laboratory research has demonstrated that this technique works reliably (Hilgard & Hilgard, 1975; Nash & Barnier, 2008). For instance, a person who plunges one of his or her arms into extremely cold water will feel great pain, and the pain will intensify over time. On average, a person can leave the arm in the water for only about 30 seconds, but a person given hypnotic analgesia can hold out longer. As you might expect, people high in suggestibility who are given hypnotic



analgesia can tolerate the cold water the longest (Montgomery, DuHamel, & Redd, 2000).

There is overwhelming evidence that in clinical settings, hypnosis is effective in dealing with immediate pain (e.g., during surgery, undergoing dental work, recovering from burns) and chronic pain (e.g., from arthritis, cancer, diabetes; Patterson & Jensen, 2003). A patient can also be taught self-hypnosis to improve recovery from surgery (**FIGURE 4.22**). Hypnosis may work more by changing the patient's interpretation of pain than by diminishing pain. That is, the patient feels the sensations associated with pain but feels detached from those sensations (Price, Harkins, & Baker, 1987). An imaging study confirmed this pattern by showing that while hypnosis does not affect the sensory processing of pain, it reduces brain activity in regions that process the emotional aspects of pain (Rainville, Duncan, Price, Carrier, & Bushnell, 1997). Findings such as these provide considerable support for the dissociation theory of hypnosis. It seems implausible that either expectations about hypnosis or social pressure not to feel pain could explain how people given hypnotic analgesia are able to undergo painful surgery and not feel it. Nor does it seem likely that either expectations about hypnosis or social pressure not to feel pain could result in the changes in brain activity seen during hypnotic analgesia.

Meditation Produces Relaxation

Meditation is a mental procedure that focuses attention on an external object or on a sense of awareness. Through intense contemplation, the meditator develops a deep sense of tranquillity. There are two general forms of meditation. In *concentrative meditation*, you focus attention on one thing, such as your breathing pattern, a mental image, or a specific phrase (sometimes called a *mantra*). In *mindfulness meditation*, you let your thoughts flow freely, paying attention to them but trying not to react to them. You hear the contents of your inner voice, but you allow them to flow from one topic to the next without examining their meaning or reacting to them in any way. Why not take a break from reading and try one of these methods for at least 20 minutes (**FIGURE 4.23**)?

Different forms of meditation are popular in many Eastern religions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, and Sikhism. Religious forms of meditation are meant to bring

FIGURE 4.22 Self-Hypnosis This advertisement promotes one way that patients can learn self-hypnosis.

meditation

A mental procedure that focuses attention on an external object or on a sense of awareness.



FIGURE 4.23 Meditation

To practice concentrative meditation, focus your attention on your breathing pattern, in and out. To practice mindfulness meditation, let your thoughts flow freely without reacting to them.





FIGURE 4.24 The Brain on Meditation

In these fMRI scans, the circles indicate brain areas that typically show less activity when people are sad. After control subjects watched sad clips from movies, these areas of their brains were less active, as expected. However, in the brains of participants who had received eight weeks of meditation training, these areas remained active, indicating that these participants felt less sadness. spiritual enlightenment. Most forms of meditation popular in the West are meant to expand the mind, bring about feelings of inner peace, and help people deal with the tensions and stresses in their lives. These methods include *Zen, yoga,* and *transcendental meditation (TM)*, perhaps the best-known meditation procedure.

TM involves meditating with great concentration for 20 minutes twice a day. Many early studies found a number of benefits from TM, including lower blood pressure, fewer reports of stress, and changes in the hormonal responses underlying stress. These studies have been criticized, however, because they had small samples and lacked appropriate control groups. In a more rigorous recent study, a large number of heart patients were randomly assigned to TM or an educational program. After 16 weeks, the patients performing TM improved more than the control group on a number of health measures, including blood pressure and cholesterol level (Paul-Labrador et al., 2006). Unfortunately, this study does not show which aspects of TM produced the health benefits. Was it simply relaxing, or was it the altered state of consciousness? (As discussed in Chapter 11, reducing stress, no matter how it is done, yields substantial health benefits.)

Psychologists also study how meditation affects cognitive processing and brain function (Cahn & Polich, 2006). In one study, participants were assigned randomly to five days of either intensive meditation training or relaxation training. Those who underwent the meditation training showed greater stress reduction and more significant improvement in attention than did the group that underwent relaxation training (Tang et al., 2007). When participants in another study were made to feel sad, those who had received meditation training felt less sad than those in a control group who did not receive meditation training (Farb et al., 2010; FIGURE 4.24). Some researchers argue that long-term meditation brings about structural changes in the brain that help maintain brain function over the life span. For instance, the volume of gray matter typically diminishes with age. One study found that this volume did not diminish in older adults who practiced Zen meditation (Pagnoni & Cekic, 2007). This finding suggests that Zen meditation might help preserve cognitive functioning as people age. As you know from reading Chapter 2, however, correlation is not causation. People who meditate may differ substantially from people who do not, especially in terms of lifestyle choices such as diet and a willingness to take care of their health. Careful empirical research using the methods of psychological science should contribute significantly to our understanding of meditation's effects.

People Can Lose Themselves in Activities

When a person performs an automatic task, such as riding a bicycle, that person's conscious thoughts might not include the process of riding. Instead, the rider's brain shifts to "autopilot" and automatically goes through the motor-actions. During most of our daily activities, of course, we are consciously aware of only a small portion of both our thoughts and our behaviors.

EXERCISE, RELIGIOUS PRAYER, AND FLOW Why do many people listen to music while exercising? In offering a distraction from physical exertion, music can bring about an energizing shift in consciousness. Many people have had a similar but more extreme experience during exercise. One minute they are in pain and feeling fatigued, and the next minute they are euphoric and feeling a glorious release of energy. Commonly known as *runner's high*, this state is partially mediated by physiological processes (especially endorphin release; see Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior"). It also occurs because of a shift in consciousness.

Shifts in consciousness that are similar to runner's high occur at other moments in our lives. Religious ceremonies often decrease awareness of the external world and create feelings of euphoria, or *religious ecstasy*. Indeed, such rituals often involve chanting, dancing, and/or other behaviors as a way for people to lose themselves. Like meditation, religious ecstasy directs attention away from the self. In this way, it allows a person to focus on his or her spiritual awareness (**FIGURE 4.25**).

One psychological theory about such peak experiences is based on the concept of flow. Flow is "a particular kind of experience that is so engrossing and enjoyable [that it is] worth doing for its own sake even though it may have no consequence outside itself" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p. 824). That is, a person might perform a particular task out of fascination with it rather than out of a desire for a reward. Flow is an optimal experience in that the activity is completely absorbing and completely satisfying. The person experiencing flow loses track of time, forgets about his or her problems, and fails to notice other things going on (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). The person's skills are well matched with the task's demands; the situation is less like bicycle riding, where much of the work happens automatically, than like rock climbing, where every thought is on the next step and is concrete, not deep and abstract (Leary, 2004). Flow experiences have been reported during many activities, including playing music (O'Neil, 1999) or a moderately challenging version of the computer game Tetris (Keller & Bless, 2008), participating in sports (Jackson, Thomas, Marsh, & Smethurst, 2001), and simply doing satisfying jobs (Demerouti, 2006). In the view of the psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1999), flow experiences bring personal fulfillment and make life worth living.

ESCAPING THE SELF Conscious thoughts can be dominated by worries, frustrations, and feelings of personal failure. Sometimes people get tired of dealing with life's problems and try to make themselves feel better through escapist pursuits. Potential flow activities such as sports or work may help people escape thinking about their problems, but people engage in such activities mainly to feel personally fulfilled. The difference is between escaping and engaging. Sometimes people choose to escape the self rather than engage with life: To forget their troubles, they drink alcohol, take drugs, play video games, watch television, surf the Web, text, and so on. The selective appeal of escapist entertainment is that it distracts people from reflecting on their problems or their failures, thereby helping them avoid feeling bad about themselves.

Some escapist activities, such as running or reading, tend to have positive effects. Others tend to be relatively harmless distractions. Still others tend to come at great personal expense. For example, people obsessively playing online games such as *World of Warcraft* have lost their jobs and their marriages (**FIGURE 4.26**). They have even taken the lives of their offspring: In South Korea in 2010, Kim Jae-beom and his common-law wife, Kim Yun-jeong, neglected their 3-month-old daughter to the point that she died of starvation. The couple reportedly spent every night raising a virtual daughter as part of a role-playing game they engaged in at an Internet café.

Some ways of escaping the self can also be associated with self-destructive behaviors, such as binge eating, unsafe sex, and, at the extreme, suicide. According to the social psychologist Roy Baumeister (1991), people use such behaviors because, to escape their problems, they seek to reduce self-awareness. The state of being in lowered self-awareness may reduce long-term planning, reduce meaningful thinking, and help bring about uninhibited actions. Chapter 12 further discusses the connections between behavior and self-awareness. The next section of this chapter looks at a common way people try to escape their problems—namely, using drugs or alcohol to alter consciousness.



FIGURE 4.25 Religious Ecstasy During a service at an evangelical church in Toronto, a man is overcome with religious ecstasy. According to the photographer, the man was speaking in tongues (a form of prayer that involves uttering unintelligible sounds).



FIGURE 4.26 Escapist Entertainment Simple entertainment, such as playing video games, may have benefits. When such activity veers toward obsession, it may have negative effects.

Summing Up

What Is Altered Consciousness?

- Altered states of consciousness may be achieved through hypnosis, meditation, and immersion in activities.
- Some people are more susceptible to hypnosis than others. Many people cannot be hypnotized.
- Hypnotic and posthypnotic suggestions can alter how people react, even though they are not aware that a suggestion was given.
- Hypnosis can be used to control pain.
- Patterns of brain activity suggest that individuals who are hypnotized show activation in brain areas associated with the hypnotic suggestion.
- Concentrative and mindfulness meditation may contribute to improved health.
- Flow is an altered state of consciousness that results from engaging in a task that is deeply absorbing, requires extreme physical exertion, or produces a profound religious experience.
- Altering consciousness by escaping the self can have benefits. Taken to extremes, such activity can have devastating consequences.

Measuring Up

Mark each statement below with a T if it is true and an F if it is false.

a. Participants under hypnosis who were told that they would not see real words did not show the Stroop effect.
b. Brain imaging showed that hypnotized subjects really were asleep.
c. Brain imaging showed that hypnosis changes brain activity in ways that do not support the idea that people are simply role playing.
d. People who are hypnotized will do anything the hypnotist tells them to.
e. Hypnosis is not useful in reducing pain.
f. Hypnotized people are aware of the hypnotist's suggestions and simply go along with what they are asked to do.
g. Meditation produces an altered state of consciousness brought on by deep concentration.
h. Flow refers to the free-flowing thoughts that often accompany mindfulness meditation.
i. Escaping the self offers health benefits equal to meditation.

Learning Objectives

- Describe the neurochemical, psychological, and behavioral effects of stimulants, depressants, opiates/narcotics, hallucinogens/psychedelics, and other commonly used drugs.
- Identify physiological and psychological factors associated with addiction.

4.4 How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness?

Throughout history, people have discovered that ingesting certain substances can alter their mental states in various ways. Some of those altered states, however momentary, can be pleasant. Some, especially over the long term, can have negative consequences, including injury or death. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013b), up to 317 million people around the globe age 15-64 use illicit drugs each year. Societal problems stemming from drug abuse are well known. Most people probably know and care about someone addicted to alcohol, to an illegal substance, or to a prescription medication. To investigate the biological, individual, and societal effects of drug use, psychologists ask questions such as *Why do people use drugs? Why do some people become addicted to drugs? Why do drug addicts continue to abuse drugs when doing so causes illness, turmoil, and suffering for themselves and people close to them?*

People Use-and Abuse-Many Psychoactive Drugs

Drugs are a mixed blessing. If they are the right ones, taken under the right circumstances, they can provide soothing relief from severe pain or a moderate headache. They can help people suffering from depression lead more satisfying lives. They can help children who have attention deficits or hyperactivity disorders settle down and learn better. But many of these same drugs can be used for "recreational" purposes: to alter physical sensations, levels of consciousness, thoughts, moods, and behaviors in ways that users believe are desirable. This recreational use can sometimes have negative consequences, including drug addiction. Addiction is drug use that remains compulsive despite its negative consequences.

Psychoactive drugs are mind-altering substances that people typically take for recreational purposes. These drugs change the brain's neurochemistry by activating neurotransmitter systems: either by imitating the brain's natural neurotransmitters (e.g., marijuana, opiates) or changing the activity of particular neurotransmitter receptors. The effect(s) of a particular drug depend(s) on which neurotransmitter system(s) it imitates or activates (**TABLE 4.1**).

Stimulants, for example, are drugs that increase behavioral and mental activity. They stimulate, or heighten, activity of the central nervous system. Stimulants also activate the sympathetic nervous system, increasing heart rate and blood pressure. They improve mood, but they also cause people to become restless, and they disrupt sleep. Amphetamines, methamphetamine, and cocaine are potent stimulants. Nicotine and caffeine are mild stimulants.

Some stimulants work by interfering with the normal reuptake of dopamine by the releasing neuron—allowing dopamine to remain in the synapse and thus prolonging its effects—whereas other stimulants also increase the release of dopamine (Fibiger, 1993). Activation of dopamine receptors seems to be involved in drug use in two ways. First, the increased dopamine is associated with greater reward, or increased liking (Volkow, Wang, & Baler, 2011). Second, the increased dopamine leads to a greater desire to take a drug, even if that drug does not produce pleasure. Thus, sometimes an addict *wants* a drug even if the addict does not *like* the drug when he or she uses it. Research indicates that endorphins also contribute to the liking aspect of addiction (Kringelbach & Berridge, 2009).

ТҮРЕ	PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT(S)	EXAMPLES	NEUROTRANSMITTER System(s)
Stimulants	Increase behavioral and mental activity	Amphetamines, methamphetamine, cocaine, nicotine, caffeine	Dopamine, norepinephrine, acetylcholine (nicotine)
Depressants	Decrease behavioral and mental activity	Anti-anxiety drugs (barbiturates, benzodiazepines), alcohol	GABA
Opiates/narcotics	Reduce the experience of pain	Heroin, morphine, codeine	Endorphins
Hallucinogens/ psychedelics	Alter thoughts or perceptions	LSD, PCP, peyote, psilocybin, mushrooms	Serotonin (LSD, peyote, psilocybin), glutamate (PCP)
Combination	Mixed effects	Marijuana, MDMA	Cannabinoid (marijuana), serotonin, dopamine, norepinephrine (MDMA)

TABLE 4.1 Psychoactive Drugs

addiction Drug use that remains compulsive despite its negative consequences.



FIGURE 4.27 Alcohol

The open display and easy availability of alcohol makes us forget that it is a widely abused depressant. *Depressants* have the opposite effect of stimulants. They reduce behavioral and mental activity by depressing the central nervous system. Alcohol is the most widely used depressant—in fact, it is the most widely used and abused drug (**FIGURE 4.27**). Anti-anxiety drugs, such as benzodiazepines, commonly given to calm people and reduce worry, are also depressants. In sufficiently high doses, depressants can induce sleep, which is why they are sometimes referred to as sedatives. Chapter 15, "Psychological Treatments," discusses the clinical use of depressants.

Opiates, sometimes called narcotics, include heroin, morphine, and codeine. Recall from Chapter 3 that endorphins are the brain's natural mechanism for relieving pain. Various drugs derived from the opium poppy are able to bind with endorphin receptors and in doing so help relieve pain. Opiates also provide intense feelings of pleasure, relaxation, and euphoria. Activation of opiate receptors is involved in the experience of reward (Berridge & Kringelbach, 2013; Smith, Berridge, & Aldridge, 2011; this connection is discussed further in Chapter 6, "Learning"). Heroin provides a rush of intense pleasure that most addicts describe as similar to orgasm. This rush evolves into a pleasant, relaxed stupor. Heroin and morphine may be so highly addictive because they have dual physical effects: They increase pleasure by binding with opiate receptors and increase wanting of the drug by activating dopamine receptors (Kuhn, Swartzwelder, & Wilson, 2003).

Opiates have been used to relieve pain and suffering for hundreds of years. Indeed, before the twentieth century, heroin was widely available without prescription and was marketed by Bayer, the aspirin company (**FIGURE 4.28**). The benefits of short-term



FIGURE 4.28

Early Heroin Ad

Before 1904, Bayer advertised heroin as "the sedative for coughs."

opiate use to relieve severe pain seem clear, but long-term opiate use to relieve chronic pain will much more likely lead to abuse or addiction than will short-term use (Ballantyne & LaForge, 2007). Moreover, long-term use of opiates is associated with a number of neurological and cognitive deficits, such as attention and memory problems (Gruber, Silveri, & Yurgelun-Todd, 2007). Therefore, clinicians need to be cautious in prescribing opiates, such as Vicodin and Oxycontin, especially when the drugs will be used over extended periods.

Hallucinogens, sometimes called psychedelics, produce alterations in cognition, mood, and perception. These drugs change how users experience the world around them. The most common hallucinogen is *lysergic acid diethylamide* (*LSD*). LSD was discovered in 1938 and is made from a chemical found in certain types of fungus that grows on rye and other wheats called ergot. It is usually taken orally, and the drug experience, informally referred to as a "trip," lasts for about 12 hours. LSD changes sensory experiences and can produce extreme hallucinations, pleasurable or unpleasurable. People using LSD have a distorted sense of time.

A naturally occurring form of LSD might have been responsible for the bizarre behavior that led to accusations of witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Some residents of Salem, especially teenagers and children, suffered from seizures, convulsions, hallucinations, blindness, prickling sensations, nausea, and other symptoms. Their behavior was taken as signaling demonic possession and witchery, and as

punishment they were put to death by burning at the stake. It is possible, however, that ergot may have caused these symptoms. The "witches" of Salem may have inadvertently eaten LSD-tainted bread.

Many other substances, such as certain plants and fungi, have psychedelic properties. For example, eating the top part of the peyote cactus or certain types of mushrooms, such as *psilocybin mushrooms*, produces hallucinogenic effects. These psychedelic substances have been used in various religious rites throughout history.

Many commonly used drugs do not fit neatly into these major categories because they produce a range of psychological effects. For instance, marijuana acts as a depressant but also has a slight hallucinogenic effect, as you will see later in the chapter.

This section considers a few common psychoactive drugs in more detail. Some of these drugs have legitimate medical uses, but all of them are frequently abused outside of treatment.

AMPHETAMINES AND METHAMPHETAMINE Amphetamines are stimulants that increase dopamine in the synapse. Their primary effect is to reduce fatigue. Amphetamines have a long history of use for weight loss and for staying awake. However, their numerous negative side effects include insomnia, anxiety, and potential for addiction. Legitimate medical purposes include the treatment of narcolepsy and of attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders"). The drug Adderall contains amphetamine and is prescribed to treat ADHD. It is also widely abused as a study aid on college campuses (Weyandt et al., 2013). Self-reports of nonmedical stimulant use by college students increased from 5 percent in 2003 to just under 10 percent in 2013 (McCabe, West, Teter, & Boyd, 2014).

Another widely used stimulant is methamphetamine, which breaks down into amphetamine in the body. Metamphetamine was first developed in the early twentieth century for use as a nasal decongestant, but its recreational use became popular in the 1980s. The National Survey of Drug Use and Health for 2012 estimates that over 4 percent of the U.S. population ages 12 and over have tried methamphetamine at some point in their lives (National Institute of Drug Abuse, 2014). The use of methamphetamine may have declined in recent years, however (Gonzales, Mooney, & Rawson, 2010). One factor that encourages the use of this drug and may explain its popularity over the past decade is that it is easy to make from common over-the-counter drugs, as depicted in the critically acclaimed television show *Breaking Bad*.

By blocking the reuptake of dopamine and increasing its release, methamphetamine produces very high levels of dopamine in the synapse. In addition, methamphetamine stays in the body and brain much longer than, say, cocaine, so its effects are prolonged. Over time, methamphetamine damages various brain structures, including the frontal lobes (**FIGURE 4.29**). Ultimately, it depletes dopamine levels. The drug's effects on the temporal lobes and the limbic system may explain the harm done to memory and emotion in long-term users (Kim et al., 2006; Thompson et al., 2004). Methamphetamine also causes considerable physical damage (**FIGURE 4.30**).

COCAINE Cocaine is a stimulant derived from the leaves of the coca bush, which grows primarily in South America. After inhaling (snorting) cocaine as a powder or smoking it in the form of crack cocaine, users experience a wave of confidence. They feel good, alert, energetic, sociable, and wide awake. Cocaine produces its stimulating effects by increasing the concentration of dopamine in synapses. These short-term effects are especially intense for crack cocaine users. In contrast, habitual use of cocaine in large quantities can lead to paranoia, psychotic behavior, and violence (Ottieger, Tressell, Inciardi, & Rosales, 1992).

Cocaine has a long history of use in America. John Pemberton, a pharmacist from Georgia, was so impressed with cocaine's effects that in 1886 he added the drug to soda water for easy ingestion, thus creating Coca-Cola. In 1906, the U.S. government



FIGURE 4.29 Methamphetamine's Effects on the Brain

This image is a composite of brain scans from 29 methamphetamine addicts. The red and yellow areas represent the brain damage that typically occurs in the frontal cortex as a result of methamphetamine abuse (Kim et al., 2006). Such damage may explain the cognitive problems associated with methamphetamine use.

FIGURE 4.30 Methamphetamine's Effects on the Person

These before-and-after photos dramatically illustrate how the physical damage from methamphetamine can affect appearance. The photo on the left was taken in May 2000, and the photo on the right was taken six months later.



outlawed cocaine, so it was removed from the drink. To this day, however, coca leaves from which the cocaine has been removed are used in the making of Coke (**FIGURE 4.31**).

COCA-COLA SYRUP * AND * EXTRACT.

For Soda Water and other Carbonated Beverages.

This "INTELLECTUAL BEVERAGE" and TEMPERANCE DRINK contains the valuable TONIC and NERVE STIM-ULANT properties of the Coca plant and Cola (or Kola) nuts, and makes not only a delicious, exhilarating, refreshing and invigorating Beverage, (dispensed from the soda water fountain or in other carbonated beverages), but a valuable Brain Tonic, and a cure for all nervous affections — SICK HEAD-ACHE, NEURALGIA, HYSTERIA, MELANCHOLY, &c.

The peculiar flavor of COCA-COLA delights every palate; it is dispensed from the soda fountain in same manner as any of the fruit syrups.

S. Pemberton; Chemist, Q Sole Proprietor, Atlanta, Ga.

FIGURE 4.31 Early Coke Ad

This advertisement's claim that Coca-Cola is "a valuable Brain Tonic" may have been inspired by the incorporation of cocaine into the drink before 1906. **ALCOHOL** Alcohol produces its effects by activating GABA receptors. Recall from Chapter 3 that GABA is the primary inhibitory neurotransmitter in the brain. Through its effects on GABA receptors, alcohol inhibits neural activity, which may be why alcohol is typically experienced as relaxing. GABA reception may also be the primary mechanism by which alcohol interferes with motor coordination and results in slowed reaction time and slurred speech. Drugs that block the effects of alcohol on GABA receptors also prevent alcohol intoxication. However, drugs that prevent the effects of alcohol are not used to treat alcoholics, because reducing the symptoms of being drunk could easily lead to even greater alcohol abuse.

Many societies have a love/hate relationship with alcohol. On the one hand, moderate drinking is an accepted aspect of social interaction and may even be good for one's health (**FIGURE 4.32**). On the other hand, alcohol is a major contributor to many societal problems, such as spousal abuse and other forms of violence. Although the percentage of traffic fatalities due to alcohol is dropping, alcohol was still a factor in about one-third of fatal accidents in the United States in 2012 (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2013). About 80,000 deaths each year in the United States are caused by alcohol, and the overall cost of problem drinking—from lost productivity due to employee absence, health care expenses, and so on—is estimated to be more than \$223 billion annually (Sacks et al., 2013).

Although the legal age for drinking in the United States is 21, more than 70 percent of high school students (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2012) and 75 percent of college students (Barnes, Welte, Hoffman, & Tidwell, 2010) have consumed alcohol. A large percentage of drinking by college students is "binge drinking," or drinking more than five drinks in one evening. Drinking to intoxication is associated with various negative outcomes for college students. Every year, more than 1,800 college students die as a result of excessive alcohol use (Hingson, Zha, & Weitzman, 2009). About onethird of college students reported having had sex during a drinking binge, and the heaviest drinkers were likely to have had sex with a new or casual partner (Leigh & Schafer, 1993), thus increasing their risk for exposure to AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. Date rape also often involves alcohol (White & Hingson, 2014).

In every region of the world, across a wide variety of measures—drinking versus abstinence, heavy drinking versus occasional drinking, alcohol-related disorders, and so on men drink a lot more than women (**FIGURE 4.33**). Men are twice as likely to report binge drinking, chronic drinking, and recent alcohol intoxication. Although gender differences in alcohol use are smaller for university students and adolescents (Swendsen et al., 2012), young males are much more likely to be binge drinkers (Patrick et al., 2013).

One possible explanation is that women do not metabolize alcohol as quickly as men do and generally have smaller body volumes, so they consume less alcohol than men to achieve the same effects. Another possible explanation is that women's drinking may be more hidden because it is less socially accepted than men's drinking. According to this view, women's alcohol consumption may be underreported, especially in cultures where it is frowned upon or forbidden. In some cultures, "real men" are expected to drink a lot and prove they can "hold" their liquor, whereas women who do the same are seen as abnormal.

Alan Marlatt (1999), a leading researcher on substance abuse, has noted that people view alcohol as the "magic elixir," capable of increasing social skills, sexual pleasure, confidence, and power. They anticipate that alcohol will have positive effects on their emotions and behavior. For example, people tend to think that alcohol reduces anxiety, so both light and heavy drinkers turn to alcohol after a difficult day. Alcohol *can* interfere with the cognitive processing of threat cues, so that anxiety-provoking events are less troubling when people are intoxicated. This effect occurs, however, only if people drink *before* the anxiety-provoking events. In fact, according to the research, drinking after a hard day can increase people's focus on and obsession with their problems (Sayette, 1993). In addition, while moderate doses of alcohol are associated with more-positive moods, larger doses are associated with more-negative moods.

Expectations about alcohol's effects are learned very early in life, through observation. Children may see that people who drink have a lot of fun and that drinking is an important aspect of many celebrations. Teenagers may view drinkers as sociable and grown up, two things they desperately want to be. Studies have shown that children who have very positive expectations about alcohol are more likely to start drinking and become heavy drinkers than children who do not share those expectations (Leigh & Stacy, 2004).

According to the social psychologists Jay Hull and Charles Bond (1986), expectations about alcohol profoundly affect behavior. These researchers gave study participants tonic water with or without alcohol. Regardless of the drinks' actual contents, they told some participants they were drinking just tonic water and some they were drinking tonic water with alcohol. This balanced-placebo design allowed for a comparison of those who thought they were drinking tonic water but were actually drinking alcohol with those who thought they were drinking alcohol but were actually drinking tonic water. The researchers demonstrated that alcohol impairs motor processes, information processing, and mood, independent of whether the person thinks he or she has consumed it. In addition, the researchers demonstrated that thinking one has consumed alcohol-regardless of whether one has actually consumed it-leads to less inhibition about various social behaviors, such as aggression and sexual arousal. Thus, some behaviors generally associated with drunkenness are accounted for by learned beliefs about intoxication rather than by alcohol's pharmacological properties. Sometimes the learned expectations and the pharmacology work in opposite ways. For instance, alcohol tends to increase sexual arousal, but it interferes with sexual performance.



FIGURE 4.32 Socially Accepted Drinking Drinking in moderation is a widely accepted part of social interaction in most societies.



FIGURE 4.33 Male Drinking Across the globe, men drink the most alcohol.

MARIJUANA The most widely used illicit drug in the world is marijuana, the dried leaves and flower buds of the cannibis plant. Many drugs can easily be categorized as a stimulant, a depressant, or a hallucinogen, but marijuana can have the effects of all three types. The psychoactive ingredient in marijuana is *THC*, or tetrahydrocannabinol. This chemical produces a relaxed mental state, an uplifted or contented mood, and some perceptual and cognitive distortions. For some users, it impairs perception, whereas for others it makes perceptions more vivid, especially taste perceptions.

Like depressants, marijuana decreases reaction times, impairs motor coordination, impairs memory formation, and impairs the recall of recently learned information. As opposed to alcohol, which is metabolized and cleared in a few hours, THC and the by-products of its metabolism remain in the body for up to a month. With THC still in their system, frequent users of marijuana may get high with a lower dose than infrequent users. Most first-time users do not experience the "high" obtained by more experienced users. In this way, marijuana differs from most other drugs. Generally, the first time someone uses a drug, the effects are very strong, and over time the person has to use more of the drug to get the same effect. That progression is not the case with marijuana.

Although the brain mechanisms that marijuana affects remain somewhat mysterious, researchers have discovered a class of receptors that are activated by naturally occurring THC-like substances. Activation of these *cannabinoid receptors* appears to adjust mental activity and perhaps alter pain perception. The large concentration of these receptors in the hippocampus may partly explain why marijuana impairs memory (Ilan, Smith, & Gevins, 2004).

Heavy long-term use of marijuana is associated with a smaller hippocampus and amygdala, brain regions involved in processing emotions (Yucel et al., 2008). Whether smoking marijuana causes long-term deficits in cognitive processes is more controversial. One study found that frequent marijuana use in childhood predicted cognitive problems in adulthood (Meier et al., 2012). As you know from reading Chapter 2, however, correlation does not prove causation. Other researchers who have looked at the same data argue that socioeconomic status is a confounding factor (Rogeberg, 2013). That is, children who grow up in impoverished circumstances are more likely to smoke marijuana *and* more likely to show cognitive deficits in adulthood.

Marijuana is also used for its medicinal properties, and this use is legal in many countries and currently 20 American states (**FIGURE 4.34**). For instance, cancer patients undergoing chemotherapy report that marijuana is effective for overcoming nausea. Nearly 1 in 4 AIDS patients reports using marijuana to relieve nausea and pain (Prentiss, Power, Balmas, Tzuang, & Israelski, 2004). The medical use of marijuana is controversial because of the possibility that chronic use can cause health problems or lead to abuse of the drug. Some countries and American states have concluded that such risks are offset by a reduction in the problems created by criminal activity associated with illegal drug use. Recently, the states of Colorado and Washington legalized recreational marijuana use by adults. Many other states are expected to follow suit.

MDMA MDMA produces an energizing effect similar to that of stimulants, but it also causes slight hallucinations. The street version of MDMA is sold as pills named ecstasy or Molly, but these pills often contain other stimulants in addition to MDMA. According to the National Institute of Drug Abuse (2010), ecstasy use by high school students increased from 3.7 percent to 4.7 percent between 2009 and 2010. The drug first became popular in the 1990s among young adults in nightclubs and at all-night parties known as raves.

Compared with amphetamines, MDMA is associated with less dopamine activity and more serotonin activity. The serotonin release may explain ecstasy's hallucinogenic properties. Research on animals has shown that MDMA can cause damage to a number of brain regions, particulary the prefrontal cortex and the hippocampus (Halpin, Collins,



FIGURE 4.34 Medicinal Use of Marijuana Employees assist customers at the River Rock Medical Marijuana Center in Denver, Colorado.

& Yamamoto, 2014). Studies with humans show evidence of a range of impairments from long-term ecstacy use, especially memory problems and a diminished ability to perform complex tasks (Parrott, 2013). Of course, any drug can be toxic in large doses or taken for long periods. Currently, controversy exists over whether occasional recreational use of ecstacy by itself causes long-term damage. Some ecstacy users take very high does or regularly use other drugs, such as methamphetamine, that are known to be neurotoxic (Gallagher et al., 2014). Growing evidence suggests that MDMA may have potential benefits for use in the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder (Doblin et al., 2014; you will learn more about this disorder in Chapter 14, "Psychologial Disorders"). The drug promotes feelings of compassion and trust and reduces the negative emotions that people have about their traumatic experiences even after the drug wears off (Mithoefer et al., 2013). When used as part of treatment, MDMA does not have negative effects on health or cognition (White, 2014).

One concern is that many pills being sold as ecstasy or Molly contain other dangerous chemicals, such as drugs used to anaesthetize animals. Even when they contain MDMA, the doses vary widely, increasing the likelihood of overdose (Morefield, Keane, Felgate, White, & Irvine, 2011; Wood, Stribley, Dargan, Davis, Holt, & Ramsey, 2011). Several northeastern college students attending concerts during the summer of 2013 died after consuming what they believed to be Molly (**FIGURE 4.35**).

Addiction Has Physical and Psychological Aspects

Drug addiction has physical and psychological factors. Physical dependence on a drug is a physiological state associated with *tolerance*, in which a person needs to consume more of a particular substance to achieve the same subjective effect. Failing to ingest the substance leads to symptoms of *withdrawal*, a physiological and psychological state characterized by feelings of anxiety, tension, and cravings for the addictive substance. The physical symptoms of withdrawal vary widely from drug to drug and from individual to individual, but they include nausea, chills, body aches, and tremors. A person can be psychologically dependent, however, without showing tolerance or withdrawal. This section focuses on addiction to substances that alter consciousness, but people can also become psychologically dependent on behaviors, such as shopping or gambling.

ADDICTION'S CAUSES How do people become addicted? One central factor appears to be dopamine activity in the limbic system, particularly the nucleus accumbens (a brain structure discussed in Chapter 3), because this activity underlies the *wanting* properties of taking drugs (Baler & Volkow, 2006). Other brain regions that are important for addiction include the prefrontal cortex, amygdala, thalamus, and hippocampus (Koob & Volkow, 2010). A brain region called the insula also seems to be important for the craving component of addiction (Goldstein et al., 2009; **FIGURE 4.36**). Patients with insula damage report that immediately after being injured, they quit smoking easily. In fact, they no longer experience conscious urges to smoke. One patient who had a stroke to his left insula commented that he quit smoking because his "body forgot the urge to smoke" (Naqvi, Rudrauf, Damasio, & Bechara, 2007, p. 534).

Only about 5 percent to 10 percent of those who use drugs become addicted. Indeed, more than 90 million Americans have experimented with illicit drugs, yet most of them use drugs only occasionally or try them for a while and then give them up. In a longitudinal study, Jonathan Shedler and Jack Block (1990) found that those who had experimented with drugs as adolescents were better adjusted in adulthood than those who had never tried them. Complete abstainers and heavy drug users had adjustment problems compared with those who had experimented. This finding does not suggest, however, that everyone should try drugs or that parents should encourage



FIGURE 4.35 Deaths from MDMA

Concertgoers are shown at Electric Zoo 2013, a Labor Day weekend of electronic dance music in NewYork City. Two attendees died after taking MDMA sold as Molly, and the festival was ended a day early.



FIGURE 4.36 Insula This brain region appears to play a role in craving.

(a)







FIGURE 4.37 The Sixties, Drugs, and Vietnam

(a) By the late 1960s, youth culture had taken many new forms in the United States and elsewhere. In exploring the boundaries of society and consciousness, many young people experimented with drugs. Here, two people share drugs at the Shiva Fellowship Church Earth Faire at Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, in April 1969. (b) Through those years and beyond, the United States played a leading role in the Vietnam War, a military conflict that took place in the "faraway lands" of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Perhaps inevitably, the changes and conflicts at home influenced the changes and conflicts away from home. For example, many U.S. soldiers abused drugs. Here, two soldiers exchange vials of heroin in Quang Tri Province, South Vietnam, July 1971.

drug experimentation. After all, no one can predict just who will become addicted or who is prepared to handle a drug's effects on behavior.

Some adolescents are especially likely to experiment with illegal drugs and to abuse alcohol. Adolescents high in sensation seeking (a personality trait that involves attraction to novelty and risk taking) are more likely to associate with deviant peer groups and to use alcohol, tobacco, and drugs (Patrick & Schulenberg, 2014; Wills, DuHamel, & Vaccaro, 1995). These adolescents and their parents tend to have poor relationships, which in turn promote the adolescent's association with deviant peer groups. Does the family environment determine alcohol and drug use? Some theorists suggest that an inherited predisposition to sensation seeking may predict particular behaviors, such as affiliating with drug users. Such behaviors, in turn, may increase the possibility of substance abuse.

Some evidence points to genetic components of addiction, especially for alcoholism, but little direct evidence points to a single "alcoholism" or "addiction" gene. Rather, what people inherit is a cluster of characteristics (Volkow & Muenke, 2012). These inherited risk factors might include personality traits such as risk taking and impulsivity, a reduced concern about personal harm, a nervous system chronically low in arousal, or a predisposition to finding chemical substances pleasurable. In turn, such factors may make some people more likely to explore drugs and enjoy them.

Social learning theorists have sought to account for the initiation of drug or alcohol use among children or adolescents. They emphasize the roles of parents, the mass media, and peers, including self-identification with high-risk groups (e.g., "stoners" or "druggies"). Teenagers want to fit in somewhere, even with groups that society perceives as deviant. And as discussed further in Chapter 6, children imitate the behavior of role models, especially those they admire or with whom they identify. For children whose parents smoke, the modeling of the behavior may be continuous through early childhood and elementary school. When parents smoke, their children tend to have positive attitudes about smoking and to begin smoking early (Rowe, Chassin, Presson, & Sherman, 1996).

ADDICTION'S CONTEXT Some evidence suggests that context is important for understanding addiction. For example, in the late 1960s, drug abuse among U.S. soldiers, including the use of narcotics such as heroin and opium, appeared to be epidemic. The widespread drug use was not surprising. It was a time of youthful drug experimentation, soldiers in Vietnam had easy access to various drugs, and drugs helped the soldiers cope temporarily with fear, depression, homesickness, boredom, and the repressiveness of army regulations (FIGURE 4.37). The military commanders mostly ignored drug use among soldiers, viewing it as "blowing off steam."

Beginning in 1971, the military began mandatory drug testing of soldiers to identify and detoxify drug users before they returned to the United States. Amid speculation that a flood of addicted soldiers returning from Vietnam would swamp treatment facilities back home, the White House asked a team of behavioral scientists to study a group of returning soldiers and assess the extent of the addiction problem. Led by the behavioral epidemiologist Lee Robins, the research team examined a random sample of 898 soldiers who were leaving Vietnam in September 1971.

Robins and her colleagues found extremely high levels of drug use among the soldiers (Robins, Helzer, & Davis, 1975). Over 90 percent reported drinking alcohol, nearly three-quarters smoked marijuana, and nearly half used narcotics such as heroin, morphine, and opium. About half of the soldiers who used narcotics either had symptoms of addiction or reported believing they would be unable to give up their drug habits. The team's findings suggested that approximately 1 soldier in 5 returning from Vietnam was a drug addict. Given the prevailing view that addiction was a biological disorder with a low rate of recovery, these results indicated that tens of thousands of heroin addicts would soon be inundating the United States. But that did not happen.

Robins and her colleagues examined drug use among the soldiers after they returned to the United States. Of those who were apparently addicted to narcotics in Vietnam, only half sought out drugs when they returned to the States, and fewer still maintained their narcotic addictions. Approximately 95 percent of the addicts no longer used drugs within months of their return—an astonishing quit rate considering that the success rate of the best treatments is typically only 20 percent to 30 percent. A long-term follow-up study conducted in the early 1990s confirmed that only a handful of those who were addicts in Vietnam remained addicts.

Why did coming home help the addicts recover? In the United States, they likely did not have the same motivations for taking the drugs as they did in Vietnam. No longer needing the drugs to escape combat's horrors, they focused on other needs and goals, such as careers and family obligations. An important lesson from this case study is that we cannot ignore environment when we try to understand addiction. Knowing drugs' physical actions in the brain may give us insights into addiction's biology, but that information fails to account for how these biological impulses can be overcome by other motivations.

Summing Up

How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness?

- Categories of psychoactive drugs include stimulants (such as amphetamines and cocaine), depressants (such as alcohol), opiates/narcotics (such as heroin and morphine), and hallucinogens/psychedelics (such as LSD). Other psychoactive drugs, such as marijuana and MDMA, do not fit neatly into categories because they have various effects.
- Psychoactive drugs produce their effects by influencing neurotransmitter systems. Virtually
 all abused drugs affect dopamine reward centers in the brain, either directly or indirectly.
- The abuse of drugs is costly to society, contributing to illness, violence, crime, and death.
- Excessive drug use can lead to addiction, a condition characterized by physical and psychological dependence. Various brain regions, especially the nucleus accumbens, have been implicated in the experience of addiction. The insula is important for the experience of craving.
- Addiction is influenced by personality factors, such as sensation seeking. Addiction is also
 influenced by the environment or context in which drug use occurs.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which statement about the way drugs work is false?
 - a. Drugs can increase the release of a neurotransmitter.
 - **b.** Drugs can mimic a neurotransmitter at the receptor.
 - c. Drugs can affect only one neurotransmitter system at a time.
 - d. Drugs are either stimulants or depressants.
- 2. Match each of the following drugs or drug categories with the appropriate statement below: stimulants, MDMA, opiates, marijuana, alcohol.
 - a. It is involved in more than one-third of fatal car accidents.
 - **b.** It is the only drug that does not have its strongest effect on first-time users.
 - c. They include heroin, morphine, and codeine.
 - d. Its psychoactive ingredient is THC, or tetrahydrocannabinol.
 - e. They include cocaine, nicotine, caffeine, and amphetamines.
 - f. It is known as ecstasy.
 - g. According to their reports, one-third of college students had sex while under its influence.
 - h. One of them was used in Coca-Cola's original recipe.

AMSWERS: (1) c. Drugs can affect only one neurotransmitter system at a time. (2) a. alcohol; b. marijuana; c. opiates; d. marijuana; e. stimulants; f. MDMA; g. alcohol; h. stimulants.
Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

4.1 What Is Consciousness?

- Consciousness Is a Subjective Experience: Consciousness is our moment-to-moment subjective experiences. Consciousness is difficult to study because of its subjective nature. Brain imaging research demonstrates that particular brain regions are activated by particular types of conscious and unconscious experiences.
- Conscious Awareness Involves Attention: At any one time, each person can be conscious of a limited number of things. A person's level of consciousness varies throughout the day and depends on the task at hand. Change blindness illustrates how selective an individual's attention can be: We often do not notice large changes in an environment because we fail to pay attention.
- Unconscious Processing Influences Behavior: Research findings indicate that much of a person's behavior occurs automatically, without that person's conscious awareness. Thought and behavior can be influenced by stimuli that are not experienced at a conscious level.
- Brain Activity Gives Rise to Consciousness: According to the global workspace model, consciousness arises from activity in different cortical areas. A person in a persistent vegetative state has no brain activity. A person in a minimally conscious state has brain activity, suggesting some awareness of external stimuli. A person who is brain dead is not alive; the person's body is being kept alive artificially.

4.2 What Is Sleep?

- Sleep Is an Altered State of Consciousness: Sleep is characterized by five stages that vary in brain activity. These stages range from short bursts of irregular waves (stages 1–2), to large, slow brain waves during deep, restful sleep (stages 3–4). REM sleep is marked by a return to short, fast brain waves and is accompanied by rapid eye movements, body paralysis, and dreaming. Sleep disorders include insomnia, sleep apnea, and narcolepsy.
- Sleep Is an Adaptive Behavior: Sleep allows the body, including the brain, to rest and restore itself. Sleep also protects animals from harm at times of the day when they are most susceptible to danger, and it facilitates learning through the strengthening of neural connections.
- People Dream While Sleeping: REM dreams and non-REM dreams activate and deactivate distinct brain regions. Sigmund Freud believed that dreams reveal unconscious conflicts. Evidence does not support this view. Activation-synthesis theory posits

that dreams are the product of the mind's efforts to make sense of random brain activity during sleep.

4.3 What Is Altered Consciousness?

- Hypnosis Is Induced Through Suggestion: Scientists have debated whether hypnotized people merely play the role they are expected to play or whether they experience an altered state of consciousness. Consistent with the latter view, brain imaging research has demonstrated changes in brain activity among hypnotized participants.
- Meditation Produces Relaxation: The goal of meditation, particularly as it is practiced in the West, is to bring about a state of deep relaxation. Studies suggest that meditation can have multiple benefits for people's physical and mental health.
- People Can Lose Themselves in Activities: Exercise, religious practices, and other engaging activities can produce a state of altered consciousness called flow. In this state, people become completely absorbed in what they are doing. Flow is experienced as a positive state. In contrast to activities that generate flow, activities used to escape the self or reduce self-awareness can have harmful consequences.

4.4 How Do Drugs Affect Consciousness?

- People Use-and Abuse-Many Psychoactive Drugs: Psychoactive drugs can be divided into categories based on their effects. Stimulants, including amphetamines and cocaine, increase behavioral and mental activity. Depressants, including alcohol, decrease behavioral and mental activity. Opiates/narcotics, including heroin and morphine, produce a relaxed state, analgesia, and euphoria. Hallucinogens/psychedelics, including LSD, produce alterations in cognition, mood, and perception. Some psychoactive drugs do not fit neatly into categories because they have various effects. THC (the active ingredient in marijuana) produces a relaxed state, an uplifted mood, and perceptual and cognitive distortions. MDMA, or ecstasy, produces energizing and hallucinogenic effects.
- Addiction Has Physical and Psychological Aspects: Physical dependence occurs when the body develops tolerance for a drug. Psychological dependence occurs when someone habitually and compulsively uses a drug or engages in a behavior, despite its negative consequences. Various brain regions are involved in addiction, particularly the nucleus accumbens. A brain region called the insula has been implicated in the experience of craving. Addiction is influenced by personality factors, such as sensation seeking. Addiction is also influenced by the environment or context in which drug use occurs.

Key Terms

activation-synthesis theory, p. 153 addiction, p. 161 change blindness, p. 135 circadian rhythms, p. 144 consciousness, p. 133 dreams, p. 152 hypnosis, p. 155 insomnia, p. 147 meditation, p. 157 narcolepsy, p. 148 obstructive sleep apnea, p. 147 REM sleep, p. 146 subliminal perception, p. 137

Practice Test

- 1. What is a key distinction between a person in a persistent vegetative state and a person in a minimally conscious state?
 - **a.** The person in the minimally conscious state is less responsive to her or his surroundings.
 - **b.** The person in the minimally conscious state is more likely to regain full consciousness at some point in the future.
 - **c.** The person in the minimally conscious state shows some degree of brain activity, whereas the person in the persistent vegetative state shows no brain activity.
 - **d.** The person in the minimally conscious state is dreaming, whereas the person in the persistent vegetative state is in a coma.
- 2. A researcher asks study participants to play a word game in which they unscramble letters to form words. In Condition A, the unscrambled words are *outgoing*, *talkative*, and *smile*. In Condition B, the unscrambled words are *standoffish*, *silent*, and *frown*. After participants complete the word game, they meet and interact with a stranger. What do you predict participants' behavior during that interaction will reveal?
 - a. Participants in Conditions A and B will behave nearly identically.
 - **b.** Participants in Condition A will be more friendly toward the stranger than will participants in Condition B.
 - **c.** Participants in Condition B will be more friendly toward the stranger than will participants in Condition A.
- **3.** For each description below, name the sleep disorder: insomnia, apnea, narcolepsy, or somnambulism.
 - **a.** Despite feeling well rested, Marcus falls asleep suddenly while practicing piano.
 - **b.** Emma walks through the living room in the middle of the night, seemingly oblivious to those around her.
 - c. Sophia spends most of the night trying to fall asleep.
 - **d.** Ivan's roommate regularly complains that Ivan's snoring wakes him multiple times throughout the night.
- **4.** Which of the following pieces of evidence suggest sleep is an adaptive behavior? Check all that apply.
 - A few days of sleep deprivation do not impair physical strength.

- **b.** All animals sleep.
- c. It is impossible to resist indefinitely the urge to sleep.
- d. Sleep deprivation helps people feel less depressed.
- e. Animals die when deprived of sleep for extended periods.
- 5. Which of the following instruction sets would a yoga teacher trained in concentrative meditation be most likely to give?
 - a. "Close your eyes while sitting in a comfortable position. Let your thoughts move freely through your mind, like clouds passing through the sky. Acknowledge them, but do not react to them."
 - b. "Lying on your back, rest your hands gently on your abdomen. As you breathe in and out, focus attention on your breath. Notice the rhythmic rise and fall of your abdomen and the slow, deep movement of your chest."
 - **c.** "Standing in place, bend one knee and lift that leg. Grasp the foot and bring it back as far as possible. Focus all your attention on this action. Then lower the foot and repeat this action with the other knee, leg, and foot."
- 6. Which of the following drugs is classified as a stimulant?
 - **a.** marijuana
 - **b.** cocaine
 - $\boldsymbol{c}.$ heroin
 - d. alcohol
 - e. LSD
- 7. Label each of the following statements as true or false.
 - **a.** Long-term use of opiates (narcotics) always leads to addiction.
 - ____ b. Nicotine and caffeine are stimulants.
 - _____ c. Methamphetamine and MDMA (ecstasy) decrease dopamine levels.
 - ____ **d.** Alcohol is a depressant.
 - People can become physically addicted but not psychologically addicted to prescription medications.
 - ____ f. The gender gap in alcohol consumption is increasing.

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.





Ask & Answer

5.1 How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation? 174

5.2 How Are We Able to See? 182

5.3 How Are We Able to Hear? 198

5.4 How Are We Able to Taste? 204

5.5 How Are We Able to Smell? 208

5.6 How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain? 210

Sensation and Perception

WILLIAM (NOT HIS REAL NAME) HATES DRIVING because the sight of road signs tastes like a mixture of pistachio ice cream and earwax (McNeil, 2006). This sort of experience–such as when a visual image has a taste–is called *synesthesia*. For another person with synesthesia, M.M., any personal name has a specific taste; for example, the name John tastes like corn bread (Simner et al., 2006). For yet another person, each day of the week is colored (Monday is red, Tuesday is indigo), as is each month of the year (December is yellow, January is red; Ramachandran, 2003). For others with synesthesia, colors evoke smells, sights evoke sounds, and numbers come in colors (e.g., 5 is always red, 2 is always green; FIGURE 5.1). For each person, the associations do not vary–if road signs have a taste, for example, they always taste the same. Reports of people with synesthesia date as far back as ancient Greece (Ferry, 2002). Estimates of the percentage of the population that report these cross-sensory experiences range from 1 in 2,000 to 1 in 200. How can we understand such bizarre sensations? Are these experiences real?

The neurologist V. S. Ramachandran conducted a series of experiments to better understand what is happening when someone reports, for example, that a sound is lime green or that chicken tastes pointy (Ramachandran & Hubbard, 2001). Because the brain area involved in seeing colors is near the brain area involved in understanding numbers, he theorized that in people with color/number synesthesia, these two brain areas are somehow connected. In this situation, one area of the brain might have adopted another area's role. To test his hypothesis, Ramachandran examined brain scans taken of people with synesthesia when they looked at black numbers on a white background. He



FIGURE 5.1 Synesthesia

This figure is an artistic rendering of the color/letter and color/number associations for one person with synesthesia.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between sensation and perception.
- Describe how sensory information is translated into meaningful stimuli.
- Explain the concept of threshold. Distinguish between absolute threshold and difference threshold.
- Explain how thresholds are related to signal detection and sensory adaption.

sensation

The detection of external stimuli and the transmission of this information to the brain.

perception

The processing, organization, and interpretation of sensory signals.

found evidence of neural activity in the brain area responsible for color vision. Control participants without synesthesia did not experience activity in this brain area when they looked at the same numbers.

Ramachandran suggests that synesthesia might lead to creativity. If the brains of people with synesthesia are wired to connect seemingly unrelated topics, then the ability to make unusual associations may be part of their creativity. As an example, Ramachandran and Hubbard (2003) ask us to consider Shakespeare's line "It is the East and Juliet is the sun." The likening of Juliet to the sun is a metaphor, but where did it come from? Its association of a woman and a bright light resembles a synesthetic experience. In fact, these authors conclude that creative people experience a higher incidence of synesthesia than noncreative people do.

Although synesthesia is a rare condition, it shows that there is not a perfect correspondence between the physical world and our experience of it. A number of brain regions work together to convert physical information from the environment (light and sound waves, chemicals, air temperature, physical pressure, and so on) into meaningful forms, such as the smell of a spring day, the feeling of holding hands, and the sight of a person we love. For those with synesthesia, some of the incoming information gets mixed up. For most people, however, the brain mechanisms involved in sensation and perception provide information that is adaptive for living in the physical world.

This chapter will discuss how various types of stimuli are detected, how the brain constructs useful information about the world on the basis of what has been detected, and how we use this constructed information to guide ourselves through the world around us. An important lesson in this chapter is that our sensation and perception of the world do not work like a camera or digital recorder, faithfully and passively capturing the physical properties of stimuli we encounter. Rather, our experience of the world (what we see, hear, taste, smell, or touch) results from brain processes that actively construct perceptual experiences from sensory information. This constant conversion of sensation to perception allows us to adapt to the details of our physical environments.

5.1 How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation?

Imagine that you accidentally squirt some grapefruit juice on your face. What do your senses tell you? You smell a strong fragrance, you feel cool moisture on your skin, and you experience a sharp taste on your tongue. Your sensory systems have detected these features of the juice. This process is sensation.

Sensation is the detection of physical stimuli and transmission of that information to the brain. Physical stimuli can be light or sound waves, molecules of food or odor, or temperature and pressure changes. Sensation is the basic experience of those stimuli. It involves no interpretation of what we are experiencing.

Perception is the brain's further processing, organization, and interpretation of sensory information. Perception results in our conscious experience of the world. Whereas the essence of sensation is detection, the essence of perception is construction of useful and meaningful information about a particular sensation. For example,



FIGURE 5.2 From Sensation to Perception

when you are squirted in the face, you associate the sensations (strong smell, moist feeling, and sharp taste) with the perception of grapefruit juice.

Say that you drive up to a traffic signal as the light turns green. The light is detected by specialized neurons in your eyes, and those neurons transmit signals to your brain. As a result of these steps, you have sensed the energy (light). When your brain processes the resulting neural signals, you experience the green light and register the meaning of that signal (go!). As a result of these additional steps, you have perceived the light and the signal. (The basic movement from sensation to perception is depicted in **FIGURE 5.2**.)

Sensation and perception are integrated into experience. At the same time, experience guides sensation and perception. In other words, the processing of sensory information is a two-way street. **Bottom-up processing** is based on the physical features of the stimulus. As each sensory aspect of a stimulus is processed, the aspects build up into perception of that stimulus. You recognize a grapefruit squirt based on your experience of the strong scent, cool moisture, and sharp taste. **Top-down processing** is how knowledge, expectations, or past experiences shape the interpretation of sensory information. That is, context affects perception: What we expect to see (higher level) influences what we perceive (lower level). We are unlikely to see a blue, apple-shaped object as a real apple because we know from past experience that apples are not blue.

Consider the incomplete letters in **FIGURE 5.3.** The same shape appears in the center of each word, but you perceive (lower level) the shape first as "H" and then as "A." Your perception depends on which interpretation makes sense in the context of the particular word (higher level). Likewise, YOU C4N R3AD TH15 PR377Y W3LL even though it is nonsensical. The ability to make sense of "incorrect" stimuli through top-down processing is why proofreading our own writing can be so difficult.

Sensory Information Is Translated into Meaningful Signals

Our sensory systems translate the physical properties of stimuli into patterns of neural impulses. This process is called *sensory coding*. The different features of the physical environment are coded by activity in different neurons. For example, a green stoplight will be coded by a particular neural response pattern in part of the eye before being read by areas of the brain involved in perceiving visual information.

When a hand touches a hot skillet, neurons in the hand and in the brain will signal pain. The brain cannot process the physical stimuli directly, so the stimuli must be translated into signals the brain can interpret. The translation of stimuli is called **transduction**.

bottom-up processing Perception based on the physical features of the stimulus.

top-down processing

How knowledge, expectations, or past experiences shape the interpretation of sensory information.

transduction

The process by which sensory stimuli are converted to signals the brain can interpret.

TAE CAT

FIGURE 5.3 Context

Context plays an important role in object recognition.

SENSE	STIMULI	RECEPTORS	PATHWAYS TO THE BRAIN
Vision	Light waves	Light-sensitive rods and cones in retina of eye	Optic nerve
Hearing	Sound waves	Pressure-sensitive hair cells in cochlea of inner ear	Auditory nerve
Taste	Molecules dissolved in fluid on the tongue	Cells in taste buds on the tongue	Portions of facial, glossopharyngeal, and vagus nerves
Smell	Molecules dissolved in fluid on membranes in the nose	Sensitive ends of olfactory mucous neurons in the mucous membranes	Olfactory nerve
Touch	Pressure on the skin	Sensitive ends of touch neurons in skin	Cranial nerves for touch above the neck, spinal nerves for touch elsewhere

Table 5.1 The Stimuli, Receptors, and Pathways for Each Sense

This process involves specialized cells in the sense organs, called *sensory receptors*. The sensory receptors receive physical (in the case of vision, hearing, and touch) or chemical (taste and smell) stimulation and pass the resulting impulses to the brain in the form of neural impulses. Most sensory information first goes to the thalamus, a structure in the middle of the brain (see Figure 3.24). Neurons in the thalamus then send information to the cerebral cortex, where incoming neural impulses are interpreted as sight, sound, taste, smell, or touch. Each sense organ contains different types of receptors designed to detect different types of stimuli. For example, receptors in the visual system respond only to light waves and can signal only visual information. (**TABLE 5.1** lists the stimuli, receptors, and pathways to the brain for each major sensory system.)

To function effectively, the brain needs *qualitative* and *quantitative* information about a stimulus. Qualitative information consists of the most basic qualities of a stimulus. For example, it is the difference between a tuba's honk and a flute's toot. It is the difference between a salty taste and a sweet one. Quantitative information consists of the degree, or magnitude, of those qualities: the loudness of the honk, the softness of the toot, the relative saltiness or sweetness. If you were approaching a traffic light, qualitative information might include whether the light was red or green. Regardless of the color, quantitative information would include the brightness of the light.

We can identify qualitative differences because different sensory receptors respond to qualitatively different stimuli. In contrast, quantitative differences in stimuli are coded by the rate of a particular neuron's firing. A more rapidly firing neuron is responding at a higher frequency to a more intense stimulus, such as a brighter light, a louder sound, or a heavier weight (**FIGURE 5.4**).

Sensation and perception result from a symphony of sensory receptors and the neurons those receptors communicate with. The receptors and neurons fire in different combinations and at different rates. The sum of this activity is the huge range of perceptions that make up our experience of the world.

Detection Requires a Certain Amount of the Stimulus

We have long understood that perceptual experience is constructed from information detected by the sense organs. For more than a century, psychologists have tried to understand the relationship between the world's physical properties and how we sense

absolute threshold

The minimum intensity of stimulation that must occur before you experience a sensation.

difference threshold

The minimum amount of change required for a person to detect a difference between two stimuli.





Neural firing frequency



Quantitative information: Sensory receptors respond to quantitative differences by firing at different rates.



A bright light causes receptors to fire more rapidly (at a higher frequency) than a dim light.

and perceive them. *Psychophysics*, a subfield developed during the nineteenth century by the researchers Ernst Weber and Gustav Fechner, examines our psychological experi-

ences of physical stimuli. For example, how much physical energy is required for our sense organs to detect a stimulus? How much change is required before we notice that change? To test such things, researchers present very subtle changes in stimuli and observe how participants respond. They study the limits of humans' sensory systems.

SENSORY THRESHOLDS Your sensory organs constantly acquire information from your environment. You do not notice much of this information. It has to surpass some level before you can detect it. The **absolute threshold** is the minimum intensity of stimulation that must occur before you experience a sensation. In other words, it is the stimulus intensity you would detect more often than by chance. The absolute threshold for hearing is the faintest sound a person can detect 50 percent of the time (**FIGURE 5.5**). For instance, how loudly must someone in the next room whisper for you to hear it? In this case, the absolute threshold for auditory stimuli would be the quietest whisper you could hear half the time. (**TABLE 5.2** lists some approximate minimum stimuli for each sense.)

A difference threshold, sometimes called a *just noticeable difference*, is the smallest difference between two stimuli that you can notice. In other words, it is the minimum amount of change required for a person to detect a difference. If your friend is watching a television show while you are reading and a commercial comes on that is louder than the show, you might look up, noticing that something has changed (**FIGURE 5.6**). The difference threshold is the minimum change in volume required for you to detect a difference.



FIGURE 5.4

Quantitative Sensory Information

Qualitative Versus

FIGURE 5.5 Absolute Threshold

Table 5.2Approximate Absolute Sensory Threshold(Minimum Stimulus) for Each Sense

SENSE	MINIMUM STIMULUS	
Taste	1 teaspoon of sugar in 2 gallons of water	
Smell	1 drop of perfume diffused into the entire volume of six rooms	
Touch	A fly's wing falling on your cheek from a distance of 0.04 inch	
Hearing	The tick of a clock at 20 feet under quiet conditions	
Vision	A candle flame seen at 30 miles on a dark, clear night	



FIGURE 5.6 Difference Threshold How much does the television volume need to change for you to notice? That amount of change is the difference threshold.

SOURCE: Galanter (1962).

177



FIGURE 5.7 Signal Detection Theory Radiology illustrates the subjective nature of detecting a stimulus.



FIGURE 5.8 Payoff Matrices for Signal Detection Theory

The percentages in this figure were invented to show representative numbers. Actual percentages vary from question to question. The difference threshold increases as the stimulus becomes more intense. Pick up a 1-ounce letter and a 2-ounce letter, and you will easily detect the difference. But pick up a 5-pound package and a package that weighs 1 ounce more, and the difference will be harder, maybe impossible, to tell. The principle at work here is called *Weber's law*. This law states that the just noticeable difference between two stimuli is based on a proportion of the original stimulus rather than on a fixed amount of difference. That is, the more intense the stimulus, the bigger the change needed for you to notice.

SIGNAL DETECTION THEORY According to classical psychophysics, sensory thresholds were unambiguous. Either you detected something or you did not, depending on whether the intensity of the stimulus was above or below a particular level. As research progressed, it became clear that early psychophysicists had ignored the fact that people are bombarded by competing stimuli, from the "noise" produced by both internal stimuli (moods, emotions, memory, physical states such as nausea) and to other external stimuli (loud noises such as a baby crying, a bitterly cold wind, a cluttered room). The competing internal and external sources affect judgment and attention.

Imagine you are a participant in a study of sensory thresholds. You are sitting in a dark room, and an experimenter asks if you heard a sound. You didn't hear anything, but you might second-guess yourself since someone has asked about it. You might even convince yourself that you sensed a weak stimulus.

After realizing that their methods of testing absolute thresholds were flawed, researchers formulated **signal detection theory (SDT)**. This theory states that detecting a stimulus is not an objective process. Detecting a stimulus is instead a subjective decision with two components: (1) sensitivity to the stimulus in the presence of distractions from other stimuli, and (2) the criteria used to make the judgment from ambiguous information (Green & Swets, 1966).

Suppose that a radiologist is looking for the kind of faint shadow that, among other possibilities, might signal an early-stage cancer (**FIGURE 5.7**). The radiologist's judgment can be influenced by knowledge about the patient (e.g., age, sex, family medical history), medical training, experience, motivation, and attention. The radiologist's judgment can also be influenced by awareness of the consequences: Being wrong could mean missing a fatal cancer or, conversely, causing unnecessary and potentially dangerous treatment.

Any research study on signal detection involves a series of trials in which a stimulus is presented in only some trials. In each trial, the participant must state whether he or she sensed the stimulus. A trial of this kind, in which a participant judges whether an event occurs, can have one of four outcomes. If the signal is presented and the participant detects it, the outcome is a *hit*. If the participant fails to detect the signal, the outcome is a *miss*. If the participant "detects" a signal that was not presented, the outcome is a *false alarm*. If the signal is not presented and the participant does not detect it, the outcome is a *correct rejection* (**FIGURE 5.8**). The participant's sensitivity to the signal is usually computed by comparing the hit rate with the false alarm rate. This comparison corrects for any bias the participant might bring to the testing situation.

Response bias is a participant's tendency to report detecting the signal in an ambiguous trial. The participant might be strongly biased against responding and need a great deal of evidence that the signal is present. Under other conditions, that same participant might need only a small amount of evidence.

SENSORY ADAPTATION Our sensory systems are tuned to detect changes in our surroundings. It is important for us to be able to detect such changes because they might

require responses. It is less important to keep responding to unchanging stimuli. **Sensory adaptation** is a decrease in sensitivity to a constant level of stimulation (**FIGURE 5.9**).

Imagine you are studying and work begins at a nearby construction site. When the equipment starts up, the sound seems particularly loud and disturbing. After a few minutes, the noise seems to have faded into the background. Researchers have often noticed that if a stimulus is presented continuously, the responses of the sensory systems that detect it tend to diminish over time. Similarly, when a continuous stimulus stops, the sensory systems usually respond strongly as well. If the construction noise suddenly halted, you would likely notice the silence.

The Brain Constructs Stable Representations

Right this minute, your brain is making millions of calculations to produce a coherent experience of your environment. Despite the illusion that the objects and events you are experiencing exist in the space around you, your experience is a construction of your brain and resides inside your skull. Neurons inside your brain do not directly experience the outside world. Instead, they communicate with other neurons inside and outside your brain. Neurons talk to neurons in total darkness. Yet your conscious experience of the world emerges from this communication. This process happens in milliseconds.

If you lay this book flat and look at the pages as a whole, you will see one image. You will not see the thousands of images that dance across your eyes to create a constant, perhaps static view. What you perceive, then, is vastly different from the pattern of stimulation your eyes are taking in. If you were aware of what your brain was doing every moment, you would be paralyzed by information overload. Most of the computations the brain performs never reach your consciousness. Only important new outcomes do. How does the brain extract a stable representation of the world from the information the senses provide?

So far, you have seen how sensation happens: Sensory receptors transduce stimuli into electrical impulses, and nerves then transmit those impulses to the brain. Working with just the electrical impulses it receives from nerves, the brain creates a rich variety of perceptual experiences. With the exception of smell, all sensory information is relayed to cortical and other areas of the brain from the thalamus. Information from each sense is projected separately from the thalamus to a specific region of the cerebral cortex. In these primary sensory areas, the perceptual process begins in earnest (**FIGURE 5.10**; see also Figure 3.25). We will now tour the major senses and how you perceive them.



signal detection theory (SDT)

A theory of perception based on the idea that the detection of a stimulus requires a judgment–it is not an all-or-nothing process.

sensory adaptation

A decrease in sensitivity to a constant level of stimulation.



FIGURE 5.9 Sensory Adaptation Because of sensory adaptation, people who live near constant noise eventually become less aware of the noise. Pictured here are homes near London's Heathrow Airport.

FIGURE 5.10

Primary Sensory Areas These are the primary brain regions where information about vision, hearing, taste, smell, and touch are projected. Visual information travels in separate "streams"-what you see and where it is-from the occipital lobe (visual cortex) to different parts of the brain for further processing. Misunderstanding Statistics: Does ESP Exist?

o you believe in the so-called sixth Dsense, the "unexplainable" feeling that something is about to happen? Our many sensory systems provide information about the world, but they are sensitive to only a small range of the energy available in any environment. For instance, dogs can hear much higher frequencies than we can, and many insects can sense energy forms that we cannot detect. Is it possible that other frequencies or energy forms exist and scientists simply have not discovered them? If so, might these undiscovered energy forces allow people to read other people's minds or communicate with ghosts? In other words, could people be able to perceive information beyond ordinary sensory information through extrasensory perception (ESP)?

Many reports of ESP are supported only by anecdotes, not by valid evidence. In addition, many claims about people's ability to predict events can be explained through logic. For instance, if you see a couple fighting all the time, you might predict accurately that they will break up, but that does not make you a psychic. Finally, many instances of apparent ESP appear to be no more than coincidence.

Consider the day that the Nobel Prize-winning physicist Luis Alvarez found himself thinking of a long-lost friend from his college years. A few minutes later, he came across the friend's obituary in a newspaper. Might Alvarez have experienced some sort of premonition? As a scientist, he decided to calculate the probability of this coincidence. He developed reasonable estimates of how often people think about people from their pasts. He calculated

Many instances of apparent ESP appear to be no more than coincidence.

that the probability of thinking about a person shortly before learning of that person's death likely happens around 3,000 times per year in the United States. Put another way: About 10 people are likely to have this experience each day just by chance (Alvarez, 1965).

The social psychologist Daryl Bem and his collaborator Charles Honorton (1994) claimed to find some evidence of ESP. In their studies, a "sender" in a soundproof booth focused on a randomly generated image. A "receiver" in another room tried to sense the sender's imagery. The receiver was then asked to choose among four alternatives, one of which was correct. By chance, the receivers should have been correct 25 percent of the time. Across 11 studies, however, Bem and Honorton found that receivers were right about 33 percent of the time. Is this evidence of ESP? Many psychologists say that other factors in the experiments might have affected the results. A statistical review of many such studies found little support for ESP (Milton & Wiseman, 2001).

Samuel Moulton and Stephen Kosslyn (2008) conducted an fMRI study to examine brain-functioning evidence for the existence of ESP. Using a sender/ receiver paradigm where the sender was in one room and the receiver was in the MRI scanner, they looked for brain

differences between responses to the image the sender was thinking about and another image that was not known to the sender. To enhance the likelihood of effects, they included twins as sender/receiver pairs (since twins are supposed to be especially in tune with one another) and used emotional stimuli (which are supposed to enhance ESP effects). If ESP existed, the receivers' brains should have responded differently to the images the senders thought about than to the images the senders did not see. However, there were absolutely no differences in brain responses. Moulton and Kosslyn argue that since all experience and behavior result from brain activity, the absence of any such activity is strong evidence against the existence of ESP.

Yet in 2011, Bem published a paper that presented data from a series of studies that purported to show evidence of ESP. In an example of these studies, participants were asked to predict where erotic pictures would appear on a computer screen. On each trial, the participant would identify a location before a computer program would independently present the picture. At a rate better than chance, participants were able to predict where the computer would present the erotic images. These findings are highly controversial. Most of the positive results were guite small, and they may have been produced through an inappropriate use of statistical procedures. To date, no other researchers have been able to replicate the results. The only reasonable conclusion is that the evidence for ESP is currently weak or nonexistent and that healthy skepticism demands better evidence.

Summing Up

How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation?

- Sensation is the detection of physical stimuli in the environment. Perception is our conscious experience of those stimuli.
- Bottom-up processing is based on features of a stimulus. Top-down processing is based on context and expectations.
- Transduction is the process by which sensory stimuli are translated into signals the brain can interpret.
- Transduction occurs at sensory receptors, specialized cells in each sense organ. Sensory
 receptors send messages to the thalamus, which sends projections to cortical areas for
 perceptual processing.
- Absolute threshold is the minimum detectable amount of energy required to activate a sensory receptor.
- Difference threshold is the amount of energy change necessary for a sensory receptor to detect a change in stimulation.
- Signal detection theory is about the subjective nature of detecting a stimulus.
- Sensory adaptation occurs when sensory receptors stop responding to unchanging stimuli.
- The brain integrates diverse neural inputs to produce stable representations.

Measuring Up

- 1. Transduction is the process of
 - **a.** detecting environmental energy through a sense organ.
 - **b.** converting sensory stimuli into neural activity.
 - $\ensuremath{\mathbf{c}}\xspace$ converting perceptions into neural activity.
 - **d.** perceiving information.
- 2. Identify each of the following events as an example of absolute threshold, difference threshold, or sensory adaptation.
 - a. You catch a whiff of your neighbor's cooking.
 - **b.** You ask your roommate to turn down the radio, which he does, but it does not sound softer to you.
 - **c.** You notice that the overhead lamp just got dimmer.
 - **d.** You stop paying attention to the sound of a radio, though you can hear it if you pay attention to it.

d. sensory adaptation.

ANSWERS: (1) b. (2) a. absolute threshold; b. difference threshold; (2) a. absolute threshold; b. difference threshold;

Learning Objectives

- Explain how light is processed by the eyes and the brain.
- Describe how color vision happens.
- Compare and contrast trichromatic and opponentprocess theories of color vision.
- Identify the Gestalt principles of perceptual organization.
- Distinguish between monocular and binocular depth cues.
- Describe motion perception and object constancies.

retina

The thin inner surface of the back of the eyeball; it contains the sensory receptors that transduce light into neural signals.

rods

Retinal cells that respond to low levels of light and result in black-and-white perception.

cones

Retinal cells that respond to higher levels of light and result in color perception.

5.2 How Are We Able to See?

If we acquire knowledge through our senses, then vision is by far our most important source of knowledge. Vision allows us to perceive information at a distance. Does a place look safe or dangerous? Does a person look friendly or hostile? Even our metaphors for knowledge and for understanding are often visual: "I see," "The answer is clear," "T'm fuzzy on that point." It is not surprising, then, that most of the scientific study of sensation and perception is concerned with vision. Indeed, much of the brain is involved in seeing. Some estimates suggest that up to half of the cerebral cortex may participate in visual perception in some way.

Sensory Receptors in the Eye Transmit Visual Information to the Brain

Sight seems so effortless, so automatic, that most of us take it for granted. Every time a person opens his or her eyes, that person's brain springs into action to make sense of the energy arriving in the eyes. Of course, the brain can do so only based on sensory signals from the eyes. If the eyes are damaged, the sensory system fails to process new information.

This section focuses on how energy is transduced in the visual system and then perceived, but what we commonly call *seeing* is much more than transducing energy. As the psychologist James Enns notes in his book *The Thinking Eye, the Seeing Brain* (2005), very little of what we call seeing takes place in the eyes. Rather, what we see results from constructive processes that occur throughout much of the brain to produce our visual experiences. In fact, the eyes can be completely normal, but damage to the visual cortex will impair vision.

Some people describe the human eye as working like a crude camera, in that it focuses light to form an image. This analogy does not do justice to the intricate processes that take place in the eye, however. Light first passes through the *cornea*, the eye's thick, transparent outer layer. The cornea focuses the incoming light, which then enters the *lens*. There, the light is bent farther inward and focused to form an image on the **retina**, the thin inner surface of the back of the eyeball. If you shine a light in someone's eyes so that you can see the person's retina, you are in fact looking at the only part of the brain that is visible from outside the skull. In fact, the retina is the one part of the central nervous system that is located where we can see it. The retina contains the sensory receptors that transduce light into neural signals.

More light is focused at the cornea than at the lens. But the lens is adjustable, whereas the cornea is not. The *pupil*, the dark circle at the center of the eye, is a small opening in the front of the lens. By contracting (closing) or dilating (opening), the pupil determines how much light enters the eye. The *iris*, a circular muscle, determines the eye's color and controls the pupil's size. The pupil dilates in dim light but also when we see something we like, such as a beautiful painting or a cute baby (Tombs & Silverman, 2004).

Behind the iris, muscles change the shape of the lens. They flatten it to focus on distant objects and thicken it to focus on closer objects. This process is called *accommodation*. The lens and cornea work together to collect and focus light rays reflected from an object.

RODS AND CONES The retina has two types of receptor cells: **rods** and **cones**. The name of each type comes from its distinctive shape. Rods respond at extremely low

levels of light and are responsible primarily for night vision. They do not support color vision, and they are poor at fine detail. This is why, on a moonless night, objects appear in shades of gray. In contrast to rods, cones are less sensitive to low levels of light. They are responsible primarily for vision under brighter conditions and for seeing both color and detail. Within the rods and cones, light-sensitive chemicals initiate the transduction of light waves into electrical neural impulses.

Each retina holds approximately 120 million rods and 6 million cones. Near the retina's center, cones are densely packed in a small region called the **fovea**. Although cones are spread throughout the remainder of the retina (except in the blind spot, as you will see shortly), they become increasingly scarce near the outside edge. Conversely, rods are concentrated at the retina's edges. None are in the fovea. If you look directly at a very dim star on a moonless night, the star will appear to vanish. Its light will fall on the fovea, where there are no rods. If you look just to the side of the star, however, the star will be visible. Its light will fall just outside the fovea, where there are rods.

TRANSMISSION FROM THE EYE TO THE BRAIN The visual process begins with the generation of electrical signals by the sensory receptors in the retina. These receptors contain *photopigments*, protein molecules that become unstable and split apart when exposed to light. Rods and cones do not fire action potentials like other neurons. Instead, decomposition of the photopigments alters the membrane potential of the photoreceptors and triggers action potentials in downstream neurons. Immediately after light is transduced by the rods and cones, other cells in the middle layer of the retina perform a series of sophisticated computations. The outputs from these cells converge on the retinal *ganglion cells* (**FIGURE 5.11**). Ganglion cells are the first neurons in the visual pathway with axons. During the process of seeing, they are the first neurons to generate action potentials.

The ganglion cells send their signals along their axons from inside the eye to the thalamus. These axons are gathered into a bundle, the *optic nerve*, which exits the eye at the back of the retina. The point at which the optic nerve exits the retina has no rods or cones, producing a blind spot in each eye. If you stretch out one of your arms, make a fist, and look at your fist, the size that your fist appears to you is about the size of your blind spot. The brain normally fills in this gap automatically, so you assume the world continues and are not aware that a blind spot exists in the middle of your field of vision. However, you can find your blind spot by using the exercise in **FIGURE 5.12.**

At the *optic chiasm*, half of the axons in the optic nerves cross. (The axons that cross are the ones that start from the portion of the retina nearest the nose.) This arrangement causes all information from the left side of visual space (i.e., everything visible to the left of the point of gaze) to be projected to the right hemisphere of the brain, and vice versa. In each case, the information reaches the visual areas of the thalamus and then travels to the *primary visual cortex*, cortical areas in the occipital lobes at the back of the head. The pathway from the retina to this region carries all the information that we consciously experience as seeing.

"WHAT" AND "WHERE" PATHWAYS One important theory proposes that visual areas beyond the primary visual cortex form two parallel processing streams, or pathways. The lower, *ventral stream* appears to be specialized for the perception and recognition of objects, such as determining their colors and shapes. The upper, *dorsal stream* seems to be specialized for spatial perception—determining where an object is and relating it to other objects in a scene. (Both streams are shown in

fovea The center of the retina, where cones are densely packed.



FIGURE 5.12 Find Your Blind Spot

To find your blind spot using your right eye, hold this book in front of you and look at the dot. Close your left eye. Move the book toward and away from your face until the rabbit's head disappears. You can repeat this exercise for your left eye by turning the book upside down.

FIGURE 5.11 How We Are Able to See



Figure 5.10.) These two processing streams are therefore known as the *"what" stream* and the *"where" stream* (Ungerleider & Mishkin, 1982).

Damage to certain regions of the visual cortex provides evidence for distinguishing between these two streams of information. Consider the case of D.F. (Goodale & Milner, 1992). At age 34, she suffered carbon monoxide poisoning that damaged her visual system. Regions involved in the "what" pathway were particularly damaged. D.F. was no longer able to recognize the faces of her friends and family members, common objects, or even drawings of squares or of circles. She could recognize people by their voices, however, and objects if they were placed in her hands. Her condition—*object agnosia*, the inability to recognize objects—was striking in what she could and could not do. For example, if she were asked to draw an apple, she could do so from memory. But when shown a drawing of an apple, she could not identify or reproduce it.

Nonetheless, D.F. could use visual information about the size, shape, and orientation of the apple to control visually guided movements. She could reach around other objects and grab the apple. In performing this action, D.F. would put exactly the right



distance between her fingers, even though she could not tell you what she was going to pick up or how large it was. Because D.F.'s conscious visual perception of objects—her "what" pathway—was impaired, she was not aware of taking in any visual information about objects she saw. Because her "where" pathway appeared to be intact, these regions of her visual cortex allowed her to use information about the size and location of objects despite her lack of awareness about those objects. As illustrated by D.F.'s case, different neurological systems operate independently to help us understand the world around us.

The Color of Light Is Determined by Its Wavelength

We can distinguish among millions of shades of color. An object appears to be a particular color, however, because of the wavelengths of light it reflects. The color



FIGURE 5.13

The Experience of Color

The color of light is determined by the wavelength of the electromagnetic wave that reaches the eye. This graph shows the percentage of light at different wavelengths that is absorbed by each kind of cone.



FIGURE 5.14 Red-Green Color Blindness

You should be able to see the number 45 in one of these circles. (a) If you are not red-green color-blind, you will see 45 here. (b) If you are red-green color-blind, you will see 45 here. is not a property of the object. It is a weird but true fact: Color does not exist in the physical world. Color is always a product of our visual system.

Visible light consists of electromagnetic waves ranging in length from about 400 to 700 nanometers (abbreviated *nm*; this length is about one billionth of a meter). In simplest terms, the color of light is determined by the wavelengths of the electromagnetic waves that reach the eye. In the center of the retina, the cone cells transduce light into neural impulses. Different theories account for this transduction.

TRICHROMATIC THEORY According to the *trichromatic theory*, color vision results from activity in three different types of cones. These receptors are sensitive to different wavelengths. One type of cone is most sensitive to short wavelengths (blue–violet light), another type is most sensitive to medium wavelengths (yellow–green light), and the third type is most sensitive to long wavelengths (red–orange light; **FIGURE 5.13**). The three types of cones in the retina are therefore called "S," "M," and "L" cones because they respond maximally to short, medium, and long wavelengths, respectively. For example, yellow light looks yellow because it stimulates the L and M cones about equally and hardly stimulates the S cones. In fact, we can create yellow light by combining red light and green light because each type of light stimulates the corresponding cone population. As far as the brain can tell, there is no difference between yellow light and a combination of red light and green light!

There are two main types of color blindness, determined by the relative activity among the three types of cone receptors. The term *blindness* is somewhat misleading, because these people do see color. They just have partial blindness for certain colors. People may be missing the photopigment sensitive to either medium or long wavelengths, resulting in red-green color blindness. Alternatively, they may be missing the short-wavelength photopigment, resulting in blue-yellow color blindness (**FIGURE 5.14**). These genetic disorders occur in about 8 percent of males but less than 1 percent in females.

OPPONENT-PROCESS THEORY Some aspects of color vision, however, cannot be explained by the responses of three types of cones in the retina. For example, why can some people with red–green color blindness see yellow? In addition, people have trouble visualizing certain color mixtures. It is easier to imagine reddish yellow or bluish green, say, than reddish green or bluish yellow. In addition, some colors seem to be "opposites."

An alternative to trichromatic theory is *opponent-process theory* (Hering, 1878/1964). According to this theory, red and green are opponent colors, as are blue and yellow. When we stare at a red image for some time, we see a green afterimage when we look away; when we stare at a green image, we see a red afterimage. Likewise, when we stare at a blue image for some time, we see a yellow afterimage when we look away; when we stare at a yellow image, we see a blue afterimage (**FIGURE 5.15**).

Since colors are themselves optical effects, how do we account for what appear to be opponent colors? For this explanation, we must turn to the second stage in visual processing. This stage occurs in the ganglion cells—the cells that make up the optic nerve, which carries information to the brain. Different combinations of cones converge on the ganglion cells in the retina. One type of ganglion cell receives excitatory input from L cones (the ones that respond to long wavelengths, which are seen as red), but it is inhibited by M cones (medium wavelengths, which are seen as green). Cells of this type create the perception that red and green are opponents. Another type of ganglion cell is excited by input from S cones (short wavelengths, which are seen as blue), but it is inhibited by both L- and M-cone activity (when light includes long and medium wave-



lengths, the perception is of yellow). These different types of ganglion cells, working in opposing pairs, create the perception that blue and yellow are opponents.

HUE, SATURATION, AND BRIGHTNESS Ultimately, how the brain converts physical energy to the experience of color is quite complex and can be understood only by considering the response of the visual system to different wavelengths at the same time. In fact, when we see white light, our eyes are receiving the entire range of wavelengths in the visible spectrum (**FIGURE 5.16**).







Afterimage

For at least 30 seconds, stare at this

version of the Union Jack, flag of the United Kingdom. Then look at the

blank space to the right. Because your receptors have adapted to the green

and orange in the first image, the

afterimage appears in the opponent

colors red and blue. You can tell that

afterimages are caused by events in the retina, because the afterimage moves with you as you move your eyes, as though it is "painted" on the retina.



FIGURE 5.16

The Color Spectrum

(a) When white light shines through a prism, the spectrum of color that is visible to humans is revealed. As shown here, the visible color spectrum is only a small part of the electromagnetic spectrum: It consists of electromagnetic wavelengths from just under 400 nm (the color violet) to just over 700 nm (the color red). By using night-vision goggles, humans are able to see infrared waves (i.e., waves below red in terms of frequency). (b) Some insects can see ultraviolet light (i.e., light greater than violet in terms of frequency). This ability helps them find a flower's nectar glands, which can appear fluorescent in UV illumination. (c) When humans view the same flowers under visible light, they do not see the same nectar patterns that the insects see.



FIGURE 5.17

Brightness Versus Lightness (a) Which blue is brighter, the navy blue on the left or the light blue on the right? (b) For each pair, which central square is lighter? In fact, the central squares in each pair are identical. Most people see the gray square that is surrounded with red, for example, as lighter than the gray square surrounded with green. Color is categorized along three dimensions: hue, saturation, and brightness. *Hue* consists of the distinctive characteristics that place a particular color in the spectrum—the color's greenness or orangeness, for example. These characteristics depend primarily on the light's dominant wavelength when it reaches the eye. *Saturation* is the purity of the color. Saturation varies according to the mixture of wavelengths in a stimulus. Basic colors of the spectrum (e.g., blue, green, red) have only one wavelength, whereas pastels (e.g., baby blue, lime green, and pink) have a mixture of many wavelengths, so they are less pure. *Brightness* is the color's perceived intensity. This characteristic is determined chiefly by the total amount of light reaching the eye—think of the difference between, say, a navy blue and a pale blue of the same shade (**FIGURE 5.17A**).

Do not confuse brightness with *lightness*. The lightness of a visual stimulus is determined by the brightness of the stimulus relative to its surroundings. Thus, two examples of the same color—two grays with the same brightness, say—can differ in lightness. The lightness of each example will depend on the level of brightness that surrounds it. Because lightness is related to the context in which a color appears, it is more useful than brightness for describing appearance (**FIGURE 5.17B**).

Perceiving Objects Requires Organization of Visual Information

Within the brain, what exactly happens to the information the senses take in about an object's features? How does that information get organized? Optical illusions are among the tools psychologists have for understanding how the brain uses such information. Many perceptual psychologists believe that illusions reveal the mechanisms that help visual systems determine the sizes and distances of objects in the environment. In doing so, illusions illustrate how we form accurate representations of the three-dimensional world. Researchers rely on these tricks to reveal automatic perceptual systems that, in most circumstances, result in accurate perception (**FIGURE 5.18**).





FIGURE 5.18

Optical Illusions

(a) The Ouchi illusion was named for the Japanese artist Hajime Ouchi, who invented it. This illusion shows how we separate a figure from its background. The circle is made of lines offset from the rest of the display. Scrolling the image horizontally or vertically gives a much stronger effect. Some people report seeing colors and movement. (b) The McCollough effect was named for the vision researcher Celeste McCollough, who first described it. Alternate your gaze from the green stimulus with vertical lines to the magenta stimulus with horizontal lines, changing from one to the other about every second for 40 seconds. Then look at the black-and-white stimulus with horizontal and vertical lines. You should see magenta vertical lines and green horizontal lines. Because the McCollough effect can last for hours or even a day, it cannot be explained by simple neural fatigue (where neurons reduce firing after repeated use). For this reason, the effect more likely occurs in higher brain regions, not in the eye. As noted in the text, the visual system is especially primed to process information about edges, and color-related edge perception may be involved.

GESTALT PRINCIPLES OF PERCEPTUAL ORGANIZATION *Gestalt* is a German word that means "shape" or "form." Gestalt psychologists theorized that perception is more than the result of accumulating sensory data. They postulated that the brain uses innate principles to organize sensory information into organized wholes. These principles explain why we perceive, say, "a car" as opposed to "metal, tires, glass, door handles, hubcaps, fenders," and so on. For us, an object exists as a unit, not as a collection of features. The Gestalt perceptual grouping rules include:

- *Proximity:* The closer two figures are to each other, the more likely we are to group them and see them as part of the same object (**FIGURE 5.19**).
- *Similarity:* We tend to group figures according to how closely they resemble each other, whether in shape, color, or orientation (**FIGURE 5.20**).

In accordance with the principles of similarity and proximity, we tend to cluster elements of the visual scene. Clustering enables us to consider a scene as a whole rather than as individual parts. For example, we often perceive a flock of birds as a single entity because all the elements, the birds, are similar and in close proximity.

- **Continuity:** We tend to group together edges or contours that have the same orientation, known as "good continuation" to Gestalt psychologists. Good contour (boundary line) continuation appears to play a role in completing an object behind an occluder, which can be anything that hides a portion of an object or an entire object from view (**FIGURE 5.21A**). Good continuation may operate over features that are more complex than contours, however (**FIGURE 5.21B**).
- *Closure:* We tend to complete figures that have gaps (FIGURE 5.22).
- Illusory contours: We sometimes perceive contours and cues to depth even when they do not exist (FIGURE 5.23).

FIGURE AND GROUND One of the visual perception system's most basic organizing principles is distinguishing between figure and ground. A classic illustration is the *reversible figure illusion*. Look back at Figure 1.18, where you can see either a full face or two faces looking at each other—but not both at the same time. In identifying either figure—indeed, *any* figure—the brain assigns the rest of the scene to the background. In this illusion, the "correct" assignment of figure and ground is ambiguous. The figures periodically reverse (switch back and forth) as the visual system strives to make sense of the stimulation. In ways like this, visual perception is dynamic and ongoing.

Richard Nisbett and colleagues (2001) have demonstrated cultural differences between Eastern people's perceptions and Western people's perceptions. Easterners focus on a scene holistically, whereas Westerners focus on single elements in the forefront. Thus, Easterners are more likely to be influenced by the (back)ground of a figure, and Westerners are more likely to extract the figure from its (back)ground.

Now look back at Figure 1.17. In this illusion, it is hard to see the Dalmatian standing among the many black spots scattered on the white background. This effect occurs because the part of the image corresponding to the dog lacks contours that define the dog's edges and because the dog's spotted coat resembles the background. Many observers find that they first recognize one part of the dog—say, the head. From that detail, they are able to discern the dog's shape. Once you perceive the dog, it becomes difficult to *not* see it the next time you look at the figure. Thus, experience can inform shape processing. • • • • •

FIGURE 5.19 Proximity

These 16 dots are not necessarily part of any group. Because of the Gestalt principle of proximity, they appear to be grouped as three objects.



FIGURE 5.20 Similarity Because of similarity, this rectangle appears to consist of two locked pieces.



FIGURE 5.21 Good Continuation

(a) We tend to interpret intersecting lines as continuous. Here, as a result, the bar appears to be completely behind the occluder. (b) In this drawing by the vision scientist Peter Tse, two cats appear to be one extremely long cat wrapped around the pole. Yet no continuous contours permit this completion, and we know a cat is unlikely to be so long.



FIGURE 5.22 Closure We find it difficult to see these forms as separate, not parts of a triangle.



FIGURE 5.23 Illusory Contours

(a) Here, the contours are implied.
(b) Here, the cues to depth are implied.
The triangle is an illusion created by our visual system. It also appears brighter than the surrounding area, as would be expected if it were closer to us.



FIGURE 5.24 Face Perception A face that appears to be crying can be seen in this dramatic photo of a Norwegian glacier.

FACE PERCEPTION One special class of objects that the visual system is sensitive to is faces. Indeed, any pattern in the world that has face-like qualities will look like a face (**FIGURE 5.24**). As highly social animals, humans are well able to perceive and interpret facial expressions. Several studies support the idea that human faces reveal "special" information that is not available in any other way. For example, we can more readily discern information about a person's mood, attentiveness, sex, race, age, and so on by looking at that person's face than by listening to the person talk, watching the person walk, or studying his or her clothing (Bruce & Young, 1986).

People are better at recognizing members of their own race or ethnic group, however, than at recognizing members of other races or ethnic groups. There is some truth to the saying that others *all look alike*, but the saying applies to all groups. This effect may occur because people have more exposure to people of their own race or ethnicity (Gosselin & Larocque, 2000). In the United States, where whites greatly outnumber blacks, whites are much better at recognizing white faces than at recognizing black faces (Brigham & Malpass, 1985).

Some people have particular deficits in the ability to recognize faces—a condition known as *prosopagnosia*—but not in the ability to recognize other objects (Susilo & Duchaine, 2013). As discussed earlier in this chapter, patient D.F. has prosopagnosia, so she cannot tell one face from another. Still, she is able to judge whether something is a face or not and whether that face is upside down or not. This ability implies that facial recognition differs from nonfacial object recognition (Steeves et al., 2006).

Faces are so important that certain brain regions appear to be dedicated solely to perceiving them. As part of the "what" stream discussed earlier, certain cortical regions, and even specific neurons, seem to be specialized to perceive faces. A number of separate brain imaging studies have found that a region of the *fusiform gyrus*, in the right hemisphere, may be specialized for perceiving faces (Grill-Spector, Knouf, & Kanwisher, 2004; McCarthy, Puce, Gore, & Allison, 1997; **FIGURE 5.25**). Indeed, this brain area responds most strongly to upright faces, as we would perceive them in the normal environment (Kanwisher, Tong, & Nakayama, 1998).

People have a surprisingly hard time recognizing faces, especially unknown faces, that are upside down. We are much worse at this task than we are at recognizing other inverted objects. The inversion interferes with the way people perceive the relationships among facial features (Hancock, Bruce, & Burton, 2000). For instance, if the eyebrows are bushier than usual, this facial characteristic is obvious if the face is upright but not detectable when the face is inverted. One interesting example of the perceptual difficulties associated with inverted faces is evident in the Thatcher illusion (Thompson, 1980; **FIGURE 5.26**).

In a series of studies, researchers found that people more quickly and accurately recognize angry facial expressions than happy ones (Becker, Kenrick, Neuberg, Black-well, & Smith, 2007). In addition, the researchers found that most people recognize anger more quickly on a man's face than on a woman's, and they found the reverse for happiness. The researchers think these results are due partly to people's beliefs that men express anger more often than women do and that women express happiness more often than men do (i.e., the beliefs would be contributing to top-down processing—we are more likely to "see" what we expect to see). They also think that female and male facial features drive the effect. For example, bushy eyebrows low on the face are more likely to be perceived as an expression of anger, and men typically have bushier and lower eyebrows than women.

According to evolutionary psychology, there is an adaptive advantage to the detection of angry faces. Given that men in every society commit most violent crimes, it is adaptive to be especially fast and accurate at recognizing angry male faces. Thus, facial recognition supports an idea emphasized throughout this book: The brain is adaptive.

Depth Perception Is Important for Locating Objects

One of the visual system's most important tasks is to locate objects in space. Without this capacity, we would find it difficult to navigate in the world and interact with things and people. One of the most enduring questions in psychological research is how we are able to construct a three-dimensional mental representation of the visual world from two-dimensional retinal input. Our ability to see depth in a photograph illustrates this point: A three-dimensional array of objects creates exactly the same image on the retina that a photograph of the same array of objects does. Despite this inherent ambiguity, we do not confuse pictures with the scenes they depict.

We are able to perceive depth in the two-dimensional patterns of photographs, movies, videos, and television images because the brain applies the same rules or mechanisms that it uses to work out the spatial relations between objects in the three-dimensional world. To do this, the brain rapidly and automatically exploits certain prior assumptions it has about the relationship between two-dimensional image cues and the three-dimensional world. Among these assumptions are cues that help the visual system perceive depth. These depth cues can be divided into two types: **Binocular depth cues** are available from both eyes together and contribute to bottom-up processing. **Monocular depth cues** are available from each eye alone and provide organizational information for top-down processing.

BINOCULAR DEPTH PERCEPTION One of the most important cues to depth perception is **binocular disparity** (or *retinal disparity*). This cue is caused by the distance between humans' two eyes. Because each eye has a





FIGURE 5.26 The Thatcher Illusion

This effect got its name because it was first studied using photos of the former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. Here, the two inverted pictures of Mila Kunis look normal. Turn your book upside down to reveal a different perspective. We tend to see the two faces as identical because the overall configuration is similar and we fail to notice the distortion. This effect implies that we pay most attention to the eyes and mouth. As long as those features are oriented correctly, the rest of the face appears normal even if it is not.

Participants were shown an array of faces and objects.





The visual perception of faces activated an area of the brain known as the fusiform gyrus. The right hemisphere responded more strongly than the left, especially when faces were presented among objects.

FIGURE 5.25 Perceiving Faces

Brain imaging shows increased activity in the right hemisphere when faces are viewed.

binocular depth cues Cues of depth perception that arise from the fact that people have two eyes.

monocular depth cues Cues of depth perception that are available to each eye alone.

binocular disparity

A depth cue; because of the distance between the two eyes, each eye receives a slightly different retinal image.



FIGURE 5.27 Binocular Disparity

To demonstrate your own binocular disparity, hold one of your index fingers out in front of your face and close first one eye and then the other. Your finger appears to move because each eye, due to its position relative to the finger, has a unique retinal image. slightly different view of the world, the brain has access to two different but overlapping retinal images. The brain uses the disparity between these two retinal images to compute distances to nearby objects (**FIGURE 5.27**). The ability to determine an object's depth based on that object's projections to each eye is called *stereoscopic vision*.

A related binocular depth cue is **convergence**. This term refers to the way that the eye muscles turn the eyes inward when we view nearby objects. The brain knows how much the eyes are converging and uses this information to perceive distance (**FIGURE 5.28**).

MONOCULAR DEPTH PERCEPTION Although binocular disparity is an important cue for depth perception, it is useful only for relatively close objects. Furthermore, we can perceive depth even with one eye closed, because of monocular depth cues. Artists routinely use these cues to create a sense of depth, so monocular depth cues are also called *pictorial depth cues*. The Renaissance painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer Leonardo da Vinci first identified many of these cues, which include:

- Occlusion: A near object occludes (blocks) an object that is farther away.
- *Relative size:* Far-off objects project a smaller retinal image than close objects do, if the far-off and close objects are the same physical size.
- *Familiar size:* Because we know how large familiar objects are, we can tell how far away they are by the size of their retinal images.
- Linear perspective: Seemingly parallel lines appear to converge in the distance.



Convergence

convergence

A cue of binocular depth perception; when a person views a nearby object, the eye muscles turn the eyes inward. (a) When viewing things at a distance, the eyes aim out on parallel lines. (b) As an object approaches, the eyes converge. To demonstrate such convergence, hold one of your index fingers out in front of your face, about a foot away. Slowly bring your finger toward your eyes. Do you notice your eyes converging?



FIGURE 5.29

Pictorial Depth Cues In this photo, the cues to depth include (a) occlusion, because the woman's head is blocking the building; (b) position relative to the horizon, because the woman seems nearer than the people and objects on the sidewalk; (c) relative size, because this man projects a smaller retinal image than the men crossing the street; (d) familiar size, since our knowledge of car sizes lets us estimate how far away this car is by the size of its retinal image; (e) linear perspective, because the lines of the sidewalk appear to converge in the distance; and (f) texture gradient, because the pattern on the pavement becomes denser as the surface recedes from view.

- *Texture gradient:* As a uniformly textured surface recedes, its texture continuously becomes denser.
- **Position relative to horizon:** All else being equal, objects below the horizon that appear higher in the visual field are perceived as being farther away. Objects above the horizon that appear lower in the visual field are perceived as being farther away (**FIGURE 5.29**).

Size Perception Depends on Distance

The size of an object's retinal image depends on that object's distance from the observer. The farther away the object is, the smaller its retinal image. To determine an object's size, then, the visual system needs to know how far away it is. Most of the time, enough depth information is available for the visual system to work out an object's distance and thus infer how large the object is. Size perception sometimes fails, however, and an object may look bigger or smaller than it really is (**FIGURE 5.30**).

This optical illusion arises when normal perceptual processes incorrectly represent the distance between the viewer and the stimuli. In other words, depth cues can fool us into seeing depth when it is not there. Alternatively, a lack of depth cues can fool us into *not* seeing depth when it *is* there. This section considers two phenomena related to both depth perception and distance perception: Ames boxes (also called Ames rooms) and the Ponzo illusion.

AMES BOXES *Ames boxes* were crafted in the 1940s by Adelbert Ames, a painter turned scientist. These constructions present powerful depth illusions. Inside the



FIGURE 5.30 Distance Perception

This picture, by Rebecca Robinson, captures what appears to be a tiny Sarah Heatherton standing on James Heatherton's head. This illusion occurs because the photo fails to present depth information: It does not convey the hill on which Sarah is standing.

FIGURE 5.31 The Ames Box

Ames played with depth cues to create size illusions. For example, he made a diagonally cut room appear rectangular by using crooked windows and floor tiles. When one child stands in a near corner and another (of similar height) stands in a far corner, the room creates the illusion that they are equidistant from the viewer. Therefore, the closer child looks like a giant compared with the child farther away.



Ames boxes, rooms play with linear perspective and other distance cues. One such room makes a far corner appear the same distance away as a near corner (**FIGURE 5.31**).

In a normal room and in this Ames box, the nearby child projects a larger retinal image than the child farther away. Normally, however, the nearby child would not appear to be a giant, because the perceptual system would take depth into account when assessing size. Here, the depth cues are wrong, so the nearby child appears farther away than he is, and the disproportionate size of his image on your retina makes him look huge.

THE PONZO ILLUSION The Ponzo illusion, first described by the psychologist Mario Ponzo in 1913, is another classic example of a size/distance illusion (**FIGURE 5.32**). The common explanation for this effect is that monocular depth cues make the two-dimensional figure seem three-dimensional (Rock, 1984). As noted earlier, seemingly parallel lines appear to converge in the distance. Here, the two lines drawn to look like railroad tracks receding in the distance trick your brain into thinking they are parallel. Therefore, you perceive the two parallel lines in the center as if they are at different distances and thus different in size when they actually are the same size.

This illusion shows how much we rely on depth perception to gauge size. The brain defaults to using depth cues even when depth is absent. Once again, the brain responds as efficiently as possible.

Motion Perception Has Internal and External Cues

We know how motion can cue depth perception, but how does the brain perceive motion? One answer is that we have neurons specialized for detecting movement. In other words, these neurons fire when movement occurs. But how does the brain know what is moving? If you look out a window and see a car driving past a house, how does your brain know the car is moving and not the house? Sometimes we can experience the illusion of movement when none is actually present (**FIGURE 5.33**).

Consider the dramatic case of M.P., a German woman. After receiving damage to secondary visual areas of her brain—areas critical for motion perception—M.P. saw the world as a series of snapshots rather than as a moving image (Zihl, von Cramon, & Mai, 1983). Pouring tea, she would see the liquid frozen in air and be surprised when her cup overflowed. Before crossing a street, she might spot a car far away. When she tried to



FIGURE 5.32 The Ponzo Illusion

194

The two horizontal lines appear to be different sizes but are actually the same length.



FIGURE 5.33

The Rotating Snakes Illusion This illusion was created by the psychologist Akiyoshi Kitaoka, who

has specialized in visual perception. The "snakes" are not moving. Their rotation is caused at least partly by your eye movements.

cross, however, that car would be right in front of her. M.P. had a unique deficit: She could perceive objects and colors but not continuous movement.

This section considers two phenomena that offer insights into how the visual system perceives motion: motion aftereffects and stroboscopic motion perception.

MOTION AFTEREFFECTS *Motion aftereffects* may occur when you gaze at a moving image for a long time and then look at a stationary scene. You experience a momentary impression that the new scene is moving in the opposite direction from the moving image. This illusion is also called the waterfall effect, because if you stare at a waterfall and then turn away, the scenery you are now looking at will seem to move upward for a moment.

Motion aftereffects are strong evidence that motionsensitive neurons exist in the brain. According to the theory that explains this illusion, the visual cortex has neurons that respond to movement in a given direction. When you stare at a moving stimulus long enough, these direction-specific neurons begin to adapt to the motion. That is, they become fatigued and therefore less sensitive. If the stimulus is suddenly removed, the motion detectors that respond to all the other directions are more active than the fatigued motion detectors. Thus, you see the new scene moving in the other direction.

STROBOSCOPIC MOTION PERCEPTION Movies are made up of still-frame images, presented one after the other to create the illusion of motion pictures. This phenomenon is based on *stroboscopic movement*, a perceptual illusion that occurs when two or more slightly different images are presented in rapid succession (**FIGURE 5.34**).



FIGURE 5.34

How Moving Pictures Work

This static series would appear transformed if you spun the wheel. With the slightly different images presented in rapid succession, the stroboscopic movement would tell your brain that you were watching a moving horse.





FIGURE 5.35 Object Constancy

When you look at each of these photos, your retinal image of the bearded man is the same. Why, then, does he appear larger in (a) than in (b)?

Object Constancies Help When Perspective Changes

Illusions occur when the brain creates inaccurate representations of stimuli. In the opposite situation, **object constancy**, the brain correctly perceives objects as constant despite sensory data that could lead it to think otherwise. Consider your image in the mirror. What you see in the mirror might look like it is your actual size, but the image is much smaller than the parts of you being reflected. (If you doubt this claim, try tracing around the image of your face in a steamy bathroom mirror.) Similarly, how does the brain know that a person is 6 feet tall when the retinal image of that person changes size according to how near or far the person is (**FIGURE 5.35**)? How does the brain know that snow is white and a tire is black, even when snow at night or a tire in bright light might send the same cues to the retina?

For the most part, changing an object's angle, distance, or illumination does not change our perception of that object's size, shape, color, or lightness. But to perceive any of these four constancies, we need to understand the relationship between the object and at least one other factor. For *size constancy*, we need to know how far away the object is from us. For *shape constancy*, we need to know what angle or angles we are seeing the object from (**FIGURE 5.36**). For *color constancy*, we need to compare the wavelengths of light reflected from the object with those reflected from its background. Likewise, for *lightness constancy*, we need to know how much light is being reflected from the object and from its background. In each case, the brain computes the relative magnitude rather than relying on each sensation's absolute magnitude. The perceptual system's ability to make relative judgments allows it to maintain constancy across various perceptual contexts. Although their precise mechanisms are unknown, these constancies illustrate that perceptual systems are tuned to detect changes from baseline conditions, not just to respond to sensory inputs.

By studying how illusions work, many perceptual psychologists have come to believe that the brain has built-in assumptions that influence perceptions. The vast majority of visual illusions appear to be beyond our conscious control—we cannot make ourselves not see illusions, even when we know they are not true



FIGURE 5.36

Object Constancy

The image on the retina is vastly different for these four drawings of a car. Since we know how large a car normally is, knowing how far away the car is from us enables us to maintain size constancy. Knowing the angles we are seeing the car from enables us to maintain shape constancy. The shadows help maintain color and lightness constancy because they suggest the angle of lighting and we know that light makes colors brighter.

object constancy

Correctly perceiving objects as constant in their shape, size, color, and lightness, despite raw sensory data that could mislead perception. representations of objects or events (**FIGURE 5.37**). Thus, the visual system is a complex interplay of constancies. These constancies enable us to see both a stable world and perceptual illusions that we cannot control.

Summing Up

How Are We Able to See?

- Vision is our most important sense because it provides the most information about the world.
- Visual transduction occurs when light enters the eye and activates the photoreceptors (rods and cones).
- Rods permit night vision. Cones permit color vision and acuity.
- The human retina contains three types of cones. Each type responds best to one wavelength of light: long, medium, or short.
- Color blindness results from the absence of photopigments sensitive to short, medium, or long wavelengths.
- Trichromatic theory explains how just three types of cones account for all of the colors we see.
 Opponent-process theory explains why we experience negative afterimages.
- Gestalt principles of perceptual organization describe innate brain processes that put information into organized wholes.
- Binocular and monocular depth cues permit the perception of depth from a two-dimensional retinal image.
- Visual illusions can arise when the eye receives conflicting evidence-for example, a size cue that does not agree with a distance cue.
- Object constancies enable us to perceive images accurately even when the raw stimuli are incomplete.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following phenomena are addressed by trichromatic theory and opponentprocess theory, respectively?
 - **a.** We experience negative afterimages.
 - **b.** People are red-green color blind.
 - c. Three types of cones account for color vision.
 - $\boldsymbol{d}.$ It is hard to see something as reddish-green.

2. Which of the following sequences is the correct path of light through the eye?

- a. retina, ganglion cells, photoreceptors, lens
- b. lens, pupil, cornea, retina
- c. cornea, pupil, lens, retina
- d. retina, lens, pupil, cornea
- 3. Identify each of the following as a monocular or binocular depth cue.
 - a. relative size
 - **b.** retinal disparity
 - c. occlusion
 - d. convergence
 - e. texture gradient
 - **f.** position relative to the horizon

(2) c.
 (3) a. monocular; b. binocular; c. monocular; d. binocular; e. monocular; f. monocular.

ANSWERS: (1) a and d are opponent-process theory; b and c are trichromatic theory.



FIGURE 5.37 The Tabletop Illusion

Created by the psychologist Roger Shepard, this illusion demonstrates the brain's automatic perceptual processes. Even when we know the two tabletops are the same size and shape–even if we have traced one image and placed it on top of the other–perspective cues make us see them as different.

Learning Objectives

- Describe how sound waves are transduced into neural activity in the ear.
- Explain the significance of temporal and place coding for auditory perception.
- Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of cochlear implants.

audition Hearing; the sense of sound perception.

sound wave

A pattern of changes in air pressure during a period of time; it produces the percept of a sound.

5.3 How Are We Able to Hear?

For humans, hearing, or **audition**, is second to vision as a source of information about the world. It is a mechanism for determining what is happening in an environment, and it also provides a medium for spoken language.

The wonders of the auditory system are discussed by Daniel Levitin, a psychologist and former professional musician, in his best-selling book *This Is Your Brain on Music* (2006). Hearing music results from differences in brain activity, not from differentiated sound waves. For instance, when you hear guitars, drums, and singing, nothing in the sound waves themselves tells you which part of the music is which. Yet it is rather easy for most people to pick out the separate features in a piece of music. Through activity in different brain regions, the features all come together to create the experience of music.

Audition Results from Changes in Air Pressure

The process of hearing begins when the movements and vibrations of objects cause the displacement of air molecules. Displaced air molecules produce a change in air pressure, and that change travels through the air. The pattern of the changes in air pressure during a period of time is called a **sound wave (FIGURE 5.38**).

A sound wave's *amplitude* determines its loudness: We hear a higher amplitude as a louder sound. The wave's *frequency* determines its pitch: We hear a higher frequency as a sound that is higher in pitch. The frequency of a sound is measured in vibrations per second, called *hertz* (abbreviated *Hz*). Most humans can detect sound waves with frequencies from about 20 Hz to about 20,000 Hz. Like all other sensory experiences, the sensory experience of hearing occurs within the brain, as the brain integrates the different signals provided by various sound waves.



FIGURE 5.38 Sound Waves

The **(a)** amplitude and **(b)** frequency of sound waves are processed into the perceptual experiences of loudness and pitch.

The ability to hear is based on the intricate interactions of various regions of the ear. When changes in air pressure produce sound waves within a person's hearing distance, those sound waves arrive at the person's *outer ear* and travel down the auditory canal to the eardrum. This membrane, stretched tightly across the canal, marks the beginning of the *middle ear*. The sound waves make the eardrum vibrate. These vibrations are transferred to ossicles, three tiny bones commonly called the hammer, anvil, and stirrup. The ossicles transfer the eardrum's vibrations to the *oval window*. The oval window is actually a membrane located within the cochlea, in the inner ear. The cochlea is a fluid-filled tube that curls into a snail-like shape, with a membrane at the end called the *round window*. Running through the center of the cochlea is the thin basilar membrane. The oval window's vibrations create pressure waves in the cochlear fluid; these waves prompt the basilar membrane to oscillate. Movement of the basilar membrane stimulates hair cells to bend and to send information to the *auditory nerve*. These hair cells are the primary auditory receptors. Thus, sound waves, which are mechanical signals, hit the



"Great! O.K., this time I want you to sound taller, and let me hear a little more hair."

eardrum and are converted to neural signals that travel to the brain along the auditory nerve. This conversion of sound waves to brain activity produces the sensation of sound (**FIGURE 5.39**). Auditory neurons in the thalamus extend their axons to the *primary auditory cortex*, which is located in the temporal lobe.

SOUND LOCALIZATION Locating the origin of a sound is an important part of auditory perception, but the sensory receptors cannot code where events occur. Instead, the brain integrates the different sensory information coming from each ear.

Much of our understanding of auditory localization has come from research with barn owls. These nocturnal birds have finely tuned hearing, which helps them locate their prey. In fact, in a dark laboratory, a barn owl can locate a mouse through hearing alone. The owl uses two cues to locate a sound: the time the sound arrives in each ear and the sound's intensity in each ear. Unless the sound comes from exactly in front or in back of the owl, the sound will reach one ear first. Whichever side it comes from, the sound will be softer on the other side because the owl's head acts as a barrier. These differences in timing and magnitude are minute, but they are not too small for the owl's brain to detect and act on. Although a human's ears are not as finely tuned to the locations of sounds as an owl's ears, the human brain uses information from the two ears similarly (**FIGURE 5.40**).

VESTIBULAR SYSTEM Another sensory system that relies on the ears helps us to maintain balance. The **vestibular sense** uses information from receptors in the semicircular canals of the inner ear. These canals contain a liquid that moves when the head moves, bending hair cells at the ends of the canal. The bending generates nerve impulses that inform us of the head's rotation. In this way, the vestibular sense is responsible for our sense of balance. It explains why inner-ear infections or standing up quickly can make us dizzy. The experience of being seasick or carsick results in part from conflicting signals arriving from the visual system and the vestibular system.

Pitch Is Encoded by Frequency and Location

How does the firing of auditory receptors signal different frequencies of sound, such as high notes and low notes? In other words, how is pitch coded by the auditory system? Two mechanisms for encoding the frequency of an auditory stimulus operate in parallel in the basilar membrane: temporal coding and place coding.

eardrum

A thin membrane that marks the beginning of the middle ear; sound waves cause it to vibrate.

vestibular sense

Perception of balance determined by receptors in the inner ear.

FIGURE 5.39 How We Are Able to Hear



temporal coding

A mechanism for encoding lowfrequency auditory stimuli in which the firing rates of cochlear hair cells match the frequency of the sound wave. Temporal coding is used to encode relatively low frequencies, such as the sound of a tuba. The firing rates of cochlear hair cells match the frequency of the pressure wave, so that a 1,000 Hz tone causes hair cells to fire 1,000 times per second. Physiological research has shown that this strict matching between the frequency of auditory stimulation and firing rate of the hair cells can occur only for relatively low frequencies—up to about 4,000 Hz. At higher frequencies, temporal coding can be maintained only if hair cells fire in volleys, in which different groups of cells take turns firing, so that the overall temporal pattern matches the sound frequency.



FIGURE 5.40 Auditory Localization

(a) Like barn owls, (b) humans draw on the intensity and timing of sounds to locate where the sounds are coming from.

The second mechanism for encoding frequency is **place coding**. During the nineteenth century, Hermann von Helmholtz proposed that different receptors in the basilar membrane respond to different frequencies, so that low frequencies would activate a different type of receptor than high frequencies would. Later, the perceptual psychologist Georg von Békésy discovered that Helmholtz's idea was theoretically correct but wrong in the details. Békésy (1957) discovered that different frequencies activate receptors at different locations on the basilar membrane. The receptors are similar but located in different places.

The basilar membrane responds to sound waves like a clarinet reed, vibrating in resonance with the sound. Because the membrane's stiffness decreases along its length, higher frequencies vibrate better at its base, while lower frequencies vibrate more toward its tip. Thus, hair cells at the base of the cochlea are activated by high-frequency sounds; hair cells at the tip are activated by low-frequency sounds (Culler, Coakley, Lowy, & Gross, 1943). The frequency of a sound wave, therefore, is encoded by the receptors on the area of the basilar membrane that vibrates the most (**FIGURE 5.41**).



place coding

A mechanism for encoding highfrequency auditory stimuli in which the frequency of the sound wave is encoded by the location of the hair cells along the basilar membrane.

In this "unrolled" cochlea, high-,

medium-, and low-frequency sound waves activate different regions of the

FIGURE 5.41 Place Coding

basilar membrane.

Using Psychology in Your Life

Are My Listening Habits Damaging My Hearing? Portable listening devices let us take our music wherever we go. State-ofthe-art headphones and ear buds make the listening experience like being in the recording studio with our favorite artists. But blasting music through headphones and ear buds is a known cause of hearing loss. According to the National Institutes of Health (n.d.), noise-induced hearing loss is caused by exposure to "sounds that are too loud or loud sounds that last a long time." Exposure to music typically occurs over long periods of time and thus falls into the second category of risk.

Loud noises-in headphones or ear buds, in the car, in a room, at a concert-can permanently damage the sensitive hair cells, or cilia, that line the ear canals and transmit signals to the nerves involved in sound perception. Once those cilia are damaged, they cannot be repaired. Eventually, they die. If we do not protect those fragile structures, we will not be able to rely on them to hear music, lectures, the television, or any sounds at all.

Researchers based in New York City studied the noise exposure of college students who use personal listening devices, such as iPods (Levey, Levey, & Fligor, 2011). As students emerged from the subway adjacent to the urban campus, the researchers invited them to complete a short questionnaire to assess their music-listening habits and asked if they would put their headphones or ear buds on a special mannequin. This mannequin was equipped with a sound level meter that measured the intensity of the noise coming from the headset.

On average, the music was playing at 92.6 decibels (about the intensity of a power mower or a motorcycle roaring by). The research participants reported using their listening devices on average of 18.4 hours per week. The average intensity and duration of noise exposure certainly puts these students at risk for noiseinduced hearing loss. To hear examples of other noises that can put your hearing at risk, check out the National Institutes of Health's "sound ruler": nidcd.nih.gov/ health/hearing/pages/sound-ruler.aspx.

But how can we know if the energy waves we are pumping through our headphones need to be taken down a notch or two? The American Speech-Hearing-Language Association (n.d.) says that noise levels are dangerous if "you must raise your voice to be heard, you can't hear someone 3 feet away from you, speech around you sounds muffled or dull after you leave the noisy area, [or] you have pain or ringing in your ears (this is called 'tinnitus') after exposure to noise." According to the National Institutes of Health (n.d.), "If you wear headphones, the volume is too loud if a person standing near you can hear the music coming through the headphones."

Music is a part of who we are. But for those of us who have not already suffered hearing loss, so is our hearing. Enjoying music while protecting our hearing will help keep music part of us for the long haul.

Both temporal coding and place coding are involved in the perception of pitch. Most of the sounds we hear—from conversations to concerts—are made up of many frequencies and activate a broad range of hair cells. Our perception of sound relies on the integrated activities of many neurons.

Cochlear Implants Assist the Hearing Impaired

A cochlear implant is a small electronic device that can help provide the sense of sound to a person who has a severe hearing impairment. The implant was the first neural implant used successfully in humans. Over 300,000 of these devices have been implanted worldwide since 1984, when the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved them for adults. In 1990, the FDA approved them for 2-year-olds. It has since approved them for 1-year-olds. Over 38,000 children in the United States have cochlear implants.

The cochlear implant has helped people with severe hearing problems due to the loss of hair cells in the inner ear. Unlike a hearing aid, the implant does not amplify

sound. Rather, it directly stimulates the auditory nerve. The downside is that after the implant is put in place, the person who received it loses all residual normal hearing in that ear, because sound no longer travels along the ear canal and middle ear. Instead, sound is picked up by a tiny microphone behind the ear, sent through a computer processor, and then transmitted to the implant's electrodes inside the cochlea. If the devices are implanted at a young enough age in a congenitally deaf child (younger than 2 years being optimal), the child's hearing will be quite functional. He or she will learn to speak reasonably normally (**FIGURE 5.42**).

The benefits of cochlear implants might seem indisputable to many people with normal hearing. In the 1990s, however, deaf people who do not consider deafness a disability voiced concerns that the implants might adversely affect deaf culture. In fact, some deaf people believe that cochlear implants are a weapon being wielded by the medical community to wipe out deaf culture. They see this effort as being an extreme result of prejudice and discrimination against them, commonly known as *audism*. They argue that cochlear implants disrupt the deaf community's cohesiveness. While deaf people with cochlear implants can still use sign language, apparently they are not always welcome in the signing community (Chase, 2006). This attitude has slowly been changing, but is still held by many deaf signers.

Summing Up

How Are We Able to Hear?

- Sound is created when sound waves travel through the auditory canal to the eardrum, producing vibrations in the cochlea, a fluid-filled canal in the inner ear.
- The sensory receptors for audition are hair cells.
- Hair cells bend when pressure waves build up in the fluid of the cochlea. The hair cells' movement activates neurons in the auditory nerve.
- The vestibular system allows us to maintain balance, when it receives signals from the semicircular canals in the inner ear.
- Temporal coding and place coding are responsible for the perception of pitch. Low-frequency sounds result from temporal coding. At higher frequencies, groups of hair cells must take turns firing. In place coding, the high-frequency sound waves are encoded by the location of the hair cells along the basilar membrane.
- Cochlear implants directly stimulate the auditory nerve, correcting hearing loss caused by a lack of hair cells in the inner ear.

Measuring Up

- 1. Sound waves travel through the ear to the auditory nerve. Identify the order in which the waves make contact with the following structures.
 - a. cochlea, eardrum, ossicles, oval window
 - b. eardrum, ossicles, oval window, cochlea
 - c. outer ear, oval window, cochlea, ossicles
 - d. ossicles, eardrum, oval window, cochlea
- 2. Which of the following statements are true?
 - a. Temporal coding is how hair cells encode low-frequency sounds.
 - **b.** Place coding is how hair cells encode high-frequency sounds.
 - c. The frequency of a sound determines its pitch.
 - d. All of the above are true.

ANSWERS: (1) b.



FIGURE 5.42 Cochlear Implants

Cochlear implants, such as the one fitted on the side of this 10-year-old girl's head, consist of a microphone around the ear and a transmitter fitted to the scalp, linked to electrodes that directly stimulate the auditory nerve. When implanted at a young age, these devices can enable people with hearing loss to learn to hear and speak.

Learning Objectives

- Define the five basic taste sensations.
- Describe how culture influences taste perception.

gustation The sense of taste.

taste buds

Sensory organs in the mouth that contain the receptors for taste.

5.4 How Are We Able to Taste?

The job of **gustation**, our sense of taste, is to keep poisons out of our digestive systems while allowing good food in. The stimuli for taste are chemical substances from food that dissolve in saliva, though how these stimuli work is still largely a mystery. The taste receptors are part of the **taste buds**. These sensory organs are mostly on the tongue (in the tiny, mushroom-shaped structures called *papillae*) but are also spread throughout the mouth and throat. Most individuals have approximately 8,000 to 10,000 taste buds. When food, fluid, or some other substance (e.g., dirt) stimulates the taste buds, they send signals to the thalamus. These signals are then routed to the frontal lobe, which produces the experience of taste (**FIGURE 5.43**).

There Are Five Basic Taste Sensations

In all the senses, a near-infinite variety of perceptual experiences arise from the activation of unique combinations of receptors. Scientists once believed that different regions of the tongue were more sensitive to certain tastes, but they now know that the different taste buds are spread relatively uniformly throughout the tongue and mouth (Lindemann, 2001). Every taste experience is composed of a mixture of five basic qualities: sweet, sour, salty, bitter, and *umami* (Japanese for "savory" or "yummy").

Only within the last decade have scientists recognized umami as the fifth taste sensation (Krulwich, 2007). This delicious taste was perhaps first created intentionally in the late 1800s, when the French chef Auguste Escoffier invented a veal stock that did not taste primarily sweet, sour, salty, or bitter. Independently of Escoffier, in 1908, the Japanese cook and chemist Kikunae Ikeda identified the taste as arising

FIGURE 5.43 How We Are Able to Taste



from the detection of glutamate, a substance that occurs naturally in foods such as meat, some cheese, and mushrooms. Glutamate is the sodium salt in glutamic acid, and as *monosodium glutamate*—or *MSG*, which is commercially available under the brand name Accent—it can be added to various foods as a "flavor enhancer."

Taste alone does not affect how much you like a certain type of food. As you might know from having had colds, food seems tasteless if your nasal passages are blocked. That is because taste relies heavily on the sense of smell. A food's texture also matters: Whether a food is soft or crunchy, creamy or granular, tender or tough affects the sensory experience. That experience is also affected if the food causes discomfort, as can happen with spicy chilies. The entire taste experience occurs not in your mouth but in your brain, which integrates these various sensory signals.

SUPERTASTERS Some people experience especially intense taste sensations, a trait largely determined by genetics. Linda Bartoshuk, the researcher who first studied these individuals, whom she called supertasters, found that they have more taste buds than normal



FIGURE 5.44 Are You a Supertaster?

The psychologist Linda Bartoshuk suggests the following test to determine whether you are a supertaster. (1) Punch a small hole (about 7 millimeters or .25 inches) into a small square of wax paper. (2) Swab some blue food coloring on the front of your tongue, then place the wax paper over it. (3) Use a magnifying glass to view the part of your tongue that shows through the small hole. (4) You will see pink dots, which are the papillae. They remain pink because they do not take up the blue dye. Count the number of pink dots you can see in the small hole. In general, fewer than 15 papillae means you have fewer taste buds than average, 15 to 35 is average, and above 35 means you may be among the 25 percent of the population who are supertasters.

tasters (Bartoshuk, Duffy, & Miller, 1994). Recent evidence, however, suggests that underlying genetics, rather than the number of taste buds, is the major determinant of whether a person is a supertaster (Garneau et al., 2014; **FIGURE 5.44**). First


identified by their extreme dislike of bitter substances—such as grapefruit, broccoli, and coffee—supertasters are highly aware of flavors and textures and are more likely than others to feel pain when eating very spicy foods (Bartoshuk, 2000). They tend to be thin. Women are more likely than men to be supertasters. Taster status is also a function of age, because people lose half their taste receptors by age 20. Although it might sound enjoyable to experience intense tastes, many supertasters and young children are especially picky eaters because particular tastes can overwhelm them. When it comes to sensation, more is not necessarily better.

Culture Influences Taste Preferences

Everyone has individual taste preferences. For example, some people hate anchovies, while others love them. Some people love sour foods, while others prefer sweet ones. These preferences come partly from differences in the number of taste receptors. The same food can actually taste different to different people, because the sensation associated with that food differs in different people's mouths. But cultural factors influence taste preferences as well. Some cultures like red hot peppers, others like salty fish, others rich sauces, and so on.

Scientific Thinking

Infant Taste Preferences Affected by Mother's Diet

HYPOTHESIS: Taste preferences in newborns are influenced by their mothers' food preferences during the months immediately before and after birth.

RESEARCH METHOD:

Pregnant women were assigned at random to one of four groups instructed to drink a certain beverage every day for two months before the baby's birth and two months after the baby's birth:

		Before birth	After birth
G	iroup 1:	carrot juice	water
G	iroup 2:	carrot juice	carrot juice
G	iroup 3:	water	carrot juice
G	iroup 4:	water	water

RESULTS: Babies whose mothers were in Groups 1, 2, or 3 preferred the taste of carrot juice more than did babies whose mothers were in Group 4 and did not drink carrot juice.

CONCLUSION: Babies become familiar with the taste of foods their mothers consume around the time of their birth, and they prefer familiar tastes.



SOURCE: Mennella, J. A., Jagnow, C. P., & Beauchamp, G. K. (2001). Prenatal and postnatal flavor learning by human infants. *Pediatrics*, *107*, e88.

Cultural influences on food preferences begin in the womb. In a study of infant food preferences, pregnant women were assigned to four groups: Some drank carrot juice every day during the last two months of pregnancy, then drank carrot juice again every day during the first two months *after* childbirth; some drank a comparable amount of water every day during both of those periods; some drank carrot juice during the first period, then drank water during the second period; and some drank water during the first period, then drank carrot juice during the second period (Mennella, Jagnow, & Beauchamp, 2001). All the mothers breast-fed their babies, so the taste of what each mother ate was in the breast milk that constituted each newborn's sole food source during the first few months of life.

When the babies were several months old, they were all fed carrot juice (either alone or mixed with their cereal). The infants whose mothers drank carrot juice during the two months before childbirth, the first two months after childbirth, or both periods showed a preference for carrot juice compared with the infants whose mothers drank only water during those same months. Thus, through their own eating behaviors before and immediately following birth, mothers apparently pass their eating preferences on to their offspring. Once again, as noted throughout this book, nature and nurture are inextricably entwined (see "Scientific Thinking: Infant Taste Preferences Affected by Mother's Diet").

Summing Up

How Are We Able to Taste?

- Every taste experience is composed of a mixture of five basic qualities: sweet, sour, salty, bitter, and umami (savory).
- People lose more than half of their tastebuds by age 20.
- Supertasters and children can be picky eaters due to the intense nature of their taste experiences.
- Cultural factors influence taste perception. Foods consumed by breastfeeding mothers influence taste preference in their offspring.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following factors can influence taste preferences?
 - a. genetics
 - b. culture
 - c. exposure to flavors in the womb or via breast milk
 - $\textbf{d.} \ \text{texture of the food}$
 - e. all of the above

2. If you had no taste buds, what would eating be like?

- **a.** You could detect texture of food but not flavor.
- **b.** You could detect flavor of food but not texture.
- $\ensuremath{\textbf{c}}\xspace$. You could detect both flavor and texture.
- **d.** You could not detect flavor or texture.

(2) a. (2) a.

Learning Objectives

- Describe the neural pathway for smell.
- Explain the relationship between pheromones and smell.

olfaction The sense of smell.

olfactory epithelium A thin layer of tissue, within the nasal

A thin layer of tissue, within the hasal cavity, that contains the receptors for smell.

5.5 How Are We Able to Smell?

The human sense of smell is vastly inferior to that of many animals. For example, dogs have 40 times more olfactory receptors than humans do and are 100,000 to 1 million times more sensitive to odors. Our less developed sense of smell comes from our ancestors' reliance on vision. Yet smell's importance in our daily lives is made clear, at least in Western cultures, by the vast sums of money spent on fragrances, deodorants, and mouthwash.

Smell Detects Odorants

Of all the senses, smell, or **olfaction**, has the most direct route to the brain. It may, however, be the least understood sense. Like taste, it involves the sensing of chemicals that come from outside the body. We smell something when chemical particles, or *odorants*, pass into the nose and, when we sniff, into the nasal cavity's upper and back portions.

In the nose and the nasal cavity, a warm, moist environment helps the odorant molecules come into contact with the **olfactory epithelium.** This thin layer of tissue is embedded with thousands of smell receptors. Each receptor is responsive to different odorants. It remains unclear exactly how these receptors encode distinct smells. One possibility is that each type of receptor is uniquely associated with a specific odor. (For example, one type would encode only the scent of roses.) This explanation is unlikely, however, given the huge number of scents we can detect. (Moreover, the scent of a rose actually consists of a mixture of 275 chemical components [Ohloff, 1994]. The combination of these odorants produces the smell that we recognize as a rose.) According to a recent estimate, humans can discriminate more

FIGURE 5.45 How We Are Able to Smell



than one trillion odorants (Bushdid, Magnasco, Vosshall, & Keller, 2014). Thus, a more likely possibility regarding encoding is that each odorant stimulates several types of receptors and the activation pattern across these receptors determines the olfactory perception (Lledo, Gheusi, & Vincent, 2005). As in all sensory systems, sensation and perception result from the specificity of receptors and the pattern of receptor responses.

Unlike other sensory information, smell signals bypass the thalamus, the early relay station. Instead, the smell receptors transmit information direct to the **olfactory bulb**. Located just below the frontal lobes, the olfactory bulb is the brain center for smell. From the olfactory bulb, smell information goes to other brain areas.

Information about whether a smell is pleasant or unpleasant is processed in the brain's prefrontal cortex, and people can readily make that distinction. However, although humans can discriminate over one trillion different odors, most people are pretty bad at identifying odors by name (Yeshurun & Sobel, 2010). Think about the smell of newly fallen rain. Even though it is familiar, it is hard to describe. If you test this claim by asking your friends or relatives to close their eyes and name familiar food items from the fridge, they will probably not be able to identify the smells at least half the time (de Wijk, Schab, & Cain, 1995). Women, though, are generally better than men at identifying odors (Bromley & Doty, 1995; Lehrner, 1993; Schab, 1991).

The intensity of a smell is processed in brain areas that are also involved in emotion and memory (Anderson, Christoff et al., 2003). As a result, it is not surprising that olfactory stimuli can evoke feelings and memories (**FIGURE 5.45**). For example, many people find that the aromas of certain holiday foods cooking, the smell of bread baking, and/or the fragrances of particular perfumes generate fond childhood memories. olfactory bulb The brain center for smell, located below the frontal lobes.



Pheromones Are Processed Like Olfactory Stimuli

The sense of smell is also involved in an important mode of communication and involved in social behavior. *Pheromones* are chemicals released by animals, probably including humans, that trigger physiological or behavioral reactions in other animals and insects. These chemicals do not elicit "smells" that we are conscious of, but they are processed in a manner similar to the processing of olfactory stimuli. Specialized receptors in the nasal cavity respond to the presence of pheromones. Pheromones play a major role in sexual signaling in many animal species, and they may affect humans in similar ways (as discussed in Chapter 10, "Emotion and Motivation").

Summing Up

How Are We Able to Smell?

- Odorants are chemical particles, outside the body, that can be detected by smell receptors.
- Smell receptors are located in the olfactory epithelium, in the lining of the nose and nasal cavity.
- Of all the senses, olfaction has the most direct route to the brain. Smell is the only sense not
 processed via the thalamus.
- Smell receptors send signals to the olfactory bulb, just below the frontal lobes, for processing.
- Humans can discriminate between thousands of odors but have difficulty naming what they smell.
- Pheromones activate smell receptors but are not identified as odors. Pheromones motivate mating behaviors in nonhuman animals and may affect humans similarly.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following sequences is the neural pathway for smell?
 - a. olfactory epithelium, olfactory nerve, thalamus, olfactory bulb
 - b. olfactory epithelium, olfactory bulb, olfactory nerve, frontal cortex and other brain areas
 - c. olfactory nerve, olfactory epithelium, frontal cortex and other brain areas, olfactory bulb
 - $\textbf{d.} \hspace{0.1 cm} \textit{olfactory nerve, thalamus, olfactory epithelium, frontal cortex and other brain areas}$
- 2. True or false: Because pheromones are processed like odorants, they can be smelled.

ANSWERS: (1) b. (2) False.

Learning Objectives

- Describe how the sense of touch is processed by the skin and brain.
- Distinguish between the two types of pain.
- Discuss gate control theory and the control of pain.

5.6 How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain?

Touch, the **haptic sense**, conveys sensations of temperature, pressure, and of pain. It also delivers a sense of where our limbs are in space. A system related to touch is the **kinesthetic sense**. Kinesthetic sensations come from receptors in muscles, in tendons, and in joints. This information enables us to pinpoint the positions in

space and the movements of our bodies and our limbs. Thus, it helps us coordinate voluntary movement and is invaluable in avoiding injury.

The Skin Contains Sensory Receptors For Touch

Anything that makes contact with our skin provides *tactile stimulation*. This stimulation gives rise to the experience of touch. In fact, skin is the largest organ for sensory reception because of its large surface area. The haptic receptors for both temperature and pressure are sensory neurons that reach to the skin's outer layer. Their long axons enter the central nervous system by way of spinal or cranial nerves. (Simply put, spinal nerves travel from the rest of the body into the spinal cord and then to the brain. By contrast, cranial nerves connect directly to the brain.)

For sensing temperature, there appear to be receptors for warmth and receptors for cold. Intense stimuli can trigger both warmth and cold receptors, however. Such simultaneous activation can produce strange sensory experiences, such as a false feeling of wetness. Some receptors for pressure are nerve fibers at the bases of hair follicles that respond to movement of the hair. Four other types of pressure receptors are capsules in the skin. These receptors respond to continued vibration; to light, fast pressure; to light, slow pressure; or to stretching and steady pressure.

The integration of various signals and higher-level mental processes produces haptic experiences (**FIGURE 5.46**). For instance, stroking multiple pressure points can produce a tickling sensation, which can be pleasant or unpleasant, depending on the mental state of the person being tickled. By the way, imaging research has helped answer the question of why we cannot tickle ourselves: The brain areas involved in touch sensation respond less to self-produced tactile stimulation than to external tactile stimulation (Blakemore, Wolpert, & Frith, 1998).

Touch information travels from the thalamus to the primary somatosensory cortex, in the parietal lobe. As discussed in Chapter 3, electrical stimulation of the primary somatosensory cortex can evoke the sensation of touch in different regions of the body (see Figure 3.27a). Large amounts of cortical tissue are devoted to sensitive body parts, such as the fingers and the lips. Very little cortical tissue is devoted to other areas, such as the back and the calves. As a result, you can probably tell what something is if you feel it with your fingers, but you will not have equal sensitivity if the same thing touches your back.

There Are Two Types of Pain

Pain is part of a warning system that stops you from continuing activities that may harm you. For example, the message may be to remove your hand from a jagged surface or to stop running when you have damaged a tendon. Children born with a rare genetic disorder that leaves them insensitive to pain usually die young, no matter how carefully they are supervised. They simply do not know how to avoid activities that harm them or to report when they are feeling ill (Melzack & Wall, 1982).

Pain receptors exist throughout the body, not just in the skin. Like other sensory experiences, the actual experience of pain is created by the brain. For instance, a person whose limb has been amputated may sometimes feel phantom pain in the nonexistent limb (see Figure 3.40). The person really feels pain, but the pain occurs because of painful sensations *near* the site of the missing limb or even because of a nonpainful touch on the cheek. The brain simply misinterprets the resulting neural activity.

haptic sense The sense of touch.

kinesthetic sense Perception of the positions in space and movements of our bodies and our limbs.

FIGURE 5.46 How We Are Able to Experience Touch: The Haptic Sense



Most experiences of pain result when damage to the skin activates haptic receptors. The nerve fibers that convey pain information are thinner than those for temperature and for pressure and are found in all body tissues that sense pain: skin, muscles, membranes around both bones and joints, organs, and so on. Two kinds of nerve fibers have been identified for pain: *fast fibers* for sharp, immediate pain and *slow fibers* for chronic, dull, steady pain.

An important distinction between these fibers is the myelination or nonmyelination of their axons, which travel from the pain receptors to the spinal cord. As discussed in Chapter 3, myelination speeds up neural communication. Myelinated axons, like heavily insulated wire, can send information quickly. Nonmyelinated axons send information more slowly.

Think of a time when you touched a hot skillet. A sharp, fast, localized pain at the moment your skin touched the pan caused you to jerk your hand away. It was followed by a slow, dull, more diffuse burning pain. The fast-acting receptors are activated by strong physical pressure and temperature extremes, whereas the slow-acting receptors are activated by chemical changes in tissue when skin is damaged. In terms of adaptation, fast pain leads us to recoil from harmful objects and therefore is protective, whereas slow pain keeps us from using the affected body parts and therefore helps in recuperation (**FIGURE 5.47**).



FIGURE 5.47 How We Experience Touch: The Sense of Pain



GATE CONTROL THEORY The brain regulates the experience of pain, sometimes producing it, sometimes suppressing it. Pain is a complex experience that depends on biological, psychological, and cultural factors. The psychologist Ronald Melzack conducted pioneering research in this area. For example, he demonstrated that psychological factors, such as past experiences, are extremely important in determining how much pain a person feels.

With his collaborator Patrick Wall, Melzack formulated the *gate control theory of pain*. According to this theory, we experience pain when pain receptors are activated and a neural "gate" in the spinal cord allows the signals through to the brain (Melzack & Wall, 1965). These ideas were radical in that they conceptualized pain as a perceptual experience within the brain rather than simply a response to nerve stimulation. The theory states that pain signals are transmitted by small-diameter nerve fibers. These fibers can be blocked at the spinal cord (prevented from reaching the brain) by the firing of larger sensory nerve fibers. Thus, sensory nerve fibers can "close a gate" and prevent or reduce the perception of pain. This is why scratching an itch is so satisfying, why rubbing an aching muscle helps reduce the ache, and why vigorously rubbing the skin where an injection is about to be given reduces the needle's sting (**FIGURE 5.48**).

CONTROLLING PAIN A number of cognitive states, such as distraction, can also close the gate. Athletes sometimes play through pain because of their intense focus on the game. Wounded soldiers sometimes continue to fight during combat, often failing to recognize a level of pain that would render them inactive at other times. An insect bite bothers us more when we are trying to sleep and have few distractions than when we are wide awake and active.

Conversely, some mental processes, such as worrying about or focusing on the painful stimulus, seem to open the pain gates wider. Research participants who are well rested rate the same level of a painful stimulus as less painful than do



FIGURE 5.48 Gate Control Theory

According to the gate control theory of pain, neural "gates" in the spinal cord allow signals through. Those gates can be closed when information about touch is being transmitted (e.g., by rubbing a sore arm) or by distraction. participants who are fearful, anxious, or depressed (Loggia, Mogil, & Bushnell, 2008; Sullivan et al., 2001). Likewise, positive moods help people cope with pain. In a systematic review of the literature, Swedish researchers found that listening to music was an extremely effective means of reducing postoperative pain, perhaps because it helps patients relax (Engwall & Duppils, 2009).

DeCharms and colleagues (2005) have pioneered techniques that offer hope for people who suffer from painful conditions. The researchers sought to teach people in pain—many of these people in chronic pain—to visualize their pain more positively. For example, participants were taught to think about a burning sensation as soothing, like the feeling of being in a sauna. As they tried to learn such techniques, they viewed fMRI images that showed which regions of their brains were active as they performed the tasks. Many participants learned techniques that altered their brain activity and reduced their pain.

Of course, there are more-traditional ways to control pain. Most of us have taken over-the-counter drugs, usually ibuprofen or acetaminophen, to reduce pain perception. If you have ever suffered from a severe toothache or needed surgery, you have probably experienced the benefits of pain medication. When a dentist administers Novocain to sensory neurons in the mouth, pain messages are not transmitted to the brain, so the mouth feels numb. General anesthesia slows down the firing of neurons throughout the nervous system, and the patient becomes unresponsive to stimulation (Perkins, 2007).

You can use your knowledge of pain perception anytime you need to reduce your own pain or to help others in pain. Distraction is usually the easiest way to reduce pain. If you are preparing for a painful procedure or suffering after one, watching an entertaining movie can help, especially if it is funny enough to elevate your mood. Music may help you relax, making it easier to deal with pain. Rapid rubbing can benefit a stubbed toe, for example, or a finger that was caught in a closing drawer. You will also feel less pain if you are rested, not fearful, and not anxious. Finally, try to visualize your pain as something more pleasant. Of course, severe pain is a warning that something in the body is seriously wrong. If you experience severe pain, you should be treated by a medical professional.

Summing Up

How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain?

- Tactile stimulation gives rise to the sense of touch.
- Haptic receptors process information about temperature and pressure.
- Haptic receptors send signals to the thalamus, which projects to the primary somatosensory cortex (in the parietal lobe).
- Pain receptors are located all over the body, but most pain is signaled by haptic receptors in the skin.
- Fast, myelinated fibers process information about sharp sudden pain. Slow, nonmyelinated fibers process chronic dull pain.
- According to the gate control theory, pain perception involves both a painful stimulus and spinal cord processing of the signal.
- Ways to decrease pain include activating touch or other senses, mental distraction, and thinking pleasant thoughts.

Measuring Up

1. Which of the following actions can decrease pain perception?

- **a.** listening to music
- **b.** rubbing the area that hurts
- c. engaging in a distracting activity
- **d.** taking pain-relieving medication
- e. all of the above

2. Identify each of the following statements as true or false.

- **a.** _____ According to gate control theory, a gate in the brain controls pain perception.
- **b.** _____ According to gate control theory, the gate for pain perception can be occupied by the activation of other signals from the body.
- c. _____ Distraction can decrease pain perception.
- **d.** _____ Fear, anger, and depression can increase the pain perception.
- e. _____ Listening to music increases pain perception.
- f. _____ Being well rested can decrease pain perception.
- **g.** _____ Imagining pain as a pleasant stimulus can decrease pain perception.

ANSWERS: (1) e. (2) a. False; b. True; c. True; d. True; e. False; f. True; g. True.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

5.1 How Does Perception Emerge from Sensation?

- Sensory Information Is Translated into Meaningful Signals Sensation is the detection of physical stimuli in the environment. Perception is our conscious experience of those stimuli. Bottom-up processing is based on features of a stimulus. Top-down processing is based on context and expectations.
- Detection Requires a Certain Amount of the Stimulus Transduction is the process of converting environmental energy into a pattern of neural activity. Transduction takes place at sensory receptors, specialized cells within each sense organ that respond to energy to activate neurons. Absolute threshold is the minimum amount of physical energy needed to activate a sensory receptor. Difference threshold is the amount of change required for detection by a sensory receptor. Signal detection theory is about the subjective nature of detecting a stimulus. Sensory adaptation occurs when sensory receptors stop responding to an unchanging stimulus.
- The Brain Constructs Stable Representations In perception, the brain integrates millions of diverse neural inputs to produce stable representations. This activity produces awareness, a coherent experience of the physical world.

5.2 How Are We Able to See?

- Sensory Receptors in the Eye Transmit Visual Information to the Brain Light is focused by the lens onto the retina, which is at the back of the eye. The retina houses the photoreceptors: rods and cones. Rods and cones are connected synaptically with ganglion cells of the optic nerve. This nerve exits the eye at the blind spot and crosses into the brain at the optic chiasm. There, fibers from each eye cross into opposite sides of the brain, so the left hemisphere processes information from the right visual field and vice versa. The information is processed in the thalamus and the primary visual cortex (in the occipital lobe). From the visual cortex, the ventral stream processes "what" information about objects, and the dorsal stream processes "where" information about locations.
- The Color of Light Is Determined by Its Wavelength The human eye detects electromagnetic radiation wavelengths of 400-700 nanometers. The retina contains three types of cones. Each type is responsive to a different wavelength (short, medium, or long), and this responsiveness enables us to perceive colors. Color blindness is caused by a malfunction in one or more of the cone types. Colors are differentiated by their hue, saturation, and brightness.
- Perceiving Objects Requires Organization of Visual Information The brain automatically organizes perceptual

information. Gestalt principles—such as proximity, similarity, continuity, and closure—account for the ways in which that information is organized into wholes. Humans are especially good at recognizing faces. Prosopagnosia is a rare condition where people are unable to recognize faces. This condition likely results from damage to the fusiform gyrus, a brain structure.

- Depth Perception Is Important for Locating Objects Depth perception is critical for locating objects in space. To perceive depth using only a two-dimensional retinal image, the brain draws on binocular and monocular cues. Binocular cues result from the physical position of the eyes and include retinal disparity and convergence. Monocular cues are parts of the stimulus and include occlusion, relative size, linear perspective, and position relative to the horizon.
- Size Perception Depends on Distance Close objects produce large retinal images. Far objects produce small retinal images. Perceptual illusions arise when the size of retinal image does not agree with cues regarding distance. The Ames box and Ponzo illusion are two examples of such effects.
- Motion Perception Has Internal and External Cues Motion aftereffects occur after the eyes stare at a moving object. These aftereffects produce the perception of motion in the opposite direction even after the gaze is averted. This phenomenon suggests the existence of motion-sensitive neurons in the visual cortex. The detection of stroboscopic motion occurs when still frames are presented in rapid succession, as in a movie.
- Object Constancies Help When Perspective Changes Object constancies refer to how the brain accurately perceives images even with minimal or changing stimulus cues. The four constancies are size, shape, color, and lightness.

5.3 How Are We Able to Hear?

- Audition Results from Changes in Air Pressure The amplitude and frequency of sound waves cause the perceptual experiences of loudness and pitch, respectively. Sound waves travel from the outer ear through the auditory canal to the eardrum. Vibrations from these waves stimulate the ossicles, bones of the inner ear. The vibrations of these bones stimulate the oval window, a membrane on the cochlea, a fluid-filled chamber in the inner ear. Pressure waves from the cochlear fluid stimulate the basilar membrane. This stimulation causes the ear's sensory receptors, the hair cells, to bend. The bending of the hair cells activates neurons in the auditory nerve. These neurons send messages through the thalamus and to the primary auditory cortex (in the temporal lobes).
- Pitch Is Encoded by Time and Place Low-frequency sound waves are coded temporally, as cochlear hair cells fire at a rate equivalent to the frequency of the waves. For high-frequency sound waves, groups of hair cells must take turns firing. In place coding,

high-frequency sound waves are coded by hair cells at different locations in the cochlea.

• Cochlear Implants Assist the Hearing Impaired Cochlear implants can help with hearing loss by directly stimulating the auditory nerve, overcoming the lack of hair cells in the inner ear.

5.4 How Are We Able to Taste?

- There Are Five Basic Taste Sensations Gustation, the sense of taste, is produced by taste buds. The taste buds are located in the papillae, structures on the tongue. The five types of taste buds yield the taste sensations: sweet, sour, salty, bitter, and umami (savory). Supertasters and young children are often picky eaters. They perceive taste sensations more strongly.
- **Culture Influences Taste Preferences** Cultural factors help determine taste preferences. For example, infants exposed to unique flavors through breast milk develop a preference for those flavors compared to nonexposed infants.

5.5 How Are We Able to Smell?

• Smell Detects Odorants Olfaction occurs when odorants stimulate smell receptors, which are located in the olfactory epithelium in the nose and nasal cavity. Smell receptors send messages to neurons in the olfactory bulb, located below the frontal lobes. The signals are sent directly to other brain areas, including those that regulate memory and emotion. Humans can

Key Terms

absolute threshold, p. 177 audition, p. 198 binocular depth cues, p. 191 binocular disparity, p. 191 bottom-up processing, p. 175 cones, p. 182 convergence, p. 192 difference threshold, p. 177 eardrum, p. 199 fovea, p. 183 gustation, p. 204 haptic sense, p. 210 kinesthetic sense, p. 210 monocular depth cues, p. 191 object constancy, p. 196 olfaction, p. 208 olfactory bulb, p. 209 olfactory epithelium, p. 208 perception, p. 174 place coding, p. 201 retina, p. 182 rods, p. 182

differentiate among thousands of odors, but they have difficulty naming particular odors.

 Pheromones Are Processed Like Olfactory Stimuli Pheromones are animal-released chemicals that do not produce odor but are processed by the smell receptors. Pheromones can motivate sexual behavior in nonhuman animals and may function similarly in humans.

5.6 How Are We Able to Feel Touch and Pain?

- The Skin Contains Sensory Receptors for Touch Touch is known as the haptic sense. Tactile stimulation activates touch receptors in skin, which respond to pressure, temperature, and pain. Touch information is sent to the thalamus, which sends it to the primary somatosensory cortex (in the parietal lobe).
- There Are Two Types of Pain Pain is necessary for survival. The perception of pain prompts organisms to protect themselves from damage. Fast, myelinated fibers process sharp sudden pain. Slow, nonmyelinated fibers process dull chronic pain. According to the gate control theory, pain perception requires both the activation of pain receptors and spinal cord processing of the signal. The gate can be closed or occupied if other stimuli are processed simultaneously. Activities such as rubbing an area around the painful one, distracting oneself, or thinking happy thoughts can decrease the perception of pain.

sensation, p. 174 sensory adaptation, p. 179 signal detection theory (SDT), p. 178 sound wave, p. 198 taste buds, p. 204 temporal coding, p. 200 top-down processing, p. 175 transduction, p. 175 vestibular sense, p. 199

Practice Test

- 1. Which answer accurately lists the order in which these structures participate in sensation and perception (except for smell)?
 - a. thalamus, specialized receptors, cortex
 - **b.** specialized receptors, cortex, thalamus
 - $\textbf{c.} \quad \text{cortex, specialized receptors, thalamus}$
 - $\textbf{d.} \ \text{specialized receptors, thalamus, cortex}$
- For vision, the ______ stream processes the "what" of objects and the ______ stream processes the "where."
 - a. lateral, medial
 - **b.** medial, lateral
 - c. ventral, dorsal
 - d. dorsal, ventral
- 3. Which sense organ is largest in humans?
 - eyes, due to the large number of cones densely packed in the fovea
 - **b.** ears, due to the curvature of the cochlea, which increases surface area of the basilar membrane to house an infinite number of hair cells
 - **c.** nose, due to the dense array of cells packed within the olfactory epithelium
 - **d.** tongue, due to the large number of taste buds that can be housed within each papillae
 - e. skin, due to the large surface area
- **4.** In audition, detecting the ______ of the sound wavelength results in the perception of loudness. Detecting the ______ of the wavelength results in the perception of pitch.
 - a. frequency, amplitude

- **b.** amplitude, frequency
- c. frequency, hertz
- d. hertz, frequency
- **5.** Identify each of the following visual perceptions as an example of size constancy, shape constancy, color constancy, or lightness constancy.
 - **a.** recognizing a dinner plate as circular, even when viewing it at an angle that makes it appear elliptical
 - **b.** labeling grass as green, even in the dark
 - **c.** correctly identifying a building as a skyscraper, even though it appears smaller than other objects in your field of vision
 - **d.** recognizing a door as a door, even when it is fully open so that you see only the edge
 - **e.** noticing the color of your friend's T-shirt looks lighter when he stands next to a brick wall than when he stands against a white wall.
- 6. Imagine you have a dull, chronic pain across your lower back. No matter how you position yourself, you cannot make the pain go away. Select the answer choices most relevant to this type of pain. More than one choice may be correct.
 - $\boldsymbol{a}.$ activated by chemical changes in tissue
 - **b.** activated by strong physical pressure of temperature extremes
 - **c.** fast fibers
 - **d.** myelinated axons
 - e. nonmyelinated axons
 - f. slow fibers



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Ask & Answer

6.1 How Do We Learn? 222

6.2 How Do We Learn Predictive Associations? 226

6.3 How Does Operant Conditioning Change Behavior? 239

6.4 How Does Watching Others Affect Learning? 254



FIGURE 6.1 Big Bang Theory Main characters on *Big Bang Theory* include (left to right) Leonard, Penny, and Sheldon. In a classic episode, Sheldon uses chocolate to change Penny's behavior.

Learning

MILLIONS ENJOY WATCHING DR. SHELDON COOPER, a character on the hit television series *Big Bang Theory* (**FIGURE 6.1**). Sheldon is a brilliant scientist, but he is not socially gifted. He does not understand sarcasm and has difficulty understanding his friends' emotions and nonverbal gestures. He is also extremely resistant to any change in his routine. Sheldon's amusingly awkward interactions with others are an important ingredient in the show's success.

During one episode, Sheldon is trying to accept that Leonard, his roommate and fellow physicist, is dating their attractive neighbor, Penny, an aspiring actress. When Sheldon finds Penny in his kitchen-wearing only a nightshirtdancing to a Shania Twain song and making French toast, he is immediately annoyed. After all, it's Oatmeal Day.

Sheldon decides to derail Penny and Leonard's relationship by deviously applying psychological science. When Penny gets up to take her plate to the sink, she cheerfully offers to take Sheldon's plate as well. Sheldon thanks her and offers her a chocolate, which she eats joyfully. Leonard is suspicious about Sheldon's actions because spontaneous acts of kindness are not what one expects from him. Later, when Penny stops telling a story because she thinks she is talking too much, Sheldon again offers her a chocolate.

Leonard figures out what Sheldon is up to and confronts him: "You're using chocolates as positive reinforcement for what you consider correct behavior!" Sheldon confirms that Leonard is right and offers him a chocolate. Leonard refuses the chocolate and tells Sheldon that he should not train his girlfriend as if she is a lab rat. Sheldon tells Leonard that there is no pleasing him. Since Sheldon's previous attempts at being nice had failed, he simply decided "to employ operant conditioning techniques, building on the work of Thorndike and B. F. Skinner." Sheldon then boldly claims, "By this time next week, I believe I can have her jumping out of a pool, balancing a beach ball on her nose." When Leonard forbids Sheldon from the further use of chocolate to shape Penny's behavior, Sheldon squirts him with water and scolds him: "Bad Leonard."

You might not be familiar with all the terminology Sheldon and Leonard use (a situation that happens often on the show-the characters also spend considerable time talking about quantum mechanics and string theory, using highly technical language). However, you probably recognize that Sheldon is trying to change Penny's behavior using methods that you might use to train your puppy to be obedient. Sheldon rewards the behaviors he wants to see from Penny, hoping she will perform those behaviors more often in the future. He sprays water and scolds Leonard because he wants to decrease Leonard's behavior.

Although the *Big Bang Theory* representations of these learning techniques are a bit outlandish for the sake of comedy, they are also based on sound scientific principles developed by psychologists over the last century. In this chapter, you will learn about learning. Learning theories have been used to improve quality of life and to train humans as well as nonhuman animals to learn new tasks. To understand all behavior, we need to know what learning is and how it happens.

6.1 How Do We Learn?

This chapter focuses on what psychologists have discovered about how learning takes place. This material represents some of psychology's central contributions to our understanding of behavior.

Learning Results from Experience

Learning is a relatively enduring change in behavior, resulting from experience. Learning occurs when an animal benefits from experience so that its behavior is better adapted to the environment. In other words, the animal is more prepared to deal with the environment in the future. For example, the animal may be better able to predict when certain events are likely to happen.

The ability to learn is crucial for all animals. To survive, animals need to learn things such as which types of foods are dangerous, when it is safe to sleep, and which sounds signal potential dangers. Learning is central to almost all aspects of human existence. It makes possible our basic abilities (such as walking and speaking) and our complex ones (such as flying airplanes, performing surgery, or maintaining intimate relationships). Learning also shapes many aspects of daily life: clothing choices, musical tastes, social rules about how close people stand to each other, cultural values about either exploiting or preserving the environment, and so on (**FIGURE 6.2**).

Learning Objectives

- Define learning.
- Identify three types of learning processes.
- Describe the nonassociative learning processes: habituation and sensitization. Explain the significance of each.



FIGURE 6.2 Learning to Learn Think about the many types of learning that have made you who you are: a college student able to learn.

Learning theory arose in the early twentieth century. Its development was due partly to the dissatisfaction among some psychologists with the widespread use of introspection, such as that being used by the structuralists. Likewise, many psychologists were critical of Freud's psychodynamic approach. Freud and his followers used verbal report techniques, such as dream analysis and free association. They aimed to assess the unconscious mental processes that they believed were the primary determinants of behavior. John B. Watson (1924), however, argued that Freudian theory was unscientific and ultimately meaningless. He also rejected any psychological enterprise, including structuralism, that focused on things that could not be observed directly, such as people's mental experiences. Although he acknowledged that thoughts and beliefs exist, he believed they could not be studied using scientific methods. According to Watson, observable behavior was the only valid indicator of psychological activity.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Watson founded behaviorism on such principles. This school of thought was based on the belief that humans and nonhuman animals are born with the potential to learn just about anything. In formulating his ideas, Watson was influenced by the seventeenth-century philosopher John Locke. An infant, according to Locke, is a *tabula rasa* (Latin for "blank slate"). Born knowing nothing, the infant acquires all of its knowledge through sensory experiences (**FIGURE 6.3**). In this way, a person develops.

Building on this foundation, Watson stated that environment and its associated effects on animals were the sole determinants of learning. He felt so strongly about the preeminence of environment that he issued the following bold challenge: "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select—doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief, and yes, even beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations and race of his ancestors" (Watson, 1924, p. 82). In North America, Watson enormously influenced the study of psychology. Behaviorism was the dominant psychological paradigm well into the 1960s. It affected the methods and theories of every area of psychology.

There Are Three Types of Learning

The essence of learning is that it enables us to gain knowledge about the world. We learn in three basic ways (**FIGURE 6.4**).

The simplest form of learning occurs after repeated exposure to a single stimulus, or event. For example, you hear a fire alarm go off and look toward where the alarm is. Or you hear a buzzing sound in the background and tune it out. This action, **nonassociative learning**, is a response to something in the environment. The change in response to the stimulus is a form of learning.



FIGURE 6.3 Learning Through Sensory Experiences According to behaviorism, an infant learns through experience.

learning

A relatively enduring change in behavior, resulting from experience.

nonassociative learning Responding after repeated exposure to a single stimulus, or event.



FIGURE 6.4 Types of Learning



FIGURE 6.5 Types of Nonassociative Learning



FIGURE 6.6 Habituation

Suppose you live or work in a noisy environment. You learn to ignore the constant noise because you do not need to respond to it.



FIGURE 6.7 Simple Model of Learning The aplysia, a marine invertebrate, is used to study the neurochemical basis of learning.

The second type of learning is understanding how stimuli, or events, are related. For example, you might associate going to the dentist with being in pain. You might associate working with getting paid. **Associative learning** is the linking of two events that, in general, take place one right after the other. Associations develop through *conditioning*, a process in which environmental stimuli and behavioral responses become connected.

The third major type of learning occurs by watching others. **Observational learning** is acquiring or changing a behavior after exposure to another individual performing that behavior. For example, you might learn the steps to a new type of dance by watching a YouTube video. By watching others in person or in the media, people may learn good habits or bad ones. They may learn what to appreciate or what to fear.

Habituation and Sensitization Are Simple Models of Learning

The two most common forms of nonassociative learning are habituation and sensitization (**FIGURE 6.5**). **Habituation** is a decrease in behavioral response after repeated exposure to a stimulus. We tend to notice new things around us. If something is neither rewarding nor harmful, habituation leads us to ignore it (**FIGURE 6.6**). Recall the discussion of sensory adaptation in Chapter 5. Habituation is unlike sensory adaptation in that you can still perceive the stimuli. You just do not respond to them because you have learned that they are not important.

We constantly habituate to meaningless events around us. For instance, sit back and listen to the background sounds wherever you are. Perhaps you can hear a clock, or a computer fan, or your roommates playing music in the next room. Had you really noticed this noise before being directed to, or had you habituated to it?

What happens if the background noise suddenly stops? You are likely to immediately notice the change. The increase in a response because of a change in something familiar is *dishabituation*. This process is important in the animal world. For instance, birds might stop singing when they detect a predator, such as a hawk. The absence of bird song alerts other animals, such as squirrels, to potential danger.

All animals show habituation and dishabituation. Indeed, we have learned a lot about how nonassociative learning works by studying simple invertebrates such as the aplysia, a small marine snail (**FIGURE 6.7**). Habituation can be demonstrated quite easily by repeatedly touching an aplysia. The first few touches cause it to withdraw its gills. After about 10 touches, it stops responding, and this lack of response lasts about 2 to 3 hours. Repeated habituation trials can lead to a state of habituation that lasts several weeks.

Sensitization is an increase in behavioral response after exposure to a stimulus (**FIGURE 6.8**). The stimuli that most often lead to sensitization are those that are threatening or painful. If you are studying and smell something burning, you probably will not habituate to this smell. In fact, you might focus even greater attention on your sense of smell to assess the possible threat of fire, and you will be highly vigilant for any indication of smoke or of flames. In general, sensitization leads to heightened responsiveness to other stimuli. Giving a strong electric shock to an aplysia's tail leads to sensitization. Following the shock, a mild touch anywhere on the body will cause the aplysia to withdraw its gills.

What activity at the synapse leads to nonassociative learning? The neurobiologist Eric Kandel and colleagues (Carew, Pinsker, & Kandel, 1972) have used the aplysia to study the neural basis of nonassociative learning. Their findings have shown that alterations in the functioning of the synapse lead to habituation and sensitization. For both types of simple learning, presynaptic neurons alter their neurotransmitter release. A reduction in neurotransmitter release leads to habituation. An increase in neurotransmitter release leads to sensitization. Knowing the neural basis of simple learning gives us the building blocks to understand more-complex learning processes in both human and nonhuman animals. For this research, Kandel received the Nobel Prize in 2000.

Summing Up

How Do We Learn?

- Behaviorism, founded by John B. Watson, focuses on observable aspects of learning.
- There are three types of learning: nonassociative, associative, and observational.
- Associative learning processes include classical and operant conditioning.
- The nonassociative learning processes-habituation and sensitization-are simple forms of learning. Habituation results in decreased responding after repeated presentations of a stimulus. Sensitization results in increased responding after repeated presentations of a stimulus.
- Kandel's work on the aplysia has shown that habituation and sensitization occur through alteration in neurotransmitter release.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether each of the following situations is an example of nonassociative, associative, or observational learning.
 - **a.** After watching your roommate clean your room a few times, you clean it the same way the next time.
 - **b.** Every time your roommate cleans your room, you treat her to pizza. She begins looking forward to cleaning because she knows pizza will follow.
 - **c.** Since it is Thursday, you know that the cafeteria special will include macaroni and cheese.
 - **d.** After a long summer at home, you start "tuning out" your little brother when he becomes annoying.

2. What is the difference between habituation and sensitization?

- **a.** In habituation, you start responding to an unchanging stimulus. In sensitization, you stop responding to an unchanging stimulus.
- **b.** In habituation, a stimulus decreases, and your response increases. In sensitization, a stimulus increases, and your response decreases.
- **c.** In habituation, you learn that a stimulus is providing new information. In sensitization, you learn that a stimulus does not provide new information.
- **d.** In habituation, your behavioral response decreases in response to a repeated stimulus. In sensitization, your behavioral response increases in response to a repeated stimulus.

.b (S)

ANSWERS: (1) a. observational; b. associative; c. associative; d. nonassociative.



FIGURE 6.8 Sensitization

Suppose you are in the backseat with your brother. He keeps annoying you, until finally you threaten to strike him. Your behavioral response (threatening) in response to your annoying brother (aversive stimulus) is an example of sensitization.

associative learning Linking two stimuli, or events, that occur together.

observational learning

Acquiring or changing a behavior after exposure to another individual performing that behavior.

habituation

A decrease in behavioral response after repeated exposure to a stimulus.

sensitization

An increase in behavioral response after exposure to a stimulus.

Learning Objectives

- Define classical conditioning.
- Differentiate between the US, UR, CS, and CR.
- Describe acquisition, extinction, spontaneous recovery, generalization, discrimination, second-order conditioning, and blocking.
- Describe the Rescorla-Wagner model of classical conditioning, including the role of prediction error and dopamine in the strength of associations.
- Describe the role of conditioning in the development and treatment of phobias and addictions.

classical conditioning (Pavlovian conditioning)

A type of associative learning in which a neutral stimulus comes to elicit a response when it is associated with a stimulus that already produces that response.



FIGURE 6.9 Two Types of Associative Learning

6.2 How Do We Learn Predictive Associations?

Learning helps us solve adaptive challenges. Consider the need to drink water. Over time, each person has learned to associate the sound of flowing liquid with drinking. If we were lost in the wilderness and desperately thirsty, we would listen for the sound of running water, hoping that by locating the sound we could find the source. The essence of learning is in understanding associations, such as between the sound of water and being able to quench one's thirst. We learn these predictive associations through *conditioning*, the process that connects environmental stimuli to behavior. Psychologists study two types of associative learning: classical conditioning, which is covered in this section, and operant conditioning, which will be covered in the next section (**FIGURE 6.9**).

Behavioral Responses Are Conditioned

In **classical conditioning**, also known as **Pavlovian conditioning**, a neutral stimulus elicits a response because it has become associated with a stimulus that already produces that response. In other words, you learn that one event predicts another. For example, you learn that certain music plays during scary scenes in a movie. Now you feel anxious when you hear that music.

The term *Pavlovian* is derived from the name of Ivan Pavlov. John B. Watson developed his ideas about behaviorism after reading the work of Pavlov, who had won a Nobel Prize in 1904 for his research on the digestive system. Pavlov was interested in the *salivary reflex*. This automatic, unlearned response occurs when a food stimulus is presented to a hungry animal, including a human. For his work on the digestive system, Pavlov created an apparatus that collected saliva from dogs. With this device, he measured the different amounts of saliva that resulted when he placed various types of food into a dog's mouth (**FIGURE 6.10**).

As with so many major scientific advances, Pavlov's contribution to psychology started with a simple observation. One day he was annoyed to realize that the laboratory dogs were salivating before they tasted their food. Indeed, the dogs started salivating the moment a lab technician walked into the room or whenever they saw the bowls that usually contained food. Pavlov's genius was in recognizing that this behavioral response was a window to the working mind. Unlike inborn reflexes, salivation at the sight of a bowl or of a person is not automatic. Therefore, that response must have been acquired through experience. This insight led Pavlov to devote the next thirty years of his life to studying the basic principles of learning.

A researcher at the University of Pennsylvania, Edwin Twitmyer, independently made the same discovery of classical conditioning. Twitmyer studied the patellar (knee-jerk) reflex in humans. He informed his study participants that a bell would be rung when the knee tap was delivered. In one presentation, the bell accidentally rang without the tap occurring, and the knee-jerk response followed. The participants not only acquired the conditioned response, they also found it difficult or impossible to suppress the response. Twitmyer published this serendipitous discovery in his doctoral dissertation and presented it at the annual APA meeting a year before Pavlov's discovery, but he received little attention (Fernberger, 1943).

PAVLOV'S EXPERIMENTS Consider a typical Pavlovian experiment. A *neutral stimulus* unrelated to the salivary reflex, such as the clicking of a metronome, is presented along with a stimulus that reliably produces the reflex, such as food. The



FIGURE 6.10 Pavlov's Apparatus and Classical Conditioning

(a) Ivan Pavlov, pictured here with his colleagues and one of his canine subjects, conducted groundbreaking work on classical conditioning.
(b) Pavlov's apparatus collected and measured a dog's saliva.



neutral stimulus can be anything that the animal can see or hear as long as it is not something that is usually associated with being fed. This pairing is called a *conditioning trial*. It is repeated a number of times. Then come the *test trials*. Here, the metronome sound is presented alone and the salivary reflex is measured. Pavlov found that under these conditions, the sound of the metronome on its own produced salivation. This type of learning is now referred to as classical conditioning, or Pavlovian conditioning.

Pavlov called the salivation elicited by food the **unconditioned response (UR).** The response is "unconditioned" because it is unlearned. It occurs without prior training and is an automatic behavior, such as any simple reflex. Similarly, the food is the **unconditioned stimulus (US).** Normally, without any training, the food leads to salivation (UR). Because the clicking of the metronome produces salivation only after training, it is the **conditioned stimulus (CS).** That is, before conditioning, the clicking of the metronome is unrelated to salivation. After learning takes place, the clicking serves as a "signal" that food is about to become available. The increased salivation that occurs when only the conditioned stimulus is presented is the **conditioned response (CR).** In the case of Pavlov's dogs, both the CR and the UR were salivation. However, the CR and the UR are not always identical: The CR usually is weaker than the UR. Thus, the metronome sound produces less saliva than the food does. (The steps just described are outlined in "Scientific Thinking: Pavlov's Classical Conditioning," on p. 228.)

Suppose you are watching a movie in which a character is attacked. As you watch the attack scene, you feel tense, anxious, and perhaps disgusted. In this scenario, the frightening scene and your feelings occur naturally. That is, the stimulus and your response to it are unconditioned. Now imagine a piece of music that does not initially have much effect on you but that you hear in the movie just before each frightening scene. (A good example is the musical theme from the classic 1975 movie *Jaws*; **FIGURE 6.11.**) Eventually, you will begin to feel tense and anxious as soon as you hear the music. You have learned that the music, the conditioned stimulus, predicts scary scenes. Because of this learning, you feel the tension and anxiety, the conditioned response. As in Pavlov's studies, the CS (music) produces a somewhat different emotional response than the US (the scary scene). The response may be weaker. It may be more a feeling of apprehension than one of fear or disgust. If unconditioned response (UR) A response that does not have to be learned, such as a reflex.

unconditioned stimulus (US) A stimulus that elicits a response, such as a reflex, without any prior learning.

conditioned stimulus (CS) A stimulus that elicits a response only after learning has taken place.

conditioned response (CR) A response to a conditioned stimulus; a response that has been learned.



FIGURE 6.11 Classical Conditioning in a Thriller

Like many suspenseful or scary movies, *Jaws* uses a classical conditioning technique to make us feel afraid. The "duh-duh, duh-duh" soundtrack music plays just before each shark attack.

Scientific Thinking — Pavlov's Classical Conditioning

HYPOTHESIS: A dog can learn that a bell predicts food.



RESULT: After conditioning, the metronome causes the dog to salivate (conditioned response).

CONCLUSION: The dog was conditioned to associate the metronome with food.

SOURCE: Pavlov, I. P. (1927). *Conditioned reflexes: An investigation of the physiological activity of the cerebral cortex.* (Translated and edited by G. V. Anrep). London: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford.

you later hear this music in a different context, such as on the radio, you will again feel tense and anxious even though you are not watching the movie. You have been classically conditioned to be anxious when you hear the music. Because this association is learned, your anxious feeling from the music will always be weaker than your response to the scary scene.

ACQUISITION, SECOND-ORDER CONDITIONING, EXTINCTION, AND SPON-

TANEOUS RECOVERY Like many other scientists (of his time and subsequently), Pavlov was greatly influenced by Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Pavlov believed that conditioning is the basis for how animals learn to adapt to their environments. By learning to predict what objects bring pleasure or pain, animals acquire new adaptive behaviors. For instance, when an animal learns that a metronome beat predicts the appearance of food, this process of association is called **acquisition**. Acquisition is the gradual formation of an association between a conditioned stimulus (here, a metronome) and an unconditioned stimulus (here, food; **FIGURE 6.12A**).

From his research, Pavlov concluded that the critical element in the acquisition of a learned association is that the stimuli occur together in time. This bond is referred to as *contiguity*. Subsequent research has shown that the strongest conditioning occurs when there is a very brief delay between the conditioned stimulus and the unconditioned stimulus. Thus you will develop a stronger conditioned response to a piece of music if it comes just before a scary scene than if it occurs during or after the scary scene: The music's role in predicting the frightening scene is an important part of the classical conditioning. The next time you watch a horror movie, pay attention to the way the music gets louder just before a scary part begins. And if you have not seen *Jaws* yet, now might be a good time, because you will really understand how that music works.

Sometimes a conditioned stimulus does not become directly associated with an unconditioned stimulus. Instead, the conditioned stimulus becomes associated with other conditioned stimuli that are already associated with the unconditioned stimulus. Once an association between a CS and a US is well learned so that it consistently

acquisition

The gradual formation of an association between the conditioned and unconditioned stimuli.



FIGURE 6.12 Acquisition, Extinction, and Spontaneous Recovery

extinction

A process in which the conditioned response is weakened when the conditioned stimulus is repeated without the unconditioned stimulus.

spontaneous recovery

A process in which a previously extinguished conditioned response reemerges after the presentation of the conditioned stimulus.

stimulus generalization

Learning that occurs when stimuli that are similar but not identical to the conditioned stimulus produce the conditioned response.

stimulus discrimination

A differentiation between two similar stimuli when only one of them is consistently associated with the unconditioned stimulus.



FIGURE 6.13 Stimulus Generalization

produces a CR, the CS itself can take on value. For example, we value money because of its associations, not because of its physical characteristics. Once the CS has value, other stimuli may become associated with the CS only and can also produce CRs. The CRs can be learned even without the learner ever associating the CS with the original US. This phenomenon is known as *second-order conditioning*.

In one of Pavlov's early studies, a CS-US bond was formed between a tone (CS) and meat (US) so that the tone (CS) led to salivation (CR). In a second training session, a black square was repeatedly presented just after the tone. There was no US (no presentation of the meat) during this phase of the study. After a few trials, the black square was presented alone. It too produced salivation.

Second-order conditioning helps account for the complexity of learned associations, especially in people. For instance, suppose a child has been conditioned to associate money with desirable objects, such as candy, which for most children is a US that produces happiness (UR). Once we learn that money can buy candy, money (CS) now produces happiness (CR). Now suppose that whenever the child's uncle visits, the uncle gives the child some money. Through second-order conditioning, the child will learn to associate the uncle (a new CS) with money (the old CS). This process can condition the child to feel happy (CR) when visiting the uncle (Domjan, 2003).

Once a behavior is acquired, how long does it persist? For instance, what if the animal expects to receive food every time it hears the beat of the metronome, but the metronome stops and the food never appears again? Animals sometimes have to learn when associations are no longer meaningful. Normally, after standard Pavlovian conditioning, the metronome (CS) leads to salivation (CR) because the animal learns to associate the metronome with the food (US). If the metronome is presented many times and food does not arrive, the animal learns that the metronome is no longer a good predictor of food. Because of this new learning, the animal's salivary response gradually disappears. This process is known as **extinction**. The conditioned response is *extinguished* when the conditioned stimulus no longer predicts the unconditioned stimulus (**FIGURE 6.12B**).

Now suppose, some time after extinction, the metronome is set in motion. Starting the metronome will once again produce the conditioned response of salivation.

Through such **spontaneous recovery**, the extinguished CS again produces a CR (**FIGURE 6.12C**). This recovery is temporary, however. It will fade quickly unless the CS is again paired with the US. Even a single pairing of the CS with the US will reestablish the CR, which will then again diminish if CS-US pairings do not continue. Thus, extinction replaces the associative bond, but it does not eliminate that bond. Extinction is a form of learning that overwrites the previous association: The animal learns that the original association no longer holds true (e.g., the metronome no longer signals that it will be followed by meat; Bouton, 1994; Bouton, Westbrook, Corcoran, & Maren, 2006; **FIGURE 6.12D**).

GENERALIZATION AND DISCRIMINATION In any learning situation, hundreds of possible stimuli can be associated with the unconditioned stimulus to produce the conditioned response. How does the brain determine which stimulus is—or which stimuli are—relevant? For instance, suppose we classically condition a dog so that it salivates (CR) when it hears a 1,000-hertz (Hz) tone (CS). After the CR is established, tones similar to 1,000 Hz will also produce salivation. The farther the tones are from 1,000 Hz, the less the dog will salivate. **Stimulus generalization** occurs when stimuli similar but not identical to the CS produce the CR (**FIGURE 6.13**). Generalization is adaptive, because in nature the CS is seldom experienced repeatedly in an identical way. Slight differences in variables—such as background noise, temperature,

and lighting—lead to slightly different perceptions of the CS. As a result of these different perceptions, animals learn to respond to variations in the CS.

Of course, generalization has limits. Sometimes it is important for animals to distinguish among similar stimuli. For instance, two plant species might look similar, but one might be poisonous. In **stimulus discrimination**, animals learn to differentiate between two similar stimuli if one is consistently associated with the unconditioned stimulus and the other is not. Pavlov and his students demonstrated that dogs can learn to make very fine distinctions between similar stimuli. For example, dogs can learn to detect subtle differences in shades of gray or in tones of different frequencies (**FIGURE 6.14**).

Classical Conditioning Involves More Than Events Occurring at the Same Time

Pavlov's original explanation for classical conditioning was that any two events presented in contiguity (i.e., together in time) would produce a learned association. Any object or phenomenon could be converted to a conditioned stimulus when associated with any unconditioned stimulus. Pavlov and his followers believed that the association's strength was determined by factors such as the intensity

of the conditioned and unconditioned stimuli. For example, the more intense the stimuli were, the greater the learning would be. (A louder metronome or larger piece of meat would produce stronger associations than a quieter metronome or smaller piece of meat.)

Classical conditioning theorists faced a problem, however. They could not explain why, although Pavlov presented the meat to the dog, the dog did not associate Pavlov with the meat. In other words, they did not know why the dog never salivated at the mere sight of the presenter, even when he was not delivering meat. In the mid-1960s, a number of challenges to Pavlov's theory suggested that some conditioned stimuli were more likely than others to produce learning. Contiguity was not sufficient to create CS-US associations.

EVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE Research conducted by the psychologist John Garcia and colleagues showed that certain pairings of stimuli are more likely to become associated than others. For instance, when animals receive nonlethal amounts of poison in their food that make them ill, they quickly learn to avoid the tastes or smells associated with the food (Garcia & Koelling, 1966).

Likewise, many people can recall a time when they ate a particular food and later became ill with nausea, stomach upset, and vomiting. Whether or not the food caused the illness, most people respond to this sequence of events by demonstrating a *conditioned taste aversion*. This response occurs even if the illness clearly was caused by a virus or some other condition. Contrary to Pavlov's ideas, the association occurs even though the food and the sickness were not contiguous. It is especially likely to occur if the taste was not part of the person's usual diet. The association between a novel taste and getting sick, even when the illness occurs hours after eating, is so strong that a taste aversion can be formed in one trial (**FIGURE 6.15**). Some people cannot stand even the smell of a food they associate with a stomach-related illness.

Conditioned taste aversions are easy to produce with food, but they are very difficult to produce with light or sound. This difference is also contrary to what would be expected by Pavlovian theory. The difference makes sense, however, since smell and taste—not light or sound—are the main cues that guide an animal's eating behavior. From an evolutionary viewpoint, animals that quickly associate a certain taste with illness, and therefore avoid that taste, will be more successful. That is, they will be more likely to survive and pass along their genes.

As the dog learns that even similar tones are not associated with the CS, it learns to discriminate more between the tones, such that only tones **very close** to 1,000 Hz yield a CR.



FIGURE 6.14 Stimulus Discrimination





FIGURE 6.15 Conditioned Taste Aversion (a) After eating a poisonous mushroom, (b) this woman vomited and thus learned to be more careful when picking wild mushrooms.



FIGURE 6.16 Biological Preparedness

Animals have evolved to be able to detect threats. Thus, **(a)** we will quickly see the snake in this group of images, and **(b)** we will have a harder time detecting the flowers in this group. In both cases, the snakes grab our attention (Hayakawa, Kawai, & Masataka, 2011). The adaptive value of a response varies according to the evolutionary history of the particular species (Hollis, 1997; Shettleworth, 2001). For example, taste aversions are easy to condition in rats but difficult to condition in birds. This difference occurs because in selecting food, rats rely more on taste and birds rely more on vision. Accordingly, birds quickly learn to avoid a visual cue they associate with illness. Different types of stimuli cause different reactions even within a species. Rats freeze and startle if a CS is auditory, but they rise on their hind legs if the CS is visual (Holland, 1977).

Such differences in learned adaptive responses may reflect the survival value that different auditory and visual stimuli have for particular animals in particular environments. Those meanings are of course related to the potential dangers associated with the stimuli. For example, monkeys can more easily be conditioned to fear snakes than to fear objects such as flowers or rabbits (Cook & Mineka, 1989). The psychologist Martin Seligman (1970) has argued that animals are genetically programmed to fear specific objects. He refers to this programming as *biological preparedness*. Preparedness helps explain why animals tend to fear potentially dangerous things (e.g., snakes, fire, heights) rather than objects that pose little threat (e.g., flowers, shoes, babies; **FIGURE 6.16**).

The threats may also come from within an animal's own species. For example, when people participate in conditioning experiments in which aversive stimuli are paired with members of their own racial group or members of a different racial group, they more easily associate the negative stimuli with outgroup members (Olsson,

Ebert, Banaji, & Phelps, 2005). This finding indicates that people are predisposed to wariness of outgroup members. Presumably, this tendency has come about because outgroup members have been more dangerous over the course of human evolution. The tendency has sometimes been exploited to create or enhance prejudice toward outgroups during wars and other intergroup conflicts. For example, as the Nazis prepared for and conducted their extermination of Jews during World War II, they created films in which Jews' faces morphed into those of rats crawling in filth. By showing these images to the German population, the Nazis aimed to condition a national response of repulsion to facial features associated with being Jewish. (Videos of these films are cataloged at the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, California.)

Learning Involves Expectancies and Prediction

Until the 1970s, most learning theorists were concerned only with observable stimuli and observable responses. Since then, learning theorists have placed a greater emphasis on trying to understand the mental processes that underlie conditioning. An important principle has emerged from this work: Classical conditioning is a way that animals come to *predict* the occurrence of events.

Consider rain. Dark clouds are usually present when it rains. Umbrellas are often present when it rains but not always. Sometimes there are dark clouds and rain but no umbrellas. Indeed, sometimes umbrellas are used on sunny days. We eventually learn that dark clouds are better signals of rain than umbrellas are (Schoenbaum, Esber, & Iordanova, 2013). When we see dark clouds, we tend to predict rain.

The psychologist Robert Rescorla (1966) conducted one of the first studies that highlighted the role of expectation and prediction in learning. He argued that for

learning to take place, the conditioned stimulus must come before the unconditioned stimulus, thereby setting up an expectation for it. For instance, a stimulus that occurs *before* the US is more easily conditioned than one that comes *after* it. Even though the two are both contiguous presentations with the US (close to it in time), the first stimulus is more easily learned because it predicts the US.

The cognitive model of classical learning, published by Rescorla and his colleague Allan Wagner, profoundly changed our understanding of learning (Rescorla & Wagner, 1972). The **Rescorla-Wagner model** states that an animal learns an expectation that some predictors (potential CSs) are better than others. According to this model, the strength of the CS-US association is determined by the extent to which the US is unexpected or surprising. Learning theorists refer to the difference between the expected and actual outcomes as *prediction error*.

Suppose that after a stimulus appears, something better than expected happens. This prediction error is considered positive. A *positive prediction error* strengthens the association between the CS and the US. Now suppose an expected event does not happen. The absence of the event leads to a negative prediction error. A *negative prediction error* weakens the CS-US relationship. Note here that positive and negative do not mean good and bad. Rather, positive means the presence of something unexpected, whereas negative refers to the absence of something expected.

Say you always use an electric can opener to open a can of dog food. Your dog associates the sound of the can opener (CS) with the appearance of food (US). That is, the dog has learned the sound signals the arrival of food. The dog wags its tail and runs around in circles when it hears that sound. It expects to be fed. Now say the electric can opener breaks and you replace it with a manual one. Without hearing the sound of the electric can opener, your dog receives food. This change will produce a large positive prediction error. In turn, the error will cause your dog to pay attention to events in the environment that might have produced the unexpected food. Over time, your dog will learn to associate being fed with your use of the new can opener (FIGURE 6.17).

Eventually, learning will reach its maximum. At that point, no prediction errors will be generated because the food is fully predicted by the new can opener and no further updates to the association are needed. Of course, if the new can opener breaks, it will stop signaling the arrival of food. The dog will need to learn what new event signals the arrival of food.

Other aspects of classical conditioning are consistent with the Rescorla-Wagner model. First, an animal will more easily associate an unconditioned stimulus with a novel stimulus than with a familiar stimulus. For example, a dog can be conditioned more easily with a sound new to it (such as that of a metronome) than with a sound it knows (a whistle, perhaps). Second, once a conditioned stimulus is learned, it can prevent the acquisition of a new conditioned stimulus. This phenomenon is known as the *blocking effect*.

The blocking effect happens when a second CS is added to a conditioning trial with a previously learned CS. Say that a dog has learned that a metronome (CS1) is a good predictor of food (US). Now a flash of light (CS2) accompanies the metronome. There will be no prediction error, and the dog will not associate the light with food because the light adds no extra information. The food is already fully predicted by the metronome.

Blocking is similar to second-order conditioning, but it involves a different process. In second-order conditioning, a previously conditioned stimulus that has acquired value is paired with a new stimulus in the absence of a US. After several pairings, the new stimulus will begin to evoke a CR, even though it has never been associated with a US directly. In blocking, a previously conditioned stimulus is presented at the same Rescorla-Wagner model A cognitive model of classical conditioning; it holds that the strength of the CS-US association is determined by the extent to which the unconditioned stimulus is unexpected.



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FIGURE 6.17 Rescorla-Wagner Model

The Rescorla-Wagner model of learning emphasizes prediction error. (a) Here a dog associates the sound of an electric can opener with the arrival of food. (b) With the substitution of a manual can opener for the electric one, the dog is initially surprised. What happened to the reliable predictor of the dog's food? (c) This prediction error causes the dog to check the environment for a new stimulus. When the dog comes to associate the manual can opener with the arrival of food, the new stimulus has become the better predictor of the expected event: time to eat!



time as a new stimulus, and both are followed by the presentation of the US. There will be no CR to the new CS. Because the original CS is already reliably predicting the occurrence of the US, the new stimulus is "blocked," overshadowed, by the animal's attention to original stimulus.

DOPAMINE AND PREDICTION ERROR What biological mechanisms are in effect during such learning? To investigate the brain mechanisms involved in prediction error, Wolfram Shultz and his colleagues (1997) examined how dopamine neurons respond during conditioning. In their studies, monkeys were initially left thirsty. When those monkeys unexpectedly received fruit juice (US), they experienced a positive prediction error, and the reward regions in their brains showed a great deal of dopamine activity (**FIGURE 6.18A**). The monkeys were then conditioned to predict the arrival of juice (US) after the presentation of a light or tone (CS). In subsequent trials, after the monkeys had learned the association well, the reward regions of their brains showed a burst of dopamine activity in response to the CS but none for the US (**FIGURE 6.18B**). Why was the US no longer producing dopamine activity? Because the



monkeys had learned that the light or tone predicted the juice, the juice was no longer a surprise. The less the prediction error, the less the dopamine activity.

Then, in additional trials, the juice (US) was no longer given. The monkeys experienced a negative prediction error—the expected result did not happen—and the reward regions showed a reduction in dopamine activity (**FIGURE 6.18C**).

These findings support the idea that prediction error signals alert us to important events in the environment. For example, unexpected food alerts us that we need to learn how to predict the arrival of that food. We notice a cue associated with food, and the cue becomes a way to predict the food. Then, if the cue arrives but the food does not, we slowly learn that the cue no longer predicts anything important. Indeed, negative prediction errors now lead us to associate the cue with a *lack* of food. Thus, it appears that error prediction and its related dopamine activation play an important role in conditioning (Eshel, Tian, & Uchida, 2013; Glimcher, 2011; Smith, Berridge, & Aldridge, 2011).

Recently, researchers have provided novel support for the error prediction model. Their studies used optogenetics. Recall from Chapter 3 that optogenetics involve gene manipulations that enable researchers to produce action potentials by shining light on particular neurons. Now recall what you just learned about the blocking effect: When a CS reliably signals the US, a new stimulus that signals the same US will not be conditioned. Using optogenetics to activate dopamine neurons, researchers actually overcame the blocking effect (Steinberg et al., 2013). That is, by artificially stimulating dopamine neurons while presenting the novel stimulus, the researchers demonstrated conditioning for this new stimulus even while the existing stimulus remained in place. The artificial activation of the dopamine neurons basically produced a signal of prediction error. This signal conditioned the new, unblocked stimulus.

Phobias and Addictions Have Learned Components

Classical conditioning helps explain many behavioral phenomena, including phobias and addictions.

PHOBIAS AND THEIR TREATMENT A **phobia** is an acquired fear that is out of proportion to the real threat of an object or of a situation. Common phobias include the fears of heights, of dogs, of insects, of snakes, and of the dark. According to classical-conditioning theory, phobias develop through the generalization of a fear experience, as when a person stung by a wasp develops a fear of all flying insects. (Phobias are discussed further in Chapter 14, "Psychological Disorders.")

FIGURE 6.18 Prediction Error and Dopamine Activity

Dopamine activity in the brain signals the receipt of a reward. (a) The blue line clearly shows a spike in dopamine activity. This activity resulted from a positive prediction error after the unexpected arrival of the US. (b) Once the US was associated with the CS, the spike in dopamine activity occurred after the arrival of the CS but not after the arrival of the expected US. (c) Dopamine activity continued after the arrival of the CS. However, once the US no longer appeared, negative prediction error resulted in decreased dopamine activity.

phobia

An acquired fear that is out of proportion to the real threat of an object or of a situation. Animals can be classically conditioned to fear neutral objects. This process is known as *fear conditioning*. In a typical study of fear conditioning, a rat is classically conditioned to produce a fear response to an auditory tone: Electric shock follows the tone, and eventually the tone produces fear responses on its own. These responses include specific physiological and behavioral reactions. One interesting response is *freezing*, or keeping still. Humans are among the many species that respond to fear by freezing. Immediately keeping still might be a hardwired response that helps animals deal with predators, which often are attracted by movement (LeDoux, 2002).

In 1919, John B. Watson became one of the first researchers to demonstrate the role of classical conditioning in the development of phobias. In this case study, Watson taught an infant named Albert B. to fear neutral objects. It is important to note Watson's motives for conditioning "Little Albert." At the time, the prominent theory of phobias was based on Freudian ideas about unconscious repressed sexual desires. Believing that Freudian ideas were unscientific and unnecessarily complex, Watson proposed that phobias could be explained by simple learning principles, such as classical conditioning.

To test his hypothesis, Watson devised a learning study. He asked a woman to let him use her son, Albert B., in the study. Because this child was emotionally stable, Watson believed the experiment would cause him little harm. When Albert was 9 months old, Watson and his lab assistant, Rosalie Rayner, presented him with various neutral objects, including a white rat, a rabbit, a dog, a monkey, costume masks, and a ball of white wool. Albert showed a natural curiosity about these items, but he displayed no overt emotional responses.

When Albert was 11 months old, Watson and Rayner (1920) began the conditioning trials. This time, as they presented the white rat and Albert reached for it, Watson banged a hammer into an iron bar, producing a loud clanging sound. The sound scared the child, who immediately withdrew and hid his face. Watson did this a few more times at intervals of five days until Albert would whimper and cringe when the rat was presented alone. Thus the US (smashing sound) led to a UR (fear response). Eventually, the pairing of the CS (rat) and US (smashing sound) led to the rat's producing a fear response (CR) on its own. The fear response generalized to other stimuli that Watson had presented along with the rat at the initial meeting. Over time, Albert became frightened of them all, including the rabbit and the ball of wool. Even a Santa Claus mask with a white beard produced a fear response. Thus classical conditioning was shown to be an effective method of inducing phobia (see "Scientific Thinking: Watson's 'Little Albert' Experiment").

Watson had planned to extinguish Little Albert's learned phobias. However, Albert's mother removed the child from the study before Watson could conduct the extinction trials. For many years, no one seemed to know what had become of Little Albert. His fate was one of psychology's great mysteries. Recently, two separate boys have been identified as possibly being Little Albert. One team found evidence that Little Albert was like Douglas Merritte, who died at age 6 from a brain infection (Beck, Levinson, & Irons, 2009). More recently, a second team found a more likely candidate: Albert Barger (Powell, Digdon, Harris, & Smithson, 2014). The name and other characteristics match. Indeed, Barger was described as disliking animals, especially dogs, throughout his life and would cover his ears when he heard barking. Although we are unlikely ever to be sure of what happened to him, Watson's conditioning of Albert has long been criticized as unethical. An ethics committee probably would not approve such a study today.

In his detailed plans for the reconditioning, Watson described a method of continually presenting the feared items to Albert paired with more pleasant things, such as candy. A colleague of Watson's used this method on a child who was afraid of rabbits and other furry objects. The behavioral pioneer Mary Cover Jones (1924) eliminated

Scientific Thinking ——— Watson's "Little Albert" Experiment

HYPOTHESIS: Phobias can be explained by classical conditioning.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 Little Albert was presented with neutral objects that provoked a neutral response. These objects included a white rat and costume masks.
- 2 During conditioning trials, when Albert reached for the white rat (CS) a loud clanging sound (US) scared him (UR).



RESULTS: Eventually, the pairing of the rat (CS) and the clanging sound (US) led to the rat's producing fear (CR) on its own. The fear response generalized to other stimuli presented with the rat initially, such as the costume masks.



CONCLUSION: Classical conditioning can cause people to learn to fear initially neutral objects.

SOURCE: Watson, J. B., & Rayner, R. (1920). Conditioned emotional reactions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, *3*, 1–14.

the fear of rabbits in a 3-year-old named Peter by bringing the rabbit closer as she provided Peter with a favorite food. Such classical-conditioning techniques have since proved valuable for developing very effective behavioral therapies to treat phobias. For instance, when a person is suffering from a phobia, a clinician might expose the patient to small doses of the feared stimulus while having the client engage in an enjoyable task. This technique, called *counterconditioning*, may help the client overcome the phobia. You will learn more about these kinds of behavioral treatments in Chapter 15.

DRUG ADDICTION Classical conditioning also plays an important role in drug addiction (which is discussed in Chapter 4). Conditioned drug effects are common and demonstrate conditioning's power. For example, the smell of coffee can become a conditioned stimulus (CS). The smell alone can lead coffee drinkers to feel activated and aroused, as though they have actually consumed caffeine (Flaten & Blumenthal, 1999; **FIGURE 6.19**).

Likewise, for heroin addicts, the sight of the needle and the feeling when it is inserted into the skin become a CS. For this reason, addicts sometimes inject



FIGURE 6.19 Experiencing Coffee

For people who regularly drink coffee, just the smell of the beverage can produce some of the effects of caffeine. themselves with water to reduce their cravings when heroin is unavailable. Even the sight of a straight-edge razor blade, used as part of administering heroin, can briefly increase an addict's cravings (Siegel, 2005).

When former heroin addicts are exposed to environmental cues associated with their drug use, such as people and places, they often experience cravings. This effect occurs partly because the environment cues have previously signaled ingestion of the drugs. If the resulting cravings are not satisfied, the addict may experience withdrawal (as discussed in Chapter 4, the unpleasant physiological and psychological state of tension and anxiety that occurs when addicts stop using drugs). Addicts who quit using drugs in treatment centers often relapse when they return to their old environments because they experience conditioned craving.

In laboratory settings, researchers have presented heroin addicts or cocaine addicts with cues associated with drug ingestion. These cues have led the addicts to experience cravings and various physiological responses associated with with-drawal, such as changes in heart rate and blood pressure. Brain imaging studies have found that such cues lead to activation of the prefrontal cortex and various regions of the limbic system, areas of the brain involved in the experience of reward (Volkow et al., 2008). When you are hungry, seeing a tantalizing food item activates these same brain regions. This effect occurs because seeing food usually signals that you will be eating it. Recall the earlier discussion where a burst of dopamine occurred for the CS (tone) rather than the US (juice). In the same way, the sight of drug cues produces an expectation that the drug high will follow. According to the psychologist Shepard Siegel (2005), it is therefore important that treatment for addiction include exposing addicts to drug cues. Such exposure helps extinguish responses to those cues. In this way, the cues are prevented from triggering cravings in the future.

Siegel and his colleagues have also conducted research into the relationship between drug tolerance and specific situations. As discussed in Chapter 4, tolerance is a process in which addicts need more and more of a drug to experience the same effects. Siegel's research has shown that tolerance is greatest when the drug is taken in the same physical location as previous drug use occurred in. Presumably, the body has learned to expect the drug in that location and then to compensate for the drug, such as by altering neurochemistry or physiology to metabolize it. For example, college students show greater tolerance to alcohol when it is provided with familiar cues (e.g., a drink that looks and tastes like beer) than when the same amount of alcohol is provided in a novel form (e.g., a blue, peppermint-flavored drink; Siegel, Baptista, Kim, McDonald, & Weise-Kelly, 2000). Tolerance can be so great that addicts regularly use drug doses that would be fatal for the inexperienced user. Conversely, Siegel's findings imply that if addicts take their usual large doses in novel settings, they are more likely to overdose. That is, because the addicts are taking drugs under different conditions, their bodies will not respond sufficiently to compensate for the drugs (Siegel, 1984; Siegel, Hinson, Krank, & McCully, 1982).

Summing Up

How Do We Learn Predictive Associations?

- Ivan Pavlov developed classical-conditioning theory to account for the learned association between neutral stimuli and reflexive behaviors.
- Conditioning occurs when a conditioned stimulus (CS) becomes associated with an unconditioned stimulus (US) and begins to elicit a conditioned response (CR)-that is, the response normally elicited by the US.

- For learning to occur, the CS needs to predict the US, not simply be contiguous with it.
- Animals are biologically prepared to make connections between stimuli that are potentially dangerous. This biological preparedness to fear specific objects helps animals avoid potential dangers, and thus it facilitates survival.
- The Rescorla-Wagner model states that the degree to which conditioning occurs is determined by the extent to which the US is unexpected or surprising, with stronger effects occurring with positive prediction errors.
- The neurotransmitter dopamine is released in the brain after positive prediction errors.
 Dopamine is no longer released when no surprise is associated with the presentation of the CS.
- Classical conditioning explains the development of phobias and contributes to drug addiction. Accordingly, techniques based on classical conditioning may be used to treat phobias and drug addiction.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following are true statements about conditioning? Check as many as apply.
 - a. Classical conditioning is only one kind of learning.
 - **b.** Only nonhuman animals can be classically conditioned.
 - c. Classical conditioning requires that stimuli be presented close in time.
 - d. Classical conditioning requires that stimuli be presented overlapping in time.
 - e. Once an association has been conditioned, it is impossible to break that association.
 - f. Extinction results in the forgetting of a previously learned association.
 - **g.** Surprising events decrease associative strength between two stimuli.
 - $\boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{\cdot}}$ Spontaneous recovery can explain why craving and relapse are so common in addiction.
 - i. Phobias or strong fears can be classically conditioned.
- 2. John B. Watson had planned to extinguish Little Albert's conditioned response to the rat. Which of the following techniques would have achieved that goal?
 - a. Repeatedly showing Little Albert the rat without making a loud sound.
 - **b.** Making a loud sound every time a different and unrelated object was presented.
 - **c.** Teaching Little Albert to strike the bar so he could make the loud sound.
 - **d.** Repeatedly making a loud sound when related objects, such as the ball of wool, were presented.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, c, h, and i are true. (2) a. Repeatedly showing Little Albert the rat without making a loud sound.

6.3 How Does Operant Conditioning Change Behavior?

Classical conditioning is a relatively passive and automatic process. Through classical conditioning, an animal learns predictive associations between stimuli, regardless of the animal's behavior. This form of learning does not account for situations when an event occurs because the animal has taken some action. For instance, in the *Big Bang* episode mentioned in the chapter opener, Penny learns to behave in a certain way—doing what Sheldon Cooper wants—to receive chocolate.

Our behaviors often represent means to particular ends. They are *instrumental* done for a purpose. We buy food to eat it, we study to get good grades, we work to receive money, and so on. Like Penny receiving chocolate from Sheldon, we learn that behaving in certain ways leads to rewards, and we learn that not behaving in

Learning Objectives

- Define operant conditioning.
- Distinguish between positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, positive punishment, and negative punishment.
- Distinguish between schedules of reinforcement.
- Identify biological and cognitive factors that influence operant conditioning.



FIGURE 6.20 B. F. Skinner B. F. Skinner studies an animal's operations on its laboratory environment.

operant conditioning (instrumental conditioning) A learning process in which the consequences of an action determine the likelihood that it will be performed in the future. other ways keeps us from punishment. A particular behavior leads to a particular outcome. This type of learning is called **operant conditioning**, or **instrumental conditioning**. B. F. Skinner, the psychologist most closely associated with this process, chose the term *operant* to express the idea that animals *operate* on their environments to produce effects (**FIGURE 6.20**).

Operant conditioning is the learning process in which an action's consequences determine the likelihood of that action being repeated. Thus, in operant conditioning, the human or animal makes associations between events that it can control. By contrast, in classical conditioning, the association is made between events that cannot be controlled.

The study of operant conditioning began in the late nineteenth century, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the home of the Harvard psychologist William James. A young graduate student working with James, Edward Thorndike, took inspiration from Charles Darwin's painstakingly precise observations of animal behavior. In James's basement, Thorndike performed the first reported carefully controlled experiments in comparative animal psychology. Specifically, he studied whether nonhuman animals showed signs of intelligence. As part of his research, Thorndike built a *puzzle box*, a small cage with a trapdoor (**FIGURE 6.21A**). The trapdoor would open if the animal inside performed a specific action, such as pulling a string. Thorndike placed food-deprived animals, initially chickens, inside the puzzle box to see if they could figure out how to escape.

When Thorndike moved to Columbia University to complete his Ph.D., he switched from using chickens to using cats in his studies. To motivate the cats, he would place food just outside the box. When a cat was first placed in the box, it usually attempted to escape through numerous nonproductive behaviors. After 5 to 10 minutes of struggling, the cat would *accidentally* press a lever that pulled a string, and the door would open. Thorndike would then return the cat to the box and repeat the trial. On each subsequent trial, the cat would press the lever a bit more quickly, gradually getting faster and faster at escaping. Over the course of many trials, it would learn to escape from the puzzle box within seconds (**FIGURE 6.21B**).



From this line of research, Thorndike (1927) developed a general theory of learning. According to this **law of effect**, any behavior that leads to a "satisfying state of affairs" is likely to occur again. Any behavior that leads to an "annoying state of affairs" is less likely to occur again (**FIGURE 6.22**).

Reinforcement Increases Behavior

Thirty years after Thorndike experimented with animals escaping puzzle boxes, another Harvard graduate student in psychology, B. F. Skinner, developed a more formal learning theory based on the law of effect. As a young man, Skinner had wanted to be a novelist so that he could explore large questions about the human condition. Then

he read two works of nonfiction that changed his life. The first was the 1924 book *Behaviorism*, by John B. Watson. The second was a 1927 article in the *New York Times Magazine*, in which the novelist H. G. Wells expressed admiration for the work of Ivan Pavlov. Increasingly, the behaviorists' perspective made sense to Skinner. He became convinced that psychology was his calling.

Skinner received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1931, but he differed with his professors about what psychologists should study. Many faculty members were concerned about his disregard for their efforts to analyze the mind through introspection, an approach then common at Harvard. As discussed in Chapter 1, introspection is the process of using verbal reports to assess mental states. After thinking about your own thoughts and feelings, you talk about them as a way of making them public and available for others to study. The main objection to using introspection as a research method is that it is not very reliable. As noted earlier in this chapter, behaviorists believed that, to be scientists, psychologists had to instead study observable actions. In other words, psychologists needed to focus on the behaviors that people and nonhuman animals display.

Inspired by the work of Watson and of Pavlov, Skinner believed that he could dramatically change an animal's behavior by providing incentives to the animal for performing particular acts. For the next half century, he conducted systematic studies of animals, often pigeons or rats, to discover the basic rules of learning. His groundbreaking work led Skinner to form radical ideas about behaviorism, such as how it might be applied to entire communities to create a utopian way of life (Skinner, 1948b). In the process, he outlined many of the most important principles that shape the behavior of animals, including humans. These principles remain as relevant today as they were more than 50 years ago.

Skinner objected to the subjective aspects of Thorndike's law of effect. According to Skinner, states of "satisfaction" are not observable empirically. To describe an observable event that produces an observable learned response, Skinner coined the term *reinforcement*. A **reinforcer** is a stimulus that occurs after a response and increases the likelihood that the response will be repeated. Skinner believed that behavior—studying, eating, driving on the proper side of the road, and so on—occurs because it has been reinforced.

THE SKINNER BOX To assess operant conditioning, Skinner developed a simple device. It consists of a small chamber or cage. Inside, one lever or response key is connected to a food supply, and a second lever or response key is connected to a water supply. An animal, usually a rat or pigeon, is placed in the chamber or cage. The animal learns to press one lever or key to receive food, the other lever or key to receive water.



FIGURE 6.22

Law of Effect

By studying cats' attempts to escape from a puzzle box, Thorndike was able to formulate his general theory of learning.

law of effect

Thorndike's general theory of learning: Any behavior that leads to a "satisfying state of affairs" is likely to occur again, and any behavior that leads to an "annoying state of affairs" is less likely to occur again.

reinforcer

A stimulus that follows a response and increases the likelihood that the response will be repeated.


Food trav

FIGURE 6.23 **Operant Chamber**

This diagram shows B. F. Skinner's operant chamber. Skinner is pictured with one in Figure 6.20.



FIGURE 6.24 Shaping

Shaping, an operant conditioning technique, consists of reinforcing behaviors that are increasingly similar to the desired behavior. This technique can be used to train animals to perform extraordinary behaviors. Here a trained dog waterskis for a boat show.

shaping

A process of operant conditioning; it involves reinforcing behaviors that are increasingly similar to the desired behavior.

In his earlier research, Skinner had used a maze. There, a rat had to make a specific turn to get access to the reinforcer, usually a small piece of food at the end of one arm of the maze. After the rat completed a trial, Skinner had to return the rat to the beginning of the maze. He developed the operant chamber, as he called it, basically because he grew tired of fetching rats. With the device-which came to be known as the Skinner box, although he never used that term-he could expose rats or pigeons to repeated conditioning trials without having to do anything but observe (FIGURE 6.23). Skinner later built mechanical recording devices that allowed the experimenter to conduct trials without being present. Today's operant chambers interface with computers to enable researchers to record behavioral data.

SHAPING When performing operant conditioning, you cannot provide the reinforcer until the animal displays the appropriate response. An animal inside a Skinner box has so little to do that it typically presses the lever or key sooner rather than later. One major problem with operant conditioning outside the Skinner box is that the same animal might take a while to perform the action you are looking for. Rather than wait for the animal to spontaneously perform the action, you can use an operant-conditioning technique to teach the animal to do so. This powerful process is called **shaping.** It consists of reinforcing behaviors that are increasingly similar to the desired behavior.

Suppose you are trying to teach your dog to roll over. You initially reward the dog for any behavior that even slightly resembles rolling over, such as lying down. Once this behavior is established, you reinforce behaviors more selectively. Reinforcing successive approximations eventually produces the desired behavior. In other words, the animal learns to discriminate which behavior is being reinforced.

Shaping has been used to condition animals to perform amazing feats: pigeons playing table tennis, dogs playing the piano, pigs doing housework such as picking up clothes and vacuuming, and so on (FIGURE 6.24). In Big Bang Theory, Sheldon Cooper mentions using this process to have Penny acting like a trained seal: jumping out of a pool and balancing a beach ball on her nose. Shaping is not typically used to train people to perform tricks with beach balls, but it has been used to teach appropriate social skills to people with psychological disorders; to teach language to children with autism; and to teach basic skills, such as dressing themselves, to individuals with intellectual disabilities. More generally, parents and educators often use shaping to encourage appropriate behavior in children. For example, they praise children for their initial-often illegible-attempts at handwriting.

REINFORCERS CAN BE CONDITIONED The most obvious reinforcers are those necessary for survival, such as food or water. Because they satisfy biological needs, these stimuli are called primary reinforcers. From an evolutionary standpoint, the learning value of primary reinforcers makes a great deal of sense: Animals that repeatedly perform behaviors reinforced by food or water are more likely to survive and pass along their genes. But many apparent reinforcers do not directly satisfy biological needs. For example, a compliment, money, or an A on a paper can be reinforcing.

Events or objects that serve as reinforcers but do not satisfy biological needs are called *secondary reinforcers*. These reinforcers are established through classical conditioning, as described earlier in this chapter: We learn to associate a neutral stimulus, such as money (CS), with rewards such as food, security, and power (US). Money is really only pieces of metal or of paper, but these and other neutral objects become meaningful through their associations with unconditioned stimuli.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: How Do Superstitions Start?

o you have a lucky charm? Do you Dwear your "good luck" socks every time you take an exam? Do you try to blow out the candles on your birthday cake in just one breath so that your silent wish will come true? The list of people's superstitions is virtually endless (FIGURE 6.25). In North America and Europe, people avoid the number 13. In China, Japan, Korea, and Hawaii, they avoid the number 4. The basketball player Michael Jordan, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, always wore shorts with the North Carolina logo under his uniform for good luck. The baseball player Wade Boggs ate only chicken on the day of a game. A recent beer commercial portrayed a hapless fan who wanted to watch the game, but because his team scored each time he went to the basement to get a cold one, he decided to stay in the basement. By missing the game, he was trying to help the team win.

Even pigeons might be superstitious. In one study, Skinner (1948a) placed hungry pigeons in a cage and delivered food every 15 seconds regardless of what the pigeons were actually doing. He found that pigeons guickly learned to repeat behaviors they had been performing when the food was delivered. This repetition meant the pigeons were more likely to be performing those behaviors the next time food arrived. One pigeon was conditioned to turn counterclockwise, another to thrust its head into one corner of the cage. Yet another developed a pendulum motion of the head and body, in which the head was extended forward and swung from right to left with a sharp movement followed by a somewhat slower return.

As a critical thinker who understands psychological reasoning, you should be aware of the tendency to associate events with other events that occur at the same time.

Because these pigeons were performing particular actions when the reinforcers were given, their actions were accidentally reinforced. This type of learning is called *autoshaping*. Trainers use shaping to get animals to perform desired behaviors. Here, autoshaping seemed to take the form of superstitious self-learning.

The tendency to associate events that occur together in time is incredibly strong because the brain is compelled to figure things out. When a chance event happens to occur close in time to a second event, humans and nonhuman animals sometimes associate the chance event with the second event. Whereas pigeons just develop behaviors that look like superstitions, people look for reasons to explain outomes, and the observed association serves that purpose. Their resulting associations can lead people, at least, to cling to superstitions.

Most superstitions are harmless, but some can interfere with daily living when they get too extreme. As a critical thinker who understands psychological reasoning, you should be aware of the tendency to associate events with other events that occur at the same time. Ask yourself whether the timing was simply a coincidenceand then "risk" wearing different socks to your next exam!





FIGURE 6.25 Superstitions According to superstition, bad luck will come your way if a black cat crosses your path or if you walk under a ladder.



"Oh, not bad. The light comes on, I press the bar, they write me a check. How about you?"

positive reinforcement

The administration of a stimulus to increase the probability of a behavior's being repeated.

negative reinforcement

The removal of an unpleasant stimulus to increase the probability of a behavior's being repeated.



FIGURE 6.26 Positive Reinforcement and Negative Reinforcement

(a) In positive reinforcement, the response rate increases because responding causes the stimulus to be given. (b) In negative reinforcement, the response rate increases because responding causes the stimulus to be removed. Other aspects of reinforcers also follow principles similar to those found in classical conditioning. For instance, there is generalization and discrimination learning of the reinforcing stimulus. If Sheldon successfully uses chocolates to train Penny to stay quiet, eventually she might learn to stay quiet to any sweet treats. Likewise, if an action previously reinforced no longer leads to reinforcement, it will eventually extinguish. So a child who throws a tantrum to gain his father's attention will eventually stop misbehaving if that behavior is not reinforced.

REINFORCER POTENCY Some reinforcers are more powerful than others. The psychologist David Premack (1959; Holstein & Premack, 1965) theorized about how a reinforcer's value could be determined. The key is the amount of time a person, when free to do anything, will-

ingly engages in a specific behavior associated with the reinforcer. For instance, most children would choose to spend more time eating ice cream than eating spinach. Ice cream is therefore more reinforcing for children than spinach is. One great advantage of Premack's theory is that it can account for differences in individuals' values. For people who prefer spinach to ice cream, spinach serves as a more potent reinforcer. Also, a reinforcer's value can vary with context. If you are hungry, ice cream will have a high value. If you are very full, its value will drop, and you might find something else— not necessarily a food—more reinforcing.

One logical application of Premack's theory is the *Premack principle*. According to this principle, a more-valued activity can be used to reinforce the performance of a less-valued activity. Parents use the Premack principle all the time. They tell their children, "Eat your spinach and then you'll get dessert," "Finish your homework and then you can go out," and so on.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REINFORCEMENT Reinforcement always increases behavior. Through the administration of a stimulus after a behavior, **positive reinforcement** increases the probability of that behavior being repeated (**FIGURE 6.26A**). Positive reinforcement is often called *reward*. "Positive" simply means that something is being added, not whether the reinforcement is good. Rewarded behaviors increase in frequency, as when people work harder in response to praise or increased pay. Think of Penny, in *Big Bang Theory*, who carries Sheldon's dish to the kitchen in order to get chocolate from him.

In contrast, **negative reinforcement** increases behavior through the *removal* of an unpleasant stimulus (**FIGURE 6.26B**). For instance, when a rat is required to press a lever to turn off an electric shock, the pressing of the lever has been negatively reinforced. "Negative" simply means that something is being removed, not whether the reinforcement is bad.

Negative reinforcement is quite common in everyday life. You take a pill to get rid of a headache. You close the door to your room to shut out noise. You change the channel to avoid watching an awful program. You pick up a crying baby. In each case, you are engaging in a behavior to try to avoid or escape an unwanted stimulus. If the action you take successfully reduces the unwanted stimulus, then the next time you have a headache, hear noise in your room, see an awful program, or are with a crying baby, the more likely you are to repeat the behavior that reduced the stimulus. The behavior has been negatively reinforced.

Operant Conditioning Is Influenced by Schedules of Reinforcement

How often should a reinforcer be given? For fast learning, behavior might be reinforced each time it occurs. This process is known as **continuous reinforcement**. In the real world, behavior is seldom reinforced continuously. People do not receive praise each time they behave acceptably. The intermittent reinforcement of behavior is more common. This process is known as **partial reinforcement**.

Partial reinforcement's effect on conditioning depends on the reinforcement schedule. Reinforcement can be scheduled in numerous ways. Most schedules vary in terms of the basis for providing reinforcement and the regularity with which reinforcement is provided. For instance, partial reinforcement can be administered according to either the number of behavioral responses or the passage of time, such as paying factory workers by the piece (behavioral responses) or by the hour (passage of time).

A *ratio schedule* is based on the number of times the behavior occurs, as when a behavior is reinforced on every third or tenth occurrence. An *interval schedule* is based on a specific unit of time, as when a behavior is reinforced when it is performed every minute or hour. Partial reinforcement also can be given on a predictable *fixed schedule* or on a less predictable *variable schedule*. Crossing the basis for reinforcement with the regularity of reinforcement yields the four most common reinforcement schedules: fixed interval, variable interval, fixed ratio, and variable ratio.

- *Fixed Interval Schedule (FI)* A *fixed interval schedule (FI;* **FIGURE 6.27**) occurs when reinforcement is provided after a certain amount of time has passed. Imagine that you feed your cat twice a day. After some number of days, the cat will start to meow and rub against you at about the feeding times, especially if you are in the location where you typically put out the food. Your cat has not learned to read the clock. Rather, the cat has learned that after a certain amount of time has passed, feeding is likely. Once the cat is fed, it will probably go away and sleep. At the next mealtime, it will return and start meowing and rubbing again. Providing meals on this schedule reinforces the "feed me" behavior. Note the scalloping pattern in Figure 6.27, which indicates an increase in the behavior just before the opportunity for reinforcement and then a dropping off after reinforcement. Many students follow this kind of pattern when taking courses with regularly scheduled exams. They work extremely hard in the days before the exam and then slack off a bit immediately after the exam.
- Variable Interval Schedule (VI) A variable interval schedule (VI; FIGURE 6.28) occurs when reinforcement is provided after the passage of time, but the time is not regular. Although you know you will eventually be reinforced, you cannot predict when it will happen. For example, getting texts or emails from friends occurs on a variable interval schedule. You might check for messages throughout the day if you find receiving such messages reinforcing. Unlike the cat learning on an FI schedule, you never know when you will receive reinforcement, so you have to check back frequently. Professors who use pop quizzes do so because they encourage more regular studying by students. If you cannot predict when you will be quizzed, you have to keep up with your class work and always be prepared.
- *Fixed Ratio Schedule (FR)* A *fixed ratio schedule (FR;* **FIGURE 6.29**) occurs when reinforcement is provided after a certain number of responses have been made. Factory workers who are paid based on the number of objects they make are a good example of the FR schedule. Teachers sometimes use this kind of schedule to reward children for cooperative classroom behavior. Students can earn a star for behaving well. After they collect a certain number of stars, they receive some kind of reinforcer, such as getting to select the next book the

continuous reinforcement A type of learning in which behavior is reinforced each time it occurs.

partial reinforcement

A type of learning in which behavior is reinforced intermittently.



FIGURE 6.27 Fixed Interval Schedule

Imagine a cat learning to perform "feed me" behaviors right before the two feeding times each day. The reinforcer (slash mark) is the food.



FIGURE 6.28 Variable Interval Schedule Imagine yourself checking for texts

Imagine yourself checking for texts and emails frequently throughout the day. The reinforcer (slash) is a message from a friend.

245



FIGURE 6.29

Fixed Ratio Schedule

Imagine factory workers who are paid based on making a certain number of objects. The reinforcer (slash mark) is payment.





Imagine putting a lot of money into a slot machine in the hope that eventually you will win. The reinforcer (slash mark) is a payoff.

partial-reinforcement extinction effect

The greater persistence of behavior under partial reinforcement than under continuous reinforcement.

positive punishment The administration of a stimulus to decrease the probability of a behavior's recurring.

negative punishment The removal of a stimulus to decrease the probability of a behavior's recurring. teacher will read. Likewise, your local pizzeria might give you a punch card that gives you a free pizza after you buy 10. In each case, the more you do, the more you get. Therefore, FR schedules typically produce high rates of responding.

• Variable Ratio Schedule (VR) A variable ratio schedule (VR; FIGURE 6.30) occurs when reinforcement is provided after an unpredictable number of responses. Games of chance provide an excellent example of a VR schedule. At a casino, you might drop a lot of money into a slot machine that rarely rewards you with a "win." Such behavior is not simply the result of an "addiction" to gambling. Rather, people put money in slot machines because the machines *sometimes* provide monetary rewards. VR schedules lead to high rates of responding that last over time because you know that eventually there will be a payoff for responding. You just do not know when it will happen—or even if you will still be the player on that machine at that time.

As mentioned earlier, continuous reinforcement leads to fast learning. But such learning does not last. The **partial-reinforcement extinction effect** refers to the greater persistence of behavior under partial reinforcement than under continuous reinforcement. During continuous reinforcement, the learner can easily detect when reinforcement has stopped. But when the behavior is reinforced only some of the time, the learner needs to repeat the behavior comparatively more times to detect the absence of reinforcement. Thus, the less frequent the reinforcement during training, the greater the resistance to extinction. To condition a behavior so that it persists, you need to reinforce it continuously during early acquisition and then slowly change to partial reinforcement. Parents naturally follow this strategy in teaching behaviors to their children, as in toilet training.

Punishment Decreases Behavior

Reinforcement and punishment have the opposite effects on behavior. Whereas reinforcement increases a behavior's probability, punishment decreases its probability. For example, giving Penny a chocolate each time she acts a certain way (reinforcement) will increase the likelihood she will act that way. Spraying water in her face and yelling "bad Penny" each time she performs an action (punishment) will decrease the likelihood of her performing that action.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PUNISHMENT Punishment reduces the probability that a behavior will recur. It can do so through positive or negative means. Again, "positive" or "negative" here means whether something is added or removed, not whether it is good or bad. **Positive punishment** decreases the behavior's probability through the administration of a stimulus. Usually the stimulus in positive punishment is unpleasant. Receiving a spray of water and being yelled at are forms of positive punishment. **Negative punishment** decreases the behavior's probability through the removal of a usually pleasant stimulus. When a teenager loses driving privileges for speeding, he or she has received negative punishment. If that same teen has received a speeding ticket, the ticket serves as a positive punishment. Here, the negative and positive forms of punishment may produce the same result: The teen will be less likely to speed the next time he or she gets behind the wheel. For an overview of positive and negative kinds of both reinforcement and punishment, see **FIGURE 6.31**.

EFFECTIVENESS OF PARENTAL PUNISHMENT To make their children behave, parents sometimes use punishment as a means of discipline. Many contemporary psychologists believe that punishment is often applied ineffectively, however, and that it may have unintended and unwanted consequences. Research has shown that for punishment to be



FIGURE 6.31

Negative and Positive Reinforcement, Negative and Positive Punishment

Use this chart to help solidify your understanding of these very important terms.

effective, it must be reasonable, unpleasant, and applied immediately so that the relationship between the unwanted behavior and the punishment is clear (Goodall, 1984; O'Leary, 1995). But considerable potential exists for confusion. For example, sometimes punishment is applied after a desired action. If a student is punished after admitting to cheating on an exam, the student may then associate the punishment with being honest rather than with the original offense. As a result, the student learns not to tell the truth. As Skinner once pointed out, one thing people learn from punishment is how to avoid it. Rather than learning how to behave appropriately, they may learn not to get caught.

Punishment can also lead to negative emotions, such as fear and anxiety. Through classical conditioning, these emotions may become associated with the person who administers the punishment. If a child thus learns to fear a parent or teacher, the long-term relationship between child and adult may be damaged (Gershoff, 2002). In addition, punishment often fails to offset the reinforcing aspects of the undesired behavior. In real life, any behavior can be reinforced in multiple ways. For instance, thumb sucking may be reinforced because it makes a child feel good, because it provides relief from negative emotions, and because it alleviates hunger. Punishment may not be sufficient to offset such rewards, but it may reinforce the child's secrecy about thumb sucking. For these and other reasons, most psychologists agree with Skinner's recommendation that reinforcement be used rather than punishment. A child complimented for being a good student is likely to perform better academically than one punished for doing poorly. After all, reinforcing good behavior tells the child what to do. Punishing the child for bad behavior does not tell the child how to improve.

One form of punishment that most psychologists believe is especially ineffective is physical punishment, such as spanking. Spanking is very common in the United States, however (**FIGURE 6.32A**). Nearly threequarters of American parents spank their children and thus apparently



Legality of Spanking

These maps compare (a) the United States and (b) Europe in terms of the legality of spanking children.

Using Psychology in Your Life



How Can Behavior Modification Help Me Get in Shape? The U.S. surgeon general recommends that each adult engage in at least 30 minutes of moderate physical activity daily, but most of us fail to achieve this goal (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999). Maybe you intend to exercise daily, then struggle to find the time to get to the gym. Or maybe you make working out a priority for a few weeks, then fall off the wagon. How can psychology help you stick with your exercise program (**FIGURE 6.33**)?

As you learned earlier in this chapter, experts regularly use the principles of operant conditioning to change the behaviors of animals, including humans. You do not have to be an expert, however, to condition yourself to perform healthful behaviors. Consider these steps:

- Identify a behavior you wish to change. Before you begin a behavior modification program, you need to know which behavior you wish to modify. If your lack of physical activity is a concern, the behavior you need to target is being sedentary. In other words, you want to increase physical activity.
- Set goals. Set goals that are realistic, specific, and measurable. If your current exercise program consists of a daily race to beat the closing elevator

door, setting a goal to run 10 miles per day every day this month is not realistic. Likewise, a goal of "exercise more" will not do the trick, because it is too vague. Instead, you might set one of the following goals: Jog 1 mile on the treadmill at least four days this week, attend three yoga sessions this week, or walk at least 10,000 steps each day this week. Note that you can measure each of these goals objectively. You can use the treadmill's odometer to know whether you hit the 1-mile mark, or a calendar to indicate your performance of yoga, or the readout on a pedometer to track your daily steps.

Note, too, that these goals sit on a relatively short time horizon. Setting goals you can meet in short order allows for more opportunities for reinforcement. If your ultimate goal is to run a marathon 12 months from now, you need to set small, incremental subgoals that you can reinforce along the way.

3. Monitor your behavior. Monitor your behavior for a week or more before you begin making changes. Simply noting the behavior will likely move you toward your goal, since you will be more conscious of it. Keeping careful track will also enable you to get a sense of your baseline. You will use this

believe it is effective (Gallup, 1995; Lansford et al., 2010). As noted by Alan Kazdin and Corina Benjet (2003), beliefs about the appropriateness of spanking involve religious beliefs and cultural views, as well as legal issues. Many countries (e.g., Austria, Denmark, Israel, Sweden, and Italy) have banned corporal punishment in homes or schools (**FIGURE 6.32B**). Even the United Nations has passed resolutions discouraging it.

Some researchers have provided evidence of numerous negative outcomes associated with spanking, especially severe spanking (Bender et al., 2007). These problems include poor parent/child relationships, weaker moral values, mental health problems, increased delinquency, and becoming an abuser in the future. One concern is that physical punishment teaches the child that violence is an appropriate behavior for adults. (*Imitation learning* is discussed later in this chapter.) Although the extent to which mild forms of spanking cause problems is open to debate (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002), the evidence indicates that other forms of punishment are more effective for decreasing unwanted behaviors (Kazdin & Benjet, 2003). Time-outs, small fines, and removal of privileges can effectively modify behavior. Yet many psychologists believe that any method of punishment is less effective than providing positive reinforcement for "better" behaviors. By rewarding the behaviors they wish to see, parents are able to increase those behaviors while building more positive bonds with their children. baseline as a point of comparison later to assess your progress. Record your observations. If you have a smartphone, you might download an app for recording physical activity. Register at an exercise-tracking Web site. Or just use a paper notebook.

- 4. Select a positive reinforcer and decide on a reinforcement schedule. When you choose a reinforcer, pick something attainable that you genuinely find enjoyable. For example, you could treat yourself to a movie each week that you meet your goal. Or you could give yourself one penny for every hundred steps you take each day. Eventually, you could use the money to buy something you do not normally spend money on.
- 5. Reinforce the desired behavior. To cause the behavior change you want to see, you need to reinforce the desired behavior whenever it occurs. Be consistent. Suppose that if you work out at the gym three times this week, you treat yourself by watching the new episode of *Grey's Anatomy*. This is important: If you do not work out at the gym three times this week, do not watch *Grey's Anatomy*. If you're a *Grey's Anatomy* fan, it might be hard to



resist streaming the newest episode (perhaps as you lounge on the couch instead of heading to the gym). But if you want the behavior modification to work, you have to resist. If you do not behave appropriately, you do not receive the reinforcer! Allow yourself no exceptions.

6. Modify your goals, reinforcements, or reinforcement schedules, as needed. Once you begin consistently hitting your stated goals, make the goals more challenging. Add more days per week, more miles per run, or more laps per workout. If you find yourself getting bored with a reinforcer, mix it up a bit. Just be sure to select reinforcers that are genuinely appealing. And change the reinforce-

FIGURE 6.33 Behavior Modification in Action

To see behavior modification in action, select a target behavior of your own that you wish to change. Maybe you feel that you should be studying more, exercising more, or watching less television. Any behavior will do, as long as it is specific and you have a realistic goal for changing it.

ment schedule so you have to work harder to get the reward. For example, rather than reinforcing your good behavior after each workout, use reinforcement after you complete two workouts or after you work out consistently for a week.

Of course, you can use these principles to address other behaviors, such as procrastinating on your studies, neglecting to call your family, spending too much time on Facebook, and so on. For now, just pick one behavior you want to modify and try implementing the steps outlined here. Once you get the hang of it, see if you can translate these steps to other areas of your life. Give it a try!

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION Behavior modification is the use of operant-conditioning techniques to eliminate unwanted behaviors and replace them with desirable ones. The general rationale behind behavior modification is that most unwanted behaviors are learned and therefore can be unlearned. Parents, teachers, and animal trainers use conditioning strategies widely. People can be taught, for example, to be more productive at work, to save energy, and to drive more safely. Children with profound learning disabilities can be trained to communicate and to interact. As discussed in Chapter 15, operant techniques are also effective for treating many psychological conditions, such as depression and anxiety disorders.

Another widespread behavior modification method draws on the principle of secondary reinforcement. People learn to perform tasks in exchange for tokens, which they can later trade for desirable objects or privileges. The tokens thus reinforce behavior, and people work as hard to obtain the tokens as they work to obtain food. Prisons, mental hospitals, schools, and classrooms often use *token economies*, in which people earn tokens for completing tasks and lose tokens for behaving badly. The people can later trade their tokens for objects or privileges. Here, the rewards not only reinforce good behavior but also give participants a sense of control over their environment. So, for instance, teachers can provide tokens to students for obeying

behavior modification The use of operant-conditioning techniques to eliminate unwanted behaviors and replace them with desirable ones. cognitive map A visual/spatial mental representation of an environment. class rules, turning in homework on time, and helping others. At some future point, the tokens can be exchanged for rewards, such as fun activities or extra recess time. In mental hospitals, token economies can encourage good grooming and appropriate social behavior and can discourage bizarre behavior.

Biology and Cognition Influence Operant Conditioning

Behaviorists such as B. F. Skinner believed that all behavior could be explained by straightforward conditioning principles. In reality, however, reinforcement schedules explain only a certain amount of human behavior. Biology constrains learning, and reinforcement does not always have to be present for learning to take place.

BIOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS Behaviorists believed that any behavior could be shaped through reinforcement. We now know that animals have a hard time learning behaviors that run counter to their evolutionary adaptation. A good example of biological constraints was obtained by Marian and Keller Breland, a husband-andwife team of psychologists who used operant-conditioning techniques to train animals for commercials (Breland & Breland, 1961). Many of their animals refused to perform certain tasks they had been taught. For instance, a raccoon learned to place coins in a piggy bank, but eventually it refused to perform this task. Instead, the raccoon stood over the bank and briskly rubbed the coins in its paws. This rubbing behavior was not reinforced. In fact, it delayed reinforcement. One explanation for the raccoon associated the coin with food and treated it the same way: Rubbing food between the paws is hardwired for raccoons (**FIGURE 6.34**).

Similarly, pigeons can be trained to peck at keys to obtain food or secondary reinforcers, but it is difficult to train them to peck at keys to avoid electric shock. They can learn to avoid shock by flapping their wings, because wing flapping is their natural means of escape. The psychologist Robert Bolles (1970) has argued that animals have built-in defense reactions to threatening stimuli. Conditioning is most effective when the association between the response and the reinforcement is similar to the animal's built-in predispositions.

ACQUISITION/PERFORMANCE DISTINCTION There is another challenge to the idea that reinforcement is responsible for all behavior. Namely, learning can take place without reinforcement. Edward Tolman, an early cognitive theorist, argued that reinforcement has more impact on performance than on learning. At the time, Tolman was conducting experiments in which rats had to learn to run through complex mazes to obtain food. Tolman believed that each rat developed a **cognitive map**. That is, during an experiment, each rat held in its brain a visual/spatial representation of the particular maze. The rat used this knowledge of the environment to help it find the food quickly.

To test his theory, Tolman and his students studied three groups of rats. The first group traveled through the maze but received no reinforcement: The rats reached the "goal box," found no food in the box, and simply wandered through the maze on each subsequent trial. The second group received reinforcement on every trial: Because the rats found food in the goal box, they learned to find the box quickly. The third group, critically, started receiving reinforcement only after the first 10 trials: At that point, the rats showed an amazingly fast learning curve and immediately caught up to the group that had been continuously reinforced (Tolman & Honzik, 1930).



FIGURE 6.34 Biological Constraints

Animals have a hard time learning behaviors that run counter to their evolutionary adaptation. For example, raccoons are hardwired to rub food between their paws, as this raccoon is doing. They have trouble learning *not* to rub objects.

Scientific Thinking —— Tolman's Study of Latent Learning

HYPOTHESIS: Reinforcement has more impact on performance than on learning.

RESEARCH METHOD:



SOURCE: Tolman, E. C., & Honzik, C. H. (1930). Introduction and removal of reward, and maze performance in rats. University of California Publications in Psychology, 4, 257–275.

This result implies that the rats had learned a cognitive map of the maze and used it when the reinforcement began. Tolman's term **latent learning** refers to learning that takes place without reinforcement (see "Scientific Thinking: Tolman's Study of Latent Learning"). For example, latent learning occurs when a person learns something simply by observing it. When most people drive for the first time, they do not need to be told that rotating the steering wheel turns the car. They already know that they need to rotate the steering wheel, even though they have never been reinforced for doing so.

Another form of learning that takes place without reinforcement is *insight learning.* In this form of problem solving, a solution suddenly emerges after either a period of inaction or contemplation of the problem. (Problem solving is discussed further in Chapter 8, "Thinking, Language, and Intelligence.") You probably have had this sort of experience, in which you mull over a problem for a while and then suddenly know the answer. The presence of reinforcement does not adequately explain insight learning, but it helps determine whether the behavior is subsequently repeated.

latent learning Learning that takes place in the absence of reinforcement.

Dopamine Activity Underlies Reinforcement

As noted earlier, people often use the term *reward* as a synonym for positive reinforcement. By contrast, Skinner and other traditional behaviorists defined reinforcement strictly in terms of whether it increased behavior. They were relatively uninterested in *why* it increased behavior. For instance, they carefully avoided any speculation about whether subjective experiences had anything to do with behavior. After all, they believed that mental states were impossible to study empirically. Psychologists today are interested in mental states, such as liking and wanting, and the neural basis of those states.

One important component of the neural basis of reinforcement is the neurotransmitter dopamine. As discussed in Chapter 4, dopamine is involved in addictive behavior, especially in terms of increased wanting for the addictive substance. Research over the past 50 years has shown that dopamine plays an important role in reinforcement (Schultz, 2010; Wise & Rompre, 1989). In operant conditioning, dopamine release sets the value of a reinforcer. Drugs that block dopamine's effects disrupt operant conditioning.

Dopamine blockers are often given to individuals with Tourette's syndrome, a motor control disorder, to help them regulate their involuntary body movements. These individuals often have trouble staying on their drug regimens, however, because they feel the drugs prevent them from enjoying life. Conversely, as you might expect, drugs that enhance dopamine activation, such as cocaine and amphetamines, increase the reward value of stimuli.

When hungry rats are given food, they experience an increased dopamine release in the nucleus accumbens, a structure that is part of the limbic system: The greater the hunger, the greater the dopamine release (Rolls, Burton, & Mora, 1980). Food tastes better when you are hungry, and water is more rewarding when you are thirsty, because more dopamine is released under deprived conditions than under nondeprived conditions. Even looking at funny cartoons activates the nucleus accumbens (Mobbs, Greicius, Abdel-Azim, Menon, & Reiss, 2003). Have you ever experienced the chills while listening to a piece of music—a tingling sense that feels like a shiver down the spine and that might give you goosebumps (**FIGURE 6.35**)? Using PET imaging and fMRI, researchers have shown that when people experience optimal pleasure while listening to music, there is dopamine activity in the nucleus accumbens (Salimpoor, Benovoy, Larcher, Dagher, & Zatorre, 2011).

Until recently, psychologists believed that rewards increase behavior primarily because of the pleasure those rewards produce and that dopamine was responsible for the subjective feelings associated with reward. But researchers have found that the relationship between dopamine and reward is a bit more nuanced. Robinson and Berridge (1993) introduced an important distinction between the *wanting* and *liking* aspects of reward. With drugs, for instance, wanting refers to the desire or the craving a user has for the substance. Liking refers to the subjective sense of pleasure the user receives from consuming the substance. Although wanting and liking often go together, there are circumstances under which wanting occurs without liking (Berridge, Ho, Richard, & Feliceantonio, 2010; Kringelbach & Berridge, 2009). For example, a smoker may desire a cigarette but then not particularly enjoy smoking it. As mentioned in Chapter 4, dopamine appears to be especially important for the wanting aspect of reward. Other neurotransmitters, such as endogenous opiates, may be more important for the liking aspect of reward (Berridge & Kringelbach, 2013).

What links dopamine activity to reinforcement? Recall the earlier discussion of prediction error. An important idea over the last decade is that the firing of dopamine



FIGURE 6.35 Enjoyment of Music As this listener experiences pleasurable chills, dopamine activity is occurring in her brain. neurons signals prediction error. When a behavior leads to an unexpected reward or a reward that is better than expected, a positive prediction error occurs. In *Big Bang Theory,* Penny offers to do something nice for Sheldon, and he gives her a piece of chocolate. Because she really has not expected this gift, Penny experiences a positive prediction error. Dopamine activity in brain reward regions underlies this prediction error. If Penny had performed that same behavior expecting to receive chocolate and then had not received the reward, she would have experienced a negative prediction error. In that situation, dopamine activity in her brain would have decreased.

During the course of conditioning, we come to learn that certain cues signal rewards. Eventually, those cues themselves produce dopamine activity. Seeing a loved one, getting a good grade, or receiving a paycheck may be conditioned to produce dopamine activation. Money is an excellent example of a secondary reinforcer, as mentioned earlier, and anticipated monetary rewards have been found to activate dopamine systems (Knutson, Fong, Adams, Varner, & Hommer, 2001). Thus, things become reinforcing because they become associated with value. Through dopamine activity, these cues themselves become rewarding (Berridge, 2012).

Summing Up

How Does Operant Conditioning Change Behavior?

- Classical conditioning involves the learned association between two events. By contrast, operant conditioning involves the learned association between a behavior and its consequences.
- B. F. Skinner developed the concept of operant conditioning to explain why some behaviors are repeated and others are not.
- Reinforcement increases a behavior's likelihood of being repeated. Punishment reduces that likelihood.
- Four schedules of reinforcement have been identified: variable ratio, fixed ratio, variable interval, and fixed interval. Each schedule has a distinct effect on behavior.
- Positive reinforcement and positive punishment involve the administration of a stimulus.
 Negative reinforcement and negative punishment involve the removal of a stimulus.
- Skinner maintained that operant conditioning could explain all behavior. Contemporary
 theorists recognize that biological predispositions and cognitive processes influence animals'
 ability to learn.
- An animal's biological makeup constrains the types of behaviors the animal can learn.
- Latent learning takes place without reinforcement. Latent learning may not influence behavior until a reinforcer is introduced.
- Dopamine activity underlies reinforcement, in part by its role in prediction error.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether each of the following people and phenomena is related to operant conditioning or classical conditioning.
 - **a.** Ivan Pavlov studied salivation in dogs.
 - b. B. F. Skinner did not believe in subjective states.
 - c. Behavior modification can change undesirable behaviors.
 - d. A behavior is associated with its consequences.

- e. Two stimuli that occur close together in time are associated.
- This form of conditioning can be used to train animals to perform tricks and useful tasks.
- **g.** The blocking effect prevents learning that a new stimulus signals an event.
- h. Punishment's effects are explained by this type of conditioning.
- Suppose a mother is trying to get her 8-year-old to stop cursing. Each time the child curses, the mother waits until the child's father is present before spanking the child. Select the better answers:
 - a. The time interval between the cursing and the punishment is
 - too long for optimal learning.
 - fine as long as the punishment is administered on the same day as the cursing.
 - **b.** One likely outcome to the continued use of this punishment is
 - the child will curse at times he or she is unlikely to be caught.
 - the child will gradually extinguish the cursing response.
 - c. Generalization is likely to occur such that
 - the child curses only when the father is at work.
 - the child comes to fear the father and mother.
 - d. What is the child likely to learn?
 - Do not get caught cursing.
 - Cursing is a nasty behavior that must be stopped.
 - e. A more effective approach would be to
 - spank the child as soon as the cursing occurs.
 - provide rewards for not cursing.

h. operant.
 A. operant.
 (2) a. too long for optimal learning;
 b. the child will curse at times he or she is unlikely to be caught;
 c. the child comes to fear the father and mother;
 d. Do not get caught cursing;
 e. provide rewards for not cursing.

ANSWERS: (1) a. classical; b. operant; c. operant; d. operant; e. classical; f. operant; g. classical;

Learning Objectives

- Define observational learning.
- Generate examples of observational learning, modeling, and vicarious learning.
- Discuss contemporary evidence regarding the role of mirror neurons in learning.

6.4 How Does Watching Others Affect Learning?

Suppose you were teaching someone to fly an airplane. How might you apply the learning principles discussed in this chapter to accomplish your goal? Obviously, reinforcing arbitrary correct behaviors would be a disastrous way to train an aspiring pilot. Similarly, teaching someone to play football, eat with chopsticks, or perform surgery requires more than simple reinforcement. We learn many behaviors not by doing them but by watching others do them. For example, we learn social etiquette through observation. We sometimes learn to be anxious in particular situations by seeing that other people are anxious. We often acquire attitudes about politics, religion, and the habits of celebrities from parents, peers, teachers, and the media.

Learning Can Occur Through Observation and Imitation

As defined at the beginning of this chapter, observational learning is the acquisition or modification of a behavior after exposure to another individual performing that behavior. This kind of learning, sometimes called *social learning*, is a powerful adaptive tool for humans. For example, offspring can learn basic skills by watching adults perform those skills. They can learn which things are safe to eat by watching what adults eat (Wertz & Wynn, 2014). They can learn to fear dangerous objects and dangerous situations by watching adults avoid those objects and situations. Children even acquire beliefs through observation. Young children are sponges, absorbing everything that goes on around them. They learn by watching as much as by doing.

BANDURA'S OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES The most influential work on observational learning was conducted in the 1960s by the psychologist Albert Bandura. In a now-classic series of studies, Bandura divided preschool children into two groups. One group watched a film of an adult playing quietly with a large inflatable doll called Bobo. The other group watched a film of the adult attacking Bobo furiously: whacking the doll with a mallet, punching it in the nose, and kicking it around the room. When the children were later allowed to play with a number of toys, including the Bobo doll, those who had seen the more aggressive display were more than twice as likely to act aggressively toward the doll (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961). These results suggest that exposing children to violence may encourage them to act aggressively (see "Scientific Thinking: Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies").

Scientific Thinking -Bandura's Bobo Doll Studies

HYPOTHESIS: Children can acquire behaviors through observation.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 Two groups of preschool children were shown a film of an adult playing with a large inflatable doll called Bobo.

2 One group saw the adult play quietly with the doll (activity not shown below).

3 The other group saw the adult attack the doll (activity shown in top row below).



RESULT: When children were allowed to play with the doll later, those who had seen the aggressive display were more than twice as likely to act aggressively toward the doll.

CONCLUSION: Exposing children to violence may encourage them to act aggressively.

SOURCE: Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S. (1961). Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 66,* 3–11.



FIGURE 6.36 Bend It Like Beckham?

Simply watching an athlete execute a move does not enable us to perform that move if it exceeds our physical ability.

modeling

The imitation of observed behavior.

MODELING (DEMONSTRATION AND IMITATION) Because humans can learn through observation, they can be taught many complex skills through demonstration. For instance, parents use slow and exaggerated motions to show their children how to tie their shoes.

The imitation of observed behavior is called **modeling.** The term indicates that people are reproducing the behaviors of *models*—those being observed. Modeling in humans is influenced by numerous factors. Generally, we are more likely to imitate the actions of models who are attractive, have high status, and are somewhat similar to ourselves. In addition, modeling is effective only if the observer is physically capable of imitating the behavior. Simply watching David Beckham launch a free kick does not mean we could bend it like Beckham (**FIGURE 6.36**).

The influence that models have on behavior often occurs implicitly, without people being aware that their behaviors are being altered. People might not want to admit that they have changed their ways of speaking or dressing to resemble those of people they admire, such as celebrities or the cool kids in the class. Overwhelming evidence says, however, that people imitate what they see in others. Adolescents whose favorite actors smoke in movies are much more likely to smoke (Tickle, Sargent, Dalton, Beach, & Heatherton, 2001). The more smoking that adolescents observe in movies, the more positive their attitudes about smoking become and the more likely they are to begin smoking (Sargent et al., 2005).

Surprisingly, these effects are strongest among children whose parents do not smoke. Why would this be so? Perhaps what such children learn about smoking comes completely through the media, which tends to glamorize the habit. For example, movies often present smokers as attractive, healthy, and wealthy, not like the typical smoker. Adolescents do not generally decide to smoke after watching one movie's glamorous depiction of smoking. Rather, images of smokers as mature, cool, sexy—things adolescents want to be—shape adolescents' attitudes about smoking and subsequently lead to imitation. As adolescent viewers learn to associate smoking with people they admire,



Mean number of smoking scenes in top 25 box-office hits
 Adolescent smoking, past 30 days

they incorporate the general message that smoking is desirable.

In light of findings such as these, the movie industry has come under considerable pressure to reduce depictions of smoking. Indeed, since 1995 there has been a reduction in onscreen smoking and a related decline in adolescent smoking rates (Sargent & Heatherton, 2009; **FIGURE 6.37**). Of course, correlation is not proof of causation. There have been several public health efforts to reduce youthful smoking, such as media campaigns and bans on marketing of tobacco products to children, and these other efforts might be responsible for the reductions of smoking as well as its reduced portrayals in the movies.

VICARIOUS LEARNING (REINFORCEMENT

FIGURE 6.37 Movie Smoking and Adolescent Smoking

This double-Y-axis graph compares the declining rate of smoking in movies with the declining rate of adolescent smoking. **AND CONDITIONING)** Another factor that determines whether observers imitate a model is whether the model is reinforced for performing the behavior. In one study, Bandura and colleagues showed children a film of an adult aggressively playing with a Bobo doll, but this time the film ended in one of three different ways (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963). In the first version, a control condition, the adult experienced no consequences for the aggressive behavior. In the second version, the adult was

rewarded for the behavior with candy and praise. In the third version, the adult was punished for the behavior by being both spanked and verbally reprimanded. When subsequently allowed to play with the Bobo doll, the children who observed the model being rewarded were much more likely to be aggressive toward the doll than were the children in the control group. In contrast, those who saw the model being punished were less likely to be aggressive than those in the control group. Through **vicarious learning**, people learn about an action's consequences by watching others being rewarded or punished for performing the action (**FIGURE 6.38**).

These findings do not mean that the children who did not show aggression did not learn the behavior. Later, all the children were offered small gifts to perform the model's actions, and all performed the actions reliably. As noted earlier, a key distinction in learning is between the *acquisition* of a behavior and its *performance*. Here, all the children acquired the behavior. But only those who saw the model being rewarded performed the behavior—at least until the children themselves were rewarded. Direct rewards prompted the children in the control group to reveal the behavior they had acquired.

Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression

According to a study of over 2,000 American children and teens, television viewing has increased to nearly 4.5 hours per day in recent years (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). The study found that total media use—including music, computers, and video games—averages nearly 8 hours per day (**FIGURE 6.39**). The most popular media, including Saturday morning cartoons, contain considerable amounts of violence (Carnagey, Anderson, & Bartholow, 2007). Does watching so much violence on television encourage children to be aggressive? And what about violent video games? Might vicarious exposure to violence lead to violent actions, such as school shootings?

Media violence has been found to increase the likelihood of short-term and long-term aggressive and violent behavior (Anderson et al., 2003). In one study, after children

played a violent video game for only 20 minutes, they were less physiologically aroused by scenes of real violence. In other words, they had become desensitized to violence, showing fewer helping behaviors and increased aggression (Carnagey, Anderson, & Bushman, 2007; **FIGURE 6.40**). In another study, Leonard Eron and colleagues found that TV viewing habits at age 8 predicted, for age 30, amounts of both violent behavior and criminal activity (Eron, 1987). A 2002 meta-analysis of studies involving the effects of media violence taking into account laboratory experiments, field

experiments, cross-sectional correlational studies, and longitudinal studies that assess the same people over time—showed that exposure to violent media increases the likelihood of aggression (Gentile, Saleem, & Anderson, 2007).

A number of problems exist, however, with the studies on this topic. The social psychologist Jonathan Freedman (1984) has noted that many of the so-called aggressive behaviors displayed by children could be interpreted as playful rather than aggressive. A more serious concern is whether the studies generalize to the real world. Viewing a violent film clip in a lab is not like watching TV in one's living room. The film clips used in studies are often brief and extremely violent, and the child watches

vicarious learning

Learning the consequences of an action by watching others being rewarded or punished for performing the action.



FIGURE 6.38 Two Types of Observational Learning



FIGURE 6.39

Media Use by Young Americans

This bar graph shows the results of a study sponsored by the Kaiser Family Foundation, which provides information about health issues. "Total media use" means total hours individuals spent using media, sometimes more than one category of media at once.



FIGURE 6.40 Media and Violent Behavior Studies have shown that playing violent video games desensitizes children to violence.

Scientific Thinking Fear Response in Rhesus Monkeys

HYPOTHESIS: Monkeys can develop phobias about snakes by observing other monkeys reacting fearfully to snakes.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 Two sets of monkeys, one reared in the laboratory and one reared in the wild, had to reach past a clear box to get food.
- 2 When the clear box contained a snake, the laboratory-reared monkeys reached across the box, but the wild-reared monkeys refused to reach across the box.



RESULTS: After watching wild-reared monkeys react, laboratory-reared monkeys no longer reached across the box.

CONCLUSION: Fears can be learned through observation.

SOURCE: Mineka, S., Davidson, M., Cook, M., & Keir, R. (1984). Observational conditioning of snake fear in rhesus monkeys. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 93*, 355–372.

them alone. In the real world, violent episodes are interspersed with nonviolent material, and children often watch them with others, who may buffer the effect.

What about longitudinal studies, which follow participants over time in assessing childhood TV watching and later violent behavior? These studies fail to empirically support that TV caused the behavior. Additional variables—such as personality, poverty, or parental negligence—could have affected both TV viewing habits and violent tendencies. After all, not all of those who view violence on TV become aggressive later in life. Perhaps those who watch excessive amounts of TV, and therefore have fewer opportunities to develop social skills, act aggressively. Only through careful laboratory studies in which participants are randomly assigned to experimental conditions can we determine causality. Obviously, it is not practical to assign children randomly to experience different types of media, and it is ethically questionable to expose children to violence if it might make them more aggressive.

Despite the problems with specific studies, most research in this area shows a relationship between exposure to violence and aggressive behavior. Consider the

contrast between adolescents who play video games that have mature themes and glorify violence and risky behavior, such as Grand Theft Auto III, and those who play video games that might contain some violence but do not glorify it in the same way, such as Spider-Man II. Players of Grand Theft Auto III report many more deviant behaviors such as early alcohol consumption, delinquency, and risky sex—than do players of Spider-Man II (Hull, Brunelle, Prescott, & Sargent, 2014). These individuals are also more likely to report risky driving, being pulled over by police, willingness to drink and drive, and more car accidents (Hull, Draghici, & Sargent, 2012). The take-home message from such studies is that the problem might not simply be violence. The problem might be how violence is portrayed, especially in how media misrepresent the prevalence of violence in real life.

Exposure to massive amounts of violence in media may lead children to believe that violence is common and inevitable. Because in movies few people are punished for acting violently, children may come to believe that such behaviors are justified (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001). That is, the portrayal of violence in movies teaches children questionable social scripts for solving personal problems (Gentile, Li, Khoo, Prot, & Anderson, 2014). By mentally rehearsing a violent scenario or observing the same violent scenario enacted many times and perhaps in different movies, a child might come to believe that engaging in brutality is an effective way to both solve problems and dispense with annoying people (Huesmann, 1998). Finally, simulating deviant lifestyles, such as occurs in risk-glorifying mature video games, may change how people view themselves. Practicing being the driver in Grand Theft Auto may influence a player into becoming that kind of person in real life (Hull et al., 2012, 2014).

Fear Can Be Learned Through Observation

The psychologist Susan Mineka noticed that monkeys raised in laboratories do not fear snakes, whereas monkeys raised in the wild fear snakes intensely. She set out to explore whether monkeys, by observing other monkeys reacting fearfully to snakes, could develop a phobia of snakes. Mineka and colleagues set up an experiment with two groups of rhesus monkeys. One group were reared in the laboratory, and one group were reared in the wild. To obtain food, the monkeys had to reach beyond a clear box that contained either a snake or a neutral object.

When a snake was in the box, the wild-reared monkeys did not touch the food. They also showed signs of distress, such as clinging to their cages and making threatening faces. The laboratory-raised monkeys reached past the box even if it contained a snake, and they showed no overt signs of fear. The researchers then showed the laboratory-raised monkeys the wild monkeys' fearful response, to see if it would affect the laboratory monkeys' reactions to the snake. The laboratory monkeys quickly developed a fear of the snakes, and this fear was maintained over a three-month period (Mineka, Davidson, Cook, & Keir, 1984; see "Scientific Thinking: Fear Response in Rhesus Monkeys").

As mentioned earlier, it appears that monkeys are biologically prepared to fear certain objects, such as snakes. Subsequent research by Mineka and colleagues found that by watching other monkeys' reactions, monkeys could learn to fear snakes but not flowers (Cook & Mineka, 1990).

Humans, too, can learn to fear particular stimuli by observing others. For example, a person might become afraid of a specific neighborhood after watching news video of a person being assaulted there. In fact, people can learn to fear particular things simply by hearing that the things are dangerous. Thus social forces play an important role in the learning of fear (Olsson & Phelps, 2007).

This social learning of fear likely relies on the amygdala. In one imaging study, research participants watched another person experience and display distress when receiving an electric shock paired with a conditioned stimulus. The observing participants subsequently were presented with the CS. To ensure that all their learning was vicarious, however, they did not receive a shock. During the observation period and during the trials when the observers were presented with the CS, the investigators found heightened activity in the amygdala (Olsson, Nearing, & Phelps, 2007). This finding suggests that similar mechanisms are involved in conditioned and observational fear learning.

Mirror Neurons Are Activated by Watching Others

If you see someone handling a piece of paper and getting a paper cut, you might flinch as if you had received the cut (**FIGURE 6.41**). Why do you experience this empathy, the emotional response of feeling what someone else is experiencing?

During observational learning, such as when you watch someone reacting in pain, **mirror neurons** in your brain become activated (Iacoboni, 2009). Mirror neurons are especially likely to become activated when you observe someone making a movement that has some goal, such as reaching for a glass of water. Your mirror neurons are not activated when you see just a water glass or just a person sitting. But your mirror neurons, these same ones, are activated when *you* reach for a glass of water. Every time you watch another person engaging in an action, similar neural circuits are firing in that person's brain and in your brain.

Scientists are debating the function of mirror neurons (Hickok, 2009). This system may support observational learning. However, the firing of mirror neurons in the observer's brain does not always lead that person to actually imitate the behavior being observed. Therefore, some theorists think that mirror neurons may help us explain and predict others' behavior. In other words, mirror neurons may allow us to step into the shoes of people we observe so we can better understand



FIGURE 6.41 Empathy in Observational Learning

We sometimes "feel the pain" when we watch someone experiencing an injury.

mirror neurons

Neurons in the brain that are activated when one observes another individual engage in an action and when one performs a similar action. those people's actions (Gallese, 2013). Mirror neurons may therefore help us learn what other people are thinking. One theory is that mirror neurons are the neural basis for empathy (Braadbaart et al., 2014), such as flinching when someone else receives a paper cut.

Summing Up

How Does Watching Others Affect Learning?

- Humans learn behavior by observing the behavior of others.
- We tend to imitate models who are attractive, who have high status, who are similar to ourselves, and whom we admire.
- Through vicarious learning, we learn about an action's consequences. We are more likely to perform a behavior when a model has been rewarded for the behavior than when a model has been punished for the behavior.
- Laboratory research has indicated that media violence increases aggressive behavior, decreases prosocial behavior, and desensitizes children to violence.
- Monkeys may be able to learn fear by observation if the behavior is biologically adaptive. Humans can learn fear by observation, and the amygdala plays a role in such learning.
- Mirror neurons, which fire when a behavior is observed and performed, may be involved in learning about and predicting what others are thinking. Mirror neurons may also be involved in empathy, the emotional response of feeling what someone else is experiencing.

Measuring Up

- 1. The critical finding from Bandura's Bobo doll research was that
 - children who viewed a model being rewarded for acting aggressively toward the doll exhibited more aggressive behaviors toward the doll than did children in the control condition.
 - **b.** using a control group is vital.
 - **c.** children who learned to exhibit aggression toward the Bobo doll later generalized this behavior to their own dolls.
 - **d.** it allowed researchers to prove that watching violence on television causes children to become more violent.

2. Activation of mirror neurons

- a. occurs when we see someone else receive reinforcement.
- **b.** is most likely when we observe someone else performing a goal-oriented behavior.
- **c.** always results in the observer imitating the behavior observed.
- **d.** helps us better understand and predict our own behavior.

ANSWERS: (1) a. children who viewed a model being rewarded for acting aggressively toward the doll exhibited more aggressive behaviors toward the doll than did children in the control condition. (2) b. is most likely when we observe someone else performing a goal-oriented behavior.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

6.1 How Do We Learn?

- Learning Results from Experience: Learning is a relatively enduring change in behavior that results from experience. Learning enables animals to better adapt to the environment, and thus it facilitates survival.
- There Are Three Types of Learning: The three major types of learning are nonassociative, associative, and observational. Nonassociative learning is a change in behavior after exposure to a single stimulus or event. Associative learning is the linking of two stimuli, or events. Observational learning is acquiring or changing a behavior after exposure to another individual performing that behavior.
- Habituation and Sensitization Are Simple Models of Learning: Habituation is a decrease in behavioral response after repeated exposure to a stimulus. Habituation occurs when the stimulus stops providing new information. Sensitization is an increase in behavioral response after exposure to a repeated stimulus. Sensitization may occur in cases where increased attention to a stimulus may prove beneficial, such as in dangerous or exciting situations.

6.2 How Do We Learn Predictive Associations?

- Behavioral Responses Are Conditioned: Pavlov established the principles of classical conditioning. Through classical conditioning, associations are made between two stimuli, such as the clicking of a metronome and the presence of food. What is learned is that one stimulus predicts another. Acquisition, second-order conditioning, extinction, spontaneous recovery, generalization, discrimination, and blocking are processes associated with classical conditioning.
- Classical Conditioning Involves More Than Events Occurring at the Same Time: Not all stimuli are equally potent in producing conditioning. Animals are biologically prepared to make connections between stimuli that are potentially dangerous. This biological preparedness to fear specific objects helps animals avoid potential dangers, and thus it facilitates survival.
- Learning Involves Expectancies and Prediction: The Rescorla-Wagner theory describes how the strength of association between two stimuli depends on how unexpected or surprising the unconditioned stimulus is. Positive prediction error results when an unexpected stimulus is presented. Positive prediction error leads to high levels of learning. Negative prediction error results when an expected stimulus is missing. Negative prediction error promotes the extinction of learning. The neurotransmitter dopamine provides one neurobiological basis for prediction error. Dopamine

release increases after positive prediction error and decreases after negative prediction error.

Phobias and Addictions Have Learned Components: Phobias are learned fear associations. Addictions are learned reward associations. Classical conditioning and second-order conditioning can explain not only how people learn to associate the fearful stimulus or drug itself with the fear or reward but also a host of other "neutral" stimuli as well. In the case of drug addiction, addicts often inadvertently associate environmental aspects of the purchase and use of the drug with the pleasurable feelings produced by the drug. These learned associations are major factors in relapse, as seemingly innocuous stimuli can trigger cravings even years after drug use is discontinued.

6.3 How Does Operant Conditioning Change Behavior?

- Reinforcement Increases Behavior: Reinforcement describes how consequences make behaviors more likely to occur. Shaping is a procedure in which successive approximations of a behavior are reinforced, leading to the desired behavior. Reinforcers may be primary (those that satisfy biological needs) or secondary (those that do not directly satisfy biological needs). Both positive and negative reinforcement increase the likelihood that a behavior will be repeated. In positive reinforcement, a pleasurable stimulus is delivered after a behavior (e.g., giving a dog a treat for sitting). In negative reinforcement, an aversive stimulus is removed after a behavior (e.g., letting a puppy out of its crate when it acts calmly).
- Operant Conditioning Is Influenced by Schedules of Reinforcement: Learning occurs in response to continuous reinforcement and partial reinforcement. Partial reinforcement may be delivered on a ratio schedule or an interval schedule. Each type of schedule may be fixed or variable. Partial reinforcement administered on a variable-ratio schedule is particularly resistant to extinction.
- Punishment Decreases Behavior: Punishment decreases the probability that a behavior will repeat. Positive punishment involves the administration of an aversive stimulus, such as a squirt of water in the face, to decrease behavior. Negative punishment involves the removal of an appetitive stimulus, such as money or the opportunity to drive the car, to decrease behavior. Positive punishment has been shown to be generally ineffective for changing behavior, since it can produce fear, anxiety, and inappropriate imitation of the punishing behavior. Behavior modification involves the use of operant conditioning to eliminate unwanted behaviors and replace them with desirable behaviors. Behavior modification programs work by reinforcing appropriate behaviors and ignoring inappropriate behaviors. Punishment, especially positive

punishment, is not used in behavior modification programs because it rarely stops undesirable behavior.

- Biology and Cognition Influence Operant Conditioning: An animal's biological makeup restricts the types of behaviors the animal can learn. Latent learning takes place without reinforcement. Latent learning may not influence behavior until a reinforcer is introduced.
- Dopamine Activity Underlies Reinforcement: The brain has specialized centers that produce pleasure when stimulated. Behaviors that activate these centers are reinforced. The nucleus accumbens has dopamine receptors, which are activated by pleasurable behaviors. Through conditioning, secondary reinforcers can also activate dopamine receptors.

6.4 How Does Watching Others Affect Learning?

Learning Can Occur Through Observation and Imitation: Observational learning is a powerful adaptive tool. Humans and other animals learn by watching the behavior of others. The imitation of observed behavior is referred to as modeling. Vicarious learning occurs when people learn about an action's consequences by observing others being reinforced or punished for their behavior.

Key Terms

acquisition, p. 229 associative learning, p. 224 behavior modification, p. 249 classical conditioning (Pavlovian conditioning), p. 226 cognitive map, p. 250 conditioned response (CR), p. 227 conditioned stimulus (CS), p. 227 continuous reinforcement, p. 245 extinction, p. 230 habituation, p. 224 latent learning, p. 251 law of effect, p. 241 learning, p. 222 mirror neurons, p. 259 modeling, p. 256 negative punishment, p. 246 negative reinforcement, p. 244 nonassociative learning, p. 223 observational learning, p. 224 operant conditioning (instrumental conditioning), p. 240 partial reinforcement, p. 245 partial-reinforcement extinction effect, p. 246 phobia, p. 235

- Watching Violence in Media May Encourage Aggression: Media violence has been found to increase aggressive behavior, decrease prosocial behavior, and desensitize children to violence. Nonetheless, laboratory research may not simulate real-life exposure to violence in the media, and so further research is warranted.
- Fear Can Be Learned Through Observation: Monkeys have learned to fear snakes (but not flowers) by watching other monkeys react fearfully. These findings suggest that monkeys can learn by observation if the behavior is biologically adaptive. People also learn fear by observation, such as in learning to avoid a neighborhood because of news reports about crime in the area. People observing other people receive a painful shock experience activation in the amygdala—a brain area important for processing emotional responses, including fear—even though they themselves did not receive any shocks.
- Mirror Neurons Are Activated by Watching Others: Mirror neurons become activated when we observe others engaging in actions. In fact, the same neurons that become active when we observe another person engaging in a task become active when we perform the same task. Mirror neurons may be involved in learning about and predicting what others are thinking. They may also form the basis of empathy, the ability to understand the perspective of other people.
 - positive punishment, p. 246 positive reinforcement, p. 244 reinforcer, p. 241 Rescorla-Wagner model, p. 233 sensitization, p. 224 shaping, p. 242 spontaneous recovery, p. 230 stimulus discrimination, p. 231 stimulus generalization, p. 230 unconditioned response (UR), p. 227 unconditioned stimulus (US), p. 227 vicarious learning, p. 257

Practice Test

- 1. On the first day of summer school, the air conditioner in Matt's history classroom broke down. All the other rooms were unaffected. After several weeks of attending class in the sweltering room, Matt started sweating every time he approached the history room. In this example of classical conditioning, identify the US, UR, CS, and CR.
- **2.** At a psychology lecture, each student receives 10 lemon wedges. The professor instructs the students to bite into a lemon wedge anytime a large blue dot appears within her slide presentation.

Nearly every time the students bite into lemons, their mouths pucker. The 11th time a blue dot appears on the screen, many students' mouths pucker visibly. In this case, what are the US, UR, CS, and CR?

- **3.** A few minutes later in that same psychology lecture, the professor projects the image of a turquoise dot. How will the students likely respond to this image?
 - **a.** The students will not experience puckering responses, because the conditioned association has been extinguished.

- **b.** The students will not experience puckering responses, because they are able to discriminate between the two dot colors.
- **c.** The students will experience puckering responses, because of stimulus generalization.
- **4.** Jason just moved his dog's food to the cupboard, which creaks noisily when it is opened. In which situation is Jason's dog likely to learn an association between the sound of the cupboard opening and the food?
 - a. The door reliably opens shortly after the food is delivered.

 - **c.** The door reliably opens just as the food is delivered.
 - **d.** The door reliably opens along with the sound of a can opener, which has previously signaled food delivery.

- **5.** Identify each statement as an example of negative punishment, positive punishment, negative reinforcement, or positive reinforcement.
 - **a.** Whenever a puppy barks, it gets its belly rubbed, so it barks more.
 - **b.** A professor directs all questions to the student who arrives late to class.
 - **c.** A person with a clean driving record receives a reduced insurance premium.
 - **d.** Your date arrives an hour late, and you refuse to speak for the rest of the evening.





Ask & Answer

7.1 What Is Memory? 266

7.2 How Are Memories Maintained over Time? 272

7.3 How Is Information Organized in Long-Term Memory? 279

7.4 What Are the Different Long-Term Memory Systems? 285

7.5 When Does Memory Fail? 289

7.6 How Are Long-Term Memories Distorted? 295

Memory

HENRY MOLAISON WAS ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS PEOPLE in memory research. He was born in 1926 and died at a nursing home in 2008. In vital ways, though, his world stopped in 1953, when he was 27.

As a young man, Molaison suffered from severe epilepsy. Every day, he had several grand mal seizures, an affliction that made it impossible for him to lead a normal life. Seizures are uncontrolled random firing of groups of neurons, and they can spread across the brain. Molaison's seizures originated in the temporal lobes of his brain and would spread from there.

Because the anticonvulsive drugs available at that time could not control Molaison's seizures, surgery was the only choice for treatment. The reasoning behind this surgery was that if the seizure-causing portion of his brain was removed, he would stop having seizures. In September 1953, Molaison's doctors removed parts of his medial temporal lobes, including the hippocampus (**FIGURE 7.1**). The surgery quieted his seizures, but it had an unexpected and very unfortunate side effect: Molaison lost the ability to remember new information for more than a few moments.

Until his death, the larger world did not know Molaison's real name or what he looked like (**FIGURE 7.2**). His privacy was guarded by the researchers who studied his memory. H.M., as he was known, never remembered the day of the week, what year it was, or his own age. Still, he could talk about his childhood, explain the rules of baseball, and describe members of his family, things he knew at the time of the surgery. According to the psychologists who tested



Tissue excised in medial temporal lobotomy

FIGURE 7.1 A Drawing of H.M.'s

Brain The portions of the medial temporal lobe that were removed from H.M.'s brain are indicated by the shaded regions.



FIGURE 7.2 Henry Molaison (H.M.) Known to the world only by his initials, Molaison became one of the most famous people in memory research by participating in countless experiments.

Learning Objectives

- Define memory.
- Describe the three phases of memory.
- Identify brain regions involved in learning and memory.
- Describe the processes of consolidation and reconsolidation.

him, his IQ was slightly above average. His thinking abilities remained intact. He could hold a normal conversation as long as he was not distracted, but he forgot the conversation in a minute or less.

H.M.'s ability to hold a conversation showed that he was still able to remember things for short periods. After all, to grasp the meaning of spoken language, a person needs to remember the words recently spoken, such as the beginning and end of a sentence. But H.M. did not appear to remember any new information over time. People who worked with H.M.-such as the psychologist Brenda Milner (Milner, Corkin, & Teuber, 1968), who followed his case for over 40 years-had to introduce themselves to him every time they met. As H.M. put it, "Every day is alone in itself." Because of his profound memory loss, he remembered nothing from minute to minute. But he knew that he remembered nothing. How could this have been the case? What did it mean for H.M. to have memory at all?

7.1 What Is Memory?

H.M. learned some new things, although he did not know he had learned them. Most impressively, he learned new motor tasks.

In one series of tests (Milner, 1962), he was required to trace the outline of a star while watching his hand in a mirror. Most people do poorly the first few times they try this difficult task. On each of three consecutive days, H.M. was asked to trace the star 10 times. His performance improved over the three days, and this result indicated that he had retained some information about the task. On each day, however, H.M. could not recall ever having performed the task previously.

His ability to learn new motor skills enabled him to get a job at a factory, where he mounted cigarette lighters on cardboard cases. But his condition left him unable to describe the job or the workplace. Studies of H.M.'s strange condition have contributed many clues to how memories are stored—normally and abnormally—in the brain.

Memory Is the Nervous System's Capacity to Retain and Retrieve Skills and Knowledge

Normally, each of us remembers millions of pieces of information. These memories range from the trivial to the vital. Each person's entire sense of self, or identity, is made up of what that person knows from memories, from his or her recollections of personal experiences and of things learned from others. **Memory** is the nervous system's capacity to retain and retrieve skills and knowledge. This capacity enables organisms to take information from experiences and store it for retrieval later.

Yet memory does not work like a digital video camera that faithfully retrieves the events its operator experiences. Photographic memory does not exist. Instead, the information we store and the memories we retrieve are often incomplete, biased, and distorted. Two people's memories for the same event can differ vastly, because each person stores and retrieves memories of the event distinctively. In other words, memories are stories that can be altered subtly by the process of recollection. In addition, all experiences are not equally likely to be remembered. Some life events pass swiftly, leaving no lasting memory. Others are remembered but later forgotten. Still others remain for a lifetime. We have multiple memory systems, and each memory system has its own "rules." For example, some brain processes underlie memory for information we will need to retrieve in 10 seconds. Those processes operate differently from the processes that underlie memory for information we will need to retrieve in 10 years. The following section looks at psychologists' basic model of how the mind remembers: the *information processing model*.

Memory Is the Processing of Information

Since the late 1960s, most psychologists have viewed memory as a form of information processing. In this model, the ways that memory works are roughly analogous to the ways computers process information. A computer receives information through the keyboard or modem, and software determines how the information is processed; the information may then be stored in some altered format on the hard drive; and the information may be retrieved when it is needed. Likewise, the multiple processes of memory can be thought of as operating over time in three phases: encoding, storage (including consolidation), and retrieval (**FIGURE 7.3**).

The **encoding** phase occurs at the time of learning, as information is transformed into a format that can be stored in memory. That is, the brain changes information into a neural code that it can use. Consider the process of reading this book. In the encoding phase, your brain converts the sensory stimuli on the page to meaningful neural codes.

The **storage** phase is the retention of the coded representation. That is, a change in your nervous system registers what you just experienced, retaining it as a memorable event. So as you read this book, your brain is changed. Neural connections that support memory become stronger, and new synapses are constructed (Miller, 2005). This neural process is known as **consolidation**. Through consolidation, encoded information becomes stored in memory. Think of this phase as akin to keeping material you read in mind until test time or longer. There are at least three storage systems, which differ in how long they store information. Storage can last a fraction of a second or as long as a lifetime. These systems will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Retrieval is the third phase of memory. This stage consists of reaching into memory storage to find and bring to mind a previously encoded and stored memory when it is needed. Think of retrieval as drawing on the material in your brain for use on the midterm, on the final, or sometime long after graduation when someone asks you a question about psychology.



memory

The nervous system's capacity to retain and retrieve skills and knowledge.

encoding

The processing of information so that it can be stored.

storage

The retention of encoded representations over time.

consolidation

The neural process by which encoded information becomes stored in memory.

retrieval

The act of recalling or remembering stored information when it is needed.

long-term potentiation (LTP)

Strengthening of a synaptic connection, making the postsynaptic neurons more easily activated by presynaptic neurons.

Memory Is the Result of Brain Activity

What role does biology play in the processing of information? Researchers have made tremendous progress over the past two decades in understanding what happens in the brain when we store and retrieve memories.

Karl Lashley (1950) spent much of his career trying to figure out where in the brain memories are stored. Lashley's term *engram* refers to the physical site of memory storage—that is, the place where memory "lives." As part of his research, Lashley trained rats to run a maze, then removed different areas of their cortices. (For more information on the cortex and on other brain regions discussed here, such as the cerebellum and the amygdala, see **FIGURE 7.4.**) In testing how much of the maze learning the rats retained after the surgery, Lashley found that the size of the area removed was the most important factor in predicting retention. The location of the area was far less important. From these findings, he concluded that memory is distributed throughout the brain rather than confined to any specific location. This idea is known as *equipotentiality*. Lashley was right that memories are not stored in any one brain location. In many other ways, though, Lashley was wrong about how memories are stored.

In 1949, the psychologist Donald Hebb proposed that memory results from alterations in synaptic connections. In Hebb's model, memories are stored in multiple regions of the brain that are linked through memory circuits. When one neuron excites another, some change takes place that strengthens the connection between the two neurons. Subsequently, the firing of one neuron becomes increasingly likely to cause the firing of the other neuron. In other words, "cells that fire together wire together" (a concept discussed in Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior").

Recall from Chapter 6, "Learning," the work of Eric Kandel using the sea slug aplysia. Kandel showed that alterations in the functioning of the synapse lead to habituation and sensitization. His research also demonstrated that long-term storage of information results from the development of new synaptic connections between neurons (Kandel, 2001). This research supports the idea that memory results from physical changes in connections between neurons. In other words, Hebb was right: Memory involves the creation of neural circuits.

LONG-TERM POTENTIATION In the 1970s, researchers discovered long-term potentiation, a process that is central to the neural basis of memory consolidation (Bliss & Lømo, 1973). The word *potentiate* means to strengthen, to make something



FIGURE 7.4 Brain Regions Associated with Memory

more potent. Long-term potentiation (LTP) is strengthening of a synaptic connection, making the postsynaptic neurons more easily activated. LTP serves as a model of how neural plasticity (discussed in Chapter 3) might underlie memory.

LTP also supports Hebb's contention that learning results from a strengthening of synaptic connections between neurons that fire together. To demonstrate the process, researchers first establish that stimulating one neuron with a single electrical pulse leads to a certain amount of firing in a second neuron. (Recall from Chapter 3 that neurons fire when they receive sufficient stimulation.) The researchers then provide intense electrical stimulation to the first neuron. For example, they might give it 100 pulses of electricity in 1 second. Finally, they administer a single electrical pulse to the first neuron and measure the second neuron's firing. If LTP has occurred, the intense electrical stimulation will have increased the likelihood that stimulating the first



FIGURE 7.5

Long-Term Potentiation (LTP)

(a) This diagram depicts the basic process used in testing for LTP between two neurons. (b) This graph shows the steps involved in LTP.

neuron leads to increased firing in the second neuron (**FIGURE 7.5**). LTP changes the postsynaptic neuron so that it is more easily activated by the presynaptic neuron.

Over the last decade, researchers have made considerable progress in understanding how LTP works. One requirement for it is the *NMDA receptor*. This type of glutamate receptor has a special property: It opens only if a nearby neuron fires at the same time. The firing neuron releases glutamate into the synapse, and this neurotransmitter binds with the NMDA receptors on the postsynaptic neuron. So memory results from learned associations that come about through the firing of nearby neurons, at least one of

which fires thanks to its NMDA receptor. Memory results from the strengthening synaptic connections among networks of neurons.

The finding that the NMDA receptor is involved in LTP led researchers to examine genetic processes that might influence memory. For instance, the neuroscientist Joseph Tsien modified genes in mice to make the genes' NMDA receptors more efficient. When tested in standard memory tasks, these transgenic mice performed amazingly well, learning novel tasks more quickly and showing increased memory (Tsien, 2000). The mice were such great learners that Tsien named them "Doogie mice," after the prime-time television character Doogie Howser, a boy doctor (**FIGURE 7.6**).

EPIGENETICS OF MEMORY New research is showing that epigenetic mechanisms are important for memory (Schoch & Abel, 2014). Recall from Chapter 3 that epigenetic mechanisms control how DNA is expressed. One such epigenetic mechanism involves a class of enzymes called HDAC (histone deacety-lases), which inhibit gene expression. There is emerging evidence that blocking HDAC leads to increased memory (Gräff & Tsai, 2013). Likewise, drugs that block HDAC lead to increased LTP (Vecsey et al., 2007). The general idea is that HDAC serves as a molecular "brake pad," which has to be released for memory to occur (McQuown & Wood, 2011). Unless something critical happens in the environment,

FIGURE 7.6 Doogie Mice

Doogie mice (such as the one pictured here) and regular mice were given a test of learning and memory. In the first part, both kinds of mice had the chance to familiarize themselves with two objects. In the second part, the researchers replaced one of the objects with a novel object. The Doogie mice quickly recognized the change, but the normal mice did not recognize it. the molecular brake pad is on and nothing is stored in memory. Researchers are currently trying to understand how environmental events trigger release of these molecular brakes.

Might we be able to modify human gene expression, activate NMDA receptors, or both so that people learn more quickly and remember better? Some pharmaceutical companies are exploring drugs that might work in just such ways. If successful, these treatments could prove valuable for treating patients with diseases such as Alzheimer's, which primarily involves severe memory deficits. This especially active area of research is increasing our understanding of how genes, neurotransmitters, and the environment interact to produce learning.

MEMORY'S PHYSICAL LOCATIONS Memory involves multiple regions of the brain, but not all brain regions are equally involved. A great deal of neural specialization occurs. Because of this specialization, different brain regions are responsible for storing different aspects of information. Indeed, different memory systems use different brain regions.

Lashley's failure to find the brain regions critical for memory was due to at least two factors. First, the maze task he used to study memory involved multiple sensory systems, such as vision and smell. Thus, the rats could compensate for the loss of one sense by using other senses. Second, Lashley did not examine subcortical areas, which are now known to be important for memory retention.



when those same pictures are remembered

FIGURE 7.7

Brain Activation During Perception and Remembering

These four horizontally sliced brain images were acquired using magnetic resonance imaging. In each pair, the top image shows the brain areas that are activated during a particular sensory-specific perception. The bottom image shows the regions of the sensory cortex that are activated when that sensory-specific information is remembered. Notice that the perceptions and the memories involve similar cortical areas. Brain regions active when those same sounds are remembered

Over the past three decades, researchers have identified many brain regions that contribute to memory (see Figure 7.4). For instance, we know from studies of H.M. that regions within the temporal lobes, such as the hippocampus, are important for the ability to store new memories. The temporal lobes are important for being able to say what you remember, but they are less important for memory involving motor actions. The takehome message here is that memory is distributed among different brain regions. Memory does not "live" in one part of the brain. If you lose a particular brain cell, you will not therefore lose a memory.

The middle section of the temporal lobes, called the *medial temporal lobes*, is responsible for the formation of new memories. The actual storage, however, occurs in the particular brain regions engaged during the perception, processing, and analysis of the material being learned. For instance, visual information is stored in the cortical areas involved in visual perception. Sound is stored in the areas involved in auditory perception. Thus, memory for sensory experiences, such as remembering something seen or heard, involves reactivating the cortical circuits involved in the initial seeing or hearing (**FIGURE 7.7**). The medial temporal lobes form links, or pointers, between the different storage sites, and they direct the gradual strengthening of the connections between these links (Squire, Stark, & Clark, 2004). Once the connections are strengthened sufficiently through consolidation, the medial temporal lobes become less important for memory. As discussed earlier, H.M.'s surgery removed parts of his medial temporal lobes. Without those parts, he

could not make new memories (at least ones he could talk about), but he still was able to retrieve old memories.

RECONSOLIDATION OF MEMORIES An exciting theory developed by Karim Nader and Joseph LeDoux proposes that once memories are activated, they need to be consolidated again to be stored back in memory (LeDoux, 2002; Nader & Einarsson, 2010). These processes are known as **reconsolidation**. To understand how reconsolidation works, think of this image: A librarian returns a book to a shelf for storage so that it can be taken out again later.

When memories for past events are retrieved, those memories can be affected by current circumstances, so the newly reconsolidated memories may differ from their original versions (Nader, Schafe, & LeDoux, 2000). In other words, our memories begin as versions of what we have experienced. Then they actually might change when we use them, such as when they are changed by our mood, knowledge about the world, or beliefs. Say that last year you were dating a particular person. That relationship ended unhappily. When you recall a pleasant time you shared with your ex, you might reinterpret the memory in this new light. In the library book analogy, this change would be like tearing pages out of the book or adding new pages or notes before returning it. The book placed on the shelf differs from the one taken out. The information in the torn-out pages is no longer available for retrieval, and the new pages or notes that were inserted alter the memory the next time it is retrieved.

Reconsolidation happens each time a memory is activated and placed back in storage, and it may explain why our memories for events can change over time. For example, as we retell stories about past events, we embellish details that make the stories better, and we come to believe the embellished versions. So the six-inch fish that you caught when you were seven years old becomes, by the time you are thirty, a six-pound trout that tasted great in the mountain air.

As you might imagine, the idea of reconsolidation has received considerable attention. It has implications for what it means to remember something but also for the accuracy of that memory. It opens up the intriguing possibility that bad memories could be erased by activating them and then interfering with reconsolidation. Researchers have shown that bad memories can be altered by using extinction (discussed in Chapter 6) during the period when memories are susceptible to reconsolidation (Schiller et al., 2010; **FIGURE 7.8**).

reconsolidation Neural processes involved when memories are recalled and then stored again for retrieval.



FIGURE 7.8 Altering Memories In the 2004 movie Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind, Joel Barish

of the Spotless Mind, Joel Barish (played by Jim Carrey) undergoes a procedure that eliminates memories of his former girlfriend.

Summing Up

What Is Memory?

- Memory is the capacity of the nervous system to retain and retrieve skills and knowledge.
- The three critical phases for memory are encoding, storage, and retrieval. Encoding is processing information so it can be stored, storage is the retention of encoded representations, and retrieval is the active recall of stored information.
- Memory is distributed across many brain areas, including the hippocampus, medial temporal lobes, and cortical sensory areas.
- Consolidation is the neural process by which encoded information becomes stored in memory.
- Reconsolidation describes the neural and epigenetic processes that take place when memories are recalled and then stored again for later retrieval. This model may explain why and how memories change over time.

Measuring Up

- 1. Consolidation is a critical step in which phase of memory?
 - a. encoding
 - **b.** storage
 - c. retrieval
 - d. recall
- 2. Identify the following statements as true or false.
 - a. Long-term potentiation provides evidence for Hebb's concept that "cells that fire together wire together."
 - **b.** The hippocampus is the only area of the brain required for memory.
 - c. Damage to the hippocampus results in amnesia for some but not all events.
 - d. Reconsolidation offers one model for understanding why memories are not always accurate.
 - e. Areas of the cortex such as the temporal lobes and sensory areas are not involved in memory.
 - f. Once information is consolidated and stored, the memory will last for the animal's lifetime.

ANSWERS: (1) b. (2) a. true; b. false; c. true; d. true; e. false; f. false.

Learning **Objectives**

- Distinguish between sensory memory, short-term memory, and long-term memory.
- Describe working memory and chunking.
- Review evidence that supports the distinction between working memory and longterm memory.
- Explain how information is transferred from working memory to long-term memory.

sensory memory

FIGURE 7.9

A memory system that very briefly stores sensory information in close to its original sensory form.

7.2 How Are Memories **Maintained over Time?**

In 1968, the psychologists Richard Atkinson and Richard Shiffrin proposed a threepart model of memory. Their model consists of sensory memory, short-term memory, and long-term memory (FIGURE 7.9). Each of these systems determines the length of time that information is retained in memory. The following sections look at these systems in more detail.

Sensory Memory Is Brief

Sensory memory is a temporary memory system closely tied to the sensory systems. It is not what we usually think of when we think about memory, because it lasts only a fraction of a second. In fact, normally we are not aware that it is operating.

As discussed in Chapter 5, we obtain all our information about the world through our senses. Our sensory systems transduce, or change, that information into neural impulses. Everything we remember, therefore, is the result of neurons firing in the brain. For example, a memory of a sight or of a sound is created by intricate patterns of neural activity in the brain. A sensory memory occurs when a light, a sound, an odor, a taste, or a tactile impression leaves a vanishing trace on the nervous system



for a fraction of a second. When you look at something and quickly glance away, you can briefly picture the image and recall some of its details. When someone protests, "You're not paying attention to me," you often can repeat back the last few words the person spoke, even if you were thinking about something else. Visual sensory memory is called *iconic memory*. Auditory sensory memory is called *echoic memory*.

The psychologist George Sperling initially proposed the existence of sensory memory. In a classic experiment (Sperling, 1960), three rows of letters were flashed on a screen for $\frac{1}{20}$ of a second. Participants were asked to recall all the letters. Most people believed they had seen all the letters, but they could recall only three or four. That is, in the time it took them to name the first three or four, they forgot the other letters. These reports suggested the participants had very quickly lost their memories of exactly what they had seen.

An alternative hypothesis was that, in the time given, the participants were able to encode only one line of letters. Sperling tested this hypothesis by showing all the letters exactly as he had done before but signaling with a high-, medium-, or low-pitched sound as soon as the letters disappeared. A high pitch meant the participants should recall the letters in the top row, a medium pitch meant they should recall the letters in the middle row, and a low pitch meant they should recall the letters in the bottom row. When the sound occurred very shortly after the letters disappeared, the participants correctly remembered almost all the letters in the signaled row. But the longer the delay between the letters' disappearance and the sound, the worse the participants performed. Sperling concluded that the visual memory persisted for about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a second. After that very brief period, the trace of the sensory memory faded progressively until it was no longer accessible (see "Scientific Thinking: Sperling's Sensory Memory Experiment," on p. 274).

Our sensory memories enable us to experience the world as a continuous stream rather than in discrete sensations (**FIGURE 7.10**). Thanks to iconic memory, when you turn your head the scene passes smoothly in front of you rather than in jerky bits. Your memory retains information just long enough for you to connect one image with the next in a smooth way that corresponds to the way objects move in the real world. In much the same way, a movie projector plays a series of still pictures that follow each other closely enough in time to look like continuous action.

Working Memory Is Active

When we pay attention to something, the information passes from sensory stores to **short-term memory.** Researchers initially saw short-term memory as simply a buffer or holding place. There, verbal information was rehearsed until it was stored or forgot-ten. Subsequently, researchers learned that short-term memory is not a single storage system. Instead, it is an active processing unit that deals with multiple types of information. A more contemporary model of the short-term retention of information is **working memory.** This storage system actively retains and manipulates multiple pieces of temporary information from different sources (Baddeley, 2002; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974). For example, working memory includes sounds, images, and ideas.

Information remains in working memory for about 20 to 30 seconds. It then disappears unless you actively prevent that from happening. You retain the information by monitoring it—that is, thinking about or rehearsing it. As an example, try to remember some new information. Memorize a meaningless string of letters, the consonants X C J. As long as you keep repeating the string over and over, you will keep it in working memory. But if you stop rehearsing, you probably will soon forget the letters. After all, you are bombarded with other events that compete for your attention, and you may not be able to stay focused.



FIGURE 7.10 Sensory Storage

If you stood in front of this sparkler, you could see the word *LOVE* spelled by the sparkler because the visual input would be maintained briefly in sensory storage.

short-term memory

A memory storage system that briefly holds a limited amount of information in awareness.

working memory

An active processing system that keeps different types of information available for current use.

HYPOTHESIS: Information in sensory memories is lost very quickly if it is not transferred for further processing.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- **1** Participants looked at a screen on which three rows of letters flashed for $\frac{1}{20}$ of a second.
- 2 When a high-pitched tone followed the letters, it meant the participants should recall the letters in the top row. When a medium-pitched tone followed the letters, it meant the participants should recall the middle row. And when a low-pitched tone followed the letters, it meant the participants should recall the bottom row.
- **3** The tones sounded at various intervals: .15, .30, .50, or 1 second after the display of the letters.



RESULTS: When the tone sounded very shortly after the letters disappeared, participants remembered almost all the letters in the signaled row. The longer the delay between the disappearance of the letters and the tone, the worse the participants performed.

CONCLUSION: Sensory memory persists for about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a second and then progressively fades.

SOURCE: Sperling, G. (1960). The information available in brief visual presentations. *Psychological Monographs, 74,* 1–29.

Try again to remember X C J. This time, count backward in threes from 309. Most people find it difficult to remember the meaningless consonants after a few seconds of backward counting, because the counting prevents rehearsal of the letter string. The longer people spend counting, the less able they are to remember the consonants. After only 18 seconds of counting, most people recall the consonants extremely poorly. This result indicates that working memory lasts less than half a minute without continuous rehearsing as a way to remember.

Researchers have demonstrated how working memory is updated to take new information into account (Ecker, Lewandowsky, Oberauer, & Chee, 2010). For instance, suppose a restaurant manager is told to expect 20 people for dinner. If subsequently told that 5 more people are coming, the manager needs to retrieve the original number, transform it by adding 5, and then substitute the new number for the old in working memory. These three processes—*retrieval, transformation,* and *substitution*—make distinct and independent contributions to updating the contents of working memory. Sometimes only one of the processes is necessary to update working memory. For instance, if the manager is expecting 20 people for dinner but is told there will be 25, the manager does not have to retrieve the original number or transform it. He or she just has to substitute the new number into working memory.

MEMORY SPAN AND CHUNKING Why do new items in working memory interfere with the recall of older items? Working memory can hold a limited amount of information. The cognitive psychologist George Miller (1957) noted that the limit is generally seven items (plus or minus two). This figure is referred to as *memory span*. More-recent research suggests that Miller's estimate may be too high and that working memory may be limited to as few as four items (Conway et al., 2005).

Memory span also varies among individuals. As a result, some intelligence tests use memory span as part of the measure of IQ. The capacity of working memory increases as children develop (Garon, Bryson, & Smith, 2008) and decreases with advanced aging (McCabe et al., 2010). Researchers have attempted to increase working memory through training exercises, with the hope that the exercises will boost intelligence (Klingberg, 2010; Morrison & Chein, 2011). Such training has increased working memory, but this learning has not transferred to other cognitive abilities involved in intelligence (Redick et al, 2013; Shipstead, Redick, & Engle, 2012).



Because working memory is limited, you might expect almost everyone to have great difficulty remembering a string of letters such as BCPHDNYUMAUCLA-BAMIT. These 19 letters would tax even the largest memory span. But what if we organized the information into smaller, meaningful units? For instance, BC PHD NYU MA UCLA BA MIT.

Here the letters are separated to produce acronyms for universities and academic degrees. This organization makes them much easier to recall, for two reasons. First, memory span is limited to seven items, probably fewer. The items can be letters or groups of letters, numbers or groups of numbers, words, or even concepts. Second, meaningful units are easier to remember than nonsense units. This process of breaking down information into meaningful units is known as **chunking**. The more efficiently you chunk information, the more you can remember.

Master chess players who glance at a scenario on a chessboard, even for a few seconds, later can reproduce the exact arrangement of pieces (Chase & Simon, 1973). They can do so because they instantly chunk the board into a number of meaningful subunits based on their past experiences with the game. If the pieces are arranged on the board in ways that make no sense in terms of chess, however, experts are no better than novices at reproducing the board. In general, the greater your expertise with the material, the more efficiently you can chunk information and therefore the more you can remember (**FIGURE 7.11**).

Long-Term Memory Is Relatively Permanent

When people talk about memory, they are usually referring to the relatively permanent storage of information: **long-term memory.** In the computer analogy presented earlier, long-term memory is like the storage of information on a hard drive. When you think about long-term memory's capacity, try to imagine counting everything you know and everything you are likely to know in your lifetime. It is hard to imagine what that number might be, because you can always learn more. Unlike computer storage, human long-term memory is nearly limitless. It enables you to remember nursery rhymes from childhood, the meanings and spellings of words you rarely use (such as *aardvark*), what you had for lunch yesterday, and so on.

FIGURE 7.11 Chunking Expert chess players chunk the game pieces into meaningful subunits.

chunking Organizing information into meaningful units to make it easier to remember.

long-term memory The relatively permanent storage of information.

serial position effect

The idea that the ability to recall items from a list depends on the order of presentation, with items presented early or late in the list remembered better than those in the middle. **DISTINGUISHING LONG-TERM MEMORY FROM WORKING MEMORY** Longterm memory is distinct from working memory in two important ways: It has a longer duration, and it has a far greater capacity. A controversy exists, however, as to whether long-term memory represents a truly different type of memory storage from working memory.

Initial evidence that long-term memory and working memory are separate systems came from research that required people to recall long lists of words. The ability to recall items from the list depended on the order of presentation. That is, items presented early or late in the list were remembered better than those in the middle. This phenomenon is known as the **serial position effect**. This effect actually consists of two separate effects: The *primacy effect* refers to the better memory that people have for items presented at the beginning of the list. The *recency effect* refers to the better memory that people have for the most recent items, the ones at the end of the list (**FIGURE 7.12**).

One explanation for the serial position effect relies on a distinction between working memory and long-term memory. When research participants study a long list of words, they rehearse the earliest items the most. As a result, that information is transferred into long-term memory. By contrast, the last few items are still in working memory when the participants have to recall the words immediately after reading them.

In some studies, there is a delay between the presentation of the list and the recall task. Such delays do not interfere with the primacy effect, but they do interfere with recency effect. You would expect this result if the primacy effect involves long-term memory and the recency effect involves working memory. The recency effect might not be entirely related to working memory, however. You probably remember your most recent class better than the classes you had earlier. If you had to recall the past presidents or past prime ministers of your country, you would probably recall the early ones and most recent ones best and have poorer recall for those in between. You most likely do not maintain the information about your classes or about world leaders in working memory.

Perhaps the best support for the distinction between working memory and longterm memory comes from case studies such as that of H.M., the patient described at the beginning of this chapter. His working memory system was perfectly normal, as shown by his ability to keep track of a conversation as long as he stayed actively involved in it. Much of his long-term memory system was intact, since he remembered



FIGURE 7.12

The Serial Position Effect This graph helps illustrate the primacy effect and the recency effect, which together make up the serial position effect. The serial position effect, in turn, helps illustrate the difference between long-term memory and working memory. events that occurred before his surgery. He was unable, however, to transfer new information from working memory into long-term memory.

In another case, a 28-year-old accident victim with damage to the left temporal lobe had extremely poor working memory, with a span of only one or two items. However, he had perfectly normal long-term memory: a fine memory for day-to-day happenings and reasonable knowledge of events that occurred before his surgery (Shallice & Warrington, 1969). Somehow, despite the bottleneck in his working memory, he was relatively good at retrieving information from long-term memory.

These case studies demonstrate that working memory can be separated from longterm memory. Still, the two memory systems are highly interdependent, at least for most of us. For instance, to chunk information in working memory, people need to form meaningful connections based on information stored in long-term memory.

WHAT GETS INTO LONG-TERM MEMORY Paying attention is a

way of storing information in sensory memory or working memory. To store information more permanently, we need to get that information into long-term memory. Normally, in the course of our daily lives, we engage in many activities and are bombarded with information. Some type of filtering system must constrain what goes into long-term memory. Researchers have provided several possible explanations for this process. One possibility is that information enters permanent storage through rehearsal.

To become proficient in any activity, you need to practice. The more times you repeat an action, the easier it is to perform that action. Motor skills—such as those used to play the piano, play golf, and drive—become easier with practice. Memories are strengthened with retrieval, so one way to make durable memories is to practice retrieval.

Recent research in classrooms has shown that repeated testing that includes practicing retrieval is a good way to strengthen memories (Carpenter, 2012). In fact, it is even better than spending the same amount of time reviewing information you have already read (Roediger & Karpicke, 2006). In a recent study, one group of students read a 276-word text passage on sea otters and then practiced retrieving the items using free recall; a second group studied the information in four repeated 5-minute study periods, and a third group made concept maps to organize the information by linking together different ideas (Karpicke & Blunt, 2011). The time spent studying was the same for each group. One week later, the students took a final test. Those who practiced retrieving the information had the best score on the final test.

Rehearsal is a way to get some information into long-term memory, but simply repeating something many times is not a good method for making information memorable. After all, sometimes we have extremely poor memory for objects that are highly familiar. Merely seeing something countless times does not necessarily enable us to recall its details. For example, ask a person in the United States to describe the details on the face of a penny or a 10-dollar bill (**FIGURE 7.13**). Even if people can name the people on the coins, they probably do not know if these people face left or right. This loss of information in memory really shows how well attention and memory function: We attend just enough for the task at hand and lose information that seems irrelevant. Did you know that the penny and the 10-dollar bill are unusual among U.S. currency?



FIGURE 7.13 Details on Familiar Objects

(a) Abraham Lincoln appears on the penny, and (b) the first treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton, is depicted on the 10-dollar bill. Which of the two versions shown is correct? (Answer: The left image is correct for the penny, and the bottom image is correct for the 10-dollar bill. The penny is the only regularly used U.S. coin on which the portrait faces right, and the 10-dollar bill is the only U.S. bill on which the portrait faces left.)
Generally, information about an environment that helps us adapt to that environment is likely to be transformed into a long-term memory. Of the billions of sensory experiences and thoughts we have each day, we want to store only useful information so as to benefit from experience. Remembering that a 10-dollar bill is money and being able to recognize one when you see it are much more useful than being able to recall its specific features—unless you receive counterfeit bills and have to separate them from real ones.

Evolutionary theory helps explain how we decide in advance what information will be useful. Memory allows us to use information in ways that assist in reproduction and survival. For instance, animals that can use past experiences to increase their chances of survival have a selective advantage over animals that fail to learn from past experiences. Recognizing a predator and remembering an escape route will help an animal avoid being eaten. Accordingly, remembering which objects are edible, which people are friends and which are enemies, and how to get home is typically not challenging for people with intact memory systems, but it is critical for survival.

Summing Up

How Are Memories Maintained over Time?

- Atkinson and Shiffrin proposed three parts to memory: sensory memory, short-term memory, and long-term memory.
- Sensory memory stores information from each of the five senses for less than one second, enabling the brain to perceive the world as a continuous stream. Iconic memory is visual sensory memory. Echoic memory is auditory sensory memory.
- Today, short-term memory is more accurately considered working memory, an active information processing system.
- Information can be held in working memory for 20 to 30 seconds. Working memory span is approximately seven items (plus or minus two). The number of items in working memory can be increased by chunking, organizing information into meaningful units.
- Long-term memory is the relatively permanent storage of large amounts of information. The serial position effect and studies of memory impairment suggest that long-term memory is distinct from working memory.
- Information is transferred from working memory to long-term memory if it is repeatedly rehearsed, if people pay attention to the details, or if it aids adaptation to an environment.

Measuring Up

- 1. Identify the following features as belonging to either sensory memory, working memory, or long-term memory.
 - a. Can actively maintain 4 to 9 items.
 - **b.** Could last permanently.
 - **c.** Visual, auditory, or olfactory information that enables us to experience the world as a continuous stream.
 - d. Has a duration of 20 to 30 seconds.
 - e. Has a duration of less than one second.
 - f. Can hold a potentially unlimited amount of information.
- 2. Echoic memory is to ______ as iconic memory is to ______
 - a. vision; hearing
 - b. hearing; vision
 - c. taste; touch
 - d. touch; taste

7.3 How Is Information Organized in Long-Term Memory?

Imagine if a library put each of its books wherever there was empty space on a shelf. To find a particular book, a librarian would have to look through the inventory book by book. Just as this random storage would not work well for books, it would not work well for memories. When an event or some information is important enough, you want to remember it permanently. Thus, you need to store it in a way that allows you to retrieve it later. The following section discusses the organizational principles of long-term memory.

Long-Term Storage Is Based on Meaning

As discussed in Chapter 5, perceptual experiences are transformed into representations in the brain. These representations are then stored in networks of neurons. For instance, when your visual system senses a shaggy, four-legged animal and your auditory system senses barking, you perceive a dog. The concept of "dog" is a *mental representation* for a category of animals that share certain features, such as barking and fur. You do not have a tiny picture of a dog stored in your head. Rather, you have a mental representation. The mental representation for "dog" differs from that for "cat," even though the two are similar in many ways. You also have mental representations for complex and abstract ideas, including beliefs and feelings (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8).

Mental representations are stored by meaning. In the early 1970s, the psychologists Fergus Craik and Robert Lockhart developed an influential theory of memory based on

depth of mental processing. According to their *levels of processing model*, the more deeply an item is encoded, the more meaning it has and the better it is remembered. Craik and Lockhart (1972) proposed that different types of rehearsal lead to different levels of encoding. *Maintenance rehearsal* is simply repeating the item over and over. *Elaborative rehearsal* encodes the information in more meaningful ways, such as thinking about the item conceptually or deciding whether it refers to oneself. In other words, in this type of rehearsal, we elaborate on basic information by linking it to knowledge from long-term memory.

How does the levels of processing model work? Suppose you show research participants a list of words and then ask them to do one of three things. You might ask them to make a *visual* judgment about what each word looks like. For example, "Is it printed in capital or lowercase letters?" You might ask them to make an *acoustic* judgment about the sound of each word. "Does it rhyme with *boat*?" Or you might ask them to make a *semantic* judgment about each word's meaning. "Does it fit in the sentence *They had* to cross the ______ to reach the castle?" Once participants have completed the task (that is, processed the information), you ask them to recall as many words as possible. You will find that words processed at the deepest level, based on meaning, are remembered the best (Craik & Tulving, 1975; **FIGURE 7.14**). Brain imaging studies have shown that semantic encoding activates more brain regions than shallow encoding and that this greater brain activity is associated with better memory (Kapur et al., 1994).

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the levels of processing model.
- Explain how schemas influence memory.
- Describe spreading activation models of memory.
- Identify retrieval cues.
- Define mnemonics.



SOURCE: Adapted from Craik & Tulving, 1975.

FIGURE 7.14 Encodina

This graph shows the results of a study of encoding. Participants were asked to consider a list of words according to how the words are printed (upper or lower case), how they sound (whether they rhyme), or what they mean (whether they fit in a sentence). Later they are asked to recall the words.



"I CAN'T FIND THE BOOKS ON INFORMATION RETRIEVAL."

Schemas Provide an Organizational Framework

If people store memories by meaning, how do they determine the meanings of particular memories? Chunking, discussed earlier, is a good way to encode groups of items for memorization. The more meaningful the chunks, the better they will be remembered. Decisions about how to chunk information depend on **schemas**. These are structures in long-term memory that help us perceive, organize, process, and use information. As we sort out incoming information, schemas guide our attention to an environment's relevant features. Thanks to schemas, we construct new memories by filling in holes within existing memories, overlooking inconsistent information, and interpreting meaning based on past experiences.

In Chapter 8, you will learn more about schemas and how they represent information. The basic idea is that they provide structures for understanding events in the world. For instance, you have a schema for grocery shopping at markets in the United States. That schema most likely includes shopping carts, abundant choices, and

set prices. You may expect to choose your own fruit and vegetables in the produce section. You learned your grocery store schema from experience. It enables you to easily predict and navigate the grocery store experience.

Schemas can bias how information is encoded, however. This bias occurs in part because culture heavily influences schemas. Your grocery store schema will not be so useful when you go to the market in France, where you may not be allowed to touch the produce, or in Morocco, where you have to bargain for your prices. You may learn these differences the hard way: by making mistakes (**FIGURE 7.15**).

In a classic demonstration of biased encoding conducted in the early 1930s, the psychologist Frederic Bartlett (1932) asked British participants to listen to a Canadian First Nations folktale. The story involved supernatural experiences, and it was difficult to understand for those not familiar with such tales. Fifteen minutes later, Bartlett asked the participants to repeat the story exactly as they had heard it. The participants altered the story greatly. They also altered it consistently, so that it made sense from their own cultural standpoint. Sometimes they simply forgot the supernatural parts they could not comprehend.

To understand the influence of schemas on which information is stored in memory, consider a study in which students read a story about an unruly girl (Sulin & Dooling, 1974). Some participants were told that the subject of the story was Helen Keller, who was famous for having overcome her many disabilities as a child. Others were told it was Carol Harris, a made-up name. One week later, the participants who had been told the girl was Helen Keller were more likely to mistakenly report having read the sentence *She was deaf, mute, and blind* in the story than those who thought the story was about Carol Harris. The students' schema for Helen Keller included her disabilities. When they retrieved information about Keller from memory, they retrieved everything they knew about her along with the story they were trying to remember.

To see how schemas affect your ability to recall information, read the following paragraph carefully:

schemas

Cognitive structures that help us perceive, organize, process, and use information.

The procedure is actually quite simple. First arrange things into different bundles depending on makeup. Don't do too much at once. In the short run this may not seem important, however, complications easily arise. A mistake can be costly. Next,

find facilities. Some people must go elsewhere for them. Manipulation of appropriate mechanisms should be self-explanatory. Remember to include all other necessary supplies. Initially the routine will overwhelm you, but soon it will become just another facet of life. Finally, rearrange everything into their initial groups. Return these to their usual places. Eventually they will be used again. Then the whole cycle will have to be repeated. (Bransford & Johnson, 1972, p. 722)

How easy did you find this paragraph to understand? Could you now recall specific sentences from it? It might surprise you to know that in a research setting, college students who read this paragraph found it easy to understand and relatively straightforward to recall. How is that possible? It was easy when the participants knew that the paragraph described washing clothes. Go back and reread the paragraph. Notice how your schema for doing laundry helps you understand and remember how the words and sentences are connected to one another. Schemas influence how we encode information in our daily lives.

Information Is Stored in Association Networks

One highly influential set of theories about memory organization is based on *networks of associations*. In a network model proposed by the psychologists Allan Collins and Elizabeth Loftus (1975), an item's distinctive features are linked so as to identify the item. Each unit of information in the network is a *node*. Each node is connected to many other nodes. The resulting network is like the linked neurons in your brain, but nodes are simply bits of information. They are not physical realities. For example, when you look at a fire engine, all the nodes that represent a fire engine's features are activated. The resulting activation pattern gives rise to the knowledge that the object is a fire engine and not a car, a vacuum cleaner, a cat, and so on.

An important feature of network models is that activating one node increases the likelihood that closely associated nodes will also be activated. As shown in **FIGURE 7.16**, the





(b)





FIGURE 7.15 Cultural Influence on Schemas Your schema for shopping in (a) a grocery store in the United States

might not work so well in (b) a market in France or (c) a market in Morocco. As a result of the limitations in your schema, you might make mistakes when food shopping outside the U.S. Through learning from your mistakes, you will adjust your schema.

FIGURE 7.16 A Network of Associations In this semantic network, similar concepts

are connected through their associations.

HOW IS INFORMATION ORGANIZED IN LONG-TERM MEMORY?

closer the nodes are, the stronger the association between them. The stronger the association, the more likely that activating one node will activate the other. So seeing a fire engine activates nodes that indicate other vehicles. Once your fire engine nodes are activated, you will more quickly recognize other vehicles than, for instance, fruits or animals.

The main idea here is that activating one node increases the likelihood that associated nodes will become active. This idea is central to *spreading activation models* of memory. According to these models, stimuli in working memory activate specific nodes in long-term memory. This activation increases the ease of access to that material and thus makes retrieval easier. Indeed, one study showed that retrieval of some items led to enhanced memory for related items even when participants were told to forget those other items (Bäuml & Samenieh, 2010).

Given the vast amount of material in memory, it is amazing how quickly we can search for and obtain needed memories from storage. Each time we hear a sentence, we not only have to remember what all the words mean, we also have to recall all relevant information that helps us understand the sentence's overall meaning. For this process to occur, the information needs to be organized logically. Imagine trying to find a specific file on a full 600-gigabyte hard disk by opening one file at a time. Such a method would be hopelessly slow. Instead, most computer disks are organized into folders, within each folder are more-specialized folders, and so on. Associative networks in the brain work similarly.

Retrieval Cues Provide Access to Long-Term Storage

A **retrieval cue** can be anything that helps a person (or nonhuman animal) recall a memory. Encountering stimuli—such as the fragrance of a roasting turkey, a favorite song from years past, a familiar building, and so on—can trigger unintended memories. In analyzing this phenomenon, the prominent memory researcher Endel Tulving proposed the **encoding specificity principle.** According to this principle, any stimulus encoded along with an experience can later trigger a memory of the experience (Tulving & Thomson, 1973).

In one study of encoding, participants studied 80 words in either of two rooms. The rooms differed in location, size, scent, and other aspects. The participants were then tested for recall in the room in which they studied or in the other room. When they were tested in the other room, participants recalled an average of 35 words correctly. When they were tested in the room where they studied, participants recalled an average of 49 words correctly (Smith, Glenberg, & Bjork, 1978). This kind of memory enhancement, when the recall situation is similar to the encoding situation, is known as *context-dependent memory*.

Context-dependent memory can be based on things such as physical location, odors, and background music, many of which produce a sense of familiarity (Hockley, 2008). In the most dramatic research demonstration of context-dependent memory, scuba divers who learned information underwater later recalled that information better underwater than on land (Godden & Baddeley, 1975; see "Scientific Thinking: Godden and Baddeley's Study of Context-Dependent Memory").

Like physical context, internal cues can affect the recovery of information from long-term memory. Think about mood. When you are in a good mood, do you tend to recall good times? At the end of a bad day, do negative memories tend to surface? Memory can be enhanced when a person's internal states match during encoding and recall. This effect is known as *state-dependent memory*.

State-dependent memory also applies to internal states brought on by drugs or alcohol. You most likely will not remember much of anything you learn while

retrieval cue

Anything that helps a person (or a nonhuman animal) recall information stored in long-term memory.

encoding specificity principle The idea that any stimulus that is encoded along with an experience can later trigger a memory for the experience.

Scientific Thinking Godden and Baddeley's Study of Context-Dependent Memory

HYPOTHESIS: When the recall situation is similar to the encoding situation, memory is enhanced.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 One group of scuba divers learned a list of words on land.
- 2 Another group of scuba divers learned a list of words underwater.







RESULTS: The scuba divers who learned information underwater tested better underwater than on land. Those who studied on land tested better on land than underwater.

CONCLUSION: Information is best recalled in the same environment where it is learned.

SOURCE: Godden, D. R., & Baddeley, A. D. (1975). Context-dependent memory in two natural environments: On land and underwater. *British Journal of Psychology*, 66, 325–331.

intoxicated. Whatever you do learn, however, may be easier to recall when you are intoxicated than when you are sober—though do not count on it (Goodwin, Powell, Bremer, Hoine, & Stern, 1969).

MNEMONICS Mnemonics are learning aids or strategies that use retrieval cues to improve recall. People often find mnemonics helpful for remembering items in long lists, for example. One of the oldest methods dates back to the lucky ancient Greek poet Simonides. While attending a banquet, he stepped out for a bit of air. Moments later, the ceiling collapsed on his dinner companions and killed them. By visualizing where people were seated at the banquet table, he could recall who was killed. Now referred to as the *method of loci* or the *memory palace*, this mnemonic consists of associating items you want to remember with physical locations.

Suppose you want to remember the names of classmates you just met. First, you might visualize items from various places on your typical route across campus, or you might visualize parts of the physical layout of some familiar location, such as your bedroom. Then you would associate your classmates' names with the items or parts you have visualized. You might picture Justin climbing on your dresser, Malia sitting on a chair, and Anthony hiding under the bed. When you later need to remember the names, you would visualize your room and retrieve the information associated with each piece of furniture.

mnemonics

Learning aids, strategies, and devices that improve recall through the use of retrieval cues.



FIGURE 7.17 Memory Olympics

Contestants in the Memory Olympics– as shown here at the 2013 meet, in London–memorize names, faces, and even decks of cards. Almost all participants in such memory contests use strategies involving chunking. The journalist Joshua Foer used this method when he competed in the U.S.A. Memory Championships in 2006 (Foer, 2011). During the contest, one of Foer's tasks was to memorize the order of two shuffled decks of playing cards. By imagining the cards in various locations in the house where he grew up, Foer was able to correctly remember the order of the cards in the two decks in just under 2 minutes. To keep from being distracted, he wore headphones and dark glasses. Strategies such as these enable people to excel at memory contests. The contest winners do not necessarily have better-functioning memories than most people. They are simply better able to use their memories to achieve such feats as becoming a Grand Master of Memory (**FIGURE 7.17**). To win this award, you must be able to memorize 1,000 digits in an hour, one randomly shuffled deck of cards in 2 minutes, and 10 randomly shuffled decks of cards (520 cards) in one hour.

Summing Up

How Is Information Organized in Long-Term Memory?

- According to the levels of processing model, memory is enhanced by deeper encoding.
- Maintenance rehearsal-repeating an item over and over-leads to shallow encoding and poor recall. Elaborative rehearsal links new information with old, leading to deep encoding and better recall.
- Schemas are cognitive structures that help us perceive, organize, process, and use information. Schemas can lead to biased encoding based on cultural expectations.
- According to association network models of memory, information is stored in the brain in nodes, and nodes are connected via networks to many other nodes. Activating one node results in spreading activation to all associated nodes within the network.
- Retrieval cues help with recall. According to the encoding specificity principle, any stimulus
 encoded with an experience can serve as a retrieval cue. Internal and external cues can also
 serve as retrieval cues.
- Mnemonics, such as the method of loci, are learning strategies that improve recall through the use of retrieval cues.

Measuring Up

- Identify each of the following events as a retrieval cue, a schema, or the effect of activating a node.
 - a. remembering that a poodle is a type of dog
 - **b.** scoring higher on a test when you sit at the same desk where you sat during lecture
 - **c.** hearing a bark and thinking of a furry, four-legged animal who likes to wag its tail and lick your face
 - **d.** feeling very anxious about your chemistry exam and scoring poorly even though you studied and knew the material well when you were calm
- 2. Which of the following phenomena may offer an explanation of why rote memorization is not generally an effective way to remember material?
 - a. levels of processing theory
 - b. encoding specificity principle
 - c. mnemonics
 - d. context-dependent learning

.6 **(S)**

d. retrieval cue (state-dependent learning).

ANSWERS: (1) a. schema; b. retrieval cue (context-dependent learning); c. the effects of activating a node;

7.4What Are the Different Long-
Term Memory Systems?

In the last few decades, most psychologists have come to view long-term memory as composed of several interacting systems. These systems share a common function: to retain and use information (Schacter & Tulving, 1994). However, they encode and store different types of information in different ways (**FIGURE 7.18**). For instance, several obvious differences exist between remembering how to ride a bicycle, recalling what you ate for dinner last night, and knowing that the capital of Canada is Ottawa. These are long-term memories, but they differ in how they were acquired (learned) and in how they are stored and retrieved.

Remembering how to ride a bike requires a behavioral component. That is, it means integrating specific motor and perceptual skills that you acquired over time. You are not consciously aware of your efforts to maintain balance or to follow the basic rules of the road. By contrast, recalling a specific event you experienced or knowledge you learned from another source sometimes requires a conscious effort to retrieve the information from long-term memory.

Scientists do not agree on the number of human long-term memory systems. For instance, some researchers have distinguished between memory systems based on how information is stored in memory, such as whether the storage occurs with or without deliberate effort. Other researchers have focused on the types of information stored: words and meaning, particular muscle movements, information about a city's spatial layout, and so on. The following sections explore how the different long-term memory systems work.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between explicit, episodic, semantic, implicit, and prospective memories.
- Generate examples of each of these types of memory.



FIGURE 7.18 Different Types of Long-Term Memory

This graphic will help you remember the main types of long-term memory and the subtypes.



(b)



FIGURE 7.19 Explicit Memory

Explicit memory involves information that individuals are aware of knowing. (a) When these World War II veterans assembled aboard the USS *Intrepid* to reminisce on Memorial Day, they were drawing on episodic memory, which is based on past experiences. (b) Game shows such as *Jeopardy*! test semantic memory: the memory of facts independent of personal experience. In 2004, Ken Jennings (pictured here) became the longestdefending champion on *Jeopardy*! when he won 75 games in a row.

implicit memory The system underlying unconscious memories.

explicit memory The system underlying conscious memories.

declarative memory

The cognitive information retrieved from explicit memory; knowledge that can be declared.

episodic memory Memory for one's personal past experiences.

semantic memory Memory for knowledge about the world.

Explicit Memory Involves Conscious Effort

The most basic distinction between memory systems is a division of memories: On one hand are memories we are consciously aware of. On the other hand are memories we acquire without conscious effort or intention—memories we do not know we know. Remember that H.M., the memory loss sufferer described at the beginning of this chapter, improved at mirror tracing (tracing a pattern when only its mirror image is visible). He must have learned this motor task even without knowing he had.

Peter Graf and Daniel Schacter (1985) referred to unconscious memory as **implicit memory**. They contrasted it with **explicit memory**, the processes we use to remember information we can say we know. The cognitive information retrieved from explicit memory is **declarative memory**: knowledge we can declare (consciously bring to mind).

For example, you use explicit memory when you recall what you had for dinner last night or what the word *aardvark* means. Declarative memories can involve words or concepts, visual images, or both. When you imagine Earth's orbit around the sun, you might also retrieve the images and names of the other planets. You could describe this knowledge in words, so it is declarative memory. Most of the examples presented in this chapter so far are of explicit memories. Every exam you ever took in school likely tested declarative memory.

In 1972, Endel Tulving found that explicit memory can be divided into episodic memory and semantic memory. **Episodic memory** consists of a person's past experiences and includes information about the time and place the experiences occurred (**FIGURE 7.19A**). If you can remember aspects of your 16th birthday, for example, such as where you were and what you did there, this information is part of your episodic memory. **Semantic memory** is knowledge of facts independent of personal experience. You might not remember where or when you learned it, but you know it (**FIGURE 7.19B**). For instance, people know what Jell-O is, they know the capitals of countries they have never visited, and even people who have never played baseball know that three strikes mean the batter is out.

Scientists have learned a great deal about normal memory by studying people, such as H.M., who have impaired memory (Jacoby & Witherspoon, 1982). Evidence that episodic and semantic systems of explicit memory are separate can be found in cases of brain injury in which semantic memory is intact even though episodic memory is impaired.

Researchers found this pattern of abnormal memory in three British children who had experienced brain damage (Vargha-Khadem et al., 1997). One child suffered the damage during a difficult birth. The other two suffered it during early childhood (one had seizures at age 4; the other had an accidental drug overdose at age 9). Each of the three developed poor memory for episodic information. As children, they had trouble reporting what they had for lunch, what they had been watching on television 5 minutes earlier, what they did during summer vacation. Their parents reported that the children had to be constantly monitored to make sure they remembered things such as going to school. Remarkably, these three children attended mainstream schools and did reasonably well. Moreover, when tested as young adults, their IQs fell within the normal range. They learned to speak and read, and they could remember many facts. For instance, when asked "Who is Martin Luther King Jr.?" one of the children, tested at age 19, responded, "An American; fought for black rights, black rights leader in the 1970s; got assassinated." These three, then, were able to encode and retrieve semantic information even though they could not remember their own personal experiences.

Implicit Memory Occurs Without Deliberate Effort

Implicit memory consists of memories without awareness of them. In other words, you are not able to put these memories into words. Classical conditioning (discussed

in Chapter 6, "Learning") uses implicit memory. For example, if you always experience joy at hearing holiday music, you might have past associations between the holidays and having fun. These associations are implicit memories.

Implicit memories do not require conscious attention. They happen automatically, without deliberate effort. Suppose that while driving you realize you have been daydreaming and have no episodic memory of the past few minutes. During that time, you used implicit memories of how to drive and where you were going. Thus, you did not crash the car or go in the wrong direction. This type of implicit memory is called **procedural memory**, or *motor memory*. It involves motor skills, habits, and other behaviors used to achieve goals, such as coordinating muscle movements to ride a bicycle, ski, roller-skate, row a boat, or follow the rules of the road while driving (**FIGURE 7.20**). You remember to stop when you see a red light because you have learned to do so, and you might drive home on a specific route without even thinking about it.

Procedural memories are generally so unconscious that most people find that consciously thinking about automatic behaviors interferes with the smooth production of those behaviors. The next time you are riding a bicycle, try to think about each step involved in the process. What effects does thinking have? Thinking about automatic actions is why athletes sometimes choke under pressure while aiming a free throw, hovering over a short putt, or landing a triple axel. But procedural memories are very resistant to decay. Once you learn to ride a bike or ice skate, it is likely that, unless you suffer some brain damage, you will always be able to do so.

Implicit memory influences our lives in subtle ways, as when our attitudes are influenced by implicit learning. For example, you might like someone because he or she reminds you of another person you like, even if you are unaware of the connection. Advertisers rely on implicit memory to influence our purchasing decisions. Constant exposure to brand names makes us more likely to think of them when we buy products. If you find yourself wanting a particular brand of something, you might be "remembering" advertisements for that brand, even if you cannot recall the specifics.

Our implicit formation of attitudes can affect our beliefs about people, such as whether particular people are famous. Ask yourself: Is Richard Shiffrin famous? Try to think for a second how you know him. If you thought he was famous, you might have recalled that Shiffrin was one of the psychologists who introduced the model of sensory, short-term, and long-term memory (an accomplishment that might make him famous in some scientific circles). Alternatively, you might have remembered reading his name before even if you could not remember where.

In studying what he called the *false fame effect*, the psychologist Larry Jacoby had research participants read aloud a list of made-up names (Jacoby, Kelley, Brown, & Jasechko, 1989). The participants were told that the research project was about pronunciation. The next day, Jacoby had the same people participate in an apparently unrelated study. This time, they were asked to read a list of names and decide whether each person was famous or not. The participants misjudged some of the made-up names from the previous day as being those of famous people. Because the participants knew they had heard the names before but probably could not remember where, implicit memory led them to assume the familiar names were those of famous people.

Prospective Memory Is Remembering to Do Something

"When you see Juan, tell him to call me, okay? And don't forget to buy milk." Unlike the other types of remembering discussed so far in this chapter, **prospective memory** is future oriented. It means that a person remembers to do something at some future time (Graf & Uttl, 2001).



FIGURE 7.20 Implicit Memory

The innate muscle memory for knowing how to ride a bicycle is procedural, or motor, memory. It is also an example of implicit memorymemory without the awareness of having the memory. Once you learn how to ride a bike, you can usually remember how to do it again, unconsciously, at any age.

procedural memory A type of implicit memory that involves motor skills and behavioral habits.

prospective memory Remembering to do something at some future time.



FIGURE 7.21 Prospective Memory

Prospective memory involves remembering to do something in the future. When you use a device, such as a cell phone, to remember appointments and deadlines, you are assisting your prospective memory. In a study of prospective memory, participants had to learn a list of words (Cook, Marsh, Clark-Foos, & Meeks, 2007). In one condition, they also had to remember to do something, such as press a key when they saw a certain word. The group that had to remember to do something took longer to learn the list than the control group that learned the same list of words but did not have to remember to do something.

Prospective memory involves both automatic and controlled processes. As discussed in Chapter 4, automatic processes happen without conscious awareness or intent (McDaniel & Einstein, 2000). Sometimes a retrieval cue occurs in a particular environment. For example, seeing Juan might automatically trigger your memory, so you effortlessly remember to give him the message. Sometimes particular environments do not have obvious retrieval cues for particular prospective memories. For example, you might not encounter a retrieval cue for remembering to buy milk. Remembering to buy milk might require some ongoing remembering as you head back to your room, even if you are not aware of that remembering. Prospective memory for events without retrieval cues is the reason sticky notes are so popular. In this case, you might stick a note that says "Buy milk" on your notebook or on the steering wheel of your car. By jogging your memory, the note helps you avoid the effort of remembering. For an even more urgent reminder, you might set your cell phone alarm or electronic calendar (**FIGURE 7.21**).

Summing Up

What Are the Different Long-Term Memory Systems?

- Long-term memory is composed of multiple systems.
- Explicit memory is the system underlying conscious episodic and semantic memories. Episodic memory is memory for personal past experiences.
- Semantic memory is memory for knowledge about the world.
- Episodic and semantic memory systems are different. Certain types of brain damage can disrupt the formation of episodic memories but spare semantic memories.
- Information retrieved from explicit memory is called declarative memory, because it is knowledge that can be declared.
- The system underlying unconscious memories is called implicit memory.
- Implicit memory can influence decision making by making information seem familiar in the absence of conscious awareness that the information was previously encountered.
- Procedural memory is a type of implicit memory that involves motor skills and behavioral habits.
- Prospective memory, another system of memory, involves remembering to do something at a future time.

Measuring Up

- 1. Identify each of the following events as an example of episodic, semantic, or implicit procedural memory.
 - a. remembering the time you hit a home run in your baseball game
 - **b.** remembering how to throw a curve ball
 - c. remembering your English professor from last semester
 - d. remembering what a noun is
 - e. remembering how to write the letter "A"
 - f. remembering that three of a kind beats two pair in poker
 - g. remembering the time you won \$25 in a card game
 - h. remembering how to shuffle a deck of cards

2. _____ is remembering to do something in the future.

a. implicit memory

- b. procedural memory
- c. prospective memory
- d. declarative memory

ANSWERS: (1) a. episodic; b. procedural; c. episodic; d. semantic; e. procedural; f. semantic; g. episodic;
 h. procedural. (2) c. prospective memory.

7.5 When Does Memory Fail?

In addition to remembering events and information, people *fail* to remember them. Forgetting is a perfectly normal, everyday experience. Ten minutes after you see a movie, you probably remember plenty of its details, but the next day you might remember mostly the plot and the main characters. Years later, you might remember the gist of the story, or you might not remember having seen the movie at all. We forget far more than we remember.

Most people are unhappy about forgetting. They wish they could better remember the material for exams, their friends' birthdays, the geologic time periods, and so on. But imagine what life would be like if you could not forget. Imagine, for example, walking up to your locker and recalling not just its combination but the 10 or 20 combinations for all the locks you have ever used.

Consider the case of a Russian newspaper reporter who had nearly perfect memory. If someone read him a tremendously long list of items and he visualized the items for a few moments, he could recite the list, even many years later. But his memory was so cluttered with information that he had great difficulty functioning in society. Tortured by this condition, he was institutionalized (Luria, 1968). Not being able to forget is as maladaptive as not being able to remember. It is therefore not surprising that we tend to best remember meaningful points. We remember the forest rather than the individual trees. Normal forgetting helps us retain and use important information.

The study of forgetting has a long history in psychological science. The latenineteenth-century psychologist Hermann Ebbinghaus (1885/1964) used the so-called *methods of savings* to examine how long it took people to relearn lists of nonsense syllables (e.g., vut, bik, kuh). Ebbinghaus provided compelling evidence that forgetting occurs rapidly over the first few days but then levels off. Most of us do not need to memorize nonsense syllables, but Ebbinghaus's general findings apply to meaningful material as well. You may remember very little of the Spanish or calculus you took in high school, but relearning these subjects would take you less time and effort than it took to learn them the first time. The difference between the original learning and relearning is called *savings*. In other words, you save time and effort because of what you remember.

Daniel Schacter (1999) has identified what he calls *the seven* sins of memory (**TABLE 7.1**). The first four sins—*transience, blocking, absentmindedness,* and *persistence*—are related to forgetting and remembering and are discussed here. The next three—*misattribution, bias,* and *suggestibility*—are discussed later in this chapter as distortions of memory. These so-called sins are very familiar to most people. Schacter sees them as by-products of otherwise desirable aspects of human memory. In fact, he argues that they are useful and perhaps even necessary characteristics for survival.

Learning Objectives

- List the seven sins of memory.
- Explain transience, blocking, and absentmindedness.
- Distinguish between retrograde and anterograde amnesia.
- Discuss methods to reduce persistence.



Table 1.1 Seven Shirs of Memory			
ERROR	ТҮРЕ	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Transience/memory decay	Forgetting	Reduced memory over time	Forgetting the plot of a movie
Blocking/retrieval failure	Forgetting	Inability to remember needed information	Failing to recall the name of a person you meet on the street
Absentmindedness/ encoding failure	Forgetting	Reduced memory due to failing to pay attention	Losing your keys or forgetting a lunch date
Persistence	Remembering	The resurgence of unwanted or disturbing memories one would like to forget	Remembering an embarrassing faux pas
Misattribution	Distortion	Assigning a memory to the wrong source	Falsely thinking that Richard Shiffrin is famous because his name is well known
Bias	Distortion	Influence of current knowledge on memory for past events	Remembering past attitudes as similar to current attitudes even though the past attitudes have changed
Suggestibility	Distortion	Altering a memory because of misleading information	Developing false memories for events that did not happen

Table 7.1 Seven Sins of Memory

SOURCE: Based on Schacter (2001).

Transience Is Caused by Interference

Memory **transience** is memory decay (forgetting) over time. Ebbinghaus observed this pattern in his studies of nonsense syllables. Many early theorists argued that such forgetting results from the memory trace's decay in a person's nervous system. Indeed, some evidence indicates that unused memories are forgotten. Research over the last few decades, however, has established that most forgetting occurs because of *interference* from other information. Additional information can lead to forgetting through *proactive* interference or *retroactive* interference. In both cases, competing information displaces the information we are trying to retrieve.

In **proactive interference**, old information inhibits the ability to remember new information. For instance, if you study for your psychology test, then switch to studying for your anthropology test, and then take the anthropology test, your performance on the test might be impaired by your knowledge about psychology (**FIGURE 7.22A**). In **retroactive interference**, new information inhibits the ability to remember old information. So when it comes time to take the psychology test, your performance might suffer because you recall the freshly reinforced anthropology material instead (**FIGURE 7.22B**).

transience Forgetting over time.

proactive interference Interference that occurs when prior information inhibits the ability to remember new information.

retroactive interference

Interference that occurs when new information inhibits the ability to remember old information.



FIGURE 7.22

Proactive Interference Versus Retroactive Interference

(a) Proactive interference occurs when information already known (here, psychology material) interferes with the ability to remember new information (here, anthropology material). (b) Retroactive interference occurs when new information (anthropology material) interferes with memory for old information (psychology material).

Blocking Is Temporary

Blocking is a retrieval failure. This failure occurs when a person is temporarily unable to remember something: You cannot recall the name of a favorite song, you forget the name of someone you are introducing, you "blank" on some lines when acting in a play, and so on. Such temporary blockages are common and frustrating.

Roger Brown and David MacNeill (1966) described another good example of blocking: the tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon, in which people experience great frustration as they try to recall specific, somewhat obscure words. For instance, when asked to provide a word that means "patronage bestowed on a relative, in business or politics" or "an astronomical instrument for finding position," people often struggle (A.S. Brown, 1991). Sometimes they know which letter the word begins with, how many syllables it has, and possibly what it sounds like. Even with these partial retrieval cues, they cannot pull the precise word into working memory. (Did you know the words were nepotism and sextant?) Blocking often occurs because of interference from words that are similar in some way, such as in sound or meaning, and that recur. For example, you might repeatedly call an acquaintance Margaret although her name is Melanie. The tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon increases with age, perhaps because older people have more memories that might interfere.

Absentmindedness Results from Shallow Encoding

Absentmindedness is the inattentive or shallow encoding of events. The major cause of absentmindedness is failing to pay attention. For instance, you absentmindedly forget where you left your keys because when you put them down, you were also reaching to answer your phone. You forget the name of a person you are talking with because when you met 5 minutes ago, you were paying attention to her face, not her name. You forget whether you took your vitamins this morning because you were distracted by an interesting question from your roommate (FIGURE 7.23).

Recall that when prospective memory fails, you fail to remember to do something. Often, this form of absentmindedness occurs because you are caught up in another activity. For instance, when you perform an automatic task, such as driving, your conscious thoughts might not include the driving experience. Your mind might wander to other ideas or memories.

This lack of attention can produce serious consequences. For example, in the United States over the past 15 years, more than 600 children, mostly infants, have died because they were left unattended in hot cars (43 in 2013 alone [Null, 2014]). In many cases, the parent forgot to drop the child off at day care on his or her way to work. It is easy to

blocking

The temporary inability to remember something.

absentmindedness The inattentive or shallow encoding of events.



FIGURE 7.23 Absentmindedness

The major cause of absentmindedness is failing to pay sufficient attention when encoding memories. The celebrated musician Yo-Yo Ma is pictured here with his \$2.5 million eighteenth-century cello, which was returned to him after he absentmindedly left it in a cab.

291

amnesia

A deficit in long-term memory– resulting from disease, brain injury, or psychological trauma–in which the individual loses the ability to retrieve vast quantities of information.

retrograde amnesia

A condition in which people lose past memories, such as memories for events, facts, people, or even personal information.

anterograde amnesia

A condition in which people lose the ability to form new memories.

imagine forgetting your lunch in the car, but your child? Fortunately, such incidents are rare, but they seem to be especially likely when the parent's typical routine does not include day care drop-off duty. While the parent is driving, his or her brain shifts to "autopilot" and automatically goes through the process of driving to the workplace instead of stopping at day care first. During most of our daily activities, of course, we are consciously aware of only a small portion of both our thoughts and our behaviors.

Amnesia Is a Deficit in Long-Term Memory

Sometimes people lose the ability to retrieve vast quantities of information from longterm memory. **Amnesia** is such a deficit. This type of memory loss is not one of Schacter's "seven sins." Amnesia results from disease, brain injury, or psychological trauma.

The two basic types of amnesia are retrograde and anterograde. In **retrograde amnesia**, people lose past memories for events, facts, people, and even personal information. Most portrayals of amnesia in the media are of retrograde amnesia, as when a character in a soap opera awakens from a coma and does not know who he or she is (**FIGURE 7.24A**). By contrast, in **anterograde amnesia**, people lose the ability to form new memories (**FIGURE 7.24B**).

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, H.M. had a classic case of anterograde amnesia. He could remember old information about his past, but after his surgery he lost the ability to form new memories. However, H.M. may have acquired some new semantic knowledge about things that occurred after 1953. For instance, when given a list of people who became famous or infamous after 1953, H.M. was able to provide some information about them (O'Kane, Kensinger, & Corkin, 2004). This new learning may have occurred through his extensive repetition of materials over a long time. Given the name Lee Harvey Oswald, H.M. described him as the man who "assassinated the president." Oswald shot President John F. Kennedy in 1963. This happened long after H.M.'s surgery but long before researchers tested him. He somehow formed this new memory and retained that information over a long period of time.



FIGURE 7.24

Retrograde Amnesia Versus Anterograde Amnesia

Amnesia involves two forms of memory loss. (a) Retrograde amnesia is an inability to access memories that were created before the brain damage (see red X). (b) Anterograde amnesia is an inability to create new memories after the brain damage (see red X).

Persistence Is Unwanted Remembering

Sometimes you want to forget something but have difficulty doing so. **Persistence** occurs when unwanted memories are remembered in spite of the desire not to have them. Some unwanted memories are so traumatic that they destroy the life of the individual who suffers from them.

One prominent example of persistence occurs in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; discussed further in Chapter 14, "Psychological Disorders"). PTSD is a serious mental health problem, with an estimated prevalence of 7 percent in the United States alone (Kessler et al., 2005b). The most common triggers of PTSD include events that threaten people or those close to them. For example, the unexpected death of a loved one, a physical or sexual assault, a car accident, a natural disaster, or the sight of someone badly injured or killed can be a source of PTSD. Emotional events are associated with amygdala activity, which might underlie the persistence of certain memories.

Considerable research is under way to produce drugs that will erase unwanted memories. One drug, propranolol, blocks the postsynaptic receptors for the neurotransmitter norepinephrine. If propranolol is given before or right after a traumatic experience, the hormonally enhanced memories and fear response for that event are reduced, and the effect lasts for months (Cahill, Prins, Weber, & McGaugh, 1994; Pitman et al., 2002). Drugs such as propranolol might have side effects, however. Alternatively, as discussed earlier, extinction can be used during reconsolidation to yield the same or similar results, potentially without side effects (Schiller et al., 2010).

Because propranolol has to be given close in time to the traumatic event and reconsolidation of the memory, it works only with relatively recent memories, not with well-established older memories (Costanzi, Cannus, Saraulli, Rossi-Arnaud, & Cestari, 2011). What about past traumas that persist? Researchers recently used HDAC inhibitors during reconsolidation of distant negative memories. Recall from earlier in this chapter that inhibiting HDAC removes the molecular brake pads on memory. Could HDAC inhibition make reconsolidation powerful enough to wipe out the original memory and replace it with the new version? By inhibiting HDAC during the reconsolidation of a memory in a nonhuman animal, researchers were able to reduce an old conditioned fear response (Gräff et al., 2013). This process is the equivalent of recalling a traumatic event from long ago and then having it erased. Although these methods have not been used yet with humans, HDAC inhibition shows promise in the treatment of enduring trauma (Yates, 2014).

But erasing memories leads to many ethical questions. If we can erase traumatic memories, should we remove only the memories of traumas that were beyond the sufferer's control? Or should a person be treated for suffering a guilty conscience after an intentional malicious act? Will reducing memories to take the emotional sting out of life make us less human?

persistence

The continual recurrence of unwanted memories.

Summing Up

When Does Memory Fail?

- Schacter (1999) identified seven sins of memory: Transience, absentmindedness, blocking, and persistence are related to forgetting and remembering, and misattribution, suggestibility, and bias are distortions of memory. Although annoying, the first three sins are useful and perhaps even necessary for survival, since they reduce memory for irrelevant information.
- Transience is memory decay that occurs over time. Transience is likely caused by interference.
- Retroactive interference is the loss of memory due to replacement by newer information.
 Proactive interference is the failure to store a new memory because of interference by an older memory.
- Blocking is a common, temporary inability to remember something known. Blocking is a retrieval failure likely caused by interference.
- Absentmindedness is forgetfulness caused by shallow encoding.
- Amnesia is the inability to retrieve large amounts of information from long-term memory. Amnesia is atypical and can be caused by brain injury, disease, or trauma.
- Retrograde amnesia is the loss of memories from the past. Anterograde amnesia is the inability to store new memories. Patient H.M. suffered from anterograde amnesia.
- Persistence is the remembering of unwanted memories, usually encountered under stressful circumstances.
- Reconsolidation can reduce persistence but only for recent memories.
- HDAC inhibitors may help erase old persistent memories, but additional research is needed.
 Further, erasing memories can pose ethical concerns.

Measuring Up

- Forgetting your new phone number and dialing your old number instead is an example of ______ interference. Calling your new sorority sister Megan instead of Maggie because she reminds you of a Megan you knew in high school is an example of ______ interference.
 - a. proactive; retroactive
 - b. retroactive; proactive
 - **c.** decay; retroactive
 - d. retroactive; decay
- 2. Reconsolidation and increasing gene expression through the use of HDAC inhibitors can help reduce
 - a. absentmindedness
 - b. transience
 - c. blocking
 - d. persistence

ANSWERS: (1) b. (2) d.

7.6 How Are Long-Term Memories Distorted?

Most people believe that human memory is permanent storage. Research has shown clearly, however, that human memory is biased, flawed, and distorted. In this section, you will learn how the human long-term memory systems provide less-than-accurate portrayals of past events.

People Reconstruct Events to Be Consistent

Memory bias is the changing of memories over time so that they become consistent with current beliefs or attitudes. As one of psychology's greatest thinkers, Leon Festinger (1987), put it: "I prefer to rely on my memory. I have lived with that memory a long time, I am used to it, and if I have rearranged or distorted anything, surely that was done for my own benefit" (p. 1).

Consider students who take courses in study skills. Students often fail to heed the advice they receive in such courses, and there is only modest evidence that the courses are beneficial. Yet most students who take them describe the courses as extremely helpful. How can something that generally produces unimpressive outcomes be endorsed so positively?

To understand this phenomenon, researchers randomly assigned students to either a genuine study skills course or a control group that received no special training. Students who took the real course showed few signs of improvement. In fact, their final-exam performances were slightly poorer than the control group's performances. Still, they considered the study skills program helpful. The experiment had one feature that helps explain why. At the beginning of the course, participants were asked to rate their studying skills. At the end of the course, they again rated themselves and were asked to recall how they had originally rated themselves. In describing their earlier ratings, students in the study skills course recalled themselves as having been significantly worse than they had rated themselves at the beginning. In this way, the students were "getting what they want[ed] by revising what they had" (Conway & Ross, 1984).

People tend to recall their past beliefs and past attitudes as being consistent with their current ones. Often, they revise their memories when they change attitudes and beliefs. People also tend to remember events as casting them in prominent roles or favorable lights. As discussed further in Chapter 12, people also tend to exaggerate their contributions to group efforts, take credit for successes and blame failures on others, and remember their successes more than their failures. Societies, too, bias their recollections of past events. Groups' collective memories can seriously distort the past. Most societies' official histories tend to downplay their past behaviors that were unsavory, immoral, and even murderous. Perpetrators' memories are generally shorter than victims' memories.

Flashbulb Memories Can Be Wrong

Some events cause people to experience what Roger Brown and James Kulik (1977) termed **flashbulb memories.** These vivid memories are of the circumstances in which people first learn of a surprising and consequential or emotionally arousing event. When in 1977 Brown and Kulik interviewed people about their memories of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, they found that people described these 14-year-old memories in highly vivid terms. The details included who they were with, what they were doing or thinking, who told them or how they found out, and

Learning Objectives

- Define memory bias.
- Discuss flashbulb memories.
- Generate examples of source misattribution.
- Identify factors that contribute to errors in eyewitness testimony.
- Discuss susceptibility to false memories.
- Describe contemporary views on repressed memories.

memory bias

The changing of memories over time so that they become consistent with current beliefs or attitudes.

flashbulb memories

Vivid episodic memories for the circumstances in which people first learned of a surprising, consequential, or emotionally arousing event. (a)



(b)



FIGURE 7.25 Flashbulb Memories Surprising and consequential or

emotionally arousing events can produce flashbulb memories. Consider (a) the Boston Marathon bombings in 2013; and (b) the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001.

source misattribution

Memory distortion that occurs when people misremember the time, place, person, or circumstances involved with a memory.

source amnesia

A type of misattribution that occurs when a person shows memory for an event but cannot remember where he or she encountered the information. what their emotional reactions were to the event. In other words, flashbulb memories are an example of episodic memory. They do not reflect the problem of persistence, however, in that they are not recurring unwanted memories.

DO YOU REMEMBER WHERE YOU WERE WHEN ...? Do you remember where you were when you heard about the Boston Marathon bombings (**FIGURE 7.25A**)? Or when you first heard that the jihadist leader Osama bin Laden had been killed? An obvious problem affects research into the accuracy of flashbulb memories. Namely, researchers have to wait for a "flash" to go off and then immediately conduct their study.

For three years after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, a study was conducted of more than 3,000 people in various cities across the United States (Hirst et al., 2009). Participants were initially surveyed one week after the attacks. Memories related to 9/11—such as where the person first heard about the attacks and the person's knowledge about the events—declined somewhat during the first year, but memory remained stable thereafter. As might be expected, people who were living in New York City on 9/11 had, over time, the most accurate memories of the World Trade Center attacks (**FIGURE 7.25B**).

EMPHASIS AND MEMORY Although flashbulb memories are not perfectly accurate, they are at least as accurate as memory for ordinary events. Indeed, people are more confident about their flashbulb memories than they are about their ordinary memories (Talarico & Rubin, 2003). Any event that produces a strong emotional response is likely to produce a vivid, although not necessarily accurate, memory (Christianson, 1992). Or a distinctive event might simply be recalled more easily than a trivial event, even if the resulting memory is inaccurate. This latter pattern is known as the *von Restorff effect*, named after the researcher who first described it in 1933. It is also possible that greater media attention to major events leads to greater exposure to the details of those events, thus encouraging better memory (Hirst et al., 2009).

People Make Source Misattributions

Source misattribution occurs when people misremember the time, place, person, or circumstances involved with a memory. A good example of this phenomenon is the false fame effect, discussed earlier. Another example is the sleeper effect. Here, an argument initially is not very persuasive because it comes from a questionable source, but it becomes more persuasive over time.

Suppose you see an online ad for a way to learn French while you sleep. You probably will not believe the claims in the ad. Yet over time you might remember the promise but fail to remember the source. Because the promise occurs to you without the obvious reason for rejecting it, you might come to believe that people can learn French while sleeping, or you might at least wonder if it is possible.

SOURCE AMNESIA Source amnesia is a form of misattribution that occurs when a person has a memory for an event but cannot remember where he or she encountered the information. Consider your earliest childhood memory. How vivid is it? Are you actually recalling the event or some retelling of the event? How do you know you are not remembering either something you saw in a photograph or a story related to you by family members? Most people cannot remember specific episodic memories from before age 3. The absence of early episodic memories is called *childhood amnesia*.

This type of memory loss may be due to the early lack of linguistic capacity as well as to immature frontal lobes.

CRYPTOMNESIA An intriguing example of source misattribution is **cryptomnesia**. Here, a person thinks he or she has come up with a new idea. Instead, the person has retrieved an old idea from memory and failed to attribute the idea to its proper source (Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Calvini, 1999). For example, students who take verbatim notes while conducting library research sometimes experience the illusion that they have composed the sentences themselves. This mistake can later lead to an accusation of plagiarism. (Be especially vigilant about indicating verbatim notes while you are taking them; see **FIGURE 7.26.**)

George Harrison, the late Beatle, was sued because his 1970 song "My Sweet Lord" is strikingly similar to the song "He's So Fine," recorded in 1962 by the Chiffons. Harrison acknowledged having known "He's So Fine," but he vigorously denied having plagiarized it. He argued that with a limited number of musical notes available to all musicians, and an even smaller number of chord sequences appropriate for rock and roll, some compositional overlap is inevitable. In a controversial verdict, the judge ruled against Harrison.

Suggestibility Biases Memory

During the early 1970s, Elizabeth Loftus and her colleagues conducted important research on biased memories. The results demonstrated that people can develop biased memories when provided with misleading information. This error is the "sin" of **suggestibility**.

These studies generally involved showing research participants an event and then asking them specific questions about it. The different wordings of the questions altered the participants' memories for the event. In one experiment, a group of participants viewed a videotape of a car—a red Datsun—approaching a stop sign (Loftus, Miller, & Burns, 1978). A second group viewed a videotape of that same scene but with a yield sign instead of a stop sign. Each group was then asked, "Did another car pass the red Datsun while it was stopped at the stop sign?" Some participants in the second group claimed to have seen the red Datsun stop at the stop sign, even though they had seen it approaching a yield sign (see "Scientific Thinking: Loftus's Studies on Suggestibility").

In another experiment, Loftus and John Palmer (1974) showed participants a videotape of a car accident. When participants heard the word *smashed* applied to the tape, they estimated the cars to be traveling faster than when they heard *contacted*, *hit*, *bumped*, or *collided*. In a related study, participants saw a videotape of a car accident and then were asked about seeing the cars either *smash into* or *hit* each other. One week later, they were asked if they had seen broken glass on the ground in the video. No glass broke in the video, but nearly one-third of those who heard *smashed* falsely recalled having seen broken glass. Very few of those who heard *hit* recalled broken glass.

Are these sorts of laboratory analogues appropriate for studying eyewitness accuracy? After all, the sights and sounds of a traffic accident, for example, impress the event on the witness's awareness. Some evidence supports the idea that such memories are better in the real world than in the laboratory. One study examined the reports of witnesses to a fatal shooting (Yuille & Cutshall, 1986). All the witnesses had been interviewed by the police within two days of the incident. Months afterward, the researchers found the eyewitness reports, including the details, highly stable.



FIGURE 7.26 Cryptomnesia

The 2006 novel How Opal Mehta Got Kissed, Got Wild, and Got a Life became a possible case of cryptomnesia. The author, a student at Harvard University named Kaavya Viswanathan, admitted that several passages in the work were taken from books that she had read in high school. As a result, How Opal Mehta Got Kissed had to be recalled from bookstores. Perhaps Viswanathan, thinking she had come up with new material, had retrieved other people's writing from memory.

cryptomnesia

A type of misattribution that occurs when a person thinks he or she has come up with a new idea, yet has only retrieved a stored idea and failed to attribute the idea to its proper source.

suggestibility

The development of biased memories from misleading information.

Scientific Thinking —— Loftus's Studies on Suggestibility

HYPOTHESIS: People can develop biased memories when provided with misleading information.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 One group of participants were shown a videotape of a red Datsun approaching a stop sign.
- 2 Another group of participants were shown a videotape of a red Datsun approaching a yield sign.



3 Immediately after viewing the tapes, the participants were asked, "Did another car pass the red Datsun while it was stopped at the stop sign?"

RESULTS: Some participants who had seen the yield sign responded to the question by claiming they had seen the car at the stop sign.

CONCLUSION: People can "remember" seeing nonexistent objects.

SOURCE: Loftus, E. F., Miller, D. G., & Burns, H. J. (1978). Semantic integration of verbal information into a visual memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Learning and Memory, 4*, 19–31.

Given that emotional state affects memories, it makes sense for accounts from eyewitnesses to be more vivid than accounts from laboratory research participants. It remains unclear, however, how accurate those stable memories were in the first place. And by retelling their stories over and over again—to the police, to friends and relatives, to researchers, and so on—eyewitnesses might inadvertently develop stronger memories for inaccurate details. This alteration may occur because of reconsolidation.

People Have False Memories

How easily can people develop false memories? To consider this question, read aloud the following list: *sour, candy, sugar, bitter, good, taste, tooth, nice, honey, soda, chocolate, heart, cake, tart, pie.* Now put aside your book and write down as many of the words as you remember.

Researchers have devised tests such as this for investigating whether people can be misled into recalling or recognizing events that did not happen (Roediger & McDermott, 1995). For instance, without looking back at the list, answer this question: Which of the following words did you recall—*candy, honey, tooth, sweet, pie*?

If you recalled *sweet* or think you did, you have experienced a false memory, because *sweet* was not on the original list. All the words on that list are related to sweetness, though. This basic procedure produces false recollections reliably.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Ignoring Evidence (Confirmation Bias): How Accurate Are Eyewitnesses?

In the criminal justice system, one of the most powerful forms of evidence is the eyewitness account. Research has demonstrated that very few jurors are willing to convict an accused individual on the basis of circumstantial evidence alone. But add one person who says, "That's the one!" and conviction becomes much more likely. This effect occurs even if it is shown that the witness had poor eyesight or some other condition that raises questions about the testimony's accuracy.

Gary Wells and his colleagues (1998) studied 40 cases in which DNA evidence indicated that a person had been falsely convicted of a crime. They found that in 36 of these cases the person had been misidentified by at least one eyewitness (**FIGURE 7.27**). Eyewitness testimony's power is troubling. If eyewitnesses are told that another witness chose the same person, their confidence increases, even when the identifications were false (Luus & Wells, 1994). Why is eyewitness testimony so prone to error?

One major problem with eyewitness testimony is that people tend to remember evidence that confirms their beliefs. For instance, they may believe that certain types of people are more likely to commit crimes and therefore might be more likely to identify people with those characteristics as the likely criminal. Confirmation biases might even affect what potential eyewitnesses notice in the world around them.

The way police interview eyewitnesses may also be influenced by confirmation bias (Wells & Seelau, 1995). For instance, police often ask witnesses to identify the culprit by showing them a lineup of potential suspects or a photospread of faces. The officers can unintentionally influence the identification, such as by One major problem with eyewitness testimony is that people tend to remember evidence that confirms their beliefs.

asking more questions about their suspect than about the other potential culprits. Ideally, the person who conducts the lineup or presents the photos should not know the suspect's identity. That is, as noted in Chapter 2, the person running the "study" should be blind to the conditions of the study so as not to bias the results.

How good are observers, such as jurors, at judging eyewitnesses' accuracy? The general finding from a number of studies is that people cannot differentiate accurate eyewitnesses from inaccurate ones (Clark & Wells, 2008; Wells, 2008). The problem is that eyewitnesses who are wrong are just as confident as (or more confident than) eyewitnesses who are right. Eyewitnesses who vividly report trivial details of a scene are probably less credible than those with poor memories for trivial details. After all, evewitnesses to real crimes tend to be focused on the weapons or on the action. They fail to pay attention to minor details. Thus, strong confidence for minor details may be a cue that the memory is likely to be inaccurate or even false. Some people are particularly confident, however, and jurors find them convincina.



FIGURE 7.27 Eyewitness Accounts Can Be Unreliable

William Jackson (**left**) served five years in prison because he was wrongly convicted of a crime based on the testimony of two eyewitnesses. Note the similarities and differences between Jackson and the man on the right, the real perpetrator.

Moreover, people are often extremely confident in saying they have seen or heard the words they recollect falsely.

Now think back to when you were 5. Do you remember getting lost in a mall and being found by a kind old man who returned you to your family? No? Well, what if your family told you about this incident, including how panicked your parents were when they could not find you? According to research by Elizabeth Loftus, you might then remember the incident, even if it did not happen.

In an initial study, a 14-year-old named Chris was told by his older brother Jim, who was part of the study, about the "lost in the mall" incident. The context was a game called "Remember when. . . ." All the other incidents narrated by Jim were true. Two days later, when asked if he had ever been lost in a mall, Chris began reporting memories of how he felt during the mall episode. Within two weeks, he reported the following:

I was with you guys for a second and I think I went over to look at the toy store, the Kay-bee toy and uh, we got lost and I was looking around and I thought, "Uh-oh. I'm in trouble now." You know. And then I . . . I thought I was never going to see my family again. I was really scared you know. And then this old man, I think he was wearing a blue flannel shirt, came up to me. . . . [H]e was kind of old. He was kind of bald on top. . . . [H]e had like a ring of gray hair . . . and he had glasses. (Loftus, 1993, p. 532)

You might wonder if there was something special about Chris that made him susceptible to developing false memories. In a later study, however, Loftus and her colleagues used the same method to assess whether they could implant false memories in 24 participants. Seven of the participants falsely remembered events that had been implanted by family members who were part of the study. How could this be so?

When a person imagines an event happening, he or she forms a mental image of the event. The person might later confuse that mental image with a real memory. Essentially, the person has a problem monitoring the source of the image. To Chris, the memory of being lost in the mall became as real as other events in childhood. Children are particularly susceptible, and false memories—such as of getting fingers caught in mousetraps or having to be hospitalized—can easily be induced in them. It is unlikely, however, that false memories can be created for certain types of unusual events, such as receiving an enema (Pezdek & Hodge, 1999).

Repressed Memories Are Controversial

Over the past few decades, one of the most heated debates in psychological science has centered on repressed memories. On one side, some psychotherapists and patients claim that long-repressed memories for traumatic events can resurface during therapy. Recovered memories of sexual abuse are the most commonly reported repressed memories, and in the early 1990s there was a rash of reports about celebrities who had claimed to recover memories of such abuse. On the other side, memory researchers such as Elizabeth Loftus point out that little credible evidence indicates that recovered memories are genuine or at least sufficiently accurate to be believable. Part of the problem is best summarized by Daniel Schacter: "I am convinced that child abuse is a major problem in our society. I have no reason to question the memories of people who have always remembered their abuse, or who have spontaneously recalled previously forgotten abuse on their own. Yet I am deeply concerned by some of the

suggestive techniques that have been recommended to recover repressed memories" (Schacter, 1996, p. 251).

Schacter alludes to the frightening possibility that false memories for traumatic events have been implanted by well-meaning but misguided therapists. Convincing evidence indicates that methods such as hypnosis, age regression, and guided recall can implant false memories. In a few infamous examples, adults have accused their parents of abuse based on memories that the accusers later realized were not reality but the products of therapy (**FIGURE 7.28**).

Consider the dramatic case of Diana Halbrook. Halbrook came to believe that she had been abused. She also believed that she had been involved in satanic ritualistic abuse that involved killing a baby. When she expressed doubts to her therapist and her "support" group about these events' veracity, they told her she was in denial and not listening to "the little girl" within. After all, the other members of the support group had recovered memories of being involved in satanic ritualistic abuse. After Halbrook left her therapy group, she came to believe she had not been abused and had not killed. Tellingly, "though thousands of patients have 'remembered' ritual acts, not a single such case has ever been documented in the United States despite extensive investigative efforts by state and federal law enforcement" (Schacter, 1996, p. 269).

Understandably, people on both sides of the debate about repressed memories hold strong and passionate beliefs. While research shows that some therapeutic techniques seem especially likely to foster false memories, it would be a mistake to dismiss all adult reports of early abuse. Some abuse certainly could have occurred and been forgotten until later, and we cannot ignore the memories of actual victims. In the latter half of the 1990s, the incidence of recovered memories fell dramatically. However, we do not know whether this decline occurred because of less media attention to reports, because fewer people sought therapy to uncover their past memories, or because therapists stopped using these suggestive methods.



(b)



FIGURE 7.28 Fallibility of "Repressed Memory"

(a) Eileen Franklin (center) claimed to have recovered a previously repressed memory that her father had murdered a friend of hers two decades earlier.
(b) George Franklin was found guilty and imprisoned based on his daughter's testimony. Evidence subsequently emerged proving his innocence, and he was released.

Using Psychology in Your Life



Can I Ace Exams Without Cramming? What tools does psychology offer to help you study more effectively for the many exams you will take during college? As mentioned throughout this chapter, researchers have identified a number of methods that will help you remember information more easily. These methods include:

- 1. Distribute your learning. Cramming does not work. Instead, distribute your study sessions. Six sessions of 1 hour each are much better for learning than one 6-hour marathon. By spreading your studying over multiple sessions, you will retain the information for longer periods of time.
- 2. Elaborate the material. Imagine you and two friends decide to engage in a little friendly competition. The challenge is to memorize a list of 20 words. Friend A simply reads the words. Friend B, after reading each word, copies the word's definition from a dictionary. You, after reading each word, think about how the word is relevant to you. For example, you see the word rain and think, "My car once broke down in the middle of a torrential rainstorm." Who is most likely to remember that list of words later? You are. The deeper your level of processing, the more likely you are to remember material, particularly if you make the material personally relevant.

When you are learning something new, do not just read the material or copy down textbook descriptions. Think about the meaning of the material and how the concepts are related to other concepts. Organize the material in a way that makes sense to you, putting the concepts in your own words. Making the material relevant to you is an especially good way to process material deeply and therefore to remember it easily.

3. Practice. To make your memories more durable, you need to practice retrieving the information you are trying to learn. In fact, repeated testing is a more effective memorybuilding strategy than spending the same amount of time reviewing information you have already read. Most exams ask you to recall information. For example, you might be asked to provide a definition, apply a principle, or evaluate the relative strengths of two theories. To be successful at any of those tasks, you need to recall the relevant information. Thus, to prepare for the exam, you should practice recalling that information over and over again.

After reading a section in this or any other book, look back to the main section heading. If that heading is not already a question, rephrase it as a question. Test yourself by trying to answer the heading's question without looking at the text. Make use of in-chapter or end-of-chapter test questions by answering these questions as you encounter them. Then answer them again a couple of days later.

You can also develop your own practice materials. Write quiz questions. Make flash cards on pieces of card stock or on the computer (quizlet.com is a great Web site for creating and using flash cards). For example, on one side of the flash card, write a key term. On the other side, write the definition of that term. Then drill using the flash cards in both directions. Can you recall the term when you see the definition? Can you provide the definition when you see the term? A good way to drill is to study with another member of your class and take turns quizzing each other.

- **4. Overlearn.** With material in front of us, we are often overly confident that we "know" the information and believe we will remember it later. But recognition is easier than recall. Thus, if you want to be able to recall information, you need to put in extra effort when encoding the material. Even after you *think* you have learned it, review it again. Test yourself by trying to recall the material a few hours (and a few days) after studying. Keep rehearsing until you can recall the material easily.
- 5. Use verbal mnemonics. People use many types of mnemonics. For example, how many days are there in September? In the Western world, at least, most people can readily answer this question thanks to the old saying that begins *Thirty* days hath September. Children also learn i before e except after c and, along with that saying, "weird" is weird. By memorizing such phrases, we more easily remember things that are difficult to remember. Advertisers, of course, often create slogans or jingles that rely on verbal mnemonics so that consumers cannot help but remember them.

Students have long used acronyms to remember information, such as HOMES to remember the great lakes (Huron, Ontario, Michigan, Erie, and Superior). In studying Chapter 13, the acronym OCEAN will help you remember the five major personality traits: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Even complex ideas can be understood through simple mnemonics. For example, the phrase *cells that fire together wire together* is a way to remember long-term potentiation, the brain mechanism responsible for learning (discussed in Chapter 6).

6. Use visual imagery. Creating a mental image of material may help

you. Visual imagery strategies include doodling a sketch to help you link ideas to images, creating a flow chart to show how some process unfolds over time, or drawing a concept map that shows the relationships between ideas (**FIGURE 7.29**).

To use all of these strategies, you need to remember them. As a first step toward improving your study skills, create a mnemonic to remember these strategies!



FIGURE 7.29 Concept Map as Memory Aid

This concept map presents some ideas about-you guessed it-concept maps. When you need to visualize the relationships between different ideas about any subject, you can adapt this model. The ovals represent main ideas. The arrows indicate connections between ideas. A concept map can become far more complex. In fact, it can become as complex as you need it to be. For example, you might use lots of branches to represent an especially complex idea or color-code ideas that originated from different sources.

Summing Up

How Are Long-Term Memories Distorted?

- Memory bias is the changing of memories so they become consistent with current beliefs. Memory bias affects individuals, groups, and societies.
- Flashbulb memories are vivid episodic memories of important or emotionally arousing events. Flashbulb memories are recalled no more accurately than other episodic memories, although people often report them with more confidence.
- Source misattribution is the distortion of the circumstances surrounding a memory. The false fame effect, the sleeper effect, source amnesia, and cryptomnesia are examples.
- Eyewitness testimony is susceptible to error due to suggestibility, confirmation bias, and false memory.
- False memories are created as a result of the natural tendency to form mental representations of stories. These mental representations can then become incorporated as true episodic memories. Most people are susceptible to forming false memories of events that could have happened but not of events that are unlikely to have occurred.
- The legitimacy of repressed memories continues to be debated by contemporary psychologists, many of whom argue that such memories may be implanted by suggestive techniques.

Measuring Up

- Your gullible friend, who falls for every advertised "miracle" product, tells you about a new subliminal messaging system that lets you influence people to get whatever you want. You initially dismiss his claim, but weeks later you buy a set of books and tapes on subliminal messaging. This purchase illustrates which type of memory distortion?
 - a. source amnesia
 - b. false fame effect
 - c. cryptomnesia
 - **d.** sleeper effect
- 2. False memories are easily implanted even for events that are unlikely to happen.
 - a. true
 - b. false
- 3. Why is eyewitness testimony so inaccurate?
 - a. suggestibility
 - **b.** false memory
 - c. confirmation bias
 - d. all of the above
 - e. none of the above

ANSWERS: (1) d. (2) false. (3) d.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

7.1 What Is Memory?

- Memory Is the Nervous System's Capacity to Retain and Retrieve Usable Skills and Knowledge: Memory can be brief or long-lasting. Memory can also be inaccurate and biased.
- Memory Is the Processing of Information: According to the information processing model, memory is formed through three phases: encoding, storage, and retrieval. Encoded information is consolidated for storage through changes in synaptic connections that can last briefly or endure permanently. Once stored, information has to be retrieved to be remembered.
- Memory Is the Result of Brain Activity: Memory is distributed across many brain areas, including the hippocampus, medial temporal lobes, and sensory cortical areas. Long-term potentiation (LTP) offers one model of how synaptic connections may be strengthened during learning. Reconsolidation offers a model of how memories change during recall. This model suggests that during retrieval, events in the present can be incorporated to permanently alter past memories.

7.2 How Are Memories Maintained over Time?

- Sensory Memory Is Brief: Sensory memory detects environmental information from each of the five senses and holds it for less than 1 second. Sensory memory enables the brain to experience events in the world as a continuous stream. Iconic memory is visual sensory memory. Echoic memory is auditory sensory memory.
- Working Memory Is Active: Many memory researchers today describe short-term memory more accurately as working memory. This active processing system keeps a limited number of items available for use within 20 to 30 seconds. Working memory span can be increased by chunking, organizing information into meaningful units.
- Long-Term Memory Is Relatively Permanent: Long-term memory is a relatively permanent, virtually limitless storage space. Information is more likely to enter long-term memory if it is repeatedly rehearsed, deeply processed, or helps us adapt to an environment. Long-term memory is distinct from working memory, as evidenced by the serial position effect and case studies of individuals with certain types of brain damage.

7.3How Is Information Organized in
Long-Term Memory?

- Long-Term Storage Is Based on Meaning: According to the levels of processing model, deep encoding enhances memory. Maintenance rehearsal—repeating an item over and over—leads to shallow encoding and poor recall. Elaborative rehearsal links new information with old, leading to deeper encoding and better recall.
- Schemas Provide an Organizational Framework: Schemas are cognitive structures that help us perceive, organize, process, and use information. Schemas can lead to biased encoding based on cultural expectations.
- Information Is Stored in Association Networks: According to association network models, information in memory is stored in nodes, and nodes are connected via networks to many other nodes. Activating one node results in spreading activation of all associated nodes within the network.
- Retrieval Cues Provide Access to Long-Term Storage: Retrieval cues aid memory recall. Environmental stimuli, including internal state and external context, are encoded with experiences. Exposures to similar stimuli can serve as retrieval cues, demonstrating the encoding specificity principle. Mnemonics are learning strategies that can improve recall through the use of retrieval cues.

7.4 What Are the Different Long-Term Memory Systems?

- Explicit Memory Involves Conscious Effort: Long-term memory is divided into several systems. Explicit memory is a system that contains episodic memories for personal events and semantic memories for general knowledge about the world. Explicit memories are often called declarative memories because they require conscious effort to declare them as knowledge. Episodic and semantic memory are believed to be distinct systems, based on evidence from some victims of brain damage who demonstrate recall of semantic but not episodic memories.
- Implicit Memory Occurs Without Deliberate Effort: Implicit
 memories are automatic memories that are recalled without deliberate effort and without awareness. One type of implicit memory is
 procedural memory for how to perform a behavior. Other implicit
 memories can influence cognition, by making things seem more
 familiar in the absence of memory for the source of the information.
- **Prospective Memory Is Remembering to Do Something:** Prospective memory enables us to remember to do things in the future. Prospective memory can be both automatic (implicit) and controlled (leaving a reminder to perform a future task).

7.5 When Does Memory Fail?

- Transience Is Caused by Interference: Schacter (1999) identified seven sins of memory: Transience, absentmindedness, blocking, and persistence are related to forgetting and remembering, and misattribution, suggestibility, and bias are distortions of memory. While annoying, these sins are adaptive since they reduce memory for irrelevant information. Transience is memory decay that occurs over time. This decay is likely caused by retroactive and proactive interference from older and newer memories.
- Blocking Is Temporary: Blocking is a common retrieval failure that occurs when well-known information cannot be recalled, as in the "tip of the tongue phenomenon." Blocking is likely due to transitory interference from other information, since the forgotten information is usually recalled later in a different context.
- Absentmindedness Results from Shallow Encoding: Absentmindedness is forgetting caused by the shallow encoding of events. Inattention results in shallow encoding and absentmindedness.
- Amnesia Is a Deficit in Long-Term Memory: Amnesia is the inability to retrieve large amounts of information from longterm memory. Amnesia is not typical and is caused by brain injury, disease, or trauma. Retrograde amnesia is the loss of memories from the past. Anterograde amnesia is the inability to store new memories. Patient H.M. suffered from anterograde amnesia.
- Persistence Is Unwanted Remembering: Persistence is the continued recurrence of unwanted memories. Most people experience some persistent memories of unpleasant or embarrassing events. Highly stressful or traumatic events could cause significantly disruptive persistence, as in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Reconsolidation can reduce persistence but only for recent memories. HDAC inhibitors may help erase even remote persistent memories but additional research is needed. Further, erasing memories can pose ethical concerns.

7.6 How Are Long-Term Memories Distorted?

- People Reconstruct Events to Be Consistent: Memory bias is the changing of memories so they become consistent with current beliefs or attitudes. Memory bias tends to cast memories in a favorable light and is common among individuals, groups, and societies.
- Flashbulb Memories Can Be Wrong: Flashbulb memories are vivid episodic memories of surprising, consequential, or emotionally arousing events. Flashbulb memories are no more accurate than other episodic memories, although people typically report them with more confidence.
- People Make Source Misattributions: Source misattribution is memory distortion that occurs when people misremember the time, place, person, or circumstances involved with a memory. The false fame effect, the sleeper effect, source amnesia, and cryptomnesia are examples. Source amnesia is memory for an event without memory for the source. Cryptomnesia is the failure to remember the source of an idea, so the idea is remembered as original even though it may not be.
- Suggestibility Biases Memory: Suggestibility is the development of biased memories due to misleading information. Suggestibility could play a role in eyewitness testimony, as research shows that eyewitnesses can develop biased memories based on leading questions.
- People Have False Memories: False memories are created as a result of the natural tendency to form mental representations of stories. These mental representations can then become incorporated as true episodic memories. Most people are susceptible to forming false memories of events that could have happened but not of events that are unlikely to have occurred.
- Repressed Memories Are Controversial: Psychologists continue to debate the validity of repressed memories. Some therapeutic techniques are highly suggestive and may contribute to the occurrence of false repressed memories.

Key Terms

absentmindedness, p. 291 amnesia, p. 292 anterograde amnesia, p. 292 blocking, p. 291 chunking, p. 275 consolidation, p. 267 cryptomnesia, p. 297 declarative memory, p. 286 encoding, p. 267 encoding specificity principle, p. 282 episodic memory, p. 286 explicit memory, p. 286 flashbulb memories, p. 295 implicit memory, p. 286 long-term memory, p. 275 long-term potentiation (LTP), p. 268 memory, p. 266 memory bias, p. 295 mnemonics, p. 283 persistence, p. 293 proactive interference, p. 290 procedural memory, p. 287 prospective memory, p. 287 reconsolidation, p. 271 retrieval, p. 267 retrieval cue, p. 282 retroactive interference, p. 290 retrograde amnesia, p. 292 schemas, p. 280 semantic memory, p. 286 sensory memory, p. 272 serial position effect, p. 276 short-term memory, p. 273 source amnesia, p. 296 source misattribution, p. 296 storage, p. 267 suggestibility, p. 297 transience, p. 290 working memory, p. 273

Practice Test

- 1. Identify each of the following terms as either a memory phase or a memory system.
 - a. encoding
 - **b.** explicit memory
 - **c.** implicit memory
 - d. storage
 - e. procedural memory
 - f. retrieval
 - g. episodic memory
 - **h.** semantic memory
- **2.** Which of the following phenomena can lead to forgetting? Check all that are correct.
 - **a.** shallow encoding
 - **b.** elaborative encoding
 - c. blocking
 - $\textbf{d.} \ \text{proactive interference}$
 - $\textbf{e.}\ retroactive\ interference$
 - $\textbf{f.} \hspace{0.1 cm} \text{persistence}$
 - \mathbf{g} . suggestibility
- **3.** True or false: Flashbulb memories are always more accurate than normal memories.
- **4.** Which of the following phenomena can distort memory? Check all that apply.
 - a. source misattribution
 - **b.** blocking

- **c.** suggestibility
- **d.** persistence
- e. false fame effect
- f. sleeper effect
- g. absentmindedness
- **h.** cryptomnesia
- i. source amnesia
- **5.** Which of the following facts suggests that working memory and long-term memory are distinct memory processes?
 - **a.** Patient H.M. retained working memory without being able to form new long-term memories.
 - **b.** The primacy effect requires long-term memory, whereas the recency effect requires working memory.
 - **c.** The primacy effect requires working memory, whereas the recency effect requires long-term memory.
 - $\boldsymbol{d}.$ choices a and b
 - $\boldsymbol{e}.\ choices \, a \, and \, c$
- 6. How can capacity of working memory be increased?
 - a. blocking
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.\ maintenance\ rehearsal$
 - **c.** chunking
 - **d.** reconsolidation

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.





Ask & Answer

8.1 What Is Thought? 310

8.2 How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems? 316

8.3 What Is Language? 329

8.4 How Do We Understand Intelligence? 338



FIGURE 8.1 Extremely High Intelligence

At age 3, Alexis Martin was accepted to Mensa. Her membership in this group confirmed her unusual mental abilities.

Thinking, Language, and Intelligence

IN 2014, ALEXIS MARTIN OF ARIZONA did something unusual for a 3-year-old-she was accepted to Mensa, the international society for people with extremely high intelligence (**FIGURE 8.1**). As a 1 year old, her parents reported, Alexis had often recited the bedtime story from the night before word for word. When her father would try to pitch in, she would correct him. If he said, "Oh, yeah, and then the elephant was the one that was sharing," she would say, "No, Dad, it was the kangaroo that was sharing" (KABC-TV, 2014). By age 2, Alexis could read and had taught herself Spanish using her parents' iPad. "Anytime she learns a word," her father explained, "and just picks it up through anything, she never ever uses it in the incorrect context" (Schwartz, 2014). How was a child able to become so mentally sophisticated in only three years?

Now consider Phiona Mutesi, whose life is very different (**FIGURE 8.2**). Phiona grew up in an extremely poor neighborhood in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. In 2005, as a 9-year-old unable to read or write, sleeping on the streets, and desperate for food, Phiona traveled with her brother to meet a missionary who promised a bowl of porridge to any child who would try chess. Phiona developed a love for the game and discovered that she was very good at it. At age 15, she became her country's chess champion and the young-est African chess champion ever (Crothers, 2012). Chess requires reasoning about possible moves, solving tactical problems, and making good decisions. How was an uneducated child able to think so skillfully to become a master at the game?



FIGURE 8.2 Excellent Thinking Skills

At age 15, Phiona Mutesi (front left) became the youngest African chess champion ever. This achievement demonstrated her remarkable abilities to reason, solve problems, and make decisions.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between analogical and symbolic representations.
- Describe the defining prototype and exemplar models of concepts.
- Discuss the positive and negative consequences of using schemas and scripts.

cognition

The mental activity that includes thinking and the understandings that result from thinking.

thinking

The mental manipulation of representations of knowledge about the world.

analogical representations

Mental representations that have some of the physical characteristics of objects; they are analogous to the objects.

symbolic representations Abstract mental representations that do not correspond to the physical features of objects or ideas. We are contrasting Alexis Martin and Phiona Mutesi not because their backgrounds are so different but because intelligence and thinking are connected. A person's ability to show intelligence is linked to having excellent thinking skills. In addition, the third subject of this chapter, language, is connected to intelligence and thinking. Language involves the ability to put thoughts into words to communicate ideas.

This chapter considers the relationships between thinking, language, and intelligence. For example, in thinking, how do we represent ideas in our minds? How do we use these ideas to solve problems and to make decisions? How do we express thoughts-ideas, problems, solutions, decisions, and so on-in language? In turn, how does language shape thoughts? How do we explain differences in intelligence among people? Ultimately, how can exploring the nature of thought help us improve our thinking?

8.1 What Is Thought?

In exploring the nature of thought, this chapter draws on the findings of cognitive psychology. As defined in Chapter 1, cognitive psychology is the study of mental functions such as intelligence, thinking, language, memory, and decision making. In short, this branch of psychology studies **cognition**. Cognition can be broadly defined as the mental activity that includes thinking and the understandings that result from thinking.

Cognitive psychology was originally based on two ideas about thinking: (1) Knowledge about the world is stored in the brain in *representations*, and (2) **thinking** is the mental manipulation of these representations.

In other words, we use representations to understand objects we encounter in our environments. Thinking allows us to take information, consider it, and use it to build models of the world, set goals, and plan our actions accordingly.

Thinking Involves Two Types of Mental Representations

Representations are all around us. For example, a road map represents streets. A menu represents food options. A photograph represents part of the world. The challenge for cognitive psychologists is to understand the nature of our everyday *mental representations*. When are such representations similar to maps or pictures, but ones that are purely in our minds? And when are they more abstract, like language?

In thinking, we use two basic types of mental representations: analogical and symbolic. Together, both types of representations form the basis of human thought, intelligence, and the ability to solve the complex problems of everyday life.

An analogy compares two things that are similar in some way: "This is to that as that is to . . ." Similarly, **analogical representations** have some characteristics of actual objects. These representations are usually images. For example, maps are analogical representations that correspond to geographical layouts. A clock corresponds to the passage of time. Family trees depict relationships between relatives. A realistic drawing of a violin is an attempt to show that musical instrument from a particular perspective (**FIGURE 8.3A**). By contrast, **symbolic representations** are abstract. These representations are usually words, numbers, or ideas. They do not have relationships to physical qualities of objects in the world. For example, the word *violin* stands for a musical instrument (**FIGURE 8.3B**). There are no correspondences between what a violin looks like, what it sounds like, and the letters or sounds that make up the word *violin*.

In Chinese, the word for violin is



In Mandarin, it is pronounced *xiăotíqín*, or *shiaw ti chin*. Like the English word *violin*, it is a symbolic representation because it bears no systematic relationship to the object it names. The individual characters that make up the word stand for different parts of what makes a violin, but they are arbitrary. You cannot "see" any part of a violin in their shapes.

Mental maps rely on both analogical and symbolic representations. For example, most of us can pull up a visual image of Africa's contours even if we have never seen the actual contours with our own eyes. But to see the difference between these two types of mental representations, consider the following question about two U.S. cities: *Which is farther east, San Diego, California, or Reno, Nevada?*

If you are like most people (at least most Americans), you answered that Reno is farther east than San Diego. In fact, though, San Diego is farther east than Reno. Even if you formed an analogical representation of a map of the southwestern United States, your symbolic knowledge probably told you that a city on the Pacific Coast is always farther west than a city in a state that does not border the Pacific Ocean (**FIGURE 8.4**).

Concepts Are Symbolic Representations

As the previous example shows, thinking also reflects a person's general knowledge about the world. Say that you are shown a drawing of a small yellow dimpled object and asked to identify it. Your brain forms a mental image (analogical representation) of a lemon and provides you with the word *lemon* (symbolic representation). So far, so good.

However, in the real world your information would be incomplete. Picturing a lemon and knowing its name does not tell you what to do with a lemon. But knowing that parts of a lemon are edible helps you decide how to use the fruit. For example, you could make lemonade. Because you know that the lemon juice will taste strong and sour, you might dilute it with water and add sugar. In short, how you think about a lemon influences what you do with it.

One question of interest to cognitive psychologists is how we use knowledge about objects efficiently. As discussed in Chapter 7, our memory systems are organized so we can call up information quickly when we need it. The same principle holds true when we think about objects. For instance, if asked to say what a violin is, most people probably would begin by defining it broadly as a musical instrument.

Grouping things based on shared properties is called *categorization*. This mental activity reduces the amount of knowledge we must hold in memory and is therefore an efficient way of thinking. We can apply a category such as "musical instruments"—objects that produce music when played—automatically to all members of the category. Applying a category spares us the trouble of storing this same bit of knowledge over and over for each musical instrument. We have



FIGURE 8.3 Analogical Representations and Symbolic Representations

(a) Analogical representations, such as this picture of a violin, have some characteristics of the objects they represent. (b) Symbolic representations, such as the word *violin*, are abstract and do not have relationships to the objects.



FIGURE 8.4 Mental Maps and Symbolic Limitations

When you were asked whether San Diego or Reno is farther east, you probably formed a mental map-an analogical representation. However, your symbolic knowledge probably informed you that California is farther west than Nevada. Due to this knowledge, your mental map made you think that San Diego was west of Reno. You were not taking into account the way that northern Nevada juts west and Southern California juts east. But this real map, showing location relative to uniform lines of longitude, shows that symbolic knowledge was inadequate in this case.

Categorization:



to store unique knowledge for each member of a category, however. A violin "has four strings"; a guitar "has six strings" (FIGURE 8.5).

A **concept** is a category, or class, of related items (such as musical instruments or fruits). A concept consists of mental representations of those items. By allowing us to organize mental representations around a common theme, a concept ensures that we do not have to store every instance of an object individually. Instead, we store an abstract representation based on the properties particular items or particular ideas share.

Cognitive psychologists have described a number of ways that people form concepts, but there are two leading models. The prototype model, developed by Eleanor Rosch (1975), is based on a "best example." That is, when you think about a

category, you tend to look for a best example, or prototype, for that category. You average all members of a particular category to arrive at the prototype. Once you have the prototype, you categorize new objects based on how similar they are to the prototype. In this model, each member of a category varies in how much it matches the prototype (**FIGURE 8.6**).

By contrast, the **exemplar model** proposes that any concept has no single best representation (Medin & Schaffer, 1978). Instead, all the examples, or exemplars, of category members that you have actually encountered form the concept. For instance, your representation of dogs is made up of all the dogs you have seen in your life. If you see an animal in your yard, you compare this animal with your memories of other animals you have encountered. If it most closely resembles the dogs you have encountered (as opposed to the cats, squirrels, rats, and other animals), you conclude it is a dog (**FIGURE 8.7**).

How would you explain the difference between a dog and a cat to someone who has never seen either? Most dogs bark, but a dog is still a dog if it does not bark. It is still a dog if it loses its tail or a leg. The exemplar model assumes that, through experience, people form a fuzzy representation of a concept because there is no single representation of any concept. And the exemplar model accounts for the observation that some category members are more prototypical than others: The prototypes are simply members a person has encountered more often. This model points to one way in which people's thoughts are unique and formed by personal experience.



FIGURE 8.6

The Prototype Model of Concepts

According to the prototype model, some items within a group or class are prototypes. That is, they are more representative of that category than are other concepts in the category. For this reason, an orange seems to be the prototype of the category "fruit." By contrast, olives do not seem to be very representative of the category.



FIGURE 8.7 The Exemplar Model of Concepts

Quick-what animals are you looking at? According to the exemplar model, when you answer "dog" and "cat," your answers are based on all the representations you have ever seen of dogs and of cats.

FIGURE 8.5



We group objects into categories according to the objects' shared properties.

concept

A category, or class, of related items; it consists of mental representations of those items.

prototype model

A way of thinking about concepts: Within each category, there is a best example-a prototype-for that category.

exemplar model

A way of thinking about concepts: All members of a category are examples (exemplars); together they form the concept and determine category membership.

Schemas Organize Useful Information About Environments

The prototype and exemplar models explain how we classify objects we encounter and how we represent those objects in our minds. But how do we use such classifications and representations?

When we think about aspects of the world, our knowledge extends well beyond a simple list of facts about the specific items we encounter. Instead, a different class of knowledge enables us to interact with the complex realities of our environments. As we move through various real-world settings, we act appropriately by drawing on knowledge of what objects, behaviors, and events apply to each setting. Knowledge of how to behave in each setting relies on schemas. As discussed in Chapter 7, schemas help us perceive, organize, and process information. For example, at a casino black-jack table, it is appropriate to squeeze in between the people already sitting down. If a stranger tried to squeeze into a group of people dining together in a restaurant, however, the group's reaction would likely be quite negative.

We can use schemas for two reasons. First, common situations have consistent rules (e.g., libraries are quiet and contain books). Second, people have specific roles within situational contexts (e.g., a librarian behaves differently in a library than a reader does).

Unfortunately, schemas are like prototypes in that they sometimes have unintended consequences, such as reinforcing sexist or racist beliefs or other **stereotypes** (**FIGURE 8.8**). For example, when children and teens are asked to draw a scientist, very few draw women as scientists, because they unconsciously associate being a scientist with being male (Chambers, 1983). *Gender roles* are the prescribed behaviors for females and males. They represent a type of schema that operates at the unconscious level. In other words, we follow gender roles without consciously knowing we are doing so. One reason we need to become aware of the way schemas direct our thinking is that they may unconsciously cause us to think, for example, that women lack assertiveness and therefore are generally unsuited for positions of leadership.

Such gender role stereotypes can limit women's opportunities. In the past, orchestra conductors always chose men for principal positions because the conductors believed that women did not play as well as men. The schema of women as inferior musicians interfered with the conductors' ability to rate auditioners objectively when the conductors knew the names and sexes of the musicians. After recognizing this bias, the top North American orchestras began holding auditions with the musicians hidden behind screeens and their names withheld from the conductors (**FIGURE 8.9**). Since these methods were instituted, the number of women in orchestras has increased considerably (Goldin & Rouse, 2000).

One common type of schema helps us understand the sequence of events in certain situations. Roger Schank and Robert Abelson (1977) have referred to these schemas

(a)



(b)







FIGURE 8.8 Schemas and Stereotypes

(a) In 2008, many reactions to the presidential candidacies of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama reflected stereotypical schemas that exist in the United States. Stereotypes also affected opinions of Clinton's work as secretary of state during Obama's first term as president. In fact, they have influenced opinions about many aspects of Obama's presidency-as they may influence opinions if Hillary Clinton becomes the country's first female president. (b) Different countries have different schemas concerning gender, race, leadership, and many other issues. Shown here, in January 2013, are (left to right) Bolivia's president, Evo Morales; Brazil's president, Dilma Rousseff; Germany's chancellor, Angela Merkel; and Argentina's president, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner.

stereotypes

Cognitive schemas that allow for easy, fast processing of information about people based on their membership in certain groups.

FIGURE 8.9 Gender Roles Revised

(a) As shown in this photo of the New York Philharmonic in 1960, stereotypes about men's and women's abilities to play musical instruments often fueled the formation of all-male orchestras. (b) Changes in attitudes and in audition procedures have contributed to the diversification of talent in contemporary orchestras.


(b)



(c)



FIGURE 8.10 Script Theory of Schemas

According to this theory, we tend to follow general scripts of how to behave in particular settings. (a) At the movies, we expect to buy a ticket or print one if we bought it online. The cost of the ticket might depend on the moviegoer's age and the time of day. (b) Next, we might buy a snack before selecting a seat. Popcorn is a traditional snack at movie theaters. Caviar is not. (c) If we are part of a couple or group, we expect to sit with the other person in that couple or the people in the group. Although quiet talking might be appropriate before the movie, most of us expect talking to cease once the feature begins.

about sequences as *scripts*. A script is a schema that directs behavior over time within a situation. For example, *going to the movies* is a script most of us are familiar with (**FIGURE 8.10**).

Scripts dictate appropriate behaviors and the sequence in which they are likely to occur. What is viewed as appropriate is shaped by culture. Like other schemas, scripts might limit behavior in undesirable ways. The script for a heterosexual date, perhaps "dating" back to the automobile's invention, traditionally has involved the male driving and paying for dinner. In the 1950s, before the civil rights movement, a black person's script for boarding a bus in the southern United States involved going to the back of the bus.

The schemas and scripts that children learn are likely to affect their behavior when they are older. In one study, 120 children ages 2 to 6 were asked to use props and dolls to act out a social evening for adults (Dalton et al., 2005). As part of the role play, each child selected items from a miniature grocery store stocked with 73 products, including beer, wine, and cigarettes. Two of the most common items purchased were alcohol (by 62 percent) and cigarettes (by 28 percent). Children whose parents smoked or consumed alcohol were four times more likely to select these items. When

Scientific Thinking

Study of Preschoolers' Use of Cigarettes and Alcohol While Role Playing as Adults

HYPOTHESIS: Preschoolers' attitudes, expectations, and perceptions of alcohol and tobacco use will reflect scripts and schemas.

RESEARCH METHOD: Children used props and dolls to act out a social evening for adults. As part of the role play, each child selected items from a miniature grocery store stocked with 73 different products. The items on the shelves included beer, wine, and cigarettes.



RESULTS: Out of 120 children, 34 (28 percent) "bought" cigarettes, and 74 (62 percent) "bought" alcohol. Children were more likely to buy cigarettes if their parents smoked. They were more likely to buy beer or wine if their parents drank alcohol at least monthly or if they viewed PG-13 or R-rated movies.

CONCLUSION: Children's play behavior suggests they are highly attentive to the use and enjoyment of alcohol and tobacco and have well-established expectations about how cigarettes and alcohol fit into social situations. Observation of adult behavior, especially parental behavior, may influence preschool children to view smoking and drinking as normative in social situations. These perceptions may relate to behaviors adopted later in life.

SOURCE: Dalton, M. A., Bernhardt, A. M., Gibson, J. J., Sargent, J. D., Beach, M. L., Adachi-Mejia, A. M., Titus-Ernstoff, L. T., & Heatherton, T. F. (2005). "Honey, have some smokes." Preschoolers use cigarettes and alcohol while role playing as adults. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 159,* 854–859. the children were asked about the items they chose, alcohol and cigarettes were clearly included in most children's scripts for adult social life. One 4-year-old girl who selected cigarettes explained, "I need this for my man. A man needs cigarettes" (see "Scientific Thinking: Study of Preschoolers' Use of Cigarettes and Alcohol While Role Playing as Adults"). These examples highlight the need for us to think critically about whether our automatic beliefs and actions reflect the values we wish to hold. (This subject is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 12, "Social Psychology.")

If schemas and scripts are potentially problematic, why do they persist? Their adaptive value is that, because they usually work well, these shortcuts minimize the amounts of attention required to navigate familiar environments. They also allow us to recognize and avoid unusual or dangerous situations. Mental representations in all forms assist us in using information about objects and events in adaptive ways.

Summing Up

What Is Thought?

- Cognition is thinking and understanding-processes studied by cognitive psychologists.
- Knowledge about the world is stored in the brain as representations. This storage makes thought possible.
- Analogical representations are images that include characteristics of actual objects.
- Symbolic representations are abstract representations with no real connection to actual objects.
- Mental maps use both analogical and symbolic representations.
- Categorization is grouping objects or events based on shared properties, to increase thinking efficiency.
- Concepts are mental representations that categorize items around commonalities.
- According to the prototype model, the individual forms a concept around a category and then chooses a prototype that best represents the concept.
- According to the exemplar model, the individual forms a concept by combining all the examples (exemplars) of a category ever experienced by the individual.
- Schemas are categories used to organize information. Schemas usually work because situations and appropriate behaviors follow general rules.
- Scripts are schemas that guide behavior in specific situations, such as going to the movies.
- Schemas and scripts are adaptive because they minimize attentional requirements and help people avoid dangerous situations.
- A negative consequence of schemas and scripts is that they may reinforce stereotypes and biases.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether each of the following examples is an analogical or symbolic representation.
 - a. a watch with a standard watch face
 - b. a digital watch
 - c. a drawing of the information in a math problem
 - d. the word rouge, meaning "red" in French
 - e. a photograph of your best friend
 - f. a mental image of your best friend
 - g. a sketch of a football play
- 2. Which of the following is an advantage of scripts?
 - **a.** They provide quick and almost effortless guides to behavior in different situations.
 - **b.** They provide a flexible way of assessing different situations so each of us can decide how we want to behave in a given situation.

3. Which of the following is a disadvantage of scripts?

- a. They can reinforce undesirable behaviors.
- **b.** Because they emphasize independent analysis of every situation, they take time.

(3) a. They can reinforce undesirable behaviors.

ANSWERS: (1) a. analogical; b. symbolic; c. analogical; d. symbolic; e. analogical; f. analogical; g. analogical. (2) a. They provide quick and almost effortless guides to behavior in different situations.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between normative and descriptive models of decision making.
- Explain how heuristics influence decision making.
- Review strategies that facilitate insight and problem solving.

decision making Attempting to select the best alternative from among several options.

problem solving Finding a way around an obstacle to reach a goal.

normative decision theories Attempts to define how people should make decisions.

descriptive decision theories Attempts to predict how people actually make choices, not to define ideal choices.

FIGURE 8.11

316

Decision Making Versus Problem Solving

(a) If you have two options, you need to choose between them by making a decision. Perhaps you find yourself in the rather nice position of having to choose between Paris and Cancún.
(b) Once your decision is made, you must deal with circumstances. If a problem arises, you need to solve it. Perhaps you are wondering how to afford your plane ticket.

8.2 How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems?

The previous section discussed how we represent and organize knowledge of the world. But how do we use that knowledge to guide our daily actions? Throughout each day, we make decisions: what to eat for breakfast, which clothes to wear, which route to take to work or school, and so on. We scarcely notice making many of these decisions. Other decisions—such as which college to attend, whether to buy a house, and whom to marry—are much more consequential and require greater reflection. We also solve problems: how to get home if the car has broken down, how to earn extra money for a vacation, how to break bad news, and so on. Thinking enables us to use information to make decisions and solve problems.

In decision making, we select among alternatives. Usually, we identify important criteria and determine how well each alternative satisfies these criteria. For example, if you can go to either Paris or Cancún for spring break, you need to choose between them. What criteria would you use in making this decision (FIGURE 8.11A)? In problem solving, we overcome obstacles to move from a present state to a desired goal state. For example, if you decide to go to Paris but do not have enough money for a plane ticket, you have a problem. In general, you have a problem when a barrier or a gap exists between where you are and where you want to be (FIGURE 8.11B).

Decision Making Often Involves Heuristics

Many, if not most, decisions are made under some degree of risk—that is, uncertainty about the possible outcomes. People's calculations of risk can lead to some questionable decisions. Why do people pay to insure themselves against low-risk occurrences (fire insurance) and then pay to take on high-risk actions (lottery tickets)? Why do people who



want to lose weight sometimes choose to eat high-calorie junk food? Why do you go to a movie with your friend when you should be studying for a midterm? A rational observer, one who relies on logic, might conclude that people are puzzling decision makers.

Theories to explain decision-making processes tend to fall into two groups: normative theories and descriptive theories. **Normative decision theories** define how people should make decisions. According to normative theories, people always select the choice that yields the largest gain. The trouble with these models is that people are not always rational decision makers and do not always make the "optimal" decision. Very often, normative theories fail to predict what people will actually choose.

Descriptive decision theories aim to do just that, focusing on actual choices rather than ideal ones. According to descriptive theories, people often show biases in decision making. Even when they understand the probabilities, they have the potential to make irrational decisions.

One normative theory of how people should make decisions is *expected utility theory* (von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1947). According to this model, people make decisions by considering the possible alternatives and choosing the most desirable one. For instance, they might rank the alternatives in order of preference: Is each alternative more desirable, less desirable, or equally desirable compared with each competing alternative? If you were deciding what to do after graduation, you would list the alternatives. Suppose you were considering getting a job as a ski instructor (fun, free lift tickets, work outside, low income, not a long-term job), going to law school (more school, possibly boring, possible good future job with good income), or trying to make a living as a musician (love music, questionable future job market, questionable income). The rational way to decide would be to rank-order these alternatives and select the one with the most *utility*, or value, to you (**FIGURE 8.12**). But do people always choose the most desirable alternative?

Since expected utility theory was proposed, many puzzling behavior patterns inconsistent with it have been observed. In the 1970s, the researchers Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky (1979) realized that they themselves were guilty of decisions that were not predicted by expected utility theory and were not, after consideration, rational. They were curious about why, if presented with those same choices again, they would both make the same less-than-rational decisions. They went on to spearhead descriptive research on decision making, and for this research they won the 2002 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences.

In examining how people make everyday decisions, Kahneman and Tversky identified several common mental shortcuts (rules of thumb, or informal guidelines), known as **heuristics**, which are fast and efficient strategies that people typically use to make decisions.

Heuristic thinking often occurs unconsciously: We are not aware of taking these mental shortcuts. Indeed, since the processing capacity of the conscious mind is limited, heuristic processing is useful partly because it requires minimal cognitive resources and allows us to focus our attention on other things. Heuristic thinking can be adaptive in that under some circumstances it is beneficial to make quick decisions rather than weigh all the evidence before deciding. Why do some people always want to buy the secondcheapest item, no matter what they are buying? They believe that by using this strategy, they save money but avoid purchasing the worst products. Other people want to buy only brand names. Such quick rules of thumb often provide reasonably good decisions, with outcomes that are acceptable for the individuals.

As Tversky and Kahneman have demonstrated, however, heuristics can also result in biases, and biases may lead to errors or faulty





FIGURE 8.12 Expected Utility Theory

If you had to pick one of these careers, how would you choose? According to expected utility theory, you would choose the most desirable career-the one with the most value to you.

heuristics

Shortcuts (rules of thumb or informal guidelines) used to reduce the amount of thinking that is needed to make decisions.



"I'll be happy to give you innovative thinking. What are the guidelines?"



FIGURE 8.13 Anchoring

Suppose you are buying a used car. (a) The salesperson describes this car as having high mileage and being slightly rusty, dependable, fuel efficient, and clean. (b) The same salesperson describes this one as being clean, fuel efficient, dependable, and slightly rusty and having high mileage. Which car would you choose? Most people choose (b), even though both descriptions consist of identical words in different orders.

anchoring

The tendency, in making judgments, to rely on the first piece of information encountered or information that comes most quickly to mind.

framing

In decision making, the tendency to emphasize the potential losses or potential gains from at least one alternative.



FIGURE 8.14 Loss Aversion

Suppose you bought a stock. **(lower left)** How bad would you feel if the value dropped and you sold the stock for a loss of \$1,000? **(upper right)** By contrast, how good would you feel if the value rose and you sold the stock for a profit of \$1,000? For most people, potential losses affect decision making more than potential gains do.

decisions. Indeed, heuristic thinking was identified in Chapter 1 as one of the principal biases in psychological reasoning that can lead people to erroneous beliefs. Here we consider four common heuristics that bias decision making: relative comparisons (anchoring and framing), availability, representativeness, and affective. We also consider what happens when people have too many alternatives to choose from.

RELATIVE COMPARISONS (ANCHORING AND FRAMING) People often use comparisons to judge value. For example, you will feel much better with a score of 85 on an exam if you find out the class average was 75 than if you find out it was 95. In making relative comparisons, people are influenced by anchoring and framing.

An *anchor* serves as a reference point in decision making. **Anchoring** occurs when, in making judgments, people rely on the first piece of information they encounter or on information that comes most quickly to mind (Epley & Gilovich, 2001). For example, suppose people are asked to estimate how many residents Chicago has. Their answers depend on how the question is phrased. If they are asked if the population is more or less than 200,000, they provide a smaller number of residents than if they are asked if the population is more or less than 5 million (Jacowitz & Kahneman, 1995).

After making an initial judgment based on an anchor, people compare subsequent information to that anchor and adjust away from the anchor until they reach a point where the information seems reasonable. People often adjust insufficiently, leading to erroneous judgments. Suppose you are told that Scott is intelligent, industrious, impulsive, critical, stubborn, and envious. By contrast, Chris is envious, stubborn, critical, impulsive, industrious, and intelligent. Would you like Scott or Chris more? People generally view Scott more favorably than Chris (Asch, 1946). Even though the descriptions are identical, people are influenced by the order of presentation and adjust their impressions based on the initial anchors that Scott is intelligent and Chris is envious. Anchoring effects can be found in many types of decisions (**FIGURE 8.13**).

The way information is presented can alter how people perceive their choices. Would you rather take a course where you have a 70 percent chance of passing or one

where you have a 30 percent chance of failing? Even though the chances of passing (or failing) are identical, many students would choose the first course. This decision is an example of **framing**. This term refers to the tendency to emphasize the potential losses or potential gains from at least one alternative in decision making. Research on framing indicates that when people make choices, they may weigh losses and gains differently. They are generally much more concerned with costs than with benefits, an emphasis known as *loss aversion* (Kahneman, 2007; **FIGURE 8.14**).

Consider the following problem: Imagine that the United States is preparing for the outbreak of a disease that is projected to kill about 600 people. Two alternative programs are proposed to combat the disease. According to scientific estimates, if Program A is chosen, 200 of the 600 people will be saved. If Program B is chosen, there is a one-third probability that all 600 people will be saved and a two-thirds probability that nobody will be saved. Each program could potentially save 200 people, but which program would you choose? When asked a question similar to this, 72 percent of respondents chose Program A (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). Respondents clearly preferred Program A's sure gain compared to Program B's chance of a larger gain but an additional chance of no gain.

Now consider these alternatives: If Program A is chosen, 400 people will die. If Program B is chosen, there is a one-third probability that nobody will die and a two-thirds probability that 600 people will die. When asked a question like this one, 78 percent of respondents chose Program B. In this case, most people felt Program A's certain death of 400 people was a worse

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Making Relative Comparisons (Anchoring and Framing): Why Is It Hard to Resist a Sale?

E very weekend, the local department store seems to have a gigantic sale. Bold advertisements proclaim, "80% off!" That discount sounds like a great deal. When you shop around, however, you discover that the store's regular prices are substantially higher than the competition's. The sale simply lowers prices to match the going market rate. Why would the store use such an obvious tactic?

People love to think they are getting a bargain, so having high regular prices and big discounts is a very effective marketing strategy (Darke & Dahl, 2003). In 2012, the department store chain JCPenney tried to break this mold by ending weekly sales and offering "fair and square" everyday low prices for their merchandise. Shoppers quit going to JCPenney, and the executive who brought in the strategy was fired. Shoppers want their discounts. JCPenney is back to emphasizing weekly sales.

Advertisers exploit the tendency to view benefits and costs differently. Suppose a gallon of gasoline costs \$4.05. You get a discount of \$.10 a gallon if you pay with cash. Sound good? Now suppose gasoline is \$3.95 a gallon and you pay a surcharge of \$.10 per gallon for using a credit card. The cost is identical but fewer people are willing to pay the surcharge than to get the discount (FIGURE 8.15). Whether a deal is considered good depends on the type of comparison people are making. Aware of framing's powerful effects and borrowing from Kahneman and Tversky's work, advertisers usually frame the decision in terms of a

Anchoring and framing are among the major weapons that marketers use to increase sales.

discount (money gained) instead of a surcharge (money lost).

Framing influences many consumer decisions. In the grocery store, people are much more likely to purchase meat that is described as 75 percent lean than food described as 25 percent fat (Sanford, Fay, Stewart, & Moxey, 2002). Labels such as low-fat or low-carb are often used to hide the fact that products are respectively high in sugar or fat. Framing can also be used to promote healthy behavior. Beachgoers presented with information that frames sunscreen in terms of its benefits are more likely to request sunscreen than those who are told about the hazards of sunburn (Detweiler, Bedell, Salovey, Pronin, & Rothman, 1999). The point is that positively framed information is more influential in changing behavior than negatively framed information.

Anchoring also affects consumer decisions. The social psychologist Robert Cialdini (2008) describes a technique commonly used by real estate agents: When showing properties to prospective home buyers, real estate agents often start with an overpriced run-down house they have little intention of selling. With that "shack" as an anchor, buyers

are more impressed with the houses they subsequently see and therefore become more likely to make offers. Car dealers often wait until the price of a new car has been agreed upon before suggesting additional options that seem small by comparison but might add up to several hundred more dollars. In other words, once a buyer agrees to pay \$20,000 for a car, that price becomes the anchor against which the cost of options seems small. Why would a restaurant list at least one really expensive item on the menu? No one may order that item, but its price makes other prices look reasonable.

Anchoring and framing are among the major weapons that marketers use to increase sales. As a critical thinker aware of how psychological reasoning can be exploited, you should always consider the basis of comparisons when you are making purchases.



FIGURE 8.15 Benefits Versus Costs

This presentation of the gas price makes it seem attractive to pay in cash to get the discount. What if, instead, the sign stated that if you use a credit card to pay for the gas, there would be an additional charge of five cents per gallon? How would your view of the station change?

alternative than Program B's likely but uncertain death of 600 people. A sure loss was less appealing than an uncertain but possibly greater loss. The probabilities and outcomes in this second scenario are identical to those in the first, however. It seems that losses weigh more heavily than gains in decision making.

Is *r* more commonly the first letter in a word or the third letter?

*r*___?

How would you determine the answer?

FIGURE 8.16

The Availability Heuristic

If you are like most people, you thought of words with *r* as the first letter (such as *right* and *read*). Then you thought of words with *r* as the third letter (such as *care* and *sir*). Because words with *r* at the beginning came most easily to mind, you concluded that *r* is more often the first letter of a word. *R* is much more likely, however, to be the third letter in a word.

availability heuristic

Making a decision based on the answer that most easily comes to mind.

representativeness heuristic Placing a person or object in a category if that person or object is similar to one's prototype for that category.

affective forecasting The tendency for people to overestimate how events will make them feel in the future. **AVAILABILITY HEURISTIC** The **availability heuristic** is the general tendency to make a decision based on the answer that comes most easily to mind. In other words, when we think about events or make decisions, we tend to rely on information that is easy to retrieve. Recall the study on false fame discussed in Chapter 7, "Attention and Memory." Some participants read aloud a list of made-up names. The next day, those names were available in those participants' memories, even if the participants could not d where they heard the names.

have said where they heard the names. Based on their familiarity with the names, the participants decided the people were famous.

Consider this question: In most industrialized countries, are there more farmers or more librarians? If you live in an agricultural area, you probably said farmers. If you do not live in an agricultural area, you probably said librarians. Most people who answer this question think of the librarians they know (or know about) and the farmers they know (or know about). If they can retrieve many more instances in one category, they assume it is the larger category. In fact, there are many more farmers than librarians in most industrialized countries. Because people who live in cities and suburbs tend not to meet many farmers, they are likely to believe there are more librarians. Information that is readily available biases decision making (**FIGURE 8.16**).

REPRESENTATIVENESS HEURISTIC The representativeness heuristic is the tendency to place a person or object in a category if the person or object is similar to our prototype for that category. We use this heuristic when we base a decision on the extent to which each option reflects what we already believe about a situation. For example, say that Helena is intelligent, ambitious, and scientifically minded. She enjoys working on mathematical puzzles, talking with other people, reading, and gardening. Would you guess that she is a cognitive psychologist or a postal worker? Most people would use the representativeness heuristic: Because her characteristics seem more representative of psychologists than of postal workers, they would guess that Helena is a cognitive psychologist.

But the representativeness heuristic can lead to faulty thinking if we fail to take other information into account. One very important bit of information is the *base rate*. This term refers to how frequently an event occurs. People pay insufficient attention to base rates in reasoning. Instead, they focus on whether the information presented is representative of one conclusion or another. For example, there are many more postal workers than cognitive psychologists, so the base rate for postal workers is higher than that for cognitive psychologists. Therefore, any given person, including Helena, is much more likely to be a postal worker. Although Helena's traits may be more representative of cognitive psychologists overall, they also likely apply to a large number of postal workers.

AFFECTIVE HEURISTIC People often decide to do things they believe will make them happy, whereas they avoid doing things they believe they will regret. Expectations for how decisions will change affective (or emotional) states in the future are powerful forces in decision making. Unfortunately, people are poor at **affective forecasting**—predicting how they will feel about things in the future (Gilbert & Wilson, 2007). Even more important, people generally do not realize how poor they are at predicting their future feelings.

People overestimate how happy they will be for positive events, such as getting married, having children, or having their candidate win an election or their team win a championship (Dolan & Metcalfe, 2010; **FIGURE 8.17**). Likewise, they overestimate the extent to which negative events—such as breaking up with a romantic partner, losing a job, or being diagnosed with a serious medical illness—will affect them in the future

(Gilbert, Pinel, Wilson, Blumberg, & Wheatley, 1998; Wilson & Gilbert, 2003). It seems that when we think about getting married, we focus on the love we feel for our partner right now. When we think about the death of a loved one, we consider only the immediate, intense pain. Over time, however, life continues, with its daily joys and sorrows. The pleasure of the gain or the pain of the loss becomes less prominent against the backdrop of everyday events.

After a negative event, people engage in strategies that help them feel better (Gilbert & Wilson, 2007). For example, they rationalize why the event happened, and they minimize the event's importance. These strategies are generally adaptive in that they protect the sufferers' mental health. After all, making sense of an event helps reduce its negative emotional consequences. Even after suffering anguish because of a negative event, most people will adapt and return to their typical positive outlook.

People have an amazing capacity for manufacturing happiness. One study found that people who had been para-

lyzed were more optimistic about their futures than were people who had won lotteries (Brickman, Coates, & Janoff-Bulman, 1978). Generally, however, people seem unaware that they can find positive outcomes from tragic events. When asked to predict how they will feel following a tragic event, people overestimate their pain and underestimate how well they will cope with the event (Gilbert, Morewedge, Risen, & Wilson, 2004).

THE PARADOX OF CHOICE In modern society, many people believe that the more options they have, the better. But when too many options are available, especially when all of them are attractive, people experience conflict and indecision. Although some choice is better than none, some scholars note that too much choice can be frustrating, unsatisfying, and ultimately debilitating (Schwartz, 2004).

In a study by Sheena Iyengar and Mark Lepper (2000), shoppers at a grocery store were presented with a display of either 6 or 24 varieties of jam to sample. The shoppers also received a discount coupon for any variety of jam. The greater variety attracted more shoppers, but it failed to produce more sales: 30 percent of those with the limited choice bought jam, whereas only 3 percent with the greater variety did so (**FIGURE 8.18**). In a second study, the investigators found that people choosing among a small number of chocolates were more satisfied with the ones they selected than were people who chose from a wider variety.

Problem Solving Achieves Goals

Problem solving is using available information to achieve a goal. Problems come in two forms. Some are easily defined, such as: How do you get into your car (goal) when you have locked the keys inside (problem)? How can you make enough money (problem) to spend your spring break somewhere nice (goal)? Other problems, perhaps more commonly, are less easily defined: What type of job should you aim for?

This section examines some of the best ways to solve problems. For the purposes of this discussion, a person has a problem when he or she has no simple and direct means of attaining a particular goal. To solve the problem, the person must make a plan to reach an attainable goal, devise strategies to overcome obstacles to carry out the plan, monitor progress to keep on track, and evaluate the results to see if the goal has been attained. How the person thinks about the problem can help or hinder the person's ability to find solutions.



FIGURE 8.17

Faulty Affective Forecasting In this study, diehard soccer fans were asked to predict their happiness if their team won or lost the contest between Manchester United and Chelsea for the 2008 UEFA Champions League Soccer Final. Before the match, there were no differences in happiness. Manchester United fans expected to be much happier than Chelsea fans if Manchester won the game. Seven days after Manchester won, however, their fans were less happy than they expected to be, whereas Chelsea fans were much happier than they expected to be.





FIGURE 8.18 Too Much Choice

As part of lyengar and Lepper's study, displays presented (a) 6 jams and (b) 24 jams. Bar-code labels on the jars indicated whether people bought more from one group of jams or the other. The results indicated that having many possibilities can make it difficult to choose one item.

Using Psychology in Your Life



How Should I Approach Major Decisions? Making your own decisions is one of the luxuries of adulthood. The flip side of this benefit is that making important life decisions can be stressful. What if you make the wrong decision? What if your decision has unanticipated consequences? Cognitive psychologists study how people make small and big decisions. Some cognitive researchers are particularly interested in college students' thinking about important academic decisions, such as choosing a major.

Two approaches to decision making are "maximizing" and "satisficing." Maximizers seek to identify the perfect choice among a set of options, whereas satisficers seek to find a "good enough" choice that meets their minimum requirements (Schwartz et al., 2002). It turns out that maximizers, compared to satisficers, tend to select the objectively best choice, but those choices bring them less happiness. For example, college graduates who are maximizers land jobs with much higher salaries than their satificing counterparts, but in the long run they are also less satisfied with their career choices (lyengar, Wells, & Schwartz, 2006).

Jennifer Kay Leach and Erika A. Patall (2013) wanted to know if these two different approaches to decision making were related to college students' tendency to second-guess their chosen majors as well as their satisfaction with their choices. The researchers surveyed 378 juniors and seniors, all of whom had declared a major. Maximizers reported engaging in more upward counterfactual

thinking than satisficers. This sort of thinking means considering how things might have turned out better if the choosers had made different decisions. For example, the maximizers in this study more strongly endorsed selfreport items such as "I often consider how other majors would have allowed me more career opportunities/options." Such thinking was related to lower satisfaction with the chosen major. Multiple studies point to the same general pattern: Maximizers go through a lot of effort to make good choices, but they are ultimately unhappy with the choices they make. To find out if you are a maximizer, complete the maximization scale in FIGURE 8.19.

If you are a maximizer, are you doomed to always second-guess your decisions? Will you always be dissatisfied? Not necessarily. Ultimately, you get to decide how you will feel about your decision making.

The psychologist Barry Schwartz leads a research team that has conducted many studies on maximizers. In his book *The Paradox of Choice* (2004), Schwartz offers advice we can all use to navigate choices. Here are some of his ideas applied to the decision of which major to select in college:

 Approach the decision with the mindset of a satisficer. Try to articulate your minimum requirements for a good major. You might, for instance, seek a major that would both allow you

ORGANIZATION OF SUBGOALS One approach to the study of problem solving is to identify people's steps in solving particular problems. Researchers examine how people proceed from one step to the next, the typical errors people make in negotiating tricky or unintuitive steps, and how people decide on more efficient (or, in some cases, less efficient) solutions. For example, in the classic Tower of Hanoi problem, participants are given a board that has a row of three pegs on it. The peg on one end has three disks stacked on it in order of size: small on top, medium in the middle, large on the bottom. The task is to move the disks, one at a time, to the peg on the other end without putting a larger disk on a smaller disc. Solving the problem requires breaking the task into *subgoals*, which are shown in **FIGURE 8.20.**

Using subgoals is important for many problems. Suppose a high school senior has decided she would like to become a doctor. To achieve this goal, she first needs to attain the more immediate subgoal of being admitted to a good college. To get into to learn about people from different cultures and help you develop business skills. You do not need to find the one best major for achieving your goals. You need to choose a major that will set you on the right path.

- 2. Promise yourself that you will stick with your decision. Schwartz calls this promise "irreversibility." We tend to be less satisfied with our decisions if we know we can change them. Know that you picked your major for a good reason and accept that decision. Schwartz notes, "The only way to find happiness and stability in the presence of seemingly attractive and tempting options is to say, 'I'm simply not going there. I've made my decision. ... I'm not in the market-end of story''' (p. 299).
- 3. Have realistic expectations. Sure, you will probably have to take some classes that you do not enjoy. A couple of your professors might even be boring. Tests and other requirements may challenge your limits. But such drawbacks will be true of all majors. As with any decision, you will experience dips in satisfaction.
- 4. Practice an attitude of gratitude. Schwartz finds that people who actively reflect on the good that has come from their decisions are more satisfied with those decisions than people who linger on the bad. Each semester, as you get ready to register

- 1. No matter how satisfied I am with my job, it's only right for me to be on the lookout for better opportunities.
- 2. When I am in the car listening to the radio, I often check other stations to see if something better is playing, even if I am relatively satisfied with what I'm listening to.
- 3. When I watch TV, I channel surf, often scanning through the available options even while attempting to watch one program.
- 4. I treat relationships like clothing: I expect to try a lot on before finding the perfect fit.
- 5. I often find it difficult to shop for a gift for a friend.
- Renting videos is really difficult. I'm always struggling to pick the best one. 6.
- 7. When shopping, I have a hard time finding clothing that I really love.
- I'm a big fan of lists that attempt to rank things (the best movies, the best 8 singers, the best athletes, the best novels, etc.).
- 9. I find that writing is very difficult, even if it's just writing a letter to a friend, because it's so hard to word things just right. I often do several drafts of even simple things.
- 10. I never settle for second best.
- 11. Whenever I'm faced with a choice, I try to imagine what all the other possibilities are, even ones that aren't present at the moment.
- 12. I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.
- No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself. 13.

FIGURE 8.19 **Maximization Scale**

For each item on this list, award yourself anywhere from 1 point (for "completely disagree") to 7 points (for "completely disagree"). Then add up your points. People who get high scores on this scale are considered maximizers.

for the next semester's classes, list 5-10 things you are grateful for related to your major: something surprising you learned, an eve-opening experience you had because of a class, a provocative conversation you had with an engaged professor, a new friend you met in class, and so on.

Finally, whether you are choosing a major or making another major decision, keep in mind that multiple perfectly fine options likely exist. Thinking carefully about your choices and making a "good enough" decision might help free your mind and give you time to engage in other, equally worthwhile pursuits.

a good college, she needs to earn good grades in high school. This additional subgoal would require developing good study skills and paying attention in class. When you are facing a complex problem and the next step is not obvious, identifying the appropriate steps or subgoals and their order can be challenging. How do you overcome obstacles to problem solving?

CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES Have you heard about the new restaurant that opened on the moon? It has great food but no atmosphere! The premise of this joke is that atmosphere means one thing when interpreted in light of the restaurant schema but something else in the context of the moon. Humor often violates an expectation, so "getting" the joke means rethinking some common representation. In problem solving, too, we often need to revise a mental representation to overcome an obstacle. This skill is exactly what is needed to solve crossword puzzles.

The task is to move the disks to the peg on the other end. You can move only one disk at a time. You cannot place a larger disk on top of a smaller disk.

The solution is presented below. Before you look at it, simulate the task by stacking three coins of unequal size. For example, if you have U.S. coins, use a penny, a nickel, and a quarter:



the first peg.The middle disk is moved to the farthest peg.

8 Finally, the smallest disk is moved to the farthest peg.

FIGURE 8.20 The Tower of Hanoi Problem

restructuring

A new way of thinking about a problem that aids its solution.

mental sets Problem-solving strategies that have worked in the past. One strategy that problem solvers commonly use to overcome obstacles is **restructuring** the problem. This technique consists of representing the problem in a novel way. Ideally, the new view reveals a solution that was not visible under the old problem structure. In one now-famous study, Scheerer (1963) gave each participant a sheet of paper that had a square of nine dots on it. The task was to connect all nine dots using at most four straight lines, without lifting the pencil off the page (**FIGURE 8.21**).

In trying to solve a problem, we commonly think back to how we have solved similar problems. We tend to persist with previous strategies, or **mental sets**. These established ways of thinking are often useful, but sometimes they make it difficult to find the best solution.

In 1942, the Gestalt psychologist Abraham Luchins demonstrated a classic example of a mental set. He asked participants to measure out specified amounts of water, such as 100 cups, using three jars of different sizes. Say that jar A held 21 cups, jar B held 127 cups, and jar C held 3 cups. The solution to this problem was to fill jar B, use jar A to remove 21 cups from jar B's 127 cups, then use jar C to remove 3 cups of water twice, leaving 100 cups in jar B. The structure to the solution is (B - A) - 2(C). Participants were given many of these problems. In each problem, the jar sizes and goal measurements differed, but the same formula applied.

Then participants were given another problem: They were given jar A, which held 23 cups; jar B, which held 49 cups; and jar C, which held 3 cups. They were asked to measure out 20 cups. Even though the simplest solution was to fill jar A and use jar C to remove 3 cups from jar A's 23, participants usually came up with a much more complicated solution that involved all three jars. Having developed a mental set of using three jars in combination to solve this type of problem, they had trouble settling on the simpler solution of using only two jars. Surprisingly, when given a problem with a simple solution for which the original formula did not work, many participants failed to solve the problem most efficiently (**FIGURE 8.22**).





FIGURE 8.21

Scheerer's Nine-Dot Problem Try to connect the dots by using at most four straight lines, without lifting your pencil off the page. Solutions appear in Figure 8.21b, on p. 326.

Desired water Jar A Jar B Jar C Trial 1 100 21 127 3 48 Trial 2 8 18 11 Trial 3 62 10 80 4 Trial 4 31 20 4 59 Trial 5 29 20 57 4 Trial 6 20 23 49 3 Trial 7 25 28 76 3

FIGURE 8.22 Luchins's Mental Set

One type of mental set results from having fixed ideas about the typical functions of objects. Such functional fixedness can also create difficulties in problem solving. The fictional television character MacGyver was famous for overcoming functional fixedness by performing amazing feats using everyday objects, such as his trusted Swiss Army knife. Perhaps you have used duct tape for a purpose not originally intended by its creators (FIGURE 8.23).

To overcome functional fixedness, the problem solver needs to reinterpret an object's potential function. One research example involves the candle problem, developed by Karl Duncker (1945). Participants are in a room with a bulletin board on the wall. They are given a candle, a box of matches, a box of tacks, and the following challenge: Using only these objects, attach the candle to the bulletin board in such a way that the candle can be lit and *burn properly*. Most people have difficulty in coming up with an adequate solution (FIGURE 8.24).

If people reinterpret the function of the box, however, a solution emerges. The side of the box can be tacked to the bulletin board so that it creates a stand. The candle is then placed on the box and lit (FIGURE 8.25). In general, participants have difficulty viewing the box as a possible stand when it is being used as a container for the matches. When participants are shown representations of this problem with an empty box and the matches on the table next to it, they solve the problem somewhat more easily.

CONSCIOUS STRATEGIES Restructuring mental representations is a valuable way to develop insight into solving a problem. Still, we often find it difficult to enact this strategy consciously when we are stuck. Fortunately, we can always apply other strategies that may help lead to a solution.

One such strategy is using an *algorithm*. An algorithm is a guideline that if followed correctly will always yield the correct answer. If you wanted to know the area of a rectangle, for example, you could get the right answer by multiplying its length times its width. This formula is an algorithm because it will always work. Similarly, if you follow a recipe exactly, it should always yield pretty much the same outcome. Suppose, however, you substitute one ingredient for another: You use oil instead of the butter that the recipe calls for. Here, you are using a heuristic that one type of fat is equal to another. Your result will likely be fine, but there is no guarantee.



"Never, ever, think outside the box."

functional fixedness In problem solving, having fixed ideas about the typical functions of objects.

(a)



FIGURE 8.23 Overcoming Functional Fixedness

(a) Some people may think of duct tape as something used only for mending ducts. (b) Thinking this way means missing out on the opportunity to use the material more creatively, such as making an outfit for the prom.





FIGURE 8.24 Duncker's Candle Problem Try to solve this problem: How would you attach the candle to the bulletin board on the wall using only the matches and tacks?

325



FIGURE 8.21b Solutions to Scheerer's Nine-Dot Problem

Most participants consider only solutions that fit within the square formed by the dots. They tend to think that the problem includes that restriction. However, one solution is truly to think outside the box: to see that keeping the lines within the box is not a requirement. Another solution is to use one *very* fat line that covers all nine dots. Solving the problem requires restructuring the representation by eliminating assumed constraints.

insight The sudden realization of a solution to a problem.



FIGURE 8.25 Solution to Duncker's Candle Problem

The box for the tacks can be used as a stand for the candle.

Another good conscious strategy for overcoming obstacles is *working backward*. When the appropriate steps for solving a problem are not clear, proceeding from the goal state to the initial state can help yield a solution. Consider the water lily problem (Fixx, 1978, p. 50):

Water lilies double in area every 24 hours. On the first day of summer there is only one water lily on the lake. It takes 60 days for the lake to be completely covered in water lilies. How many days does it take for half of the lake to be covered in water lilies?

One way to solve this problem is to work from the initial state to the goal state: You figure that on day 1 there is one water lily, on day 2 there are two water lilies, on day 3 there are four water lilies, and so on, until you discover how many water lilies there are on day 60 and you see which day had half that many. But if you work backward, from the goal state to the initial state, you realize that if on day 60 the lake is covered in water lilies and that *water lilies double*

every 24 hours, then on day 59 half of the lake must have been covered in water lilies. A third good strategy for overcoming obstacles is *finding an appropriate analogy* (Reeves & Weisberg, 1994), known as analogical problem solving. Say that a surgeon needs to use a laser at high intensity to destroy a patient's tumor. The surgeon must aim that laser so as to avoid destroying the surrounding healthy tissue. She remembers reading a story about a general who wanted to capture a fortress. The general needed to move a large number of soldiers up to the fortress, but all the roads to the fortress were planted with mines. A large group of soldiers would have set off the mines, but a small group could travel safely. So the general divided the soldiers into small groups and had each group take a different road to the fortress, where the groups converged and attacked together. Because her problem has constraints *analogous* to the general's problem, the doctor gets the idea to aim several lasers at the tumor from different angles. By itself, each laser will be weak enough to avoid destroying the living tissue in its path. But the combined intensity of all the converging lasers will be enough to destroy the tumor.

To transfer a problem-solving strategy means using a strategy that works in one context to solve a problem that is structurally similar. To accomplish this kind of transfer, we must pay attention to the structure of each problem. For this reason, analogous problems may enhance our ability to solve each one. Some researchers have found that participants who solve two or more analogous problems develop a schema that helps them solve similar problems (Gick & Holyoak, 1983). Analogous solutions work, however, only if we recognize the similarities between the problem we face and those we have solved and the analogy is correct (Keane, 1987; Reeves & Weisberg, 1994).

SUDDEN INSIGHT Often, a problem is not identified as a problem until it seems unsolvable and the problem solver feels stuck. For example, it is only when you spot the keys in the ignition of your locked car that you know you have a problem. Sometimes, as you stand there pondering the problem, a solution will pop into your head—the "Aha" moment. **Insight** is the metaphorical mental lightbulb that goes on in your head when you suddenly realize the solution to a problem.

In 1925, the Gestalt psychologist Wolfgang Köhler conducted one of psychology's most famous examples of research on insight. Convinced that some nonhuman animals could behave intelligently, Köhler studied whether chimpanzees could solve problems. He would place a banana outside a chimp's cage, just beyond the chimp's reach, and provide several sticks that the chimp could use. Could the chimp figure out how to move the banana within grabbing distance? In one situation, neither of two sticks was long enough to reach the banana. One chimpanzee, who sat looking at the sticks for some time, suddenly grabbed the sticks and joined them together by placing one stick inside an opening in the other stick. With this longer stick, the chimp obtained the banana. Köhler argued that, after pondering the problem, the chimp had the insight to join the sticks into a tool long enough to reach the banana. Having solved that problem, the chimp transferred this solution to similar problems and solved them quickly (**FIGURE 8.26**).

In another classic study of insight, Norman Maier (1931) brought participants, one at a time, into a room that had two strings hanging from the ceiling and a table in the corner. On the table were several random objects, including a pair of pliers. Each participant was asked to tie the strings together. However, it was impossible to grab both strings at once: If a participant was holding one string, the other string was too far away to grab (**FIGURE 8.27A**). The solution was to tie the pliers onto one string and use that string as a pendulum. The participant could then hold the other string and grab the pendulum string as it swung by (**FIGURE 8.27B**).

Although a few participants eventually figured out this solution on their own, most people were stumped by the problem. After letting these people ponder the problem for 10 minutes, Maier casually crossed the room and brushed up against the string, causing it to swing back and forth. Once the participants saw the brushed string swinging, most immediately solved the problem, as if they had experienced a new insight. These participants did not report that Maier had given them the solution, however. It is possible that they did not even notice Maier's actions consciously. They all believed they had come up with the solution independently.

Maier's study also provides an example of how insight can be achieved when a problem initially seems unsolvable. In this case, most people had failed to see the pliers as a pendulum weight—they were suffering from functional fixedness. To solve the problem, these people needed to reconsider the possible functions of the pliers and string. As mentioned earlier, how we view or represent a problem can significantly affect how easily we solve it. Sometimes insight provides these new solutions for overcoming functional fixedness.



FIGURE 8.26 Köhler's Study on Sudden Insight

Chimpanzees try to solve problems, such as reaching bananas that are too high. In one of Köhler's studies, a chimp seemed to suddenly realize a solution. It stacked several boxes on top of each other and stood on them to reach the bananas. This behavior suggested that the chimp solved the problem through insight.



FIGURE 8.27

Maier's Study on Sudden Insight

(a) In this situation, how would you grab both strings so you could tie them together? (b) The solution is to weight one string with the pliers, then swing the weighted string as a pendulum that you can grab.

Summing Up

How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems?

- Decision making is selecting the best alternative from among several options.
- According to normative theories of decision making, people make decisions by choosing
 options that will provide the greatest gain. However, people do not always follow this rule.
- Descriptive theories of decision making try to realistically account for the variability, such as biases and irrationality, in how people decide.
- People often use heuristics, or mental shortcuts, to make decisions. Four common heuristics are
 relative comparisons (anchoring and framing), availability, representativeness, and affective.
- The paradox of choice is that people prefer to have more choices, but increasing their options decreases their decision-making ability and their satisfaction with decisions.
- Problem solving is finding a way around an obstacle to reach a goal.
- Problem solving can be improved by breaking problems into subgoals, restructuring the problem, working backward from the goal, or transferring an effective strategy from an analogous situation.
- Mental sets and functional fixedness inhibit problem solving.
- Insight is the sudden realization of a solution to a problem. Insight can be facilitated by overcoming functional fixedness.

Measuring Up

- True or false: According to normative theories of decision making, people use heuristics to make decisions. According to descriptive theories, people make decisions based on achieving the greatest gain.
- 2. Identify which heuristic is involved in each of the following examples. Choose from relative comparison (anchoring), relative comparison (framing), availability, representativeness, and affective.
 - **a.** Your roommate buys meat described as 75 percent lean instead of meat described as 25 percent fat.
 - b. You plan to donate \$25 to your university's scholarship fund. However, when you receive the call for donations, the caller asks if you will contribute \$100. You cannot afford \$100, but because that figure has been suggested, you agree to donate \$50.
 - c. Each year, many more people die in car accidents than die in plane crashes. Yet many more people view flying as more dangerous than driving.
 - **d.** When people enter into new romantic relationships, they expect their happiness to last the rest of their lives.
 - e. You know what punk bands look like and sound like. So when you see a photo of a new band that looks punk, you assume the band's music is punk. When you listen to a sample, you are surprised to hear dance pop.
- 3. Which of the following strategies can improve problem solving?
 - **a.** breaking the problem into subgoals
 - **b.** restructuring the problem
 - c. using mental sets
 - **d.** working backward from a goal
 - e. being constrained by functional fixedness
 - f. using an analogy

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"available" because they get much more media coverage); d. affective; e. representativeness.

(2) a. relative comparison (framing); b. relative comparison (anchoring); c. availability (plane crashes are more

ANSWERS: (1) False.

8.3 What Is Language?

Language may be the most complex wonder of the human brain. While many species communicate, such as in birds' use of song, language represents a quantum leap beyond other forms of animal communication. It sets us apart from other species. In over 4,000 languages, humans can speak, write, and read, communicating everything from basic information to complex emotions and the subtle nuances of great literature. Language enables us to live in complex societies, because through language we learn the history, rules, and values of our culture or cultures.

How do we learn language? Some aspects can be taught formally, such as grammatical rules. Other aspects do not rely on formal teaching, such as when children who are exposed to several languages somehow learn all of them and keep them straight. They know that one set of words is English, one is Spanish, and another is French. Consider, too, that every fluent speaker of a language relies on extensive implicit knowledge of grammar even if he or she cannot explain the rules. Babies begin speaking without a great deal of formal teaching. Recall from the chapter opening that 2-year-old Alexis Martin, while still learning English, taught herself Spanish. She could easily separate the two languages and never used words incorrectly once she learned them. What explains the human capacity for language?

Language Is a System of Communication Using Sounds and Symbols

Language is a system of communication using sounds and symbols according to grammatical rules. This system can be viewed as a hierarchical structure. That is, sentences can be broken down into smaller units, or *phrases*. Phrases can be broken down into words. Words can be broken down into sounds.

Each word consists of one or more **morphemes**. Morphemes are the smallest units that have meaning, including suffixes and prefixes. As an example, consider the words *frost*, de*frost*, and *defroster*. The root word, *frost*, is a morpheme. The meaning of this morpheme is changed by adding the prefix *de*, which is also a morpheme. Adding a third morpheme, the suffix *er*, changes the meaning once again (Gazzaniga, Ivry, & Mangun, 2014).

Each morpheme consists of one or more **phonemes.** Phonemes are the basic sounds of speech, the building blocks of language. For example, the word *kissed* has two morphemes ("kiss" and "ed") and four phonemes (the sounds you make when you say the word).

A language's *syntax* is the system of rules that govern how words are combined into phrases and how phrases are combined to make sentences. *Semantics* is the study of the system of meanings that underlie words, phrases, and sentences.

To clarify your understanding of all these terms, consider the sentence *Stephanie kissed the crying boy*. Semantics tells us why that sentence has a different meaning than *Crying, Stephanie kissed the boy*. Syntax dictates that the sentence cannot be *Kissed the crying boy Stephanie*. As shown in the **FIGURE 8.28**, the sentence can be broken down into phrases, the phrases can be broken down into words or morphemes, and the words or morphemes can be broken down into phonemes.

THE SOUNDS OF LANGUAGE Every language is derived from a highly restricted set of phonemes. This fact is intriguing because the human vocal tract has the capacity to make many more sounds than any language uses. People speak by forcing air

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the roles of morphemes and phonemes in language.
- Identify the brain areas involved in language.
- Explain how language develops.
- Contrast the phonics and whole language approaches to the teaching of reading.
- Explain dyslexia.

language

A system of communication using sounds and symbols according to grammatical rules.

morphemes

The smallest language units that have meaning, including suffixes and prefixes.

phonemes

The basic sounds of speech, the building blocks of language.



aphasia

A language disorder that results in deficits in language comprehension and production.

through the *vocal cords*. The vocal cords are folds of mucous membranes that are part of the larynx, an organ in the neck, often called the voice box (**FIGURE 8.29**). The air passes from the vocal cords to the oral cavity (part of the mouth behind the teeth and above the tongue). There, jaw, lip, and tongue movements change the shape of the mouth and the flow of the air, altering the sounds produced by the vocal cords. Some of those sounds are phonemes.

Phonemes signal meaningful differences between words. For example, the phonemes /p/ and /b/ carry no meanings in themselves, but they enable us to recognize *pat* and *bat* as having different meanings. Although both of these phonemes are consonants formed by closing and then opening the lips, the larynx vibrates to make /b/ but not to make /p/.

Languages differ from one another not only by the words that are used but also by the number of phonemes and the patterns of morphemes. English consists of approximately 40 phonemes, whereas other languages use as few as 11 (the Rotokias language from Papua New Guinea) or more than 110 (the !Xóõ language used in Botswana and Namibia). Languages also differ in the patterns of morphemes within phrases. Such patterns help us to separate the words we hear in conversation. The separate morphemes actually occur in a continuous stream, or waveform (FIGURE 8.30). People speak at the rate of about 15 phonemes per second, or about 180 words per minute. Somehow, as discussed further in the next section, different brain regions work together to separate out the relevant sounds into segments that allow for interpretation. Meaning plays an important role in this perception. When you listen to a language you are not fluent in, it can be difficult to separate the stream into segments.

LANGUAGE IN THE BRAIN Injuries in certain brain areas can lead to **aphasia**. This language disorder results in deficits

in language comprehension and production. About 40 percent of all strokes produce some aphasia, which can be temporary or permanent (Pedersen et al., 1995). Most strokes that cause aphasia occur in the left hemisphere.

Recall from Chapter 3 that the physician and anatomist Paul Broca studied a patient who could say only the word *tan*. In examining the patient's brain, Broca found that this patient had a lesion in the left frontal lobe (see Figure 3.15). After studying other



FIGURE 8.29 The Human Vocal Tract

Speech is produced by moving air through the vocal cords, part of the larynx, into the mouth. Lip and tongue movements then control the shape of the oral cavity and the flow of the air, resulting in particular sounds. patients, Broca concluded that the area of the brain that produces speech, now called Broca's area, must be located in the left hemisphere. When Broca's area is damaged, patients develop *expressive aphasia* (also called *Broca's aphasia*), which interrupts their ability to speak. These individuals generally understand what is said to them, and they can move their lips and tongues, but they cannot form words or put one word together with another to form a phrase.

In the 1870s, the physician Carl Wernicke identified another brain area involved in language. Wernicke had two patients who, after each had suffered a stroke, had trouble understanding spoken language. These patients could speak fluently, but what they said was nonsensical. After these patients died, Wernicke autopsied them. He found damage in a region of the left hemisphere where the temporal and

parietal lobes meet. This region is now known as **Wernicke's area** (**FIGURE 8.31**). When Wernicke's area is damaged, patients develop *receptive aphasia* (also called *Wernicke's aphasia*), in which they have trouble understanding the meaning of words. Those with receptive aphasia are often highly verbal, but what they say does not follow the rules of grammar or make sense.

Since the work of Broca and Wernicke, researchers have shown that a network of brain regions work together to facilitate language (Gazzaniga, Ivry, & Mangun, 2014). For about 90 percent of people, the left hemisphere is most important for language. Extensive damage to the left hemisphere can cause *global aphasia*, where the person cannot produce or comprehend language. The right hemisphere also contributes to language in important ways, such as processing the rhythm of speech (Lindell, 2006) and interpreting what is said, especially understanding metaphors (Yang, 2014).

LANGUAGE AND COGNITION What is the relationship between language and cognition? Benjamin Whorf (1956) hypothesized that language reflects how people think. More specifically, culture determines language, which in turn determines how people form concepts and categorize objects and experiences. Whorf observed that the Inuit people, of the Arctic, use more words to describe variations in snow than English speakers do. According to Whorf, the greater number of words to describe

snow was valuable because subtleties in snow had practical and important implications for daily living (**FIGURE 8.32**).

According to the **linguistic relativity theory**, language determines thought. That is, you can think only through language. However, this later, stronger version of Whorf's hypothesis does not appear to be true (Gelman & Gallistel, 2004; Hunt & Agnoli, 1991). For instance, the theory means that those without language are incapable of thought. Considerable research shows that animals and prelinguistic infants are capable of complex thought (Keil, 2011; Newman, Keil, Kuhlmeier, & Wynn, 2010; Paulson, Chalmers, Kahneman, Santos, & Schiff, 2013).

A weaker version of the theory is that language influences rather than determines thought. This point remains controversial, but some research indicates that language influences thought in a number of domains, such as how people think about time, space, and quantities (Boroditsky, Fuhrman, & McCor-

mick, 2011; Gordon, 2004; Levinson, 2003). Moreover, the use of sexist language can influence people's thoughts about males and females. Recall the earlier discussion that the schema for being a scientist is associated with males. Language with a masculine bias might reinforce beliefs about gender roles (Gastil, 1990).



FIGURE 8.30 Speech Waveform

This is the waveform for the question "What do you mean?" There are no spaces between the words, yet the brain normally can segment the waveform so that the words can be understood.

Wernicke's area

An area of the left hemisphere where the temporal and parietal lobes meet, involved in speech comprehension.

linguistic relativity theory The claim that language determines thought.



FIGURE 8.31 Left Hemisphere Regions Involved in Speech

Broca's area is important for speech production. Wernicke's area is important for speech comprehension.



(b)



FIGURE 8.32

Relative Importance of Snow

According to Whorf, (a) the Inuit may have developed many words for snow because different kinds of snow have played such important parts in their daily lives. (b) People in warmer climates do not need such an intricate snow-related vocabulary.

Language Develops in an Orderly Way

As the brain develops, so does the ability to speak and form sentences. Thus, as children develop social skills, they also improve their language skills. There is some variation in the rate at which language develops, but overall the stages of language development are remarkably similar across individuals. According to Michael Tomasello (1999), the early social interactions between infant and caregiver are essential to understanding other people and being able to communicate with them through language. Research has demonstrated that infants and caregivers attend to objects in their environment together and that this joint attention promotes learning to speak (Baldwin, 1991; **FIGURE 8.33**). Children understand that speakers are usually thinking about what they are looking at (Bloom, 2002).

LEARNING PHONEMES Newborns are already well on their way to learning how to use language (Kuhl, 2004; Werker, Gilbert, Humphrey, & Tees, 1981). Janet Werker and colleagues (Byers-Heinlein, Burns, & Werker, 2010) found that the language or languages spoken by mothers during pregnancy influenced listening preferences in newborns. Canadian newborns whose mothers spoke only English during pregnancy showed a robust preference for sentences in English compared with sentences in Tagalog, a major language of the Philippines. Newborns of mothers who spoke Tagalog and English during pregnancy paid attention to both languages. The latter finding implies that these newborns had sufficient bilingual exposure as fetuses to learn about each language before birth.

Patricia Kuhl and colleagues (Kuhl, 2006; Kuhl, Tsao, & Liu, 2003; Kuhl et al., 2006) found that up to six months of age, a baby can discriminate all the phonemes that occur in all languages, even if the sounds do not occur in the language spoken in the baby's home. For example, the distinction between the sounds/r/ and/l/ is important in English: *River* means something different from *liver*. The Japanese language does not distinguish those sounds, but it makes distinctions that English does not make. After several months of exposure to their own language, infants lose the ability to distinguish between sounds that do not matter in their language (Kuhl, 2004). Japanese infants eventually lose the ability to differentiate /r/ from /l/, which makes learning English as a second language challenging for them, as they need to learn to detect the differences in these phonemes (Bradlow, Pisoni, Akahane-Yamada, & Tohkura, 1997).

FROM 0 TO 60,000 From hearing differences between sounds immediately after birth and then learning the sounds of their own languages, young children go on to develop the ability to speak. Humans appear to go from babbling as babies to employing a full vocabulary of about 60,000 words as adults without working very hard at it.

Speech production follows a distinct path. During the first months of life, newborns' actions—crying, fussing, eating, and breathing—generate all their sounds. In other words, babies' first verbal sounds are cries, gurgles, grunts, and breaths. From three to five months, they begin to coo and laugh. From five to seven months, they begin babbling, using consonants and vowels. From seven to eight months, they babble in syllables (*ba-ba-ba, dee-dee-dee*). By the first year, infants around the world are saying their first words. These first words are typically labels of items in their environment (*kitty, cracker*), simple action words (*go, up, sit*), quantifiers (*all gone! more!*), qualities or adjectives (*hot*), socially interactive words (*bye, hello, yes, no*), and even internal states (*boo-boo* after being hurt; Pinker, 1984). Thus, even very young children use words to perform a wide range of communicative functions. They name, comment, request, and more.



(a)

FIGURE 8.33

Joint Attention

Early interactions with caregivers lay the groundwork for childrens' acquisition of language. (a) If the parent is looking at the toy when saying a new name, "dax," the child will assign the name "dax" to the toy. (b) If the parent is looking at something else when saying the new name, the child will not assign the name "dax" to the toy.

By about 18 to 24 months, children begin to put words together. Their vocabularies start to grow rapidly. Rudimentary sentences of roughly two words emerge. Though they are missing words and grammatical markings, these mini-sentences have a logic, or syntax. Typically, the words' order indicates what has happened or should happen: for example, Throw ball. "All gone" translates as I threw the ball, and now it's gone. The psychologist Roger Brown, often referred to as the father of child language for his pioneering research, called these utterances telegraphic speech. The telegraph, discontinued in 2006, was a form of electronic communication that used coded signals. Telegraphic speech involves the use of rudimentary sentences that are missing words and grammatical markers but follow a logical syntax and convey a wealth of meaning. So when these children speak as if sending a telegram, they are putting together bare-bones words according to conventional rules (Brown, 1973).

OVERGENERALIZATIONS As children begin to use language in more-sophisticated ways, one relatively rare but telling error they make is to overapply new grammar rules they learn. Children may start to make mistakes at ages 3 to 5 with words they used correctly at age 2 or 3. For example, when they learn that adding -ed makes a verb past tense, they then add -ed to every verb, including irregular verbs that do not follow that rule. Thus they may say "runned" or "holded" even though they may have said "ran" or "held" at a younger age. Similarly, they may overapply the rule to add -s to form a plural, saying "mouses" and "mans," even if they said "mice" and "men" at a younger age.

Like many "immature" skills children exhibit as they develop, such overgeneralizations reflect an important aspect of language acquisition. Children are not simply repeating what they have heard others say. After all, they most likely have not heard anyone say "runned." Instead, these errors occur because children are able to use language effectively by perceiving patterns in spoken grammar and then applying rules to new sentences they have never heard before (Marcus, 1996; Marcus et al., 1992). They make more errors with words used less frequently (such as *drank* and *knew*) because they have heard irregular forms of words less often. Adults tend to do the same thing, but they are more likely to make errors on the past tenses of words they do not use often, such as trod, strove, or slew (saying "treaded," "strived," or "slayed"; Pinker, 1994).

telegraphic speech

The tendency for toddlers to speak using rudimentary sentences that are missing words and grammatical markings but follow a logical syntax and convey a wealth of meaning.



FIGURE 8.34 Teaching Language Parents introduce young children to words and help them understand language, but they do not teach language using operant reinforcement.

There Is an Inborn Capacity for Language

Behaviorists such as B. F. Skinner (1957) proposed that children learn language the same way a rat learns to press a lever to obtain food: through a system of operant reinforcement. According to Skinner, children are reinforced for correctly repeating what their parents say. Speech that is not reinforced by parents is extinguished. Parents use learning principles such as shaping to help children refine their use of language.

But language acquisition does not work this way (Pinker & Bloom, 1990). Studies reveal that parents do not correct children's grammatical errors, nor do they constantly repeat words and phrases to their children. Parents correct young children if the content of what they say is wrong but not if the grammar is wrong (Brown & Hanlon, 1970; **FIGURE 8.34**). Furthermore, people do not need to see or hear language to learn it. For instance, deaf and blind children can still acquire language. Children also learn language way too fast for behaviorist theories to make sense.

The linguist Noam Chomsky (1959) transformed the field of linguistics when he hypothesized that language must be governed by *universal grammar*. In other words, according to Chomsky, all languages are based on humans' innate knowledge of a set of universal and specifically linguistic elements and relationships.

Until Chomsky came on the scene, linguists had focused on analyzing language and identifying basic components of grammar. All languages include similar elements, such as nouns and verbs, but how those elements are arranged varies considerably across languages. In his early work, Chomsky argued that how people combine these elements to form sentences and convey meaning is only a language's **surface structure:** the sound and order of words. He introduced the concept of **deep structure:** the implicit meanings of sentences. For instance, *The fat cat chased the rat* implies that there is a cat, it is fat, and it chased the rat. *The rat was chased by the fat cat* implies the same ideas even though on the surface it is a different sentence.

Chomsky believes people automatically and unconsciously transform surface structure to deep structure—the meaning being conveyed. In fact, people remember a sentence's underlying meaning, not its surface structure. For example, you may not remember the exact words of someone who insulted you, but you will certainly recall the deep structure behind that person's meaning. According to Chomsky, humans are born with a *language acquisition device*, which contains universal grammar. This hypothetical neurological structure in the brain enables all humans to come into the world prepared to learn any language. With exposure to a specific cultural context, the synaptic connections in the brain start to narrow toward a deep and rich understanding of that cultural context's dominant language over all other languages (Kuhl, 2000).

ACQUIRING LANGUAGE WITH THE HANDS Suppose that the perception and production of sound are key to language acquisition. In that case, babies exposed to signed languages should acquire these languages differently than babies who acquire spoken languages. Now suppose instead that language, signed or spoken, is a special form of communication because of its highly systematic patterns and the human brain's sensitivity to them. In that case, babies should acquire signed languages and spoken languages in highly similar ways.

To test this hypothesis, Laura Ann Petitto and her students videotaped deaf babies of deaf parents in households using two entirely different signed languages: American Sign Language (ASL) and the signed language of Quebec, langue des

surface structure In language, the sound and order of words.

deep structure In language, the implicit meanings of sentences. signes québécoise (LSQ). They found that deaf babies exposed to signed languages from birth acquire these languages on an identical maturational timetable as hearing babies acquire spoken languages (Petitto, 2000; **FIGURE 8.35**). For example, deaf babies will "babble" with their hands. Just as hearing infants will repeat sounds such as *da da da*, which are not actually spoken words, deaf infants will repeat imitative hand movements that do not represent actual signs in signed languages.

In demonstrating that speech does not drive all human language acquisition, this research shows that humans must possess a biologically endowed sensitivity to perceive and organize aspects of language patterns. This sensitivity launches a baby into the course of acquiring language.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES Of course, environment greatly influences a child's acquisition of language. Indeed, the fact that you speak English rather than (or in addition to) Swahili is determined entirely by your environment. Interaction across cultures also shapes language. The term *creole* describes a language that evolves over time from the mixing of existing languages (**FIGURE 8.36**). For example, a creole language may develop when a culture colonizes a place, as when the French established themselves in southern Louisiana and acquired slaves who were not native French speakers. The creole develops out of rudimentary communications, as populations that speak several languages attempt to understand each other. Often, the colonists and natives mix words from each other's languages into a *pidgin*, an informal creole that lacks consistent grammatical rules.

The linguist Derek Bickerton (1998) has found that the colonists' children impose rules on their parents' pidgin, developing it into a creole. Bickerton argues that this is evidence for built-in, universal grammar. In other words, the brain changes a nonconforming language by applying the same basic rules to it. Bickerton has also found that creoles formed in different parts of the world, with different combinations of languages, are more similar to each other in grammatical structure than to long-lived languages.

ANIMAL COMMUNICATION Nonhuman animals have ways of communicating with each other, but no other animal uses language the way humans do. Scientists have tried for years to teach language to chimpanzees, one of the species most closely related to humans. Chimps lack the vocal ability to speak aloud, so studies have used sign language or visual cues to determine whether they understand words or concepts such as causation. Although chimpanzees can learn some words and have some sense of causation, other research challenges the idea that this learning means they have innate language abilities.

Consider the work of the psychologists Herbert Terrace, Laura-Ann Petitto, and Tom Bever. To test Noam Chomsky's assertion that language is a uniquely human trait, these researchers attempted to teach American Sign Language to a chimpanzee. In honor of Chomsky, they named the chimp Neam Chimpsky. His nickname was Nim (**FIGURE 8.37**).

After years of teaching Nim, the team admitted that Chomsky might be right. Like all other language-trained chimps, Nim consistently failed to master key components of human language syntax. While he was adept at communicating with a small set of basic signs ("eat," "play," "more"), he never acquired the ability to generate creative, rule-governed sentences. He was like a broken record, talking about the same thing over and over again in the same old way. As previously discussed, a young child can name, comment, request, and more with his or her first words. Nim and all the ASLtrained chimps used bits and pieces of language almost exclusively to make requests. They wanted things (food, more food) from their caretakers, but otherwise they were



FIGURE 8.35 Acquiring Signed Language Deaf infants have been shown to acquire signed languages at the same rates that hearing infants acquire spoken languages.



FIGURE 8.36 Creole Language

A creole language evolves from a mixing of languages. In Suriname, where this boy is reading a classroom blackboard, over 10 languages are spoken. The official language, Dutch, comes from the nation's colonial background. The other tongues include variants of Chinese, Hindi, Javanese, and half a dozen original creoles, among them Sranan Tongo (literally, "Suriname tongue").



FIGURE 8.37 Laura-Ann Petitto with Nim Chimpsky

not able to express meanings, thoughts, and ideas by generating language (Petitto & Seidenberg, 1979).

Reading Needs to Be Learned

Reading, like speaking, is nearly effortless for most adults. When we look at letters grouped into words, we automatically derive meaning from these groupings, even if they are misspelled. As noted in Chapter 5, YOU C4N R3AD TH15 PR377Y W3LL even though it is nonsensical. In fact, our ability to automatically read words can produce interference when we are asked to name the color a word is printed in. Recall from Chapter 4 the discussion of the Stroop effect, where it takes longer to name the ink color for a color name when the color differs from the name (i.e., when the word *red* is printed in blue; see Figure 4.21).

But what is the best method for teaching reading—that is, enabling readers to comprehend the words they process? And what happens when the cognitive processes involved in reading do not work properly?

LEARNING TO READ In the English-speaking world, there are two major schools of thought regarding how to teach reading. Traditional methods use **phonics**, which teaches an association between letters and their phonemes. Children learn to make the appropriate sounds for the letters, then spell out words by how they sound (**FIGURE 8.38**). They learn a small number of simple words that



FIGURE 8.38 Using Phonics

In learning to read, these children are combining phonemes into morphemes.

phonics

A method of teaching reading in English that focuses on the association between letters and their phonemes.

whole language

A method of teaching reading in English that emphasizes learning the meanings of words and understanding how words are connected in sentences. teach the sounds of letters across most words of the English language. Because of the irregularities in English, children first learn the general rules and then learn to recognize exceptions to those rules. This approach emphasizes memorizing the mappings between letters and their sounds, rather than on building vocabulary or processing words' meanings.

Because of the complexity of the English language, in which the sounds of letters can vary across words, some educators have advocated **whole language** approaches. These approaches emphasize learning the meanings of words and understanding how words are connected in sentences. Whole language has dominated in most American schools

for the past three decades. This popularity may be partly due to the philosophy behind the approach, which emphasizes student interest, enjoyment of reading, creativity, and thought.

The general idea behind whole language instruction is that children should learn to read the way they learn to talk. We do not process speech by breaking the sound stream into phonemes. Instead, we understand speech as a series of connected words that have meaning in the context of the entire sentence. Thus, according to whole language proponents, breaking words into sounds is unnatural, frustrating, and boring. Instead, students should learn to read naturally and unconsciously, by learning individual words and then stringing them together. But does whole language do a better job than phonics in helping children learn to read?

Classroom and laboratory research has consistently found that phonics is superior to whole language in creating proficient readers (Rayner, Foorman, Perfetti, Pesetsky, & Seidenberg, 2001). This result applies especially to children who are at risk of becoming poor readers, such as those whose parents do not read to them on a regular basis. Whole language motivates students to read, but phonics best teaches basic reading skills. **DYSLEXIA** Although reading may happen automatically once you learn to do it, the process of learning to read is challenging for many people. These learners struggle to figure out which symbols are letters, which letters are clumped into words, and which words go together to make meaningful sentences. Sometimes this difficulty is the result of a reading disorder called *dyslexia*. People with dyslexia have trouble reading, spelling, and writing even though they have normal levels of intelligence. Dyslexia results from impaired sound and image processing, especially for words that rhyme (Temple et al., 2001).

Summing Up

What Is Language?

- Language is a system of communication using sounds and symbols.
- Morphemes are the smallest units of language that have meaning.
- Phonemes are the basic sounds of speech, the building blocks of language.
- A network of left hemisphere brain regions-including Broca's area in the frontal lobes and Wernicke's area at the junction of the temporal and parietal lobes-govern speech production and comprehension.
- According to linguistic relativity theory, language determines, or at least influences, thought.
- Speech normally progresses from babies' coos and laughter to babbling to the use of single words to the combination of words into telegraphic speech to the acquisition of some 60,000 words.
- Behaviorists believed that language was learned through operant conditioning, but research demonstrates that children acquire language even in the absence of reinforcement.
- Noam Chomsky proposed instead that humans are born with an innate capability for language, called the language acquisition device, which contains universal grammar rules. Through experience with other speakers, children acquire the rules specific to their native language.
- For most adults, reading is automatic and effortless. We are able to derive accurate meanings even from misspelled words.
- Phonics is a method of teaching reading by associating letters with phonemes. Phonics
 is the best way to teach basic reading skills, especially for people unfamiliar with
 reading.
- Whole language is a method of teaching reading by emphasizing the meanings of words and how words are connected in sentences. Whole language may help encourage reading.
- People with dyslexia, a reading disorder, have trouble reading, spelling, and writing even though they have normal levels of intelligence.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements are true about the sentence *Cells that fire together* wire together? Choose all that apply.
 - **a.** The sound of /c/ is a phoneme used in this sentence.
 - **b.** *That* is a morpheme used in this sentence.
 - **c.** The sound of /wire/ is a phoneme used in this sentence.
 - d. Wire is a morpheme used in this sentence.
 - e. Syntax is interpretation of the sentence's meaning.
 - f. Syntax requires that *fire* and *wire* not be switched.

- 2. Which of the following brain regions are part of the network that governs speech production and comprehension? Choose all that apply.
 - **a.** the hippocampus
 - **b.** Wernicke's area
 - c. Broca's area
 - d. the amygdala
- 3. Put the following language milestones in their correct order of appearance.
 - a. single words
 - **b.** telegraphic speech
 - c. babbling
 - d. sentences of three or more words
 - e. cooing

ANSWERS: (1) a, b, d, and f. (2) b and c. (3) e, c, a, b, d.

Learning Objectives

- Identify common measures of intelligence, and discuss their validity.
- Review theory and research related to general intelligence, fluid intelligence, crystallized intelligence, and multiple intelligences.
- Discuss the relationship between intelligence and cognitive performance.
- Summarize research examining genetic and environmental influences on intelligence.
- Discuss sex and race differences in intelligence, and define stereotype threat.

intelligence

The ability to use knowledge to reason, make decisions, make sense of events, solve problems, understand complex ideas, learn quickly, and adapt to environmental challenges.

8.4 How Do We Understand Intelligence?

So far, this chapter has considered how people use knowledge when they think. Now it is time to consider what it means to think *intelligently*.

Sometimes thought processes lead to great ideas and creative discoveries, but other times they lead to bad decisions and regret. Inevitably, some people seem to be better at using knowledge than others. When people are good at using knowledge, we say they are intelligent. Thus, **intelligence** is the ability to use knowledge to reason, make decisions, make sense of events, solve problems, understand complex ideas, learn quickly, and adapt to environmental challenges.

Think for a minute about that last skill: adapting to environmental challenges. Because environments differ, environmental challenges can differ. Someone considered intelligent in an industrialized nation may struggle to survive in the jungle, where being able to judge weather, identify local hazards, and find and prepare food are better indicators of intelligence. Do these differences mean that intelligence reflects environment? What exactly is intelligence? Psychologists have long struggled to define intelligence, and disagreement continues about what it means to be intelligent.

Psychological research generally focuses on two questions: How do knowledge and its applications in everyday life translate into intelligence? And how much is intelligence determined by genes and by environment (Neisser et al., 1996)?

Intelligence Is Measured with Standardized Tests

The *psychometric* approach to measuring intelligence focuses on how people perform on standardized tests that assess mental abilities. These tests examine what people know and how they solve problems. For much of the past century, the psychometric approach to intelligence has been the most dominant and influential. This approach has especially affected how we view intelligence in everyday life, at least within industrialized nations.

One type of standardized test focuses on achievement. The other type focuses on aptitude. *Achievement tests* assess people's current levels of skill and of knowledge.

Aptitude tests seek to predict what tasks, and perhaps even what jobs, people will be good at in the future. For both kinds of tests, the stakes can be high. People's performances can hugely affect their lives.

The psychometric measurement of intelligence began just over a century ago. At the encouragement of the French government, the psychologist Alfred Binet developed a method of assessing intelligence (**FIGURE 8.39**). Binet's goal was to identify children in the French school system who needed extra attention and special instruction. He proposed that intelligence is best understood as a collection of high-level mental processes. Accordingly, with the help of his assistant Théodore Simon, Binet developed a test for measuring each child's vocabulary, memory, skill with numbers, and other mental abilities. The result was the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale. One assumption underlying the test was that each child might do better on some components by chance, but how the child performed on average across the different components would indicate his or her overall level of intelligence. Indeed, Binet found that scores on his tests were consistent with teachers' beliefs about children's abilities *and* with the children's grades.

In 1919, the psychologist Lewis Terman, at Stanford University, modified the Binet-Simon test and established normative scores for American children (average scores for each age). This test—the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale, known colloquially as the Stanford-Binet—remains the most widely used test for children in the United States. In 2003, it was revised for the fifth time.

In 1939, the psychologist David Wechsler developed an intelligence test for adults. Not only was the Stanford-Binet unsuitable for adults, but Wechsler was dissatisfied with various features of that scale, including its reliance on verbal information and its assessment of intelligence by a single score. The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS)-the most current version being the WAIS-IV, released in 2008-has two parts. Each part consists of several tasks that provide separate scores. The verbal part measures aspects such as comprehension ("Why do people buy home insurance?"), vocabulary ("What does corrupt mean?"), general knowledge ("What day of the year is Independence Day in the United States?"), and includes tests of working memory, such as short-term memory capacity. The performance part involves nonverbal tasks, such as arranging pictures in proper order, assembling parts to make a whole object, identifying a picture's missing features, and measures of reaction time (FIGURE 8.40).

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT Binet noticed that some children seem to think like children younger or older than themselves. To assess a child's intellectual standing compared with the standing of same-age peers, Binet introduced the important concept of **mental age**. This measure is determined by comparing the child's test score with the average score for children of each chronological age. For instance, an 8-year-old who is able to read Shakespeare and do calculus might score as well as an average 16-year-old. This 8-year-old would have a mental age of 16.

The intelligence quotient (IQ), developed by the psychologist Wilhelm Stern, is partly based on mental age. IQ is computed by dividing a child's estimated mental age by the child's chronological



FIGURE 8.39 Alfred Binet Binet launched the psychometric approach to assessing intelligence.



FIGURE 8.40 IQ Test Items Measuring Performance

The performance part of IQ tests includes nonverbal tasks. Here are some examples similar to items used in the WAIS III. (a) Picture arrangement: These pictures tell a story. Put them in the right order to tell the story. (b) Object assembly: If these pieces are put together correctly, they make something. Put them together as fast as you can. (c) Digit-symbol substitution: Using the code provided, fill in the missing information in the test picture.

mental age

An assessment of a child's intellectual standing compared with that of same-age peers; determined by comparing the child's test score with the average score for children of each chronological age.

intelligence quotient (IQ)

An index of intelligence computed by dividing a child's estimated mental age by the child's chronological age, then multiplying this number by 100. age and multiplying the result by 100. To calculate the IQ of the 8-year-old with a mental age of 16, we calculate $16/8 \times 100$. The result is 200, an extraordinarily high score. Alexis Martin, the 3-year-old Mensa member discussed at the opening of this chapter, has an IQ of 160, about the same as Albert Einstein's and Stephen Hawking's. This score indicates that she answers questions more like a typical 5-year-old (yes, that is what an IQ of 160 means for a 3-year-old).

The formula breaks down when used with adults, however, so the IQs of adults are measured differently. According to the standard formula, a 60-year-old would need to get twice as many test items correct as a 30-year-old to have the same IQ. Instead, IQ in the adult range is measured in comparison with the average adult and not with adults at different ages. Today, the average IQ is set at 100. Across large groups of people, the distribution of IQ scores forms a bell curve, or *normal distribution*. Most people are close to the average, and fewer and fewer people score at the tails of the distribution. A person's IQ is considered in terms of deviation from the average (**FIGURE 8.41**).

VALIDITY OF TESTING Are intelligence tests reliable and valid? That is, are they stable over time, and do they really measure what they claim to measure? In terms of reliability, there is considerable evidence that a person's performance on an intelligence test at one time corresponds highly to the person's performance at another time (Matarazzo, Carmody, & Jacobs, 1980).

To evaluate the validity of tests, we need to consider what it means to be intelligent. If the word means doing well at school or at a complex career, intelligence tests perform reasonably well: The overall evidence indicates that IQ is a fairly good predictor of such life outcomes (Gottfredson, 2004b).

To explore the validity of intelligence tests, researchers analyzed data from 127 studies in which more than 20,000 participants took the Miller Analogy Test. This test is widely used for admissions decisions into graduate school as well as for hiring decisions in many work settings. It requires test takers to complete analogies such as "Fingers are to hands as toes are to _____." The researchers found that scores on the Miller Analogy Test predicted not only graduate students' academic performances but also individuals' productivity, creativity, and job performances in the workplace (Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2004). Similarly, people in professional careers—such as attorneys, accountants, and physicians—tend to have high IQs, while those who work as miners, farmers, lumberjacks, barbers, and so on tend to have lower IQs (Jencks, 1979; Schmidt & Hunter, 2004). These statistics refer to averages, of course, not to individuals. Still, the data suggest modest correlations between IQ and work performance, IQ and income, and IQ and jobs requiring complex skills. Although higher IQ does not predict who will be a better truck driver, it predicts who will be a better computer programmer (Schmidt & Hunter, 2004).

FIGURE 8.41 The Distribution of IQ Scores

IQ is a score on a normed test of intelligence. That is, one person's score is relative to the scores of the large number of people who already took the test. And as discussed in Chapter 2, the statistical concept of standard deviation indicates how far people are from an average. The standard deviation for most IQ tests is 15. The average, or mean, is 100. As shown in this bellshaped curve, approximately 68 percent of people fall within 1 standard deviation of the mean (they score from 85 to 115). Just over 95 percent of people fall within 2 standard deviations (they score from 70 to 130).



When considering these findings, note that IQ scores typically predict only about 25 percent of the variation in performance at either school or work, so additional factors contribute to individuals' success (Neisser et al., 1996). In the late 1800s, the scientist Sir Francis Galton believed that to become eminent in a field—that is, to become an expert—required not only innate ability but also zeal and laborious work (see Ericsson, Krempe, & Tesch-Romer, 1993). One study found that children's self-control, assessed through teacher and parent reports as well as laboratory tasks, was much better than IQ in predicting final grades (Duckworth & Seligman, 2005).

People vary greatly in their level of motivation and how much time they are willing to spend to get ahead. One 20-year follow-up study of nearly 2,000 gifted 13-year-olds (those with IQs in the top 1 percent of their age group) revealed huge differences in how much people reported working as well as how much they were willing to work. At age 33, some individuals refused to work more than 40 hours per week, whereas others reported regularly working more than 70 (Lubinski & Benbow, 2000). Even with factors such as IQ and social background being more or less equal, a person working twice as many hours per week may have that much more chance of accomplishing his or her goals (Lubinski, 2004).

People from privileged backgrounds tend to have higher IQs. They also tend to have other advantages. Family contacts, access to internships, and acceptance to schools that can cater to their needs may help determine their success. In other words, IQ may be important, but it is only one of the factors that contribute to success in the classroom, the workplace, and life generally. We will consider the importance of other environmental features in greater detail shortly.

General Intelligence Involves Multiple Components

Binet viewed intelligence as a general ability. We all know people, however, who are especially talented in some areas but weak in others. For example, some people write brilliant poems but cannot solve difficult calculus problems—or at least they feel more confident doing one than doing the other. The question, then, is whether intelligence reflects one overall talent or many individual ones. An early line of research examined the correlations among intelligence test items using *factor analysis*. In this statistical technique, items similar to one another are clustered. The clusters are called factors.

Using this type of analysis, Charles Spearman (1904) found that most intelligence test items tended to cluster as one factor. People who scored highly on one type of item also tended to score highly on other types of items. In general, people who are very good at math are also good at writing, problem solving, and other mental challenges. Spearman viewed **general intelligence**, or **g**, as a factor that contributes to performance on any intellectual task (**FIGURE 8.42**). In a sense, providing a single IQ score reflects the idea that one general factor underlies intelligence. At the same time, Spearman acknowledged that people could differ in the *specific skills*, or *s*, that enabled them to perform better on some tasks than others.

FLUID VERSUS CRYSTALLIZED INTELLIGENCE Raymond Cattell (1971) proposed that g consists of two types of intelligence. **Fluid intelligence** is being able to understand abstract relationships and think logically without prior knowledge. It involves information processing, especially in novel or complex circumstances, such as reasoning, drawing analogies, and thinking quickly and flexibly. In contrast, **crystallized intelligence** involves knowledge acquired through experience, such as

general intelligence (g) The idea that one general factor underlies intelligence.

fluid intelligence

Intelligence that reflects the ability to process information, understand relationships, and think logically, particularly in novel or complex circumstances.

crystallized intelligence

Intelligence that reflects both the knowledge acquired through experience and the ability to use that knowledge.



- g = general intelligence
- s1 = a specific ability (e.g., math)
- s2 = a second specific ability (e.g., writing)
- s3 = a third specific ability (e.g., problem solving)
- s4 = a fourth specific ability (e.g., drawing)

FIGURE 8.42

General Intelligence as a Factor

As depicted in this cluster of overlapping ovals and circle, Spearman viewed g as a general factor in intelligence. This underlying factor influences an individual's specific abilities related to intelligence. vocabulary and cultural information, and the ability to use this knowledge to solve problems (Horn, 1968; Horn & McArdle, 2007).

Distinguishing between fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence is somewhat analogous to distinguishing between working memory (which is more like fluid intelligence) and long-term memory (which is more like crystallized intelligence). As would be expected because both types of intelligence are components of g, people who score highly on one factor also tend to score highly on the other. This finding suggests that a strong crystallized intelligence is likely aided by a strong fluid intelligence. As you will see in Chapter 9, crystallized intelligence grows steadily throughout the adult years, while fluid intelligence declines steadily.

THE IMPORTANCE OF G Research has shown that g influences important life outcomes, such as by predicting performance in school and at work (Conway, Kane, & Engle, 2003; Deary, 2001; Garlick, 2002; Gray & Thompson, 2004; Haier, Jung, Yeo, Head, & Alkire, 2005). Low g is related to early death from causes including heart disease, diabetes, stroke, Alzheimer's disease, traffic accidents, and drownings (Gottfredson, 2004a; Gottfredson & Deary, 2004). One study followed Scottish people for 55 years, starting when they were schoolchildren, and examined the influence of intelligence and a personality variable related to emotional intelligence (described in the next section). Those who scored in the lower half on both measures were more than twice as likely to die over the next half century compared with those who scored in the top half on both measures (Deary, Batty, Pattie, & Gale, 2008).

These patterns might result from the different environmental forces at work on each of us. For example, people who do not perform well in academic settings may end up with dangerous jobs, people with less dangerous and/or better-paying jobs tend to have better access to health care, and so on. Indeed, it is possible that factors other than intelligence are responsible for early death. A study that followed people from age 10 until age 75 found that the more education people received, the longer they lived, independent of their IQ level (Lager, Bremberg, & Vågerö, 2009).

According to Linda Gottfredson (2004a), however, g may directly affect health. People who score higher on intelligence tests may generally be more literate about health issues: accumulating greater health knowledge, better able to follow medical advice, better able to understand the link between behavior and health. As medical knowledge rapidly advances and becomes more complex, trying to keep up with and



"I don't have to be smart, because someday I'll just hire lots of smart people to work for me."

process all this new information is a challenge, and people who are higher in g have an advantage in doing so. This provocative idea warrants further investigation. If it is true, it has a number of important implications for the medical system and the way doctors communicate medical advice.

MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES Whereas Cattell argued that two types of intelligence contribute to g, other researchers have described various types of intelligence. For example, Howard Gardner (1983) proposed that people can be intelligent in any number of ways, such as being musically or athletically talented. According to Gardner, each person has a unique pattern of intelligences, and no one should be viewed as smarter than others—just differently talented. This view strikes some psychologists as a feel-good philosophy with little basis in fact. Yet standard intelligence tests can fail to capture the types of people who are extremely "book smart" but have trouble in the real world because they lack practical sense or social skills. A good example of the brilliant but clueless type is the television character Sheldon Cooper, in the series *Big Bang Theory* (discussed at the opening of Chapter 6). Moreover, people can have high IQs but lack curiosity or drive.

Robert Sternberg (1999) has theorized that there are three types of intelligence: analytic, creative, and practical. *Analytical intelligence* is similar to that measured by psychometric tests—being good at problem solving, completing analogies, figuring out puzzles, and other academic challenges. *Creative intelligence* involves the ability to gain insight and solve novel problems—to think in new and interesting ways. *Practical intelligence* refers to dealing with everyday tasks, such as knowing whether a parking space is large enough for your vehicle, being a good judge of people, being an effective leader, and so on. Although this differentiation makes intuitive sense, some intelligence researchers have been critical, suggesting that the available evidence does not support Sternberg's model (Gottfredson, 2003).

The fictional Sheldon Cooper has great difficulty with social relations and understanding his friends' emotional expressions and gestures. In terms of the social domain, he would not be considered intelligent. **Emotional intelligence (EI)** consists of four abilities: managing one's emotions, using one's own emotions to guide thoughts and actions, recognizing other people's emotions, and understanding emotional language (Salovey & Grewel, 2005; Salovey & Mayer, 1990). People high in EI recognize emotional experiences in themselves and others, then respond to those emotions productively.

Emotional intelligence is correlated with the quality of social relationships (Reis et al., 2007). The idea of emotional intelligence has had a large impact in schools and industry, and programs have been designed to increase students' and workers' emotional intelligence. These efforts may be valuable, since emotional intelligence is a good predictor of high school grades (Hogan et al., 2010), and those high in emotional intelligence cope best with the challenges of college exams (Austin, Saklofske, & Mastoras, 2010). At the same time, some critics have questioned whether EI really is a type of intelligence or whether it stretches the definition of intelligence too far. A recent review found evidence that EI is correlated with more-traditional measures of intelligence, as well as academic performance among children and workplace performance among senior executives (Brackett, Rivers, & Salovey, 2011). The concept highlights the idea that many human qualities are important. Whether or not EI is a type of intelligence, it is advantageous for those who have it.

Intelligence Is Related to Cognitive Performance

Francis Galton led one of the earliest efforts to scientifically study intelligence. Galton believed that intelligence was related to the speed of neural responses and the sensitivity of the sensory/perceptual systems. The smartest people, Galton believed, had the quickest responses and the keenest perceptions. Galton also speculated that intelligent people have larger, more efficient brains. According to Galton, intelligence was related to the efficiency of the brain as well as to keen perceptual skills. Other psychologists believe intelligence is supported by low-level cognitive processes, such as mental processing, working memory, and attention. But can we equate these types of cognitive performance with intelligence? What brain processes are involved in producing intelligence?

SPEED OF MENTAL PROCESSING People who are not very intelligent are sometimes described as "a bit slow." That description might be accurate, because people who score higher on intelligence tests respond more quickly and consistently on **emotional intelligence (EI)** A form of social intelligence that emphasizes the abilities to manage, recognize, and understand emotions and use emotions to guide appropriate thought and action. **The task** is to determine whether side A or side B of the stimulus is longer. The stimulus is presented and then guickly followed by a mask.



Judging the lengths is easy when you have enough time to view the stimulus but difficult when the mask decreases viewing time severely.

FIGURE 8.43 Inspection Time Tasks

reaction time tests than those who score lower on intelligence tests (Deary, 2000). A test of *simple reaction time* might require a person to press a computer key as quickly as possible whenever a stimulus appears on the screen. For example, "Press the X key every time you see an X." A more difficult test might require a person to choose, again as quickly as possible, the right response for the stimulus presented. For example, "Press the X key every time you see an X, press the A key every time you see an A, and so on." Scores on intelligence tests are related even more strongly to this *choice reaction time* (Jensen, 1998).

Further support for the relationship between general intelligence and speed of mental processing comes from *inspection time* tests. If a stimulus is presented and then covered up, how much viewing time does a particular person need to answer a question about the stimulus (**FIGURE 8.43**)? People who need very little time for this task tend to score higher on psychometric tests of intelligence (Deary, 2001). In addition, by measuring the electrical activity of brains in response to the presentation of stimuli, researchers have found that

activity of brains in response to the presentation of stimuli, researchers have found tha highly intelligent people's brains work faster than less intelligent people's brains.

The relationship between general intelligence and mental speed appears to be correlated with the greater longevity of people with high IQs. According to a longitudinal study led by Ian Deary, those higher in intelligence and those who had faster reaction times at age 56 were much less likely to die in the next 14 years (Deary & Der, 2005). This outcome was true even after factors such as smoking, social class, and education were controlled for. The relationship between reaction time and longevity was somewhat stronger than the relationship between scores on standardized intelligence tests and longevity. A recent 15-year follow-up study of over 5,000 Americans found that the relationship between slower reaction times and premature death was comparable in size to established health risk factors such as smoking (Hagger-Johnson, Deary, Davies, Weiss, & Batty, 2014).

For a more difficult secondary processing task, a participant has to solve simple mathematical operations at the same time the words are presented. Once again, the person has to repeat the words in the order they are presented (adapted from Conway et al., 2003).

For a simple word span task, a participant listens to a short list of words and then repeats the words in order.



FIGURE 8.44 Memory Span Tasks

WORKING MEMORY General intelligence scores are closely related to how people process information in working memory (Conway et al., 2003). The two are not identical, however (Ackerman, Beier, & Boyle, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 7, working memory is the active processing system that holds information for use in activities such as reasoning, comprehension, and problem solving. In that capacity, working memory might be related to intelligence (Kyllonen & Christal, 1990; Süß, Oberauer, Wittman, Wilhelm, & Schulze, 2002).

Many studies of the relationship between working memory and intelligence differentiate between simple tests of memory span and memory tests that require some form of secondary processing (**FIGURE 8.44**). Performance on a simpler test of memory, as in listening to a list of words and then repeating the list in the same order, is related weakly to general intelligence (Engle, Tuholski, Laughlin, & Conway, 1999). Memory tests that have dual components, however, show a strong relationship between working memory and general intelligence (Gray & Thompson, 2004; Kane, Hambrick, & Conway, 2005; Oberauer, Schulze, Wilhelm, & Süß, 2005). The link between working memory and general intelligence may be attention. In particular, being able to pay attention, especially while being bombarded with competing information or other distractions, allows a person to stick to a task until successfully completing it (Engle & Kane, 2004). The importance of staying focused makes great sense in light of the relationship, discussed earlier, between general intelligence and the accomplishment of novel, complex tasks. The question, then, is whether brain regions that support working memory are involved in general intelligence.

BRAIN STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION Intelligent people are sometimes called "brainy," but how are the brain and intelligence related? Many studies have documented a relationship between head circumference, which researchers use to estimate brain size, and scores on intelligence tests (Vernon, Wickett, Bazana, Stelmack, & Sternberg, 2000). Head circumference also predicts school performance, although the correlation is quite small (Ivanovic et al., 2004). Studies using brain imaging have found a small but significant correlation between the size of selected brain structures and scores on intelligence tests (Johnson, Jung, Colom, & Haier, 2008). These findings are correlations, however, so we cannot infer that brain size necessarily causes differences in intelligence.

Instead, the situation is more complicated. Different kinds of intelligence seem to be related to the sizes of certain brain regions. These regions include ones associated with working memory, planning, reasoning, and problem solving. For example, studies have found that the volume of neuronal cell bodies (gray matter) in the frontal lobes and in other brain regions that support attentional control is related to fluid general intelligence (Frangou, Chitins, & Williams, 2004; Haier et al., 2005; Kamara et al., 2011; Wilke, Sohn, Byars, & Holland, 2003). Other studies have found no relationship between the volume of frontal gray matter and crystallized intelligence (Gong et al., 2005). These findings are consistent with evidence that injury to the frontal lobes causes impairments in fluid intelligence but not in crystallized intelligence (Duncan, Burgess, & Emslie, 1995).

SAVANTS How would you like to be able to read a page of this textbook in 8 to 10 seconds? Perhaps less useful but even more impressive would be the ability to recite all the zip codes and area codes in the United States by the region to which they are assigned, or to name hundreds of classical music pieces just by hearing a few notes of each. These amazing abilities are just a few of the extraordinary memory feats demonstrated by Kim Peek (Treffert & Christensen, 2006). Peek, who died in 2008, was the inspiration for the character played by Dustin Hoffman in the 1988 movie *Rain Man*. He memorized the contents of over 9,000 books, but he could not button his own clothes or manage any of the usual chores of daily living, such as making change. He scored an 87 on an intelligence test, but this number did not adequately describe his intelligence. Peek was born, in 1951, with an enlarged head and many brain anomalies, including a missing corpus callosum, the thick band of nerves that connects the brain's two halves (see Figure 3.26). He also had abnormalities in several other parts of his brain, especially the left hemisphere.

We know very little about *savants* like Peek. Such people have minimal intellectual capacities in most domains, but at a very early age each savant shows an exceptional ability in some "intelligent" process. For example, a savant's exceptional ability may be related to math, music, or art. The combination of prodigious memory and the inability to learn seemingly basic tasks is a great mystery. Nonetheless, this rare combination adds a dimension to our understanding of intelligence.



FIGURE 8.45 Stephen Wiltshire

Despite having autism spectrum disorder, Stephen Wiltshire had published a book of his remarkably accurate, expressive, memory-based drawings by the time he was a young teenager. Here, in October 2010, he holds his drawing of an architectural site in London, England. Wiltshire observed the site briefly, then completed the picture largely from memory. Oliver Sacks (1995) recounts the story of Stephen Wiltshire, an artistic savant. Wiltshire has autism spectrum disorder (discussed further in Chapter 14, "Psychological Disorders"). In childhood, it took him the utmost effort to acquire language sufficient for simple verbal communication. Years after a single glance at a place, however, Wiltshire can draw a highly accurate picture of it (**FIGURE 8.45**).

Genes and Environment Influence Intelligence

One of the most contentious battles in psychological science has been over the role of genes in determining intelligence. This battle exemplifies the nature/nurture debate. How much are individual differences in intelligence due to genes, and how much are they due to environment?

Nature and nurture are intertwined in the development of intelligence. For example, the capacity for having a large vocabulary is considerably heritable, but every word in a person's vocabulary is learned in an environment (Neisser et al., 1996). In addition, which words are learned is affected by the culture an individual is raised in, the amount of schooling she or he receives, and the general social context. So even if intelligence has a genetic component, the way intelligence becomes expressed is affected by various situational circumstances. Instead of seeking to demonstrate whether nature or nurture is the more important factor, psychologists try to identify how and in what way each of these crucial factors contributes to intelligence.

GENETIC FACTORS As discussed in Chapter 3, behavioral geneticists study the genetic basis of behaviors and traits such as intelligence. They use twin and adoption studies to estimate the extent to which particular traits are heritable. That is, they try to determine the portion of particular traits' variance that can be attributed to genes. Numerous behavioral genetics studies have made clear that genes help determine intelligence. For example, studies show that twins raised apart are highly similar in intelligence (**FIGURE 8.46**).



FIGURE 8.46 Genes and Intelligence

This graph represents average IQ correlations from family, adoption, and twin study designs. As shown by the red and blue bars on the left, siblings raised together show more similarity than siblings raised apart. As indicated by the relationships between parent and offspring (P-O) in the red and blue bars, a parent and child are more similar in IQ when the parent raises the child than when the child is raised by someone else. As shown by the red and blue bars on the right, the highest correlations are found among monozygotic twins, whether they are raised in the same household or not. Overall, the greater the degree of genetic relationship, the greater the correlation in intelligence.

But are the genes people possess the whole story? Even when raised apart, twins who have inherited an advantage might receive some *social multiplier*, an environmental factor or an entire environment, that increases what might have started as a small advantage (Flynn, 2007). Suppose the twins have inherited a higher than average verbal ability. Adults who notice this ability might read to them more often and give them more books. The "intelligence gene" has eluded researchers, probably because thousands of genes contribute to intelligence and individually each has only a small effect (Plomin & Spinath, 2004). Indeed, one study that looked at a large number of gene differences across the genome concluded that about 40 percent of the variation in crystallized intelligence and 51 percent of the variation in fluid intelligence is due to genetic influence (Davies et al., 2011).

An additional possibility is that the expression of different genes is altered by environmental factors. As discussed in Chapter 3, epigenetics involves changes to gene expression rather than to DNA. The study of epigenetic processes may help researchers understand how factors such as diet might be related to intelligence through the alteration of gene expression (Haggarty et al., 2010). In the next section, we consider environmental factors that are potential triggers of epigenetic effects.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS Richard Lewontin (1976) has provided an excellent example of the difficulties of contrasting groups of people who differ in their circumstances. Consider seeds planted in two separate containers (**FIGURE 8.47**). In one container, the soil is poor, and the seeds receive restricted water, few nutrients, and intermittent sunlight. In the other container, the soil is rich, and the seeds receive regular watering, all the necessary nutrients, and abundant sunlight. Within each planter, differences between individual plants' growth can be attributed to the seeds' genetic differences. After all, the environment is identical, so only genes can explain the differences. But in addition, as groups, the plants in one container will differ from those in the other container because of their different environments. The impoverished environment will stunt growth, whereas the enriched environment will help the seeds reach their potential.

Many environmental influences affect human intelligence. These influences consist of prenatal factors (e.g., parents' nutrition and intake of substances, including toxins) and postnatal factors (e.g., family, social class, education, nutrition, cultural beliefs about the value of education, and the person's intake of substances, including toxins). Each factor is likely to exert an independent influence during development. For instance, breast-feeding during infancy has been shown to enhance intellectual development (Mortensen, Michaelsen, Sanders, & Reinisch, 2002). In an experimental study, more than 17,000 infants from 31 maternity hospitals in Belarus were randomly assigned to either a control group or a condition that encouraged prolonged and exclusive breast-feeding. After 6.5 years, the children in the group receiving the intervention had higher means on standardized measures of intelligence (Kramer et al., 2008). There is also an apparent relationship between birth weight and intelligence later in life (Shenkin, Starr, & Deary, 2004; FIGURE 8.48).

(a)



FIGURE 8.47 Environmental Impacts

Within each of these planters, differences in the plants are likely due to genes. But note how different the plants are as a whole between one planter and the other. Those differences likely result from the environmental differences between the planters. (a) This planter has provided an impoverished environment. The poor conditions have negatively affected growth and development. (b) This planter has provided an enriched environment. The proper resources have contributed to robust growth and development.



FIGURE 8.48

Birth Weight and Intelligence Among children of normal birth weight, mean IQ scores increase with weight.

Another factor that is increasingly recognized as important for intellectual outcomes is family wealth, referred to as *socioeconomic status (SES)*. According to

Richard Nisbett (2009), growing up in a wealthy family significantly increases IQ, by 12 to 18 points. Although the mechanism for this finding is not completely clear, there is growing evidence that SES is associated with differences in brain regions associated with cognitive functions (Lawson, Duda, Avants, Wu, & Farah, 2013). One possibility is that higher-SES families emphasize education and that the greater focus on education is associated with the development of more synaptic connections (Noble, Korgaonkar, Grieve, & Brickman, 2013).

As noted in Chapter 3, rats raised in enriched environments show more synaptic connections than those raised in impoverished environments. Research from numerous laboratories has shown that enriched environments enhance cognitive processes as well (Lambert, Fernandez, & Frick, 2005; Tang, Wang, Feng, Kyin, & Tsien, 2001). The implication is that environment influences how genes involved in brain development are expressed.

In one study, genetically identical mice were split into groups. The groups were then exposed to different levels of an enriched environment—given toys, tunnels, and the like. Enrichment was associated with the activation of genes involved in a number of brain functions, including forming new synapses (Rampon et al., 2000). These results suggest that environment can affect properties associated with intelligence by influencing the expression of genes. Research has shown that humans as well as mice gain clear advantages from living in stimulating environments and that these environmental effects can be seen in the brain (May, 2011). Consider that Alexis Martin, discussed at the start of this chapter, learned to speak Spanish using her parents' iPad. Access to advanced technology is a new type of enriched environment, although we can only speculate on how digital environments will influence intellectual development in the future.

We do know that the intellectual opportunities a child receives affect intelligence. For instance, schooling makes an important contribution to intelligence and is associated with increased synaptic connections between brain regions involved in cognition (Noble et al., 2013). As Stephen Ceci (1999) notes, the longer children remain in school, the higher their IQs will be. In fact, students who start school early because of where their birth dates fall on the calendar have higher test scores than their same-age peers who start school a year later. Schooling not only builds knowledge but also teaches critical thinking skills, such as being able to think abstractly and learn strategies for solving problems (Neisser et al., 1996). Schooling encourages the development of children's brains and cognitive capacities and therefore fosters intelligence.

Taken together, the evidence is considerable that environmental factors contribute to intelligence. For example, IQ scores have risen dramatically during the last century of intelligence testing. This rise has been called the *Flynn effect* after James R. Flynn, the researcher who first described it (Flynn, 1981, 1987). (The various intelligence tests have been restandardized on numerous occasions over time so that the mean IQ score remains 100.) Because genes cannot have changed much during this period, the increase must be due to environmental factors or epigenetic effects. One possible explanation for the increase in IQ scores across generations is that, since every generation needs more education than the preceding one, and since work and leisure activities require more complex cognitive processing than in earlier years, cognitive abilities escalate within the span of one generation (Flynn, 2007). Other explanations include better nutrition, better health care, the refinement of education methods, longer school years, prosperity, and smaller families with more intensive parenting, as well as exposure to technology such as computers.

Group Differences in Intelligence Have Multiple Determinants

One of the most controversial aspects of intelligence testing over the last century has been whether there are differences between groups in level of intelligence and, if so, the basis of these differences. Here we consider whether there are sex or racial differences in intelligence.

SEX A great deal of research has addressed the question of whether females or males are more intelligent. It might seem that the simplest way to answer the question is to determine whether females or males have the higher average IQ score. This solution does not work, however, because most of the commonly used intelligence tests were written in ways that would avoid creating an overall *sex* difference in IQ (Brody, 1992).

To study differences between males and females in intelligence, Arthur Jensen (1998) analyzed intelligence tests that "load heavily on g." Jensen used only tests that had not deliberately eliminated *sex* differences. As a result, he was more likely to find evidence for *sex* differences in intelligence, if those differences existed. Jensen concluded, "No evidence was found for *sex* differences in the mean level of g or in the variability of g.... Males, on average, excel on some factors; females on others" (pp. 531–532).

There are differences between females and males, on average, on some measures that presumably reflect intelligence. Females get better grades in school and tend to have the advantage on measures of writing and of language usage. By contrast, males tend to get higher scores on some standardized tests of math aptitude and of visuospatial processing (Halpern et al., 2007). Therefore, neither women nor men are "smarter."

RACE Multiple studies over the past 30 years have found that, on average, whites score about 10 to 15 points higher than African Americans on most measures of intelligence. The difference between groups exists. How much of the effect is genetic, and how much is environmental? At this time, there is no clear-cut basis for understanding why some racial groups may score lower on standardized tests of intelligence.

Early intelligence tests were criticized for being biased against minority testtakers. That is, doing well on intelligence tests often required knowing the language and practices of the mainstream, mostly white European cultures. Sometimes it is difficult to detect and quantify the bias in intelligence assessments. However, group differences emerge even for tests that are culturally neutral, such as the Raven Progressive Matrices Test (**FIGURE 8.49**).

In any case, it is not scientifically appropriate to conclude that genes cause differences between groups if there are any environmental differences between those groups. Recall the earlier discussion of plants grown in different environments. On average, compared with white Americans, African Americans make less money and are more likely to live in poverty, have fewer years of education, have lower-quality health care, and are more likely to face prejudice and discrimination. Around the world, minority groups that are the targets of discrimination—such as the Maori in New Zealand, the burakumin in Japan, and the Dalits, or "untouchables," in India—have lower intelligence scores on average.

John Ogbu (1994) has argued that poor treatment of minority-group members can make them pessimistic about their chances of success within their cultures, potentially making them less likely to believe that hard work will pay off for them. Such attitudes may lower their motivational levels and therefore their performances. Indeed, a lack of motivation is associated with poorer performance on IQ tests (Duckworth, Quinn, Lynam, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2011). This explanation is plausible,





Choose from the eight shapes below to complete the sequence:



The solution is the first triangle in the bottom row.

FIGURE 8.49 Removing Bias from Tests

This nonverbal test requires testtakers to identify a missing element to complete a pattern. According to the creators of this test, the task is not culturally biased.
FIGURE 8.50

Stereotype Threat

Stereotype threat may lead black students to perform poorly on some standardized tests.



but it is not a clear-cut basis for understanding the differences in test scores between African Americans and white Americans (Neisser et al., 1996).

Another plausible explanation is **stereotype threat**. This effect is the apprehension or fear that some people might experience if they believe that their performances on tests might confirm negative stereotypes about their racial group (Steele and Aronson, 1995; **FIGURE 8.50**). Stereotype threat causes distraction and anxiety, interfering with performance by reducing the capacity of short-term memory and undermining confidence and motivation (Schmader, 2010). An fMRI study found that stereotype threat was associated with increased activity in brain regions involved in social and emotional processing (Krendl, Richeson, Kelley, & Heatherton, 2008). These results confirm the idea that anxiety about confirming stereotypes interferes with performance.

Stereotype threat applies to any member of a group who believes the group has a negative stereotype. For example, when women take standardized math tests, those who believe that men tend to do better on such tests tend to do worse than men. Women who do not hold this belief do not differ in their scores from men (Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999).

One study found an especially intriguing example of stereotype threat (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999). Asian American women did well on a math test when the "Asians are good at math" stereotype was primed by having them respond to questions about racial identity. They did poorly when the "women are bad at math" stereotype was primed by having them respond to questions about gender. In this same study, however, women from Vancouver showed a slightly different pattern. The stereotype that Asians perform at a superior level is less strong in Canada than in the United States. In other words, the researchers had a two-part hypothesis: They predicted that being primed as women would reduce these women's test scores on math items. They also predicted that being primed as Asians would not lead to increased performance. Their findings supported both parts of the hypothesis. As a result, they demonstrate the power of believing sociocultural stereotypes on individual performance.

A meta-analysis examined 39 independent laboratory studies on stereotype threat (Walton & Spencer, 2009). Together, these studies included 3,180 participants from five countries (Canada, France, Germany, Sweden, and the United States) and many stereotyped groups (e.g., blacks, Latinos, Turkish Germans, women). According to the meta-analysis, stereotyped groups perform worse than nonstereotyped groups when a test is presented as evaluative. However, this effect is reversed when the

stereotype threat Apprehension about confirming negative stereotypes related to one's own group.



FIGURE 8.51 Stereotype Threat Counteracted

Stereotype threat can be counteracted when people are warned about it.

threat is reduced, such as when an exam is presented as nonevaluative, such as giving questions in the form of games.

Interventions to reduce stereotype threat effects are often successful. For instance, informing people about the negative consequences of stereotype threat can inoculate them from the negative effects (Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005; **FIGURE 8.51**). Encouraging African American students to write about important personal values may protect them from stereotype threat, perhaps because it leads them to focus on positive aspects of their lives rather than on stereotypes about their group (Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006). Other studies have found that bolstering peer relations and social connections can help prevent stereotype threat. Indeed, school environments that provide opportunities to develop social skills and create friendships are associated with better academic performance among Canadian aboriginal children (Baydala et al., 2009).

Summing Up

How Do We Understand Intelligence?

- Intelligence is the ability to use knowledge to reason, make decisions, solve problems, understand complex ideas, learn quickly, and adapt to environmental challenges.
- The two types of standardized tests of intelligence are aptitude tests, which assess ability and potential, and achievement tests, which measure accumulated knowledge.
- Two commonly used intelligence tests are the Stanford-Binet test for children, and the WAIS for adults.
- Intelligence quotient (IQ) is derived by dividing mental age by chronological age, then multiplying the result by 100.
- IQ tests have been shown to be valid measures of intelligence. Perseverance, zeal, and willingness to work long hours are also important for developing expertise.
- General intelligence (g) is the idea that one general factor underlies intelligence. This factor
 may consist of two components: fluid intelligence (the ability to think logically about abstract
 concepts without any previous knowledge) and crystallized intelligence (accumulated
 knowledge).

- Several theories propose multiple intelligences, such as emotional intelligence (how well
 people succeed in social situations). Additional research is needed to verify whether multiple
 intelligences exist.
- High IQ is related to increased speed of mental processing, as measured by reaction time and inspection time tasks.
- Working memory may be related to intelligence for tasks that require attention.
- People high on fluid intelligence have been found to have a greater density of neural cell bodies (gray matter) in the frontal lobes, an area of the brain that regulates working memory.
- Savants have minimal intellectual capacities in most domains, but at a very early age they show an exceptional ability in some "intelligent" process.
- There is likely a genetic component to intelligence that involves many genes, but environment plays a large role in how intelligence is expressed.
- Epigenetics offers an explanation for how intelligence may develop, by describing how environmental influences such as enrichment and education can permit gene expression to increase synaptic connections and brain efficiency to increase intelligence.
- There is no overall difference in intelligence between men and women, although men tend to score higher on standardized tests of math and visuospatial processing and women often score higher on tests of writing and language use.
- On standardized tests, white, European Americans tend to score 10-15 points higher than African Americans. There is no clear-cut basis for understanding this difference, but environmental factors likely play a large role.
- Stereotype threat is a negative effect on test performance caused by the belief that the testtaker's performance will reflect a negative stereotype about the test-taker's group. A few methods exist to counteract stereotype threat.

Measuring Up

- 1. Identify whether each of the following actions is primarily an example of fluid intelligence or crystallized intelligence.
 - a. solving a crossword puzzle
 - b. identifying multiple uses for a pencil
 - c. remembering the name of the 13th president of the United States
 - **d.** understanding the meaning of a sentence
 - e. identifying a noun, a verb, an adjective, and a preposition in a sentence
 - f. calculating the volume of a building that is 120 feet tall and 90 feet wide
 - g. knowing the height of the Empire State Building
- 2. Which of the following examples are environmental factors that could affect intelligence?
 - a. being raised by caregivers of high intelligence
 - b. breastfeeding until 9 months of age
 - c. being born into a family with high socioeconomic status
 - d. going to a good school
 - e. avoiding exposure to toxins
- 3. To reduce the effects of stereotype threat, you could
 - **a.** make a test as difficult as possible to equalize the threat across all test-takers.
 - **b.** tell test-takers the test will help diagnose performance of the test group.
 - c. give the test only to people in the majority who will not be affected by stereotype threat.
 - **d.** tell test-takers to write about important personal values before they take the test.

ANSWERS: (1) a. fluid; **b.** fluid; **c.** crystallized; **d.** fluid; **e.** crystallized; **f.** fluid; **g.** crystallized. (2) a, b, c, d, and e. (3) **d.** tell test-takers the test will help diagnose performance of the test group.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

8.1 What Is Thought?

- Thinking Involves Two Types of Mental Representations: Cognition can be broadly defined as thinking and understanding, processes studied by cognitive psychologists. Knowledge about the world is stored in the brain in representations. Analogical representations are images that contain characteristics of actual objects. Symbolic representations are abstract representations with no real connection to actual objects. Mental maps use both analogical and symbolic representations.
- Concepts Are Symbolic Representations: Concepts are mental representations that categorize items around commonalities. According to the prototype model, an individual forms a concept around a category and then chooses a prototype that best represents the concept. According to the exemplar model, the individual chooses a concept by combining representations of all the examples (exemplars) of a category ever experienced by the individual.
- Schemas Organize Useful Information About Environments: Schemas are categories used to organize information. Schemas usually work because situations and appropriate behaviors follow general rules. Scripts are schemas that guide behavior in specific situations, such as going to the movies. Schemas and scripts are adaptive because they minimize attentional requirements and help people avoid dangerous situations. A negative consequence of schemas and scripts is that they can reinforce stereotypes and biases.

8.2 How Do We Make Decisions and Solve Problems?

• Decision Making Often Involves Heuristics: Decision making is selecting the best alternative among several options. According to normative theories of decision making, people make decisions to achieve the greatest gain. However, people do not always follow this rule. Descriptive theories of decision making try to realistically account for the variability, such as biases and irrationality, in how people decide. People often use heuristics, or mental shortcuts, to make decisions. Four common heuristics are relative comparisons (anchoring and framing), availability, representativeness, and affective. The paradox of choice explains that even though people prefer more choices, increasing the number of options decreases decision making and decreases satisfaction with decisions.

Problem Solving Achieves Goals: Problem solving is finding a way around an obstacle to reach a goal. Problem solving can be improved by breaking problems into subgoals, restructuring the problem, working backward from the goal, or transferring an effective strategy from an analogous situation. Mental sets and functional fixedness inhibit problem solving. Insight is the sudden realization of a solution to a problem and is often achieved by overcoming functional fixedness.

8.3 What Is Language?

- Language Is a System of Communication Using Sounds and Symbols: Morphemes are the smallest units of language that have meaning. Phonemes are the basic sounds of speech, the building blocks of language. A network of left hemisphere brain regions—including Broca's area in the frontal lobe and Wernicke's area at the junction of the temporal and parietal lobes—govern speech production and comprehension. According to linguistic relativity theory, language determines, or at least influences, thought.
- Language Develops in an Orderly Way: Language production proceeds from babies' cooing to babbling to the use of single words to telegraphic speech to the use of full sentences to the eventual acquisition of some 60,000 words.
- There Is an Inborn Capacity for Language: Behaviorists believed that language was learned through operant conditioning. However, children acquire language even in the absence of reinforcement. Noam Chomsky proposed instead that humans are born with an innate capability for language, called the language acquisition device, which contains universal grammar rules. Experience with other speakers enables children to acquire the rules specific to their native language.
- **Reading Needs to Be Learned:** For most adults, reading is automatic and effortless, and we derive accurate meaning even from misspelled words. Phonics is a method for teaching reading by associating letters with phonemes. Phonics is the best method for teaching basic reading skills, especially for children unfamiliar with reading. Whole language is a method for teaching reading by emphasizing the meanings of words and how words are connected in sentences. Whole language is a good way to encourage reading.

8.4 How Do We Understand Intelligence?

- Intelligence Is Measured by Standardized Tests: Intelligence is the ability to use knowledge to reason, make decisions, solve problems, understand complex ideas, learn quickly, and adapt to environmental challenges. The two types of standardized intelligence tests are aptitude tests, which assess ability and potential, and achievement tests, which measure accumulated knowledge. Two commonly used intelligence tests are the Stanford-Binet test for children and the WAIS for adults. Intelligence quotient (IQ) is derived by dividing mental age by chronological age and then multiplying the result by 100. IQ tests have been shown to be valid measures of intelligence. Perseverance, zeal, and willingness to work long hours are also necessary for expertise.
- General Intelligence Involves Multiple Components: General intelligence (g) is the idea that one general factor underlies intelligence. This factor may consist of two components: fluid intelligence (the ability to think logically about abstract concepts without any previous knowledge) and crystallized intelligence (accumulated knowledge). Several theories have proposed multiple intelligences, such as emotional intelligence (how well people succeed in social situations). Additional research is needed to verify that multiple intelligences exist. Savants have minimal intellectual capacities in most domains, but at a very early age they show an exceptional ability in some "intelligent" process.

- Intelligence Is Related to Cognitive Performance: High IQ is related to increased speed of mental processing, as measured by reaction time and inspection time tasks. Working memory may be related to intelligence for tasks that require attention. People high on fluid intelligence have been found to have a greater density of neural cell bodies (gray matter) in the frontal lobes, an area of the brain that regulates working memory.
- Genes and Environment Influence Intelligence: There is likely a complex genetic component to intelligence, but environment plays a large role in how intelligence is expressed. Epigenetics offers an explanation for how intelligence may develop, by describing how environmental influences such as enrichment and education can permit gene expression to promote synaptic connections and processing efficiency in the brain to increase intelligence.
- Group Differences in Intelligence Have Multiple Determinants: There is no overall difference in intelligence between men and women, although men tend to score higher on standardized tests of math ability and visuospatial processing and women tend to score higher on tests of writing and language use. On standardized tests, white, European Americans tend to score 10–15 points higher than African Americans. There is no clear-cut basis for understanding this difference, but environmental factors likely play a large role. Stereotype threat is a negative effect on test performance caused by the belief that the test-taker's group. A few methods exist to counteract stereotype threat.

Key Terms

affective forecasting, p. 320 analogical representations, p. 310 anchoring, p. 318 aphasia, p. 330 availability heuristic, p. 320 cognition, p. 310 concept, p. 312 crystallized intelligence, p. 341 decision making, p. 316 deep structure, p. 334 descriptive decision theories, p. 317 emotional intelligence (EI), p. 343 exemplar model, p. 312 fluid intelligence, p. 341 framing, p. 318 functional fixedness, p. 325 general intelligence (g), p. 341 heuristics, p. 317 insight, p. 326 intelligence, p. 338 intelligence quotient (IQ), p. 339 language, p. 329 linguistic relativity theory, p. 331 mental age, p. 339 mental sets, p. 324 morphemes, p. 329 normative decision theories, p. 317 phonemes, p. 329 phonics, p. 336 problem solving, p. 316 prototype model, p. 312 representativeness heuristic, p. 320 restructuring, p. 324 stereotypes, p. 313 stereotype threat, p. 350 surface structure, p. 334 symbolic representations, p. 311 telegraphic speech, p. 333 thinking, p. 310 Wernicke's area, p. 331 whole language, p. 336

Practice Test

- 1. Which of the following examples represent an analogical representation, a symbolic representation, or both?
 - **a.** the word *cat*
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.\ a \, picture \, of \, a \, cat$
 - ${\bf c.}~$ a mental map of the United States
 - **d.** the word America
- 2. Insight can often be achieved when people overcome
 - **a.** stereotype threat.
 - **b.** functional fixedness.
 - c. prototypical models.
 - d. the use of exemplars.
- **3.** The <u>model</u> of teaching reading is better for poor readers and inexperienced ones.
 - **a.** syntax

b. whole language

c. phonicsd. exemplar

- **4.** Which theory of language development suggests that people are born with an innate ability for language, called the language acquisition device?
 - a. Whorf's language relativity theory
 - **b.** Sternberg's triarchic theory
 - c. Skinner's theory of behaviorism
 - d. Chomsky's universal grammar theory
- **5.** Which of the following statements about brain regions and language processing is correct?
 - **a.** Broca's area controls speech production.
 - $\textbf{b.}\ Wernicke's \ area \ controls \ speech \ comprehension.$
 - ${\bf c.}~$ The amygdala controls the acquisition of vocabulary.
 - $\textbf{d.} \quad \text{both a and b}$
- **6.** True or false: Racial and sex differences in IQ test scores prove that there is a significant genetic component to intelligence.

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.





Ask & Answer

9.1 What Factors Shape Infancy? 359

9.2 How Do Children Learn About the World? 374

9.3 What Changes During Adolescence? 384

9.4 What Brings Meaning in Adulthood? 393



FIGURE 9.1 Genie This photo shows Genie in the early 1970s.

Human Development

IN 1970, A MOTHER AND HER YOUNG DAUGHTER walked into a welfare office in Los Angeles. The mother was seeking help after escaping an abusive and mentally ill husband. When a social worker saw the girl, who was 4 feet 6 inches tall and weighed 59 pounds, she alerted her supervisor. Although the girl, known as Genie, looked much younger, she turned out to be 13 years old (**FIGURE 9.1**). Having suffered severe neglect and abuse, she could not hop, skip, climb, or do anything that required the full extension of her limbs. After being admitted to a hospital, she was taken from her parents and placed in foster care.

Genie's early life had been a nightmare. For more than 10 years, her father had locked her in a tiny, dark room in an attic. Tied to a potty seat during the day and caged in a crib at night, she had been poorly fed and was beaten for making any noise. In her barren room, she had no one to talk to, nothing to listen to, and nothing to look at. She was raised without normal human contact and stimulation from the external world. Her mother was legally blind and deathly afraid of her violent husband. When therapists first saw Genie, she had a strange gait, almost like a rabbit's, and held her hands out in front of her like a dog sitting up and begging. She understood just a few words and could form only brief phrases, such as "Stop it" and "No more." For the next four years, scientists from Children's Hospital Los Angeles examined Genie's development. Genie's extreme case provided the opportunity to witness and record the potential consequences of extreme social isolation (Curtiss, 1977; Rymer, 1993).

Throughout the history of psychology, scientists have vigorously debated the contributions of nature and nurture to development. Nearly everyone now agrees that both are important, and current research focuses on how, exactly, genes and experiences might interact to make us who we are. As discussed in Chapter 3, environment determines how specific genes are expressed. But how much of who we are as humans is hardwired in our genes, and how much is the result of experience? What is human nature when it is stripped of society and culture?

The scientists involved in Genie's case could not ethically conduct an experiment to examine these variables, but they hoped the case might provide insight into what makes us human. Would Genie develop normal social skills that would allow her to become a full member of society if she received the proper stimulation and nurturing so late in life? Would a warm, caring environment help her recover from her tragic past? Or had the years of abuse destroyed her capacities for cognition, language, and emotion?

After an extended stay in the hospital, Genie lived with her therapist and his family. She made some progress in forming social relationships, doing activities such as sewing, and acquiring minimal language. She learned many words, as well as some sign language, but she could not put words together into coherent sentences. When Genie turned 18, her mother regained custody of her and immediately cut off all contact with the professionals who had tried to help. She felt they were exploiting Genie and tried to sue the research team. Because her mother was legally blind and Genie was very difficult to care for, they lived together for only a short time before Genie was removed again and sent to a series of foster homes. Genie now lives in a small group home for adults who cannot look after themselves.

Unfortunately, we will never know whether her father's sadistic behavior and neglect caused Genie's developmental deficits. She could have been born with brain damage or other kinds of developmental delays. The only certainty is that both nature and nurture played a role in Genie's developmental outcome, as they do in each person's.

This chapter examines the ways biological and social forces combine to shape the path of human development. In doing so, it presents the findings of **developmental psychology**. As noted in Chapter 1, this subfield is concerned with changes, over the life span, in physiology, cognition, emotion, and social behavior. How do genes interact with early experiences to make each of us an individual? How do we, while remaining individuals, become members of society? How do we grow and adapt within our own cultures?

developmental psychology The study of changes, over the life span, in physiology, cognition, emotion, and social behavior.

9.1 What Factors Shape Infancy?

For the most part, human physical development follows a predictable progression. Physically, each human grows and matures at about the same periods in the life span: the prenatal period, which begins with conception and ends with birth; infancy, which begins at birth and lasts 18 to 24 months; childhood, which begins at the end of infancy and lasts until somewhere between ages 11 and 14; adolescence, which begins at the end of childhood and lasts until somewhere between 18 and 21 years; and adulthood, which begins at the end of adolescence and lasts until death. The consistency of this pattern suggests that genes set the order and timing of development.

Development Starts in the Womb

From conception through birth approximately nine months later, remarkable developments occur (FIGURE 9.2). The process begins at the moment of conception, when the sperm from the male unites with the egg from the female to create the zygote, the first cell of a new life. At about 2 weeks after conception, the zygote is firmly implanted in the uterine wall, and the next stage of development begins. From about 2 weeks to 2 months, the developing human is known as an embryo. During this stage, the organs (such as the heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, and sex organs) and internal systems (such as the nervous system) begin to form. During this period, the embryo is especially vulnerable. Exposure to harm-such as toxins, drugs, extreme stress, or poor nutrition-can have lasting effects on developing organ systems.

After 2 months of prenatal development, all the organs are formed, the heart begins to beat, and the growing human is called a *fetus*. The body continues to grow into its infant form. The fetus grows larger, stronger, and fatter, as the body organs mature to a point where survival is possible outside the womb. With current medical technology helping out, many fetuses can now survive outside the womb after as little as 22 weeks of prenatal development. Most healthy full-term pregnancies, however, end with the birth of the baby at between 38 and 42 weeks.

BRAIN DEVELOPMENT Early brain growth has two important aspects. First, specific areas within the brain mature and become functional. Second, regions of the brain learn to communicate with one another through synaptic connections.

One important way that brain circuits mature is through myelination. This process begins on the spinal cord during the first trimester of pregnancy and on the neurons during the second trimester. As discussed in Chapter 3, myelination is the brain's way of insulating its "wires." Nerve fibers are wrapped with a fatty sheath, much like the plastic coating around electrical wire (see Figure 3.5). This wrapping increases the speed with which the fibers are able to transmit signals. The myelinated axons form synapses with other neurons.

Though most neurons are already formed at birth, the brain's physical development continues through the growth of neurons and the new connections they make. By age 4, the human brain has grown to about 80 percent of the adult size. This size increase is due to myelination and to new synaptic connections among neurons. Far more of these connections develop than the infant brain will ever use. Genetic instruction leads the brain to grow, but the organ is also highly "plastic." That is, the brain organizes itself in response to its environmental experiences, preserving connections it needs in order to function in a given context and pruning out others. In other words, "use it or lose it." When connections are used, they are preserved. When connections

Learning **Objectives**

- Describe how the prenatal environment can affect development.
- Explain how dynamic systems theory illuminates the ways biology and environment work together to shape development.
- Summarize key research findings on infant learning and infant memory.
- Describe the different types of attachment infants have to their caregivers.









FIGURE 9.2 Development in the Womb (a) The union of egg and sperm forms a zygote. (b) The zygote develops into an embryo. (c) The embryo becomes a fetus.



FIGURE 9.3 Environment and Synaptic Connections

These images illustrate the impact of neglect on the developing brain. The CT scan on the left is from a healthy 3-year-old child with an average head size. The CT scan on the right is from a 3-year-old child following severe sensory-deprivation neglect (e.g., minimal exposure to language, to touch, and to social interaction) during early childhood. This brain is significantly smaller than average, and its cortical, limbic, and midbrain structures are abnormally developed.

synaptic pruning

A process whereby the synaptic connections in the brain that are used are preserved, and those that are not used are lost.

teratogens

Agents that harm the embryo or fetus.



FIGURE 9.4 Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Compare (a) the brain of a normal 6-week-old baby with (b) the brain of a baby of the same age with FAS. are not used, they decay and disappear. This process of **synaptic pruning** allows every brain to adapt well to any environment in which it may find itself. The brain continues to develop and mature through adolescence and beyond.

Nutrition affects aspects of brain development, such as myelination, beginning in the womb and extending through childhood. Malnourished children might also lack the energy to interact with objects and people. This lack of stimulation would further undermine brain development. When a child's environment does not stimulate her or his brain, such as in the case of Genie (described in the chapter opener), very few synaptic connections will be made. The brain

will be less sophisticated and less able to process complex information, solve problems, or allow the child to develop advanced language skills (Perry, 2002; **FIGURE 9.3**). As discussed in Chapter 3, rats raised in enriched environments also show evidence of greater brain development.

One factor that can diminish an environment is poverty. The living conditions that tend to come with poverty (e.g., stress, poor nutrition, exposure to toxins and violence) are bad for the development of human brains. These negative effects begin at a young age—probably before birth—and continue through life (Farah et al., 2008; Lawson et al., 2013). Thus, although genes provide instructions for the maturing brain, how the brain changes during infancy and early childhood is also very much affected by environment.

EXPOSURE TO TERATOGENS DURING PRENATAL DEVELOPMENT Terato-

gens are agents that harm the embryo or fetus. (The word *teratogens* comes from the Greek for "monster makers.") Specifically, these agents can impair development in the womb, sometimes with terrible consequences. Teratogens include drugs, alcohol, bacteria, viruses, and chemicals. The physical effects of exposure to certain teratogens may be obvious at birth, but disorders involving language, reasoning, social behavior, or emotional behavior may not become apparent until the child is older. The extent to which a teratogen causes damage depends on when the embryo or fetus is exposed to it, as well as the length and amount of exposure.

The most common teratogen is alcohol. Drinking alcohol during pregnancy can lead to *fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS)*. The symptoms of this disorder are low birth weight; face and head abnormalities; fetal alcohol spectrum disorders, such as intellectual disability; and behavioral and cognitive problems (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; **FIGURE 9.4**). FAS is most likely to occur among infants of women who drink heavily during pregnancy, especially if they binge drink. However, no minimal amount of alcohol has been determined to be safe for pregnant women and their developing babies. For this reason, many health workers recommend that women abstain from drinking alcohol when they are pregnant or trying to become

pregnant (Mukherjee, Hollins, Abou-Saleh, & Turk, 2005). In the United States, the prevalence of FAS is estimated to be between 0.2 and 2.0 cases per 1,000 live births, though the actual numbers could be higher (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004).

The use of recreational drugs—such as opiates, cocaine, or cannabis during pregnancy can also affect a child's development. Premature birth and other complications have been associated with the use of all these drugs during pregnancy (Cain, Bornick, & Whiteman, 2013; Hayatbakhsh et al., 2011; Minnes, Lang, & Singer, 2011). Infants of women taking opiates, particularly methadone, have five to ten times greater risk for unexplained sudden death in infancy (Ali, Ahmed, & Greenough, 2012). Among infants exposed

to opiates in the womb, 55 percent to 94 percent show symptoms of newborn withdrawal (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1998; Lejeune, Simmat-Durand, Gourarier, & Aubisson, 2006). These symptoms include irritability, high-pitched crying, tremors, vomiting, diarrhea, and rapid breathing. Far less research has been done on the effects of paternal health and lifestyles on prenatal development. There is evidence, however, that men should be just as cautious about their diets, exposure to toxins, and use of substances as women are, if there is a possibility that the men might father children. For example, paternal smoking and alcohol consumption are related to a number of health problems for infants, perhaps because of gene mutations or damaged sperm (Linschooten, et al., 2013; Savitz, Schwingle, & Keels, 1991). Much more research is needed on the male role in prenatal development, because we do not know the precise mechanisms underlying such research findings, nor do we know how much stress or toxin exposure developing embryos can take.

An important point to remember is that some heavy substance users and some people exposed to toxins or stress have normal infants. Conversely, some people with only moderate exposure to teratogens have infants with serious developmental effects. Thus, we cannot say with certainty that any given baby born to a drug user or to a person who works around chemicals will be impaired. Likewise, we cannot be assured that light drinking or minimal teratogen exposure will allow for normal development. All potential parents face the responsibility of caring for their own mental and physical health to increase the odds of being able to parent a healthy and robust newborn.

Biology and Environment Influence Motor Development

Although newborn infants cannot survive on their own, they are not completely helpless. Newborns have various motor reflexes that aid survival. Perhaps you have observed the *grasping reflex* when a baby held your finger. This reflex is a survival mechanism that has persisted from our primate ancestors. After all, young apes grasp their mothers, and this reflex is adaptive because the offspring need to be carried from place to place. Also appearing at birth is the *rooting reflex*, the turning and sucking that infants automatically engage in when a nipple or similar object touches an area near their mouths. If they find an object, they will show the *sucking reflex* (**FIGURE 9.5**). These reflexes pave the way for learning more-complicated behavior patterns, such as feeding oneself or walking. Thus, at birth the brain is sufficiently developed to support basic reflexes, but further brain development is necessary for other development to occur.



FIGURE 9.5 Infant Reflexes

Infants are born with innate abilities that help them survive, including the **(a)** rooting reflex, **(b)** sucking reflex, and **(c)** grasping reflex.

No newborn talks immediately, nor does any baby walk before it can sit up. But most humans make eye contact quickly after they are born, display a first social smile at around 6 weeks, and learn to roll over, to sit up, to crawl, to stand, to walk, and to talk, in that order. Occasionally, a child skips one of these steps or reverses a couple of them, but generally each child follows these steps within a predictable range of ages (**FIGURE 9.6**).

Meanwhile, each person's environment influences what happens throughout that individual's development. For example, infants often achieve developmental milestones at different paces, depending on the cultures in which they are raised. Consider that healthy Baganda infants in Uganda were found to walk, on average, between 9 and 11 months of age, which was one month earlier than African American infants and about three months earlier than European American infants (Kilbride, Robbins, & Kilbride, 1970). Such differences are due in part to different patterns of infant care across cultures. For example, Western infants spend a lot more time in cribs and playpens than African infants do. African infants are often strapped to their mothers' backs all day, practicing holding their heads up virtually from birth.

Kipsigi mothers living in the Kohwet village culture in western Kenya were found to put their babies in shallow holes in the ground so the babies could practice sitting upright (Super, 1976). The mothers then marched their babies around while placing their own arms under the babies' underarms, so the children could practice walking. These infants walked about one to two months earlier than American and European infants. When middle-class Kipsigi families who had moved to a larger city were assessed in their Westernized homes, they still deliberately taught their infants motor skills. However, they also let their infants sleep in cribs and lie in



FIGURE 9.6

Learning to Walk

Usually, a human baby learns to walk without formal teaching, in a sequence characteristic of all humans. However, the numbers of months given here are averages. A child might deviate from this sequence or these times but still be developing normally.

playpens like their European counterparts. These urban infants walked 2 weeks later than the rural infants in Kohwet but 1 week earlier than infants in Boston, Massachusetts. These findings illustrate the importance of socialization experiences and parental goals in the development of infant motor skills.

The aim of these early studies was to find out whether the development of walking was genetically or environmentally determined. Contemporary research has moved beyond such questions because we now know that every new development is the result of complex and consistent interplays between biological and environmental forces. Developmental psychologists now consider new forms of development (such as when an infant is able to walk 2 weeks after not being able to walk) to be part of a *dynamic system*. **Dynamic systems theory** views development as a selforganizing process, in which new forms of behavior emerge through consistent interactions between a biological being and cultural and environmental contexts (Smith & Thelan, 2003; **FIGURE 9.7**).

From this perspective, developmental advances in any domain (physiological, cognitive, emotional, or social) occur through both the person's active exploration of an environment and the constant feedback that environment provides. For example, an infant placed on a play mat may grow bored with the toys dangling above her on a mobile. She suddenly spies an attractive stuffed unicorn about 10 feet away, far from the play mat where her mother placed her. Her physical body is strong enough to get herself off the mat, but because she cannot crawl, she uses her own active strategizing in combination with feedback from the environment to figure out how to reach the toy. She rocks her body from side to side with her arm outstretched toward the toy. The environmental feedback tells her that after one more heavy roll, she will be on her stomach and possibly closer to the toy. She tries for over 10 minutes, and suddenly she rolls over. She continues to heave herself over and over until she has rolled 10 feet and can now grasp the unicorn. Her mother may walk into the room and think, "Wow, she just suddenly learned to roll around the room!" What her mother does not realize is that every new behavioral skill to emerge is the result of a complex and dynamic system of influences, including the child's motivation and personality, which respond to environmental cues.



dynamic systems theory The view that development is a self-organizing process, in which new forms of behavior emerge through consistent interactions between a biological being and cultural and environmental contexts.

FIGURE 9.7 Dynamic Systems Theory

Throughout life, every new form of behavior emerges through consistent interactions between a biological being and cultural and environmental contexts.

Infants Are Prepared to Learn

Step into the nursery for newborns, bend over a bassinet, peer at the newborn inside, and stick your tongue out. The baby, less than one hour old, sticks her tongue out at you (**FIGURE 9.8**). Think about the remarkable activity going on in the baby's young brain. After seeing a face with a tongue sticking out, the baby somehow seems to know that she too has a face with a tongue. The brain finds the tongue in its long list of body parts, sends it a command to get a move on, and out it goes. How does the baby know a tongue is a tongue? How does the baby's brain know what neural system is in charge of the tongue? How does the baby know how to move the tongue? Why does the baby move her tongue? Obviously, this behavior was not learned by looking in a mirror, nor had it been taught. The ability to imitate must be innate.

Imitation is the baby's first social interaction, but babies are discerning. They will imitate the actions of other humans but not of objects. Babies are born categorizing, and newborns already understand they are in the people category, not the object category. The baby brain already has specific neural circuits for identifying biological motion and inanimate object motion, along with specific circuits to identify faces and facial movement (Lloyd-Fox, Blasi, Everdell, Elwell, & Johnson, 2011). What links him to you and you to him in the social world are his imitative actions. You purse your lips, and he purses his lips. He does not lie there like a lump of clay but responds in a way that you can relate to.

PERCEPTION Newborns normally come into the world with fairly welldeveloped perceptual skills: smelling, hearing, tasting, and responding to touch. Although some of these skills are not fully developed at birth, the newborn is able to process a considerable range of sensory stimuli. For instance, 2-hour-old infants prefer sweet tastes to all other tastes (Rosenstein & Oster, 1988). Young infants also have a reasonably acute sense of smell, at least for smells associated with feeding. In a number of studies, infants turned their heads toward a pad containing their own mother's milk but not toward pads containing milk from other breast-



FIGURE 9.8 Infant Learning Newborns have the ability to imitate

adults' sticking out their tongues and other facial expressions (Meltzoff & Moore, 1977). feeding mothers (e.g., Winberg & Porter, 1998).

The sense of hearing is also quite good shortly after birth: Infants are startled by loud sounds and often will turn their bodies toward the source of the sounds. When newborns are exposed to the crying of another infant, a distress response is induced, and the newborns will join in the crying. When they hear their own recorded cry played to them, or other random noises, a distress response is not induced, and they do not cry (Dondi, Simion, & Caltran, 1999). These responses suggest that newborns are able to distinguish between their own cry and other infants' cries and have some innate understanding of the difference between themselves and others (Martin & Clark, 1982). Infants' abilities to recognize sounds and locate those sounds in space improve continuously as the infants gain experience with objects and people and as the auditory cortex develops. By the age of 6 months, babies have a nearly adult level of auditory function

(DeCasper & Spence, 1986).

The sense of vision develops more slowly than hearing. The ability to distinguish differences among shapes, patterns, and colors is known as *visual acuity*. Infants' visual acuity for distant objects is poor when they are first born, but it increases rapidly over the first six months (Teller, Morse, Borton, & Regal, 1974). They do not

reach adult levels of acuity until they are about a year old. The increase in visual acuity is probably due to a combination of practice in looking at things in the world, the development of the visual cortex, and the development of the cones in the retina (as noted in Chapter 5, the cones are important for perceiving detail).

Infants respond more to objects with high-contrast patterns than to other stimuli. In the early 1960s, Robert Fantz (1963) and other developmental psychologists observed infants' reactions to patterns of black-and-white stripes as well as patches of gray (**FIGURE 9.9**). In these studies, the mother or another caregiver was asked to hold the infant in front of a display of the two images. The experimenter, not knowing which image was on which side, would observe through a peephole to see where the infant preferred to look. This research revealed that infants look at stripes with high contrast more readily than at gray images. The smaller the stripes are—that is, the less contrast between the images—the more difficult it becomes for infants to distinguish them from the gray patches. This type of research makes use of the *preferential-looking technique* (**FIGURE 9.10**). In using this technique, the researchers show an infant two things. If the infant looks longer at one of the things, the researchers know the infant can distinguish between the two and finds one more interesting.

MEMORY The development of memory helps children learn about the world around them. That is, children are able to use new information to build on what they already know. In two experiments, Carolyn Rovee-Collier (1999) revealed that from a very young age, infants possess some types of memory.

In one experiment, a mobile hanging over a crib was attached to an infant's ankle with a ribbon. The infant learned that he or she could move the mobile by kicking. The rate at which the infant kicked when the mobile was not attached served as the baseline. When the infant was tested later, the ribbon was attached to the ankle but not to the mobile, so the kicks no longer moved the mobile. If the baby recognized the mobile, presumably it would kick faster than the baseline rate to try to make the mobile move. Infants ranging in age from 2 months to 18 months were trained for two days on the mobile task and then tested after different lengths of time. The findings indicated that, compared to younger infants, older infants could retain their memories regarding the connection between the ankle kicking and the mobile movement for longer periods of time. By 18 months, the infants could remember the event even if they were tested several weeks after they had learned the initial associations (see "Scientific Thinking: The Memory-Retention Test," on page 366).

What is your earliest explicit memory? Most adults remember few events that occurred before they were 3 or 4 years old. Freud referred to this inability to remember events from early childhood as **infantile amnesia**. Psychologists have offered various explanations for this phenomenon (Eacott, 1999). Some psychologists believe that children begin to retain explicit memories after developing the ability to create autobiographical memory based on personal experience. Other psychologists suggest that childhood memory develops with language acquisition because the ability to use words and concepts aids in memory retention. Still other psychologists theorize that children younger than 3 or 4 do not perceive contexts well enough to store memories accurately. They argue that improvements in children's abilities to encode new information, retain it for longer periods, and deliberately retrieve it underlie the decrease in infantile amnesia after the first 5 years of life (Hayne, 2004).



FIGURE 9.9 Vision in Infancy

Robert Fantz was the first scientist to determine that infants prefer patterns with high contrast. A more thorough understanding of infants' visual abilities has led parents to buy mobiles and toys that use some of Fantz's testing patterns.

infantile amnesia The inability to remember events from early childhood.

A mother holds her infant in front of a display showing (left) a patch of gray and (right) a black-and-white pattern.



an experimenter looks through a peephole and notes whether the infant is looking left or right.

FIGURE 9.10 Preferential-Looking Technique This research method is used to test visual acuity in infants.

Scientific Thinking -The Memory-Retention Test

HYPOTHESIS: Very young infants have memory.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 The rate at which an infant in a crib kicked under normal conditions was measured.

- 2 A mobile was hung over the crib and attached to the infant's ankle with a ribbon, so that when the infant kicked, the mobile moved.
- 3 The rate at which the infant kicked with the ribbon attached was measured against the normal rate of kicking.



4 Later (at different delay intervals), each infant was placed in the crib, and the kicking rate was measured. A high rate of kicking indicated that the infant remembered that kicking moved the mobile.

RESULTS: Among infants ranging from 2 months to 18 months old, older infants remembered the mobile for longer periods.

CONCLUSION: Even very young infants show the capacity for memory, which improves over time.

SOURCE: Rovee-Collier, C. (1999). The development of infant memory. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *8*, 80–85.

Infants Develop Attachments

One fundamental need infants have is to bond emotionally with those who care for them. An **attachment** is a strong, intimate, emotional connection between people that persists over time and across circumstances. These emotional bonds are the building blocks of a successful social life later on. The attachment process draws on humans' innate tendency to form bonds with others. This tendency to bond is, in fact, an adaptive trait. Forming bonds with others provides protection for individuals, increases their chances of survival, and thus increases their chances of passing along their genes to future generations (Bowlby, 1982).

Like all young primates, human infants need nurturance and care from adults to survive. Unlike horses and deer, which can walk and find food within hours after birth, humans are born profoundly immature. At that early point, human infants

attachment

A strong emotional connection that persists over time and across circumstances.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Does Mozart Make You Smarter?

• an playing music to infants make them smarter? In 1993, Rauscher, Shaw, and Ky reported in the prestigious journal Nature that listening to the music of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart led to higher scores on a test related to intelligence. The media jumped onto the so-called "Mozart effect" with abandon. Web sites made bold claims about the power of Mozart, including wild assertions that listening to Mozart could cure neurological illness and other maladies. To this day, Amazon.com sells dozens of Mozart effect products claiming to boost intelligence or improve brain functioning.

Thanks to the media reports in the popular press, many parents played Mozart recordings to their young children and even to fetuses (**FIGURE 9.11**). After all, intellectual abilities are

prized, and educational success is viewed as a cornerstone to a successful life. Parents are eager to give their children every possible advantage. The state of Georgia even provided free Mozart CDs for every newborn, while the state of Florida passed a law requiring state-funded day care centers to play one hour of classical music each day, buying into the idea that serenading infants with Mozart and other composers would produce a smarter populace.

But what was the empirical basis of these claims? What is the true power of Mozart for the developing mind? To see the claims more clearly, we need to step back and critically evaluate the research underlying the Mozart effect. In the study, psychologists played the first 10 minutes of the Mozart Sonata for Two Pianos in D Major (K. 448) to a group of college students (Rauscher, Shaw, & Ky, 1993). Compared with students who listened to relaxation instructions or who sat in silence, those who heard Mozart performed slightly better on a task that involved folding and cutting paper. This task was part of a larger overall measure of intelligence. The modest increase lasted for about 10 to 15 minutes.

However, subsequent research largely failed to get the same results, even when using a similar research design. Having carefully reviewed the studies testing the Mozart effect, the psychologist Christopher Chabris (1999) concluded that listening to Mozart is unlikely to increase intelli-



FIGURE 9.11 The Mozart Effect?

Many products are marketed on the assumption that babies benefit from hearing music. This Baby Einstein rocking chair, manufactured by Disney, can connect to CD players or iPods, enabling parents to develop music programs for their children. In 2009, after the publication of research revealing that Baby Einstein products do not foster intellectual development, Disney agreed to refund the purchase price of some of these products.

gence among listeners. According to Chabris, listening to Mozart appears to enhance only certain types of motor skills, not abilities more commonly associated with intelligence (such as increasing working memory or verbal ability). A more recent meta-analysis of nearly 40 studies failed to find any specific advantage for Mozart, but it did find a very small influence of music on tasks such as those used in the original study (Pietschnig, Voracek, & Formann, 2010).

An important question is whether it was the music or some other aspect of the situation that led to better performance on the folding and cutting task. A team of researchers has shown that the effect may occur simply because listening to music is more uplifting than sitting in silence or relaxing; that is, the increase in positive mood

> may be largely responsible for better performance (Thompson, Schellenberg, & Husain, 2001; Schellenberg, 2012).

> Also note that all the studies to date have been conducted with college students as participants. Do you see the problem? All the publicity focused on whether listening to Mozart increases infants' intelligence! Of course, experiences during early life are important to later development. However, most of the claims about music go way beyond the data.

> Why did the findings of one small study lead to such widespread media reporting, and why did those reports resonate so much with parents? Researchers who have examined the media response to the

Mozart effect note that the original findings tapped into parental anxiety over early childhood education (Bangerter & Heath, 2004). Indeed, the two states that offered free classical music for infants were among states with the lowest teachers' salaries, national test scores, and per pupil spending. A second factor is that the media play on people's fascination with research on brain functioning, and news outlets quickly try to extend research findings into practical appli-

Why did the findings of one small study lead to such widespread media reporting, and why did those reports resonate so much with parents? cations, such as early childhood education (Pasquinelli, 2012). Although we have learned an incredible amount from the past two decades of neuroscience research, the translation of those findings into everyday applications needs to be guided by careful evaluation and scientific procedure. As a consumer of scientific information, be skeptical of extravagant claims made by the media. It is always best to check the original research before you draw any conclusions.

cannot even hold up their own heads or roll over. But they are far from passive. Just minutes after birth, infants' cries cause psychological, physiological, and behavioral reactions in caregivers that compel the offering of food and comfort to the newborns. As discussed earlier, even a newborn can have a social life. Young infants quickly build highly interactive social relationships. For example, within 10 weeks after birth, infants are profoundly affected by their caregivers' facial expressions and may become very upset when their primary caregivers fail to display emotional reactions (Cohn & Tronick, 1983).

Caregivers shape much of an infant's early experience, from what the child eats to where the child sleeps to what social connections the child makes. These early interactions with people begin to shape the developing human. They are the first stages in which a person learns how to communicate with others, how to behave appropriately in various situations, and how to establish and maintain relationships. Ultimately, socialization also affects complex human characteristics such as gender roles, a sense of personal identity, and moral reasoning, each of which will be explored in this chapter.

Between 4 and 6 weeks of age, most infants display a first social smile. This expres-



FIGURE 9.12 Infant Attachment Behaviors Newborns behave in ways, such as smiling, that make their caregivers want to nurture them.

sion of pleasure typically induces powerful feelings of love in caregivers. Infant attachment leads to heightened feelings of safety and security. According to the psychiatrist John Bowlby (1982), the architect of attachment theory, attachment motivates infants and caregivers to stay in close contact.

Bowlby argued that infants have innate attachment behaviors that motivate adult attention. For instance, they prefer to remain close to caregivers, act distressed when caregivers leave and rejoice when they return, and put out their arms to be lifted. Thus, attachment is adaptive: Attachment is a dynamic relationship that facilitates survival for the infant and parental investment for the caregivers.

Adults generally seem predisposed to respond to infants, as in picking up and rocking a crying child. They also tend to respond to infants in ways that infants can understand, as in making exaggerated facial expressions and speaking in a higher-pitched voice (**FIGURE 9.12**). The next time you observe an adult talking to a baby, notice how even the gruffest men with deep voices change their voices to a higher pitch. Babies attend to high-pitched voices. In virtually every culture studied, men, women, and even children intuitively raise the pitch of their voices when talking to babies, and babies respond by maintaining eye contact (Fernald, 1989; Vallabha, McClelland, Pons, Werker, & Amano, 2007). Bowlby argued that these behaviors motivate infants and caregivers to stay in proximity.

ATTACHMENT IN OTHER SPECIES Attachment is important for survival in many other species as well. For instance, infant birds communicate hunger through crying chirps. In doing so, they prompt caregivers to find food for them. Some bird species seem to have a sensitive period in which fledgling chicks become strongly attached to a nearby adult, even one from another species. This pattern, first noticed in the nineteenth century, occurs for birds such as chickens, geese, and ducks. Because these birds can walk immediately after hatching, they are at risk of straying from their mothers. Therefore, within about 18 hours after hatching, these birds will attach themselves to an adult (usually to their mothers) and then follow the object of their attachment. The ethologist Konrad Lorenz (1935) called such behavior *imprinting*. He noted that goslings that became imprinted on him did not go back to their biological mothers when later given access to them (**FIGURE 9.13**). Such birds preferentially imprint on a female of their species if one is available, however.

During the late 1950s, the psychologist Harry Harlow began conducting research that later allowed him to discover one of the most striking examples of nonhuman attachment. At that time, psychologists generally believed an infant needed its mother primarily as a food source. For example, Freud viewed the attachment bond as being primarily motivated by the goal of drive reduction. He felt that infants attached to their mothers through having their oral needs met through breast-feeding. Thus, the hunger drive was reduced. But Harlow saw explanations of attachment that were based on food as inadequate for explaining what he observed in infant monkeys. He recognized that the infants needed comfort and security in addition to food.

In a now-famous series of experiments, Harlow placed infant rhesus monkeys in a cage with two different "mothers" (Harlow & Harlow, 1966). One surrogate mother was made of bare wire and could give milk through an attached bottle. The second surrogate mother was made of soft terrycloth and could not give milk. Which of these two substitute mothers do you think the infant monkeys preferred—the wire

one that provided milk or the soft and cuddly one that could not feed them?

The monkeys' responses were unmistakable: They clung to the cloth mother most of the day. They went to it for comfort in times of threat. The monkeys approached the wire mother only when they were hungry. Harlow tested the monkeys' attachment to these mothers in various ways. For example, he introduced a strange object, such as a menacing metal robot with flashing eyes and large teeth, into the cage. The infants always ran to the mother that provided comfort, never to the mother that fed them. Harlow repeatedly found that the infants were calmer, braver, and overall better adjusted when near the cloth mother. Once they clung to her,



they would calm down and actually confront the feared object! Hence, the motheras-food theory of mother/child attachment was debunked. Harlow's findings established the importance of *contact comfort*—the importance of physical touch and reassurance—in aiding social development (see "Scientific Thinking: Harlow's Monkeys and Their 'Mothers'," on p. 370).

FIGURE 9.13 Attachment

Here, Konrad Lorenz walks the goslings that had imprinted themselves on him. The little geese followed Lorenz as if he were their mother.

Scientific Thinking — Harlow's Monkeys and Their "Mothers"

HYPOTHESIS: Infant monkeys will form an attachment to a surrogate mother that provides comfort.

RESEARCH METHOD: Infant rhesus monkeys were put in a cage with two different "mothers":

- 1 One mother was made of cloth, but could not give milk.
- 2 The other was made of wire, but could give milk.



RESULTS: The monkeys clung to the cloth mother and went to it for comfort in times of threat. The monkeys approached the wire mother only when they were hungry.

CONCLUSION: Infant monkeys will prefer and form an attachment to a surrogate mother that provides comfort over a wire surrogate mother that provides milk.

NOTE: Photographs are not available from the original experiments. These images are from the CBS television show *Carousel*, which filmed Harlow simulating versions of his experiments in 1962. He deliberately manipulated the faces for another experiment.

SOURCE: Harlow, H. F., & Harlow, M. (1966). Learning to love. American Scientist, 54, 244-272.

ATTACHMENT STYLE If Bowlby and Harlow were correct in hypothesizing that attachment encourages proximity between infant and caregiver, then we might expect attachment responses to increase when children start moving away from caregivers. And indeed, just when infants begin to understand the difference between their attachment figures and strangers, and at the same time start to move away from strangers by crawling—at around 8 to 12 months—they typically display *separation anxiety*. That is, when the infants cannot see or are separated from their attachment figures or are left with babysitters, they may become very distressed. This pattern occurs in all human cultures.

To study attachment behaviors in humans, the developmental psychologist Mary D. Salter Ainsworth created the *strange-situation test*. The researchers observe the test through a one-way mirror in the laboratory. On the other side of the mirror is a playroom. There, the child, the caregiver, and a friendly but unfamiliar adult engage in a series of eight semi-structured episodes. The crux of the procedure is a standard sequence of separations and reunions between the child and each adult. Over the course of the eight episodes, the child experiences increasing distress and a greater

need for caregiver proximity. The extent to which the child copes with distress and the strategies he or she uses to do so indicate the quality of the child's attachment to the caregiver. The researchers record the child's activity level and actions such as crying, playing, and paying attention to the mother and the stranger. Using the strange-situation test, Ainsworth identified infant/caregiver pairs that appeared secure as well as those that appeared insecure, or anxious (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; FIGURE 9.14).

Secure attachment applies to approximately 60-65 percent of children. A secure child is happy to play alone and is friendly to the stranger as long as the attachment figure is present. When the attachment figure leaves the playroom, the child is distressed, whines or cries, and shows signs of looking for the attachment figure. When the attachment figure returns, the child usually reaches his or her arms up to be picked up and then is happy and quickly comforted by the caregiver.

secure attachment

The attachment style for a majority of infants; the infant is confident enough to play in an unfamiliar environment as long as the caregiver is present and is readily comforted by the caregiver during times of distress.



is inconsolably upset when the attachment figure leaves.



An insecure/ambivalent child will both seek and

FIGURE 9.14 The Strange-Situation Test

insecure attachment

The attachment style for a minority of infants; the infant may exhibit insecure attachment through various behaviors, such as avoiding contact with the caregiver, or by alternating between approach and avoidance behaviors. Then the child feels secure enough to return to playing. The key behavior to notice here, similar to what Harlow found with his monkeys, is the use of the caregiver as a source of security in times of distress. Just as a monkey would calm down when in contact with its cuddly cloth "mother," a securely attached human infant will be soothed immediately after a distressing separation when the caregiver picks up the infant.

Insecure attachment applies to the remaining 35–40 percent of children. Insecure attachments (sometimes referred to as *anxious* attachments) can take many forms, from an infant's completely avoiding contact with the caregiver during the strange-situation test to the infant's actively hitting or exhibiting angry facial expressions toward the caregiver (Ainsworth et al., 1978). Insecure attachments typically are of two types. Children with *avoidant* attachment do not get upset or cry at all when the caregiver leaves, and they may prefer to play with the stranger rather than the parent during their time in the playroom. Those with an *ambivalent* attachment style (sometimes called *anxious/resistant*) may cry a great deal when the caregiver leaves the room but then be inconsolable when the caregiver tries to calm them down upon return. Insecurely attached infants have learned that their caregiver is not available to soothe them when distressed or is only inconsistently available. These children may be emotionally neglected or actively rejected by their attachment figures. Caregivers of insecurely attached infants typically have rejecting or inconsistently responsive parenting styles.

Keep in mind, however, that attachment is a complex developmental phenomenon. As in all relationships, both parties contribute to the quality or success of the interactions. For example, if a child has a disability such as autism spectrum disorder—which may cause the infant to not cling to the caregiver or not make eye contact—the caregiver may have a more difficult time forming a secure emotional bond with the infant (Rutgers, Bakermans-Kranenburg, van Ijzendoorn, & van Berckelaer-Onnes, 2004). Similarly, if a parent is incapacitated by mental illness or extreme stress, he or she may not be able to exhibit warm or responsive behaviors to meet the baby's needs, thus reducing the likelihood of a secure attachment (Cicchetti, Rogosh, & Toth, 1998).

In cases of insecure (or anxious) attachment, it is important that early prevention efforts take place. The caregiver will need to build the skills necessary to increase the likelihood of secure attachments forming. As decades of research show, secure attachments are related to better socioemotional functioning in childhood, better peer relations, and successful adjustment at school (e.g., Bohlin, Hagekull, & Rydell, 2000; Granot & Mayseless, 2001). In contrast, insecure attachments have been linked to poor outcomes later in life, such as depression and behavioral problems (e.g., Munson, McMahon, & Spieker, 2001).

CHEMISTRY OF ATTACHMENT Researchers have discovered that the hormone *oxytocin* is related to social behaviors, including infant/caregiver attachment (Carter, 2003; Feldman, Weller, Zagoory-Sharon, & Levine, 2007). Oxytocin plays a role in maternal tendencies, feelings of social acceptance and bonding, and sexual gratification. In the mother and the infant, oxytocin promotes behaviors that ensure the survival of the young. For instance, infant sucking during nursing triggers the release of oxytocin in the mother. This release stimulates biological processes in the mother that move milk into the milk ducts so the infant can nurse. This line of research provides a helpful reminder that phenomena that appear to be completely social in nature, such as the caregiver/child attachment, also have biological influences.

Summing Up

What Factors Shape Infancy?

- The prenatal period is from conception (when sperm and egg unite to form a zygote) through birth (which occurs roughly 40 weeks after conception).
- From 2 weeks to 2 months prenatally, the developing organism is called an embryo and begins to form into organ systems. The embryo is particularly vulnerable to teratogens, environmental toxins that include chemicals and drugs.
- By 2 months prenatally, organ systems have formed, the heart begins to beat, and the developing human is called a fetus.
- Brain development begins early in fetal development. Myelination of the spinal cord occurs in the first trimester, and myelination of the brain occurs during the second trimester.
- Most neurons are formed at birth, but neural development via synaptic connections continues through early adulthood. Synaptic pruning is the reduction of synaptic connections due to nonuse.
- Genetics and environment influence development.
- Dynamic systems theory views development as a self-organized process guided by biology but altered by environmental experiences.
- Infants are capable of learning, although formation of explicit long-term memories does not occur until about the age of 18 months.
- Virtually all humans experience infantile amnesia, the inability to remember events before the age of 3 or 4. Infantile amnesia may disappear with the development of language.
- An attachment is a strong emotional connection that can motivate care, protection, and social support.
- Research by Harry Harlow demonstrated that attachments form due to the receiving of comfort and warmth, not food.
- About 65 percent of infants display a secure attachment style, expressing confidence in unfamiliar environments as long as the caregiver is present.
- About 35 percent of infants display an insecure attachment style and may avoid contact with the caregiver, or they may alternate between approach and avoidance behaviors.
- The hormone oxytocin plays a role in attachment.

Measuring Up

- 1. Identify each of the following statements as true or false.
 - a. Most neurons are present at birth.
 - **b.** Most organ systems are fully formed by 2 months after conception.
 - c. Over 95 percent of infants display secure attachment styles.
 - **d.** Most people experience infantile amnesia, the inability to remember events before the age of 3 or 4.
 - e. Due to infantile amnesia, infants cannot learn.

2. Which of the following statements reflects the research findings on attachment?

- **a.** Attachment to the caretaker is formed because the caretaker provides food.
- **b.** Children with secure attachments will always grow up to be better adjusted than children with insecure attachments.
- **c.** If an infant cries as the caretaker leaves the room during the strange-situation test, the infant is probably insecurely attached.
- **d.** Attachment to a caretaker occurs when the caretaker provides contact comfort and security.

.dtmtew bne

ANSWERS: (1) a. true; **b.** true; **c.** false; **d.** true; **e.** false. (2) **d.** Harlow's research on monkeys confirmed the idea that attachment is driven by feelings of comfort

Learning Objectives

- List and describe the stages of development proposed by Piaget.
- Discuss challenges to Piaget's theory.
- Define theory of mind and explain its significance for development.
- Compare and contrast theories of moral reasoning and moral emotions.

assimilation

The process by which new information is placed into an existing scheme.

accommodation

The process by which a new scheme is created or an existing scheme is drastically altered to include new information that otherwise would not fit into the scheme.



FIGURE 9.15 Jean Piaget Piaget introduced the idea that cognitive development occurs in stages.

9.2 How Do Children Learn About the World?

To learn, children need to obtain information from the world. They do so principally through their senses. As noted earlier, newborns have all their senses at birth, although some of the senses are not fully developed. The development of sensory capacities allows infants to observe and evaluate the objects and events around them. The infants then use the information gained from perception to try to make sense of how the world works. How does cognition develop in childhood?

Piaget Emphasized Stages of Cognitive Development

Ultimately, how do we account for the differences between children's ways of thinking and adults' ways of thinking? Are children merely inexperienced adults? Do they simply not have the skills and knowledge that adults normally have learned over time? Or do children's minds work in qualitatively different ways from those of adults?

Through careful observations of young children, Jean Piaget (1924) devised an influential theory about the development of thinking (**FIGURE 9.15**; for more on Piaget, see Chapter 1). Many of Piaget's ideas have consistently been found to be correct. However, researchers have challenged some of Piaget's assertions.

One crucial aspect of Piaget's research is that he paid as much attention to how children make errors as to how they succeed on tasks. These mistakes, illogical by adult standards, provide insights into how young minds make sense of the world. By systematically analyzing children's thinking, Piaget developed the theory that children go through four *stages of development*, which reflect different ways of thinking about the world. These stages are called *sensorimotor*, *preoperational*, *concrete operational*, and *formal operational* (**FIGURE 9.16**).

From Piaget's perspective, it is not that children know less than adults. Rather, children's views of how the world works are based on different sets of assumptions than those held by adults. Contemporary researchers argue that such developmental "immaturity" in early-stage thinking actually serves very important functions for children's mental abilities to grow (Bjorklund, 2007).

Piaget proposed that new schemes are formed during each stage of development. *Schemes* are ways of thinking based on personal experience. Piaget's idea of schemes is somewhat similar to the concept of schemas defined and discussed in Chapter 7. For Piaget, schemes were organized ways of making sense of experience, and they changed as the child learned new information about objects and events in the world. Piaget believed that each stage builds on the previous one through two learning processes: Through **assimilation**, a new experience is placed into an existing scheme. Through **accommodation** (not to be confused with the process of accommodation in the visual system, in Chapter 5), a new scheme is created or an existing one is dramatically altered to include new information that otherwise would not fit into the scheme.

For example, a 2-year-old sees a Great Dane and asks, "What's that?" The parent answers that it is a dog. But it does not look anything like the family Chihuaua. The toddler needs to assimilate the Great Dane into the existing dog scheme. The same 2-year-old might see a cow for the first time and shout, "Doggie!" After all, a cow has four legs and fur and is about the same size as a Great Dane. Thus, based on a dog scheme the child has developed, the label "doggie" can be considered logical. But the toddler's parent says, "No, honey, that's a cow! See, it doesn't say 'arf!' It says 'moo!' And it is much bigger than a dog." Because the child cannot easily fit this new information

Stage	Characterization
Sensorimotor (birth–2 years)	 Differentiates self from objects Recognizes self as agent of action and begins to act intentionally; for example, pulls a string to set a mobile in motion or shakes a rattle to make a noise Achieves object permanence: realizes that things continue to exist even when no longer present to the senses
2 Preoperational (2–7 years)	 Learns to use language and to represent objects by images and words Thinking is still egocentric: has difficulty taking the viewpoint of others Classifies objects by a single feature; for example, groups together all the red blocks regardless of shape or all the square blocks regardless of color
3 Concrete operational (7–12 years)	 Can think logically about objects and events Achieves conservation of number (age 7), mass (age 7), and weight (age 9) Classifies objects by several features and can order them in a series along a single dimension, such as size
Formal operational (12 years and up)	 Can think logically about abstract propositions and test hypotheses systematically Becomes concerned with the hypothetical, the future, and ideological problems

FIGURE 9.16 Piaget's Stages of Cognitive

Development

into the existing dog scheme using the process of assimilation, the child must now create a new scheme, cow, through the process of accommodation.

SENSORIMOTOR STAGE (BIRTH TO 2 YEARS) From birth until about age 2, according to Piaget, children are in the sensorimotor stage. During this period, children are firmly situated in the present and acquire information primarily through their senses and motor exploration. Thus, very young infants' understanding of objects occurs when they reflexively react to the sensory input from those objects. For example, they learn by sucking on a nipple, grasping a finger, or seeing a face—that is, through perception and observation of the results of their actions. They progress from being reflexive to being reflective. In other words, they become capable of mentally representing their world and experiences with increasingly complex schemes.

As infants begin to control their motor movements, they develop their first schemes. These conceptual models reflect the kinds of actions that can be performed on certain kinds of objects. For instance, the sucking reflex begins as a reaction to the sensory input from the nipple: Infants simply respond reflexively by sucking. Soon they realize they can suck on other things, such as a bottle, a finger, a toy, or a blanket. Piaget described sucking on other objects as an example of assimilation to the scheme of sucking. But sucking on a toy or a blanket does not result in the same experience as the reflexive sucking of a nipple. The difference between these experiences leads the child to alter the sucking scheme to include new experiences and information. In other words, the child must continually adjust her or his understandings of sucking. But you cannot suck something like a milk carton—so a new scheme forms of things

sensorimotor stage

The first stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, infants acquire information about the world through their senses and motor skills. Reflexive responses develop into more deliberate actions through the development and refinement of schemes.



A young child believes that a tall 8 oz. glass contains more juice than a short 8 oz. glass.



2 Here, the child watches the juice being poured from the tall glass into a second short glass.



3 She is surprised to see that the short glass holds the same amount of juice as the tall glass.

FIGURE 9.17 The Preoperational Stage and

the Law of Conservation of Quantity

In the preoperational stage, according to Piaget, children cannot yet understand the concept of conservation of quantity. They reason intuitively, not logically. that provide liquid but cannot be sucked. This new scheme is created through the process of accommodation.

According to Piaget, one important cognitive concept developed in this stage is **object permanence**. This term refers to the understanding that an object continues to exist even when it is hidden from view. Piaget noted that until 9 months of age, most infants will not search for objects they have seen being hidden under a blanket. At around 9 months, infants will look for the hidden object by picking up the blanket. Still, their search skills have limits. For instance, suppose during several trials an 8-month-old child watches an experimenter hide a toy under a blanket and the child then finds the toy. If the experimenter then hides the toy under a different blanket, in full view of the child, the child will still look for the toy in the first hiding place. Full comprehension of object permanence was, for Piaget, one key accomplishment of the sensorimotor period.

PREOPERATIONAL STAGE (2 TO 7 YEARS) In the **preoperational stage**, according to Piaget, children can begin to think about objects not in their immediate view, and they have developed conceptual models of how the world works. During this stage, children begin to think symbolically. For example, they can pretend that a stick is a sword or a wand. Piaget believed that what children cannot do at this stage is think "operationally." That is, they cannot imagine the logical outcomes of performing certain actions on certain objects. They do not base their reasoning on logic. Instead, they perform intuitive reasoning based on superficial appearances.

For instance, children at this stage have no understanding of the law of conservation of quantity: that even if a substance's appearance changes, its quantity may remain unchanged. If you pour a short, fat glass of water into a tall, thin glass, you know the amount of water has not changed. However, if you ask children in the preoperational stage which glass contains more, they will pick the tall, thin glass because the water is at a higher level. The children will make this error even when they have seen someone pour the same amount of water into each glass or when they pour the liquid themselves. They are fooled by the appearance of a higher water line. They cannot think about how the thinner diameter of the taller glass compensates for the higher-appearing water level (**FIGURE 9.17**).

This lack of conservation skills is thought to be due to a key cognitive limitation of the preoperational period: *centration*. This limitation occurs when a preschooler cannot think about more than one detail of a problem-solving task at a time. The child "centers" on only one detail or aspect of the problem, limiting his or her ability to think logically.

Piaget thought that another cognitive limitation characteristic of the preoperational period is *egocentrism*. This term refers to the tendency for preoperational thinkers to view the world through their own experiences. They can understand how others feel, and they have the capacity to care about others. They tend, however, to engage in thought processes that revolve around their own perspectives. For example, a 3-year-old may play hide-and-seek by standing next to a large tree and facing it with his or her eyes closed (**FIGURE 9.18**). The child believes that if he or she cannot see other people, other people cannot see him or her. Instead of viewing this egocentric thinking as a limitation, modern scholars agree with Piaget that such "immature" skills prepare children to take special note of their immediate surroundings and learn as much as they can about how their own minds and bodies interact with the world. A clear egocentric focus prevents them from trying to expand their schemas too much before they understand all the complex information inside their own experience (Bjorklund, 2007).

CONCRETE OPERATIONAL STAGE (7 TO 12 YEARS) At about 7 years of age, according to Piaget, children enter the **concrete operational stage**. They remain in this stage until adolescence. Piaget believed that humans do not develop logic until they

begin to perform mental operations. The first stage is performing mental operations on actual concrete objects. A classic *operation* is an action that can be undone, such as turning a light on and off. Whereas a preoperational child lacks logical thought, a concrete operational child is able to think logically about actual objects. According to Piaget, the ability to understand that an action is reversible enables children to begin to understand concepts such as conservation of quantity. Children in this period are not fooled by superficial transformations in the liquid's appearance in conservation tasks. They can reason logically about the problem. And they begin to understand with much more depth how other people view the world and feel about things.

Although this development is the beginning of logical thinking, Piaget believed that children at this stage reason only about concrete things (objects they can act on in the world). They do not yet have the ability to reason abstractly, or hypothetically, about what might be possible.

FORMAL OPERATIONAL STAGE (12 YEARS TO ADULTHOOD) Piaget believed that after about age 12, individuals can reason in sophisticated, abstract ways. Thus, the **formal operational stage** is Piaget's final stage of cognitive development. Formal operations involve critical thinking. This kind of thinking is characterized by the ability to form a hypothesis about something and test the hypothesis through deductive logic. It also involves using information to systematically find answers to problems.

Piaget devised a way to study this ability. He gave teenagers and younger children four flasks of colorless liquid and one flask of colored liquid. He then explained that the colored liquid could be obtained by combining two of the colorless liquids. Adolescents, he found, can systematically try different combinations to obtain the correct result. Younger children just randomly combine liquids. Adolescents can form hypotheses and systematically test them. They are able to consider abstract notions and think about many viewpoints at once.

CHALLENGES TO PIAGET'S THEORY Piaget revolutionized the understanding of cognitive development and was right about many things. For example, infants do learn about the world through sensorimotor exploration. Also, people do move from intuitive, illogical thinking to a more logical understanding of the world. Piaget also believed, however, that as children progress through each stage, they all use the same kind of logic to solve problems. His framework thus leaves little room for differing cognitive strategies or skills among individuals—or among cultures.

Work by Piaget's contemporary Lev Vygotsky emphasized social relations over objects in thinking about cognitive development. Vygotsky focused on the role of social and cultural context in the development of both cognition and language. According to Vygotsky, humans are unique because they use symbols and psychological tools—such as speech, writing, maps, art, and so on—through which they create culture. Culture, in turn, dictates what people need to learn and the sorts of skills they need to develop (**FIGURE 9.19**). For example, some cultures value science and rational







FIGURE 9.18 Egocentrism

This little girl is "hiding" behind a tree by hiding her own eyes. If she cannot see the searchers, she believes they cannot see her.

object permanence

The understanding that an object continues to exist even when it cannot be seen.

preoperational stage

The second stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, children think symbolically about objects, but they reason based on intuition and superficial appearance rather than logic.

concrete operational stage The third stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, children begin to think about and understand logical operations, and they are no longer fooled by appearances.

formal operational stage The final stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; in this stage, people can think abstractly, and they can formulate and test hypotheses through deductive logic.

FIGURE 9.19 Culture and Learning

(a) People in Western, technologydriven cultures may learn different information or emphasize different skills than (b) people in non-Western, not fully technological cultures. thinking. Other cultures emphasize supernatural and mystical forces. These cultural values shape how people think about and relate to the world around them. Vygotsky distinguished between elementary mental functions (such as innate sensory experiences) and higher mental functions (such as language, perception, abstraction, and memory). As children develop, their elementary capacities are gradually transformed. Culture exerts the primary influence on these capacities (Vygotsky, 1978).

Central to Vygotsky's theories is the idea that social and cultural context influences language development. In turn, language development influences cognitive development. Children start by directing their speech toward specific communications with others, such as asking for food or for toys. As children develop, they begin directing speech toward themselves, as when they give themselves directions or talk to themselves while playing. Eventually, children internalize their words into inner speech: verbal thoughts that direct both behavior and cognition. From this perspective, your thoughts are based on the language you have acquired through your society and through your culture, and this ongoing inner speech reflects higher-order cognitive processes.

Another challenge to Piaget's view is that many children move back and forth between stages if they are working on tasks that require varying skill levels. They may think in concrete operational ways on some tasks but revert to preoperational logic when faced with a novel task. Theorists believe that different areas in the brain are responsible for different skills and that development does not necessarily follow strict and uniform stages (Bidell & Fischer, 1995; Case, 1992; Fischer, 1980).

In addition, Piaget thought that all adults were formal operational thinkers. Morerecent work has shown that without specific training or education in this type of thinking, many adults continue to reason in concrete operational ways, instead of using critical and analytical thinking skills. These adults may think abstractly regarding topics with which they are familiar but not on new and unfamiliar tasks (De Lisi & Staudt, 1980).

Moreover, Piaget underestimated the age at which certain skills develop. For example, contemporary researchers have found that object permanence develops in the first few months of life, instead of at 8 or 9 months of age, as Piaget thought. With new scientific methods that do not require infants to physically search for hidden objects, researchers have found object permanence abilities in infants as early as 3.5 months of age (Baillargeon, 1987).

Consider the apple/carrot test devised by the developmental psychologist Renée Baillargeon (1995). The researcher shows an apple to an infant who is sitting on her or his parent's lap. The researcher lowers a screen in front of the apple, then raises the screen to show the apple. Then the researcher performs the same actions, but this time raises the screen to show a carrot—a surprising, impossible event. If the infant looks longer at the carrot than he or she had looked at the apple, the researcher can assume that the infant expected to see the apple. By responding differently to such an impossible event than to possible ones, infants demonstrate some understanding that an object continues to exist when it is out of sight. Thus, in his various testing protocols, Piaget may have confused infants' cognitive abilities with their physical capabilities.

UNDERSTANDING THE LAWS OF NATURE: PHYSICS Numerous studies conducted by the developmental psychologist Elizabeth Spelke and colleagues have indicated that infants even have a primitive understanding of some of the basic laws of physics. For example, humans are born with the ability to perceive movement. A newborn will follow a moving stimulus with his or her eyes and head, and a newborn will also prefer to look at a moving stimulus than to look at a stationary one. As infants get older, they use movement information to determine if an object is continuous—that is, if it is all one object, even if the infant cannot see the entire thing because it is partially hidden (Kellman, Spelke, & Short, 1986).

A 4-month-old is shown a rod that moves back and forth behind an occluding block. The infant becomes habituated to this stimulus.



2 The infant is then shown one event: The block is removed to reveal a solid rod moving back and forth behind the block.

Finally, the infant is shown a second event: The block is removed to reveal two separate rods moving back and forth behind the block. The infant spends much



more time looking at the second event (two moving rods) than at the first (one moving rod).

FIGURE 9.20 Perceptual Expectancies in Early Infancy

As shown by this rod-and-block test, infants are able to perceive that objects moving together are continuous. Understanding the relation between movement and physical properties requires cognitive skills beyond those that Piaget expected 4-month-old infants to have. In one experiment, the researchers showed 4-month-old infants a rod moving back and forth behind a block. Once they had viewed the scene many times, they quit responding to it. That is, they had *habituated* to the stimulus (recall from Chapter 6 that habituation is decreased responding to an unchanging stimulus). The infants were then shown two scenes: In one scene, the block was removed and there was a single rod. In the other scene, the block was removed and there were two small rods. The infants looked longer at the two small rods (**FIGURE 9.20**). This response indicated that they expected the rod moving behind the block to be one continuous object rather than two small ones. Studies such as these rely on the *orienting reflex*. This term refers to humans' tendency to pay more attention to new stimuli than to stimuli to which they have become habituated (Fantz, 1966). Even from birth, an infant will look away more quickly from something familiar than from something unfamiliar or puzzling.

Understanding the relation between the movement and the physical properties of the rod requires various cognitive skills. It requires the ability to see the rod as an object separate from the block and to surmise that since the two ends are moving together, they must be part of the same whole rod, even though part of the rod is hidden. If the experiment is conducted with a stationary rod, however, the infants do not look longer at the two small rods. Therefore, infants appear to use movement to infer that objects moving together are continuous, whereas for infants two stationary objects may or may not be continuous.

UNDERSTANDING THE LAWS OF NATURE: MATHEMATICS How much do you think infants and toddlers know about counting and other mathematical operations? Piaget believed that young children do not understand numbers and therefore must learn counting and other number-related skills through memorization. For some of his experiments in this area, he showed two rows of marbles to children from 4 to 5 years of age. Both rows had the same number of marbles, but in one row the marbles were spread out. The children usually said the longer row had more marbles (**FIGURE 9.21**). Piaget concluded that children understand quantity—the concepts *more than* and *less than*—in terms of length. He felt that children do not understand quantity in terms of number.

Challenging Piaget's view, Jacques Mehler and Tom Bever (1967) argued that children younger than 3 years of age can understand *more than* and *less than*. To demonstrate their point, they cleverly repeated Piaget's experiment using M&M's candy. They showed the children two rows of four M&M's each and asked if the rows were the same. When the children said yes, the researchers then transformed the rows. For instance, they would add two candies to the second row, but compress that row so it was shorter than the row with fewer candies. Then they would tell the children to pick the row they wanted to eat. More than 80 percent picked the row with more M&M's, even though it was the visually shorter row (**FIGURE 9.22**). This research indicated that when children are properly motivated, they understand and can demonstrate their knowledge of *more than* and *less than*. Despite Piaget's enormous contributions to the understanding of cognitive development, the growing evidence that infants have innate knowledge challenges his theory of distinct stages of cognitive development. A 4-year-old is shown two rows of marbles. Each row has the same number of marbles, but one row is spread out.



FIGURE 9.21 Piaget's Marble Test

This test led Piaget to conclude that very young children do not understand quantity in terms of number. They understand it in terms of length.



FIGURE 9.22

The M&M's Version of Piaget's Marble Test This test enabled Mehler and Bever to show that very young children can in fact understand quantity in terms of number. theory of mind

The ability to understand that other people have mental states that influence their behavior.

Children Learn from Interacting with Others

According to current thinking among developmental psychologists, early social interactions between infant and caregiver are essential for understanding other people and communicating with them through language. In turn, these skills enable individuals to live in society. To interact with other people successfully, individuals need to be aware of others' intentions, behave in ways that generally conform to others' expectations, develop moral codes that guide their actions, learn and follow rules, and so on. Consider a routine activity such as driving a car. To drive safely, a person needs to predict and respond to the actions of others: car drivers, truck drivers, motorcyclists, bicyclists, and pedestrians. Any of those people's actions can be erratic.

THEORY OF MIND Humans have an innate ability to understand that others have minds and that those minds have desires, intentions, beliefs, and mental states. People are also able to form, with some degree of accuracy, theories about what those desires, intentions, beliefs, and mental states are. David Premack and Guy Woodruff (1978) coined the term **theory of mind** to describe this ability. In dealing with other people, we try to recognize each person's mental state. That is, we infer what the person is feeling or thinking. From that inference, we anticipate the other person's behavior. Predicting another person's behavior based on that person's mental state constitutes theory of mind.

Beginning in infancy, young children come to understand that other people perform actions for reasons (Gergely & Csibra, 2003; Sommerville & Woodward, 2005). The recognition that actions can be intentional reflects a capacity for theory of mind, and it allows people to understand, predict, and attempt to influence others'



FIGURE 9.23 A Classic Test for a Child's Theory of Mind

When a child acquires theory of mind, he or she is able to understand that different individuals have both different perspectives and knowledge based on their individual experiences. behavior (Baldwin & Baird, 2001).

In one study, an adult began handing a toy to an infant. On some trials, the adult became unwilling to hand over the toy (e.g., teasing the infant with the toy or playing with it himself or herself). On other trials, the adult became unable to hand it over (e.g., "accidentally" dropping it or being distracted by a ringing telephone). Infants older than 9 months showed greater signs of impatience-for example, reaching for the toy-when the adult was unwilling than when the adult was unable (Behne, Carpenter, Call, & Tomasello, 2005). This research shows that very young children understand other peoples' intentions, capabilities, and reasoning behind their actions.

By the end of the second year, perhaps even by 13 to 15 months of age, children become very good at reading intentions (Baillargeon, Li, Ng, & Yuan, 2009). In other

words, even though preschool-age children tend to behave in egocentric ways and view the world through their own perspectives, mounting evidence suggests that they have the cognitive abilities to understand others' perspectives. The understanding of complex mental states, such as that people can have false beliefs, develops later in childhood. A common test of false belief is shown in **FIGURE 9.23**.

Children's development of theory of mind appears to coincide with the maturation of the brain's frontal lobes. The importance of the frontal lobes for theory of mind is also supported by research with adults. In brain imaging studies, prefrontal brain regions become active when people are asked to think about other people's mental states (Mar, 2011; Schurz, Radua, Aichhorn, Richian, & Perner, 2014). People with damage to this region have difficulty attributing mental states to characters in stories (Stone, Baron-Cohen, & Knight, 1998). Brain imaging studies of theory of mind conducted in Canada, the United States, England, France, Germany, Japan, and Sweden have found similar patterns of activity in prefrontal regions (Frank & Temple, 2009). These findings support the idea that the ability is universal and biologically based. Unlike theory of mind, however, the way people understand morality and come to view moral judgments can vary widely based on socialization history and cultural experiences.

Moral Development Begins in Childhood

Morality plays a central role in human life, influencing both trivial and consequential choices and actions. When is it okay to use or take someone else's possessions? When is it acceptable to take an action that may harm others or that may break social contracts? The ability to consider questions about morality develops during childhood and continues into adulthood. Theorists typically divide morality into *moral reasoning*, which depends on cognitive processes, and *moral emotions*. Of course, cognition and emotions are intertwined. Research has shown that if people lack adequate cognitive abilities, their moral emotions may not translate into moral behaviors (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). Similarly, moral reasoning is enhanced by moral emotions (Moll & de Oliveira-Souza, 2007).

Piaget suggested that children's developing cognitive skills allowed for increasingly sophisticated moral reasoning. In keeping with a cognitive perspective, psychologists who study moral behavior have focused largely on Lawrence Kohlberg's stage theory. Kohlberg (1984) tested moral-reasoning skills by asking people to respond to hypothetical situations in which a main character was faced with a moral dilemma. For example, the character had to steal a drug to save his dying wife because he could not afford the drug. Kohlberg was most concerned with the reasons people provided for their answers, rather than the answers themselves. He devised a theory of moral judgment that involved three main levels of moral reasoning.

At the **preconventional level**, people classify answers in terms of self-interest or pleasurable outcomes. For example, a child at this level might say, "He should steal the drug because then he will have it." At the **conventional level**, people's responses conform to rules of law and order or focus on others' disapproval. For example, a person at this level might say, "He shouldn't take the drug. You are not supposed to steal, so everyone will think he is a bad person." At the **postconventional level**, the highest level of moral reasoning, people's responses center around complex reasoning about abstract principles and the value of all life. For example, a person at this level might say, "Sometimes people have to break the law if the law is unjust. In this case, it's wrong to steal, but it's more wrong to charge too much money for a drug that could save a person's life." Thus, Kohlberg considered advanced moral reasoning to include a consideration of the greater good for all people, with less thought given to personal wishes or fear of punishment.

There have been criticisms of Kohlberg's theory because the initial research examined only American males (Gilligan, 1977). At issue is whether the same stage theory applies to females or to those raised in different cultures (Snarey, 1985). Moralreasoning theories have also been faulted for emphasizing only the cognitive aspects of morality to the detriment of emotional issues that influence moral judgments, such as shame, pride, disgust, or embarrassment. Moreover, some theorists contend that moral reasoning fails to predict moral behavior because it excludes the complexities of morality in everyday life. They believe instead that moral actions, such as helping others in need, are influenced more by emotions than by cognitive processes. preconventional level Earliest level of moral development; at this level, self-interest and event outcomes determine what is moral.

conventional level

Middle stage of moral development; at this level, strict adherence to societal rules and the approval of others determine what is moral.

postconventional level

Highest stage of moral development; at this level, decisions about morality depend on abstract principles and the value of all life.



FIGURE 9.24 Parental Behavior Affects Children's Behavior

Parents who are high in sympathy, and who allow their children to express negative emotions without shame or hostility, tend to have children who are high in sympathy.

social intuitionist model The idea that moral judgments reflect people's initial and automatic emotional responses.







FIGURE 9.25 Emotions, Judgments, and Facial Gestures

A person makes the same facial gestures, wrinkling the nose and raising the upper lip, when (a) disgusted by receiving unfair treatment and (b) tasting something unpleasant, such as a bitter taste. **MORAL EMOTIONS** Research on children's moral emotions has focused largely on *empathy* and *sympathy*. Empathy involves understanding another's emotional state and relies on theory of mind. In contrast, sympathy arises from feelings of concern, pity, or sorrow for another (Eisenberg, 2000). Empathy involves feeling *with* the other person, as in wincing when you see another person injured. Recall the discussion of mirror neurons in Chapter 6. When people observe another person experiencing pain, such as a finger being cut, mirror neurons are active in the observer along with activity in brain regions that process pain (Lamm, Decety, & Singer, 2011, Decety & Howard, 2014). Sympathy involves feeling *for* the other person. Sympathy may produce different emotions from those experienced by the other person, such as feeling pity for a person who recently lost his job.

Recent research has shown that parents' behaviors influence their children's level of both moral emotions and prosocial behavior. When parents are high in sympathy, promote an understanding of and focus on others, do not express hostility in the home, allow their children to express negative emotions in ways that do not harm others, and help their children cope with negative emotions, they tend to have children who are high in sympathy (Eisenberg, 2002; **FIGURE 9.24**).

EMOTION AS THE BASIS OF MORALITY According to the psychologist Jonathan Haidt's (2001) **social intuitionist model**, moral judgments reflect people's initial and automatic emotional responses. When most people consider sticking a pin in a child's hand or stealing money from a church they have automatic, intuitive negative emotional reactions. Subsequently, they might think about the actions using cognitive skills, but their thoughts are influenced by their emotional reactions. In other words, the emotions come first and thinking follows (Haidt, 2007).

Recall the study described in Chapter 4 in which a posthypnotic suggestion to feel disgust to an otherwise neutral word (e.g., the word *often*) led participants to make more-extreme moral judgments when reading innocuous stories that included the word. According to the Cornell University psychologist David Pizarro and colleagues (2011), emotions such as disgust may not produce moral responses as much as increase those responses. They point out that some actions can be disgusting to think about (e.g., a person picking his or her nose in private) but would not be considered immoral. It is clear, however, that emotions bias moral judgments. In one study, people evaluated gay men more negatively when making judgments in a room that smelled disgusting than did those in a room that did not smell (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2012). Immorality elicits the same physical disgust reaction as a bad taste. A person disgusted by receiving unfair treatment makes the same facial gestures as when tasting something unpleasant (Chapman, Kim, Susskind, & Anderson, 2009; FIGURE 9.25).

BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF MORALITY Research using brain imaging has identified a number of brain regions involved in moral reasoning and during the experience of moral emotions. Many of the identified regions are similar to those that are active when people perform theory of mind tasks, such as the prefrontal cortex (Decety & Porges, 2011). Researchers studied two people who had experienced prefrontal damage during infancy (Anderson, Bechara, Damasio, Tranel, & Damasio, 1999). Both individuals showed severe deficiencies in moral and social reasoning. When given Kohlberg's moral-dilemma task, both patients scored at the preconventional level. These patients also neglected social and emotional factors in their life decisions. Both failed to express empathy, remorse, or guilt for wrongdoing, and neither had particularly good parenting skills. One engaged in petty thievery, was verbally and physically threatening (once to the point of physical assault), and frequently lied for no apparent reason. Thus, the frontal lobes appear to support the capacity for morality.

In addition to the frontal lobes, brain regions associated with emotional responses, including the amygdala and insula, are active during moral judgments (Greene et al., 2001; Shenhav & Greene, 2014) and while experiencing moral emotions (Moll et al., 2002). Prefrontal activity is commonly observed for all moral tasks (Forbes & Grafman, 2010), but the specific type of moral emotion elicited is associated with activation of different brain regions. For example, people considering moral violations that elicit disgust show insula activity (Parkinson et al., 2011), whereas moral violations that cause injury produce amygdala activity (Shenhav & Greene, 2014).

Summing Up

How Do Children Learn About the World?

- Piaget believed that cognitive development occurs across four stages: sensorimotor (0-2 years), preoperational (2-7 years), concrete operational (7-12 years), and formal operational (12-adulthood).
- During the sensorimotor stage, babies begin to develop schemes, cognitive categories used to organize information. Through assimilation and accommodation, children revise and adjust schemes so they remain useful throughout their lives.
- While Piaget's theory correctly describes much of how cognitive abilities develop, it may underestimate early knowledge. For instance, infants can use laws of physics and even demonstrate a basic understanding of addition and subtraction.
- Other theories, such as Vygotsky's, emphasize that cognitive development is guided by cultural expectations and interactions with others.
- Theory of mind is the ability to understand that other people have mental states that can motivate their behavior. Theory of mind is developed by 15 months, and it is related to the development of the frontal lobes.
- Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning suggests that moral decisions are based on trying to avoid personal harm, trying to gain approval from others, or having true moral concern for the sanctity of life.
- Theories of moral reasoning have been criticized for being gender and culture biased and for ignoring emotional aspects of moral decisions.
- The social intuitionist model suggests that moral judgments reflect automatic emotional responses rather than conscious decisions based on moral rules.
- The prefrontal cortex, the insula, and the amygdala are three of the brain areas involved in moral thinking.

Measuring Up

- 1. Match each of Piaget's stages of cognitive development with its description. The stages are concrete operational, formal operational, preoperational, and sensorimotor.
 - a. Children can think about objects they cannot see and can play symbolically.
 - **b.** Children can think abstractly and form hypotheses.
 - c. Object permanence develops along with first schemes.
 - d. Children show evidence of logical thinking, but still cannot think about abstract concepts.

2. Which of the following statements is true, according to the social intuitionist model?

- a. Morality develops as cognitive ability increases.
- **b.** Morality is learned through interactions with peers and parents.
- c. Emotions influence moral decisions.
- **d.** Emotions are learned through operant conditioning.

(2) c. Emotions influence moral decisions.

ANSWERS: (1) a. preoperational; b. formal operational; c. sensorimotor; d. concrete operational.

Learning Objectives

- Understand how biology and environment interact to influence puberty.
- Explain key factors that influence gender identity development and genderspecific behaviors.
- Describe how parents, peers, and cultural forces shape the sense of self.

9.3 What Changes During Adolescence?

All aspects of the self are changing as a child approaches adolescence. Physical changes occur during the entrance into puberty, social changes emerge as part of the renegotiation of relationships with parents and peers, cognitive changes arise as part of the potential emergence of critical and analytical thinking, and psychological changes accompany the child's development of a firm understanding of his or her gender and cultural identity. All of these forces work together as adolescents develop from children to adults.

Puberty Causes Physical Changes

Biologically, adolescence is characterized by the onset of sexual maturity and the ability to reproduce, which is called **puberty**. This roughly two-year developmental period marks the beginning of adolescence. It typically begins between ages 8 and 14 for females and ages 10 and 14 for males. Most girls complete pubertal development by the age of 16, with boys ending by the age of 18 (Lee, 1980; **FIGURE 9.26**).

During puberty, hormone levels increase throughout the body. The increased hormones stimulate physical changes. For example, the clear dividing line between childhood and the start of puberty is the *adolescent growth spurt*, a rapid, hormonally driven increase in height and weight. Puberty also brings the development of the *primary sex characteristics:* maturation of the male and female sex organs; in females, the beginning of menstruation; in males, the beginning of the capacity for ejaculation. Also developing at this time are the *secondary sexual characteristics,* including pubic hair, body hair, muscle mass increases for boys, and fat deposits on





puberty The onset of sexual maturity that marks the beginning of adolescence.

FIGURE 9.26 Physical Development During Adolescence

These images show the major physical changes that occur as girls and boys mature into young adults. the hips and breasts for females. Boys' voices deepen and their jaws become more angular. Girls lose baby fat on their bellies as their waists become more defined (Lee, 1980).

Puberty may appear to be a purely biological phenomenon. Like all aspects of human development, however, it is affected by a complex and dynamic interaction between biological systems and environmental experiences. For example, when girls live in homes with nongenetically related adult males (such as the mother's boyfriend or a stepfather), they tend to start puberty months earlier than girls who live in homes with only genetically related males. Also, girls who live in extremely stressful environments or have a history of insecure attachments to caregivers begin menstruating earlier than girls in peaceful or secure environments (Wierson, Long, & Forehand, 1993). These findings suggest that the body responds to cues of threat (in the form of stress or family changes). Evolutionarily speaking, these threat cues increase a female's need to reproduce sooner to increase her chances of continuing her gene pool. Thus, hormonal changes are triggered by environmental forces, which allow the girl to enter puberty (Belsky, Houts, & Fearon, 2010).

Because boys do not have an easily identifiable pubertal event like the initiation of menstruation in girls, we know less about environmental impacts on the timing and experience of puberty in boys. Boys and girls experience similar changes in their brain development during adolescence, however, so researchers are able to identify a few key characteristics of the "teenage brain."

ADOLESCENT RISK TAKING At the same time teenagers are experiencing pubertal changes, their brains are also in an important phase of reorganization, with synaptic connections being refined and gray matter increasing. The frontal cortex of the brain is not fully myelinated until the mid-20s (Mills et al., 2014). Because a teenager's limbic system (the reward and emotional center of their brain) tends to mature more quickly than his or her frontal cortex, teenagers are likely to act on their impulses (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006; Casey, Jones, & Somerville, 2011). The capacity to exert control is overwhelmed by strong temptations, which contribute to adolescent risk taking (Somerville, Hare, & Casey, 2011).

TEENAGE TURMOIL? The research on such physiological changes points to an important fact about adolescence: It is not necessarily a stressful period of life, full of turmoil. For those kids who already have stressful home lives, experience many family changes, or display attachment difficulties, adolescence may be difficult. But for most kids, pubertal and brain changes can be a bit annoying, but they do not necessarily lead to the high rates of depression or anger that many in the general public associate with teenagers. In fact, if adolescents receive warm, supportive parenting with the proper guidance and discipline, and if they are allowed to express themselves openly, adolescence can be a positive time of growth and change, solidifying the youth's sense of identity (Steinberg & Sheffield, 2001).

A Sense of Identity Forms

As a child develops and learns more about the world, he or she begins creating a sense of identity. That is, the child starts to establish who he or she is. Identity formation is an important part of social development, especially in Western cultures, where individuality is valued. After all, who a person is has an enormous effect on how that person interacts with others.
The psychologist Erik Erikson (1980) proposed a theory of human development that emphasized age-related psychosocial challenges and their effects on social functioning across the life span. Erikson thought of identity development as composed of eight stages, which ranged from an infant's first year to old age (**TABLE 9.1**).

Erikson further conceptualized each stage as having a major developmental "crisis," or development challenge to be confronted. Each of these crises is present throughout life, but each one takes on special importance at a particular stage. According to this theory, while each crisis provides an opportunity for psychological development, a lack of progress may impair further psychosocial development (Erikson, 1980).

The challenge at each stage provides skills and attitudes that the child will need in order to face the next challenge successfully. Successful resolution of these challenges depends on the supportive nature of the child's environment as well as the child's active search for information about his or her own competence. According to Erikson's theory, adolescents face perhaps the most fundamental crisis: how to develop an adult identity. Erikson's theory has been influential but is lacking empirical support. There is little evidence that there are eight stages and that they are sequential. Nonetheless, they are helpful for considering the psychosocial challenges that people face at different times in their lives.

STAGE	AGE	MAJOR PSYCHOSOCIAL CRISIS	SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF CRISIS
1. Infancy	0-1	Trust versus mistrust	Children learn that the world is safe and that people are loving and reliable.
2. Toddler	1-3	Autonomy versus shame and doubt	Encouraged to explore the environment, children gain feelings of independence and positive self- esteem.
3. Preschool	3-6	Initiative versus guilt	Children develop a sense of purpose by taking on responsibilities but also develop the capacity to feel guilty for misdeeds.
4. Childhood	6-12	Industry versus inferiority	By working successfully with others and assessing how others view them, children learn to feel competent.
5. Adolescence	12-18	Identity versus role confusion	By exploring different social roles, adolescents develop a sense of identity.
6. Young adulthood	18-29	Intimacy versus isolation	Young adults gain the ability to commit to long-term relationships.
7. Middle adulthood	30s to 50s	Generativity versus stagnation	Adults gain a sense that they are leaving behind a positive legacy and caring for future generations.
8. Old age	60s and beyond	Integrity versus despair	Older adults feel a sense of satisfaction that they have lived a good life and developed wisdom.

 Table 9.1 Erikson's Eight Stages of Human Development

Given that adolescents are undergoing pubertal changes, brain development and the resultant emotional highs and lows, and myriad social role expectations, it is impressive that so many teenagers are able to negotiate a pathway to a stable identity. Part of this process includes breaking away from childhood beliefs by questioning and challenging parental and societal ideas (Erikson, 1968).

Three major changes generally cause adolescents to question who they are: Their physical appearance transforms, leading to shifts in self-image; their cognitive abilities grow more sophisticated, increasing the tendency for introspection; and they receive heightened societal pressure to prepare for the future (in particular, to make career choices), prompting exploration of real and hypothetical boundaries. In exploring boundaries, teenagers may investigate alternative belief systems and subcultures. They may wonder what they would be like if they were raised in other cultures, by other parents, or in other historical times. They may shift between various peer groups and try out different activities, hobbies, and musical styles. As teenagers move away from spending all their time with parents and toward a peer-oriented lifestyle, parents continue to shape adolescents' development, but peers also play an important role in identity development.

DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER IDENTITY The terms used to discuss gender identity can be confusing, so we need to get them straight. Some psychologists use the term *sex* to refer to the biological status of being either male or female, and they reserve the term *gender* for psychological differences between males and females. **Gender identity** refers to one's sense of being male or female, and a **gender role** is a behavior that is typically associated with being male or female.

Most people believe that their sex and gender are major components of who they are. How different are females and males (**FIGURE 9.27**)? Certain physical differences are obvious, but how do females and males differ psychologically? According to evolutionary theory, gender differences ought to reflect different adaptive problems males and females have faced, and this notion is generally supported by research (Buss, 1995). Since males and females have faced similar adaptive problems, however, they are actually similar on most dimensions (Hyde, 2005).

The biological factors that influence gender come from many sources, the most important of which is brain chemistry. Gender identity begins very early in prenatal development. It results from a complex cascade of hormones, changes in brain structure and function, and intrauterine environmental forces (Swaab, 2004). Recall from Chapter 3 that the gonads—testes in males and the ovaries in females—influence sexual behavior. They also influence the development of secondary sex characteristics (e.g., breast development in females, growth of facial hair in males). Androgens are more prevalent in males and estrogens are more prevalent in females. In short, biology has a strong effect on whether people identify as female, male, or transgender. A *transgendered* person was born as one biological sex but feels that her or his true gender identity is that of the other sex. This condition is also thought to originate during prenatal brain development (Swaab, 2004).

Many of the differences between males and females have as much to do with socialization as with biology. This distinction is not always easy to make, because the biological and psychosocial aspects of being female or male are usually so entwined that we cannot separate them (Hyde, 2005). Each person is treated in certain ways based on his or her biological sex, and each person's behaviors reflect both biological components and social expectations. For example, as discussed in Chapter 3, researchers have identified some differences between the brains of men and of women. They have not determined whether these differences are



(b)



FIGURE 9.27 Girl or Boy?

Try to determine the sex of each infant. Consider the visual cues and cultural assumptions that inform your decisions. Are you surprised to learn that **(a)** is a girl and **(b)** is a boy?

gender identity Personal beliefs about whether one is male or female.

gender roles

The characteristics associated with males and females because of cultural influence or learning.



"Do you know its sexual identity?"

the result of genetics, of the way girls and boys are treated during development, or, more likely, of genetics (nature) combined with treatment (nurture). Nor do we know how or if sex-related brain differences translate into thoughts and actions.

Whether you think of yourself as female or male is your gender identity. This set of beliefs—a major part of your sense of self shapes how you behave. Children as young as 2 years old can indicate whether they are boys or girls. Once children discover that they are boys or girls, they seek out activities that are culturally appropriate for their sex (Bem, 1981). Gender roles are culturally defined norms that differentiate behaviors, and attitudes, according to maleness and femaleness. In North American culture, for example, most parents and teachers discourage girls from playing too roughly and boys from crying. The separation of boys and girls into different play groups is also a powerful socializing force. Most boys and girls strive to fulfill the gender roles expected of them by their cultures.

A CASE STUDY OF GENDER REASSIGNMENT On April 27, 1966, Janet and Ron Reimer brought their 7-month-old twins, Bruce and Brian, to St. Boniface Hospital in Winnipeg, Canada, for routine circumcision. Bruce was operated on first, and his penis was badly damaged in a very rare accident during this common and usually minor procedure. The penis deteriorated over the next several days, and within the week it had shriveled up and disappeared. (After what happened to Bruce, no attempt was made to circumcise Brian.) The accident and the events that followed changed not only the lives of the Reimer family but also psychologists' beliefs about the concepts of sex and gender.

As recounted in John Colapinto's book *As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised as a Girl* (2000), Janet and Ron investigated whether Bruce should undergo sexual reassignment and be raised as a girl. Previous sexual reassignment cases had involved intersexed children, who were born with ambiguous genitals (genitals that had characteristics of both male and female organs). The process



FIGURE 9.28 Brian and Bruce Reimer

This photo shows Brian and Bruce (Brenda) Reimer as children. Only his short haircut distinguishes Brian as the boy. The fact that they were identical twins made the situation ideal for studying the effects of culture on gender identity. of gender reassignment had never been attempted on a child born with clearly male genitals. The Reimers contacted the world-renowned (and controversial) sexologist John Money, at Johns Hopkins University. Money convinced them that sexual reassignment was the best course of action for Bruce's psychological well-being. Bruce was castrated (his testes were removed) when he was 22 months old. He was renamed Brenda and raised as a girl (**FIGURE 9.28**). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, media accounts and psychology textbooks recounted the story as demonstrating that Brenda was happy and well adjusted and that gender was the result of socialization rather than biology. Unfortunately, Colapinto's analysis indicates that Brenda's sexual reassignment was a failure from the start.

Brenda's life can be described as tumultuous at best, hellish at worst. Although her parents let her hair grow long, dressed her in feminine colors and clothing styles, and encouraged her to play with other girls, by all accounts Brenda was not comfortable or happy being a girl. She was teased incessantly for her roughness and aggressiveness. Brenda grew even more uncomfortable after receiving hormones at age 11 to initiate the development of secondary sexual characteristics. The development of breasts that felt foreign to who she was inside resulted in intense embarrassment and horror for Brenda that did not fade with time.

As the years passed, Janet and Ron were finally forced to consider that Brenda was not—nor would ever truly be—a girl. After 15 years of family and peer problems and intense psychological troubles, Brenda was told the truth about what had happened. A flood of emotions welled up within her, but the most overwhelming feeling was relief. As Brenda later recalled, "Suddenly it all made sense why I felt the way I did. I wasn't some sort of weirdo. I wasn't crazy."

Brenda immediately decided to return to being male. She stopped hormone therapy. She changed her name to David, which she chose because of the biblical story of David and Goliath. New surgical techniques allowed physicians to provide David with a functional artificial penis that could be

used for sexual intercourse. At age 23, he met and married a woman with three children, and for many years he lived an apparently happy family life (**FIGURE 9.29**).

After a while, however, David's marriage failed. A series of financial setbacks, along with the death of his twin brother, led him to become despondent. David killed himself in May 2004 at age 38. Most psychologists believe the stress of being a boy raised as a girl contributed to identity problems that troubled him throughout his adult life.

The lesson from David's life is that gender identity is not shaped solely by whether one has a penis or not or whether a person is treated as a boy or as a girl. Researchers are only beginning to understand the dynamic systems that make a person feel that a specific gender reflects who he or she is on the inside. Today, gender is thought to be much more fluid than it used to be conceptualized, with a continuum of traits and behaviors considered quite normal, ranging from extremely "masculine" to extremely "feminine." And many cultures have ideas about gender that go beyond the "male/female" dichotomy, to include a third gender and those who are above gender categorization or can change gender over time (Roscoe, 2000).

ETHNIC IDENTITY In addition to a gender identity, each adolescent—especially those from underrepresented groups—must work to establish a racial or ethnic identity. The process of forming such an identity can be particularly complicated. Because of prejudice and discrimination and the accompanying barriers to economic opportunities, children from underrepresented groups, such as people of color, often face challenges with regard to the development of their ethnic identities. Children entering middle childhood have acquired an awareness of their ethnic identities to the extent that they know the labels and attributes that the dominant culture applies to their ethnic groups. Many researchers believe that during middle childhood and adolescence, children in underrepresented groups often engage in additional processes aimed at ethnic identity formation (Phinney, 1990). The factors that influence these processes vary widely among individuals and groups.

Consider a child of Mexican immigrants. This child may struggle to live successfully in both a traditional Mexican household and a Westernized American neighborhood and school. The child may have to serve as a "cultural broker" for his or her family, perhaps translating materials sent home from school, calling insurance companies to ask about policies for his or her parents, and handling more adultlike responsibilities than other children the same age. In helping the family adjust to a stressful life as immigrants in a foreign country, the child may feel additional pressures but may also develop important skills in communication, negotiation, and caregiving (Cooper, Denner, & Lopez, 1999).

Even for people of color from the United States, it can be quite challenging to persevere in the face of racism and discrimination while also trying to succeed



FIGURE 9.29 David (Bruce) Reimer This photo shows David (Bruce) living as a man.



FIGURE 9.30 Peers and Identity Peers play an important role in each adolescent's development of a sense of identity.

in the mainstream school system and work environment (Spencer, Fegley, & Harpalani, 2003). When a child successfully negotiates these tasks and forms a strong sense of identity related to both her or his own group and the majority culture, the child has developed a *bicultural identity*. That is, the child strongly identifies with two cultures and seamlessly combines a sense of identity with both groups (Vargas-Reighley, 2005). A bicultural individual who is able to develop a bicultural identity is likely to be happier, be better adjusted, and have fewer problems in adult social and economic roles than will an individual who identifies strongly with only one culture to the exclusion of recognizing the other aspects of who he or she is. Parents, teachers, and spiritual and community leaders play key roles in teaching young people the values of their specific cultures in order to help them formulate healthy ethnic identities.

Peers and Parents Help Shape the Adolescent Self

The impact of parents versus peers on young people has become a controversial topic in developmental psychology. People often describe individuals as "coming from a good home" or as having "fallen in with the wrong crowd." These clichés reflect the importance of both peers and parents in influencing adolescent development.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PEERS Developmental psychologists increasingly recognize the importance of peers in shaping identity (**FIGURE 9.30**). Children, regardless of their cultures, tend to spend much of their time interacting with other children, usually playing in various ways. In developmental terms, attention to peers begins at the end of the first year of life, when infants begin to imitate other children, smile, and make vocalizations and other social signals to their peers (Brownell & Brown, 1992). Attention to peers may then continue throughout life. For example, people learn how to behave from their friends. When people behave appropriately, their friends provide social rewards. When people behave inappropriately, their friends provide social punishments.

In developing their identities, children and adolescents compare their strengths and weaknesses with those of their peers. For example, as part of the search for identity, teenagers form friendships with others whose values and worldviews are similar to their own. Adolescents use peer groups to help them feel a sense of belonging and acceptance. They also draw on peer groups as resources for social support and identity acceptance. Despite wide differences in the experiences of teenagers around the world, adolescent peer groups tend to be described by a fairly small set of stereotypical names: jocks, brains, loners, druggies, nerds, and other not-so-flattering designations.

Outside observers tend to quickly place teenagers who dress or act a certain way into groupings, called *cliques*. Members of cliques are thought to exhibit the same personality traits and be interested in the same activities. Individuals are seen as virtually interchangeable, and community members may respond to all youths from that group in similar ways (Urberg, Degirmencioglue, Tolson, & Halliday-Scher, 1995). The teenagers, however, may not see themselves as part of homogeneous groups of peers. In fact, they may see themselves as completely unique and individual, separate from anyone else, or they may see themselves as connected to a small subset of close friends (FIGURE 9.31).

Adolescent identity development is thus shaped by the perceptions of adults, the influences of peers, and the teen's own active exploration of the world. Keep in mind that even though peers become the primary concern for many teenagers, the importance of parental support and guidance does not wane with age.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PARENTS Much research has confirmed that parents have substantial influence throughout an individual's

life. Significantly, researchers have emphasized that neither the peer group nor the family can be assigned the primary role in a child's social development. Instead, the two contexts play complementary roles. B. Bradford Brown and colleagues (1993) have argued that parents' influence can be direct or indirect. Parents contribute to specific individual behaviors, but they also affect social development indirectly by influencing the choices the child makes about what kind of clique to join. In observations of 695 young people from childhood through adolescence, Robert Cairns and Beverly Cairns (1994) found that parents and teachers played a major role in realigning social groups so they were consistent with family norms.

Important support for the significance of child-parent interaction comes from the New York Longitudinal Study, begun in 1956 by Stella Chess and Alexander Thomas. The study ran for six years, assessing 141 children from 85 middle- to upper-middleclass families. Chess and Thomas (1984) pinpointed the most important factor in determining a child's social development: the fit between the child's biologically based temperament or personality and the parents' behaviors.

For instance, most parents find it frustrating to raise a difficult child who tends to have negative moods and a hard time adapting to new situations. Parents who openly demonstrate their frustration with their child's behavior or who insist on exposing the child to conflict often unwittingly encourage negative behaviors. If the child is extremely uneasy about entering a new setting, pushing the child can lead to behavioral problems. If the child is very distractible, forcing him or her to concentrate for long periods may lead to emotional upset.

In this study and many others, parents who responded to a difficult child calmly, firmly, patiently, and consistently tended to have the most positive outcomes. Such parents tended not to engage in self-blame for their child's negative behaviors, and they managed to cope with their own frustration with and disappointment in their child. Chess and Thomas also noted that overprotectiveness can encourage a child's anxiety in response to a new situation, thereby escalating the child's distress. Ultimately, then, the best style of parenting is dynamic and flexible, and it takes into account the parents' personalities, the child's temperament, and the particular situation (Steinberg, 2001).

Adolescence is a period of increased conflict between parents and their teenage children. For most families, however, this conflict leads to minor annoyances and not to feelings of hopelessness or doom. Research shows that such conflict actually helps adolescents develop many important skills, including negotiation, critical thinking, communication, and the development of empathy (Holmbeck, 1996). In fact, even though adolescents and their parents may argue and it may seem to parents that their children are not listening, across cultures parents have incredible influence over the development of their children's values and sense of autonomy (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991).



FIGURE 9.31 Cliques and Individuality

Outside observers would tend to place these young men into a single clique, "punks," and would tend to react to them all in similar ways. Each adolescent, however, might view himself as individualistic. Other research has shown that parents have multiple influences on their children's attitudes, values, and religious beliefs (Bao, Whitbeck, Hoyt, & Conger, 1999). Children learn about the world in part from the attitudes expressed by their parents, such as the belief in a higher power or even prejudices regarding certain groups of people. Parents who demonstrate the most warmth tend to raise children who experience more social emotions, such as appropriate guilt, perhaps because the parents encourage an empathic attitude toward others (Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002). Parents also help determine the neighborhoods in which their children live, the schools they attend, and the extracurricular activities that provide exercise and stimulation. All of these choices are likely to influence how adolescents develop.

Summing Up

What Changes During Adolescence?

- Puberty is the onset of sexual maturity that marks the beginning of adolescence. Biology and environment affect the timing of puberty.
- During puberty, changing hormone levels stimulate physical changes.
- Because the frontal lobes mature more slowly than brain reward systems, adolescents may tend to act impulsively and take risks. Yet adolescence is not characterized by as much emotional turmoil as is commonly believed.
- Erikson proposed a theory of psychosocial development that described a series of challenges individuals must overcome from birth through old age. The challenge during adolescence is to develop an adult identity.
- Physical and cognitive changes, along with environmental and societal pressures to prepare for the future, prompt adolescents to question their identities.
- Gender identity, personal beliefs about whether one is male or female, develops during adolescence. Gender identity and gender roles are strongly influenced by biology and environment.
- Ethnic identity may be an important part of adolescents' sense of self, especially if their particular ethnic group struggles within the dominant culture.
- Adolescents use peer groups to help them feel a sense of belonging and acceptance.
- Parents influence peer group identification, religious choices, and values.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements is true regarding adolescent development?
 - a. The fully mature frontal cortex of the brain drives adolescents' risk-taking behaviors.
 - **b.** The timing of puberty's onset is determined by the individual's genes.
 - c. Family conflict during adolescence has developmental advantages for teens.
 - **d.** A teen of color will have the worst developmental outcome if he or she develops a bicultural identity.
- 2. The case study of Bruce/Brenda Reimer shows that
 - **a.** gender identity has a strong biological component.
 - **b.** gender identity depends almost completely on the way a child is raised.
 - c. it is fairly easy to teach children they are girls when biologically they are boys or to teach them they are boys when biologically they are girls.
 - **d.** changing a child's name after the child has learned her or his name can cause problems with gender identity.

(2) a. gender identity has a strong biological component.

ANSWERS: (1) c. Family conflict during adolescence has many developmental advantages for teens.

9.4 What Brings Meaning in Adulthood?

For many years, developmental psychologists focused on childhood and adolescence, as if most important aspects of development occurred by age 20. In recent decades, researchers working in a wide range of fields have demonstrated that important changes occur physiologically, cognitively, and socioemotionally throughout adulthood and into old age. Therefore, many contemporary psychologists consider development from a life span perspective, trying to understand how mental activity and social relations change over the entire course of life. Such research shows that we should not equate growing old with despair. In fact, many positive things happen as people grow older. Although aging is associated with cognitive and physical decline, aging is an important part of life and can be very meaningful. Today, better health, better nutrition, and medical advances enable people to live longer than in previous generations. Understanding old age is becoming especially important, as most Western cultures are experiencing a boom in the aging population.

Learning Objectives

- Understand the physical changes that occur as we age.
- Explain key research findings on the benefits of a healthy marriage and how to keep a marriage healthy after the birth of a child.
- Describe the cognitive changes that occur as we age.

Adults Are Affected by Life Transitions

For many young people, college is a magical time of life. Meeting new friends, learning new ideas, and having a good time occur as adolescents emerge as adults. People in their 20s and 30s undergo significant changes as they pursue career goals and make longterm commitments in relationships, as in getting married and raising children. All of these developments correspond to Erikson's idea that individuals face challenges as they mature through adulthood. In essence, the major challenges of adulthood reflect the need to find meaning in one's life. Part of that search for meaning includes acknowledging, coping with, and playing an active role in the physiological, cognitive, and socioemotional changes of adulthood.

PHYSICAL CHANGES FROM EARLY TO MIDDLE ADULTHOOD Evolutionarily speaking, a 40-year-old is quite old. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the average life expectancy in the United States was 47 years! Human bodies remain on that timetable, ready to reproduce when individuals reach their teens and peaking in fitness during their 20s. Since 1900, through modern medicine and improvements in hygiene and food availability, the average life expectancy has increased by about 35 years. Still, between the ages of 20 and 40, people experience a steady decline in muscle mass, bone density, eyesight, and hearing (Shephard, 1997).

As people approach middle age, they start to notice that they can no longer drink as much alcohol, eat as much unhealthy food, or function on as little sleep as they could in their 20s. They find that the "middle-age spread," the accumulating fat around the belly, becomes harder and harder to work off. For these reasons, nutrition, exercise, and a healthy lifestyle are important in early adulthood. After middle age, it is much harder to get in shape, reduce fat in the arteries, or make cognitive functioning sharper. The better cognitive, physical, and psychological shape a person is in during early adulthood, the fewer significant declines he or she will see with age.

As you will learn in the following sections, brain functioning and body health are "use it or lose it" phenomena: Oxygen and blood need to be kept flowing by caring for those







(c)



FIGURE 9.32 Marriage

Across cultures, marriage remains a building block of society. If the statistics hold true, **(a)** this Sami couple in Norway, **(b)** this Amhara couple in Ethiopia, and **(c)** this Hani couple in China will report being happy in their marriages. systems through adequate sleep, proper diet, cognitive stimulation, and at least moderate daily exercise (Shephard, 1997). Unfortunately, as discussed extensively in Chapter 11, we are currently facing an obesity epidemic throughout the world, where today's generations may be the first to live shorter life spans than their parents' generations did. Health researchers estimate that obesity-related causes will shorten the expected life span by two to five years if the trends in poor health are not reversed (Olshansky et al., 2005). One impetus to improving health can be life partners or children. The people we share our lives with sometimes motivate us to take care of ourselves.

MARRIAGE In adulthood, people devote a great deal of effort to achieving and maintaining satisfying relationships. Indeed, the vast majority of people around the world marry at some point in their lives or form some type of permanent bond with a relationship partner, although people today tend to marry later in life, and the percentage who marry is declining slowly in most industrialized countries.

Research shows that marriage benefits the individuals involved. For example, married people live longer than people who were never married, are divorced, or are widowed (Frisch & Simonsen, 2013; Waite, 1995). According to this research, widowed women live longer than divorced or never married women but not as long as still-married women. Moreover, married men have lower rates of problem drinking and higher levels of income. When people's income rises (such as by combining two salaries through marriage), they are able to live in safer neighborhoods, have better health care, eat better, and so on. Married people typically experience greater happiness and joy and are at less risk for mental illnesses such as depression when compared with unmarried people (Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003). Cohabitating adults, however, are likely to be in worse health than married people. The benefits of marriage over cohabitation are stronger for European Americans than for African Americans (Liu & Reczek, 2012).

Studies suggest that men may benefit from marriage because their wives make sure they smoke less, eat more healthily, and go to the doctor (Ross, Mirowsky, & Goldsteen, 1990). Women serve as the primary social support for their husbands. In fact, the benefits of marriage are more significant for men than for women (House, Landis, Umberson, 1988; Umberson, 1992). Married men report higher sexual and relationship satisfaction than cohabitating and single men, while there is no difference across these same groups of women (Hughes & Waite, 2009). Married women report more emotional satisfaction, however, than cohabitating or single women (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000).

Still, marriage is not a cure-all. Unhappily married people are at greater risk for poor health and early death. Conflicts within marriage are associated with poor immune functioning. The risk is comparable to that experienced by smokers, those with high blood pressure, and the morbidly obese (Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003). In general, people who are in unhappy marriages, are separated, or are divorced have many physical and psychological struggles, from depression to physical illness to violent behavior (Carrère, Buehlman, Gottman, Coan, & Ruckstuhl, 2000). Note, though, that these studies are largely correlational. It could be that happy, welladjusted people are more likely to get married and not that marriage causes good outcomes for people. Or perhaps unhappy, negative people have both health problems and strained marriages.

The good news is that according to national surveys, at any given time, the vast majority of married people report satisfaction with their marriages (**FIGURE 9.32**). Those reporting the most satisfaction tend to have sufficient economic resources, share decision making, and together hold the view that marriage should be a lifelong commitment (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003).

Using Psychology in Your Life



Would Parenthood Make Me Happy?

FIGURE 9.33 Having Children

When deciding whether to have children, it is important to consider both (a) the minuses, such as the stresses involved, and (b) the pluses, such as the rewarding feelings. For most couples, the birth of a first child is a profound event. In fact, this arrival changes their lives in almost every respect. Are these changes generally positive or negative?

Responding to an infant's cries and trying to figure out why the child is distressed often cause anxiety and frustration for first-time parents. Indeed, children can strain a marriage, especially when time and money are tight. Research consistently finds that couples with children, especially with adolescent children, report less marital satisfaction than those who are childless (Belsky, 1990; Cowan & Cowan, 1988; **FIGURE 9.33A**).

But new parents also experience great joys. Seeing a baby's first social smile, watching the first few tentative steps, and hearing a child say "Mommy" or "Daddy" provide powerful reinforcement for parents. As a result of such rewards, parents often become immersed in their children's lives. They make sure their children have playmates, expose them to new experiences, and seek ways to make them happy and healthy. Being a parent is central to the self-schemas of many adults. Having children can provide meaning in life and many moments of joy (Nelson et al., 2013; **FIGURE 9.33B**).

This positive interpretation is complicated by the fact that people who have children, at least within wealthy nations, are more likely to be married, richer, better educated, more religious, and healthier (Hansen, 2012). All of these demographic factors are associated with well-being. Indeed, in a large study of more than 1.8 million Americans, researchers found that once you take these factors into account, the presence of children has a reliably negative effect on life satisfaction, although the effect is small (Deaton & Stone, 2014). These researchers also examined adults in 161 other nations. They found that having

children has a much more negative impact on life satisfaction in less wealthy nations.

Contemporary researchers are trying to find ways to prepare couples for parenthood so the stress does not exert such a strain on the relationship. Much of the unhappiness may be the result of communication failure (Cowan & Cowan, 1988). For example, a husband who expresses great fondness toward his wife and is aware of her feelings and needs early in the marriage is less likely to report a dip in marital satisfaction after the baby arrives. Likewise, a wife who acknowledges and sympathizes with her husband's needs early on is likely to grow closer to her husband after the baby is born. Partners who report their early married life as chaotic or negative early on are more likely to find that having a baby does not bring them closer together or solve their problems, but in fact increases the existing strain. Thus, teaching newlyweds or young partners how to communicate and understand each other's needs may not only prevent divorce but also allow the couple to enjoy parenting when their children are young as well as when the parents grow older and the children leave home (Shapiro, Gottman, & Carrère, 2000).

Over the coming years, you may find yourself considering whether or not you would like to have children. After studying millions of people around the world, Deaton and Stone (2014) have concluded, "If parents choose to be parents, and nonparents choose to be nonparents, there is no reason to expect that one group will be better or worse off than the other one" (p. 1328). In other words, if you choose the parenting status that makes sense for you as an individual, the decision to have kids (or not) will not make or break your happiness. The important thing is to consider the consequences before you make your decision.







FIGURE 9.34 Changing Views of the Elderly The Rolling Stones, now in their 60s and early 70s, are still making music after five decades.

The Transition to Old Age Can Be Satisfying

In Western societies, people are living much longer, and the number of people over age 85 is growing dramatically. Indeed, it is becoming commonplace for people to live beyond 100. By 2030, more than one in five Americans will be over age 65, and these older people will be ethnically diverse, well educated, and physically fit. With this "graying" of the population in Western societies, much greater research attention has been paid to the lives of people over age 60.

The elderly contribute much to modern society. For instance, nearly 40 percent of U.S. federal judges are over 65, and they handle about 20 percent of the caseload (Markon, 2001). A 2010 survey found that 12 percent of federal justices are over 80 years old and 11 of the 1,200 judges are in their 90s (Goldstein, 2011). Many older adults work productively well past their 70s. Views of the elderly are likely to change a great deal as the baby boom generation ages. Consider music stars—such as Bruce Springsteen, Madonna, and the Rolling Stones—who remain popular and vibrant well into their 50s, 60s, and beyond, certainly in defiance of common stereotypes of old people (**FIGURE 9.34**).

DETERIORATION The body and mind, however, start deteriorating slowly at about age 50. Trivial physical changes include the graying and whitening of hair and the wrinkling of skin. Some of the most serious changes affect the brain, whose frontal lobes shrink proportionally more than other brain regions (Cowell et al., 1994). Scientists once believed that cognitive problems such as confusion and memory loss were

an inevitable, normal part of aging. They now recognize that most older adults, while remaining alert, do everything a bit more slowly as they grow older.

Older adults who experience a dramatic loss in mental ability often suffer from *dementia*. This brain condition causes thinking, memory, and behavior to deteriorate progressively. Dementia has many causes, including excessive alcohol intake and HIV. For older adults, the major causes are Alzheimer's disease and small strokes that affect the brain's blood supply. After age 70, the risk of dementia increases with each year of life. Approximately 3 percent to 5 percent of people will develop Alzheimer's disease by age 70 to 75, and 6.5 percent will develop the disease after age 85 (Kawas, Gray, Brookmeyer, Fozard, & Zonderman, 2000). It takes about four years for people to progress from mild cognitive impairment to a diagnosis of Alzheimer's (Kawas et al., 2000).

The initial symptoms of Alzheimer's are typically minor memory impairments, but the disease eventually progresses to more serious difficulties, such as forgetting daily routines (**FIGURE 9.35**). Eventually, the person loses all mental capacities, including memory and language. Many people with Alzheimer's experience profound personality changes.

The exact cause of Alzheimer's is not known, but evidence suggests there is a genetic predisposition to its development. One gene involved in cholesterol functioning is predictive of Alzheimer's (Corder et al., 1993). In addition, the memory-related neurotransmitter acetylcholine is very low in people who suffer from Alzheimer's, and this deficit results in abnormal protein accumulation in the brain (Dineley et al., 2001; **FIGURE 9.36**).

While some people may have a genetic predisposition to developing dementia of some kind, a predisposition is not a hopeless case. Decades of research show that



FIGURE 9.35 Impairments from Alzheimer's Disease A woman helps her husband, who is an Alzheimer's patient.

when people challenge their brains by learning new tasks, working puzzles, reading, remaining socially active, and maintaining physical exercise at least three days per week, their risk of dementia declines significantly (Fratiglioni, Paillard-Borg, & Winblad, 2004; Larson et al, 2006). As you age, playing an active role in your own development can help make adulthood transitions rewarding experiences.

Despite the physical, social, and emotional challenges of aging, most older adults are surprisingly healthy and happy. Except for dementia, older adults have fewer mental health problems, including depression, than younger adults (Jorm, 2000). Indeed, some individuals thrive in old age, especially those with adequate financial resources and good health (Crosnoe & Elder, 2002). Most older adults report being just as satisfied with life, if not more so, as younger adults (Mroczek & Kolarz, 1998).

MEANING People of all ages are concerned with the meaning of life, but meaning often becomes a preoccupation for the elderly. According to the psychologist Laura Carstensen's *socioemotional selectivity theory*, as people grow older they perceive time to be limited and therefore adjust their priorities to emphasize emotionally meaningful events, experiences, and goals (Carstensen, 1995; Fung & Carstensen, 2004). For instance, they may choose to spend more time with a smaller group of close friends and avoid new people. They may spend an increasing amount of time reflecting on their lives and sharing memories with family members and friends. As they reminisce about their lives, older adults report more positive emotions than negative ones (Pasupathi & Carstensen, 2003). In essence, older adults want to savor their final years by putting their time and effort into meaningful and rewarding experiences. To the extent that they consider their time well spent, older adults are satisfied and can live their final years gracefully. This result is especially likely if throughout their lives they have worked hard to maintain their physical health, their social ties, and their cognitive capacities.

Cognition Changes with Age

Cognitive abilities eventually decline with age, but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what causes the decline. We know that the frontal lobes, which play an important role in working memory and many other cognitive skills, typically shrink as people grow older. One of the most consistent and identifiable cognitive changes is a slowing of mental processing speed. Experiments that test the time it takes to process a sensory input and react with a motor response show an increase in response time as early as an individual's mid-20s (Era, Jokela, & Heikkinen, 1986). This increase in response time becomes larger as the individual ages. Sensory-perceptual changes occur with age and may account for some of the observed decline. For instance, as people age, their sensitivity to visual contrast decreases, so activities such as climbing stairs or driving at night may become more difficult and more dangerous. Sensitivity to sound also decreases with age, especially the ability to tune out background noise. This change may make older people seem confused or forgetful when they simply are not able to hear adequately. And unfortunately, aging also affects memory and intelligence.

MEMORY Older people have difficulty with memory tasks that require the ability to juggle multiple pieces of information at the same time. Tasks in which attention is divided, such as driving while listening to the radio, also prove difficult. Some scientists believe these deficits reflect a decreased ability to store multiple pieces of information simultaneously in working memory (Salthouse, 1992).

Generally speaking, long-term memory is less affected by aging than is working memory. Certain aspects of long-term memory appear to suffer in advanced age, however. Older people often need more time to learn new information, but once they



FIGURE 9.36 Damage from Alzheimer's Disease

The brain on the bottom shows the ravages of Alzheimer's disease in comparison to the normal brain on top. The holes (ventricles) in the middle of the brain are extremely large, and every section of gray and white matter has lost density. learn it, they use it as efficiently as younger people do. The elderly also are better at recognition than at retrieval tasks (Fergus & McDowd, 1987). For example, if the word *cat* is shown to them, they have no trouble recognizing the word if they are asked, "Did you see the word *cat*?" But if they are simply asked what word they saw or whether they saw an animal name, they do not do as well. Consistent with the socioemotional selectivity theory is the finding that older people show better memory for positive than for negative information (Kennedy, Mather, & Carstensen, 2004). This finding might reflect a tendency to selectively ignore negative events in order to make one's later years feel more positive and meaningful (Mather & Carstensen, 2003).

As discussed in Chapter 7, the more deeply an item is encoded, the better it is remembered. Do older adults use less-efficient strategies for encoding information to be remembered? In an intriguing study, Jessica Logan and colleagues (2002) examined the memory processes of adults in their 20s and adults in their 70s and 80s. As expected, the older adults performed worse than the young adults. They showed less activation in left hemisphere brain areas known to support memory and greater activation in right hemisphere areas that do not aid memory. In a second study, the researchers sought to determine whether the memory deficit could be reduced if they gave the older participants a strategy to improve memorization. To produce deeper encoding, the older participants were asked to classify words as concrete or abstract. Undertaking this classification produced better memory and greater activation of the left frontal regions.

These findings suggest that one reason for the decline in memory observed with aging is that older adults tend not to use strategies that facilitate memory. Perhaps, then, cognitive training might be useful for postponing age-related memory deficits. Another reason for declines in working memory is age-related reductions in dopamine activity in the frontal lobes. When researchers blocked dopamine activity in younger adults, they found that performance on a working memory task was similar to that found for older adults (Fischer et al., 2010).

INTELLIGENCE Research has indicated consistently that intelligence, as measured on standard psychometric tests, declines with advanced age. As people age, do they really lose IQ points? Or do older people just have a shorter attention span or lack the motivation to complete such tests?

As discussed in Chapter 8, some researchers have distinguished between fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence (Horn & Hofer, 1992). Fluid intelligence is the ability to process new general information that requires no specific prior knowledge. Many standardized tests measure this kind of intelligence, as when test takers need to recognize an analogy or arrange blocks to match a picture. Associated with the speed of mental processing, fluid intelligence tends to peak in early adulthood and decline steadily with age. Crystallized intelligence is based on more specific knowledge—the kind that must be learned or memorized, such as vocabulary, specialized information, or reasoning strategies. This type of intelligence usually increases throughout life. It breaks down only when declines in other cognitive abilities prevent acquiring new information.

The Seattle Longitudinal Study addressed the question of aging's effects on intelligence (Schaie, 1990). The researchers recruited participants between the ages of 25 and 81, and they tracked them over seven years. By testing cognitive abilities such as verbal and mathematical skills, the researchers found that intellectual decline does not occur until people are in their 60s or 70s. Further, people who were healthy and remained mentally active demonstrated less decline. Although memory and the speed of processing may decline, the continued ability to learn new information may mitigate those losses in terms of daily functioning.

Because life expectancies are longer today than ever before, much more research is likely to be devoted to understanding how people can maintain their cognitive capacities to get the most out of their final years. Moreover, research will continue to examine aging through a more nuanced lens, as contemporary work suggests there may be gender differences in both genetic susceptibility to the negative effects of aging and the level and severity of cognitive impairment late in life (Mortensen & Hogh, 2001).

Thus, this chapter ends where it began, with a reminder that all aspects of human development are caused by a complex cascade of influences. These influences include genes, neurotransmitters, family, social ties, culture, and each individual's motivations and actions (**FIGURE 9.37**). We all play active roles in our own development. We are not passive sponges absorbing our environments, nor

are we slaves to our genes. How we experience each phase of the life span depends on our own perceptions, the social support we receive, and the choreographed dance that occurs between nature and nurture.

Summing Up

What Brings Meaning in Adulthood?

- Adulthood requires people to meet certain challenges, such as physical and cognitive changes, getting married, and raising a family.
- In general, married people are healthier and happier than people who are single or cohabitating, and this advantage is more pronounced in men.
- Effective communication can keep marriages happy and satisfying, especially after the births of children.
- People increasingly seek meaning in their lives as they age.
- Thoughtful planning and social support can make all phases of adult development rewarding.
- Although older adults are often characterized as feeble and senile, they are for the most part healthy, alert, and vital.
- Older people are often more satisfied with their lives than younger adults are.
- Despite declines in memory and speed of mental processing, people generally maintain their intelligence into very old age.
- Engaging in social, physical, and mental activities can help keep mental skills sharp.

Measuring Up

- According to research, which of the following statements about memory in older adults is false?
 - a. They can store fewer pieces of information in working memory than younger adults.
 - **b.** They have better memory for negative information than for positive information.
 - c. They use less effective strategies for encoding information.
 - **d.** They are better at recognition tasks than retrieval tasks.
- 2. Which of the following statements are true of adult development?
 - a. Measures of fluid intelligence decline during adulthood.
 - **b.** Marital satisfaction tends to decline after the birth of a child.
 - c. Older people often report less satisfaction with their lives than younger people.
 - **d.** The frontal lobes of the brain shrink throughout adulthood.
 - e. People who engage in physical and mental exercise tend to show less cognitive decline as they age.

ANSWERS: (1) c. A married male with three children. (2) Options a, b, d, and e are true.





FIGURE 9.37

Happiness

Maintaining Health and

By gathering to exercise, these women are taking positive steps to maintain their health and happiness.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

9.1 What Factors Shape Infancy?

- Development Starts in the Womb: The prenatal period is from conception (when sperm and egg unite to form a zygote) through birth (which occurs roughly 40 weeks after conception). From 2 weeks to 2 months prenatally, the developing cells are called an embryo and begin to form into organ systems. The embryo is particularly vulnerable to teratogens, environmental toxins that include chemicals and drugs. By 2 months prenatally, organ systems are formed, the heart begins to beat, and the developing human is called a fetus. Brain development begins early in fetal development. Myelination of the spinal cord occurs in the first trimester, and myelination of the brain occurs during the second trimester. Most neurons are formed at birth, but neural development via synaptic connections continues through early adulthood. Synaptic pruning is the reduction of synaptic connections due to nonuse.
- Biology and Environment Influence Motor Development: Genetics and environment influence motor development. Dynamic systems theory views development as a self-organized process guided by biology but altered by environmental experiences.
- Infants Are Prepared to Learn: Infants are capable of learning, although explicit long-term memories do not persist until about the age of 18 months. Virtually all humans experience infantile amnesia, the inability to remember events before the age of 3 or 4. Infantile amnesia disappears with the development of language.
- Infants Develop Attachments: An attachment is a strong emotional connection that can motivate care, protection, and social support. Research by Harry Harlow demonstrated that attachments form due to receiving comfort and warmth, not food. About 65 percent of infants display a secure attachment style, expressing confidence in unfamiliar environments as long as the caregiver is present. About 35 percent of infants display an insecure attachment style and may avoid contact with the caregiver, or they alternate between approach and avoidance behaviors. The hormone oxytocin plays a role in attachment.

9.2 How Do Children Learn About the World?

 Piaget Emphasized Stages of Cognitive Development: Piaget believed that cognitive development occurred across four stages: sensorimotor (0-2 years), preoperational (2-7 years), concrete operational (7-12 years), and formal operational (12-adulthood). During the sensorimotor stage, babies begin to develop schemes, cognitive categories used to organize information. Through assimilation and accommodation, individuals revise and adjust schemes so they remain useful throughout their lives. While Piaget's theory correctly describes much of how cognitive abilities develop, it may underestimate early knowledge. For instance, young infants can use laws of physics and even demonstrate a basic understanding of addition and subtraction. Other theories, such as Vygotsky's, emphasize that cognitive development is guided by cultural expectations and interactions with others.

- Children Learn from Interacting with Others: Theory of mind is the ability to understand that other people have mental states that will influence their behavior. Theory of mind develops by 15 months and is related to development of the frontal lobes.
- Moral Development Begins in Childhood: According to Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning, moral decisions are based on trying to avoid personal harm, trying to gain approval from others, or having true moral concern for the sanctity of life. Theories of moral reasoning have been criticized for being gender and culture biased and for ignoring emotional aspects of moral decisions. The social intuitionist model suggests that moral judgments reflect automatic emotional responses rather than conscious decisions based on moral rules. The prefrontal cortex, the insula, and the amygdala are three of the brain areas involved in moral thinking.

9.3 What Changes During Adolescence?

- Puberty Causes Physical Changes: Puberty is the onset of sexual maturity that marks the beginning of adolescence. Biology and environment affect the timing of puberty. During puberty, changing hormone levels stimulate physical changes. Because the frontal lobes mature more slowly than brain reward systems, adolescents may tend to act impulsively and take risks. Yet adolescence is not characterized by as much emotional turmoil as is commonly believed. Erikson proposed a theory of psychosocial development that described a series of challenges individuals must overcome from birth through old age. The challenge during adolescence is to develop an adult identity or risk role confusion.
- A Sense of Identity Forms: Physical and cognitive changes, along with environmental and societal pressures to prepare for the future, prompt adolescents to question their identities. Gender identity, personal beliefs about whether one is male or female, develops during adolescence. Gender identity and gender roles are strongly influenced by biology and environment. Ethnic identity is an important part of adolescents' sense of self.

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.

Peers and Parents Help Shape the Adolescent Self: Adolescents use peer groups to help them feel a sense of belonging and acceptance. Parents influence peer group identification, religious choices, and values. Adolescents may come into conflict with attachment figures, peers, and community members, but they need support and guidance from people close to them

9.4 What Brings Meaning in Adulthood?

Adults Are Affected by Life Transitions: Adulthood requires people to meet certain challenges, such as physical and cognitive changes, getting married, and raising a family. In general, married

Key Terms

accommodation, p. 374 assimilation, p. 374 attachment, p. 366 concrete operational stage, p. 376 conventional level, p. 381 developmental psychology, p. 358 dynamic systems theory, p. 363 formal operational stage, p. 377

gender identity, p. 387 gender roles, p. 387 infantile amnesia, p. 365 insecure attachment, p. 372 object permanence, p. 376 postconventional level, p. 381 preconventional level, p. 381 preoperational stage, p. 376

puberty, p. 384 secure attachment, p. 371 sensorimotor stage, p. 375 social intuitionist model, p. 382 synaptic pruning, p. 360 teratogens, p. 360

theory of mind, p. 380

Practice Test

- 1. A 1-week-old infant normally can ____ ___. Choose all that apply.
 - a. differentiate between sweet and nonsweet tastes.
 - b. display social smiles.
 - c. grasp a caregiver's finger.
 - d. make eye contact.
 - e. orient toward loud sounds.
 - f. recognize his or her name.
 - g. roll over from stomach to back.
 - **h.** see a caregiver across the room.
 - i. turn his or her head toward the smell of the mother's breast milk
 - j. turn toward a nipple near his or her mouth.
- 2. Piaget's theories of development have been very influential, but recent findings present challenges to some of his ideas. Which of the following statements is NOT a challenge to Piaget's theories?
 - a. Children can move back and forth between stages when working on tasks.
 - b. Babies can demonstrate object permanence in the first few months of life.
 - c. Children younger than 3 can understand the concepts of "more than" and "less than" when using M&M's.
 - d. All of the above are challenges to Piaget's theories.

- 3. A 9-month-old child watches as three cubes are covered by a panel, then as three more cubes appear to move behind the panel. Once the panel is lifted, only three cubes appear. Which of the following statements describes the infant's likely reaction?
 - a. The infant quickly will lose interest in the screen.
 - **b.** The infant will try to grab the three remaining cubes.
 - c. The infant will stare at the researcher's face.
 - d. The infant will stare at the three remaining cubes for a relatively long time.
- 4. Imagine reading a young child a story. In the story, Schuyler calls Emma a mean name. Emma retaliates by biting Schuyler. You ask the child what she thinks about the fact that Emma bit Schuyler. Three possible responses appear below. Label each as typical of one of the levels of moral reasoning described by Kohlberg: preconventional, conventional, or postconventional.
 - a. "Emma better not bite again if she doesn't want to get bitten back!"
 - b. "Even if someone hurts us, it's never okay to hurt them back."
 - c. "It is wrong to bite people. Emma is going to get a time out."

people are healthier and happier than those who are single or cohabitating, and this advantage is more pronounced in men.

- The Transition to Old Age Can Be Satisfying: Although older adults are often characterized as feeble and senile, they are for the most part healthy, alert, and vital. People increasingly seek meaning in their lives as they age. Thoughtful planning and social support can make all phases of adult development rewarding. Older people are often more satisfied with their lives than younger adults are.
- Cognition Changes with Age: Despite declines in memory and speed of mental processing, people generally maintain their intelligence into very old age. People who engage in social, physical, and mental activities tend to keep mental skills sharp into old age.



Emotion and Motivation

FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF HER LIFE, GABRIELLE ("GABBY") DOUGLAS

was homeless, living with her family in the back of a van. When her father left, her mother supported four young children by herself. Even though the family was poor, Gabby's mother enrolled her in gymnastics when she was 6 years old. An African American, Gabby was bullied by teammates who told her to get a nose job and called her their slave. Yet she dedicated herself to gymnastics (**FIGURE 10.1A**). When she was 8 years old, she became the 2004 Virginia State Gymnastics champion.

When she was 14, Gabby moved to Iowa and lived with a host family to train with a famous gymnastics coach, Liang Chow. She was terribly homesick. She almost quit. But she kept on, and at 16 she won the national champion-ship that sent her to the 2012 Olympics. Gabby told the *New York Times*, "I'm going to inspire so many people. Everybody will be talking about, how did she come up so fast? But I'm ready to shine" (Macur, 2012). And shine she did. Her achievements are historic.

In 2012, Gabby became the first American to win gold in both the individual all-around and team gymnastics competitions at the same Olympics. She also became the first African American, and the first woman of color, to earn the title of Individual All-Around Champion in gymnastics. When Gabby was asked how she overcame so many obstacles to soar so high, she said, "I've had a lot of hardships in my life and in my career, but I never let that hurt what I do in the gym. I've always put my heart into gymnastics and pushed myself every single day, no matter what else was going on."

In April 2014, Gabby officially started training for the 2016 Olympics by reuniting with her former coach Liang Chow in Iowa. She took time off to co-produce the 2014 Lifetime Channel movie *The Gabby Douglas Story*

Ask & Answer

10.1 What Are Emotions? 404

10.2 How Are Emotions Adaptive? 416

10.3 How Are People Motivated? 423

10.4 What Motivates Eating? 434

10.5 What Motivates Sexual Behavior? 438

FIGURE 10.1 Gabby Douglas's Motivation to Succeed

(a) Gabby Douglas came from a humble background, but she was motivated to inspire others. She worked hard to become the best gymnast in the world. (b) In 2012, Gabby became the Olympic gold medalist in the gymnastics team and individual all-around competitions. Her story shows the relationship between our emotions and our motivations to behave in certain ways.

(a)





(FIGURE 10.1B) with the hope of getting people "motivated in their lives.... I want people to be inspired and know their dreams are valid. You can achieve them, even if you have struggles. Your sacrifices will pay off" (Reeves, 2014).

Experts say that the keys to success are motivation and persistent drive. These qualities are crucial whether a person is trying to succeed at the Olympics, in school, or at a job. This chapter examines the factors that motivate behavior. For example, how do people set goals? What makes people work hard and consistently to achieve those goals? This chapter also examines how motivation and emotions are tied together. People are motivated to act and succeed because of how they feel. And reaching goals after dedicated hard work leads to a deep sense of satisfaction and happiness. Gabby Douglas's story shows that each of us can have rewarding experiences as long as we are motivated to succeed. We are not all Olympic gymnasts, but each of us seeks out events, activities, and objects that make us feel good. We avoid events, activities, and objects that make us feel bad. But what does it mean to feel something?

10.1 What Are Emotions?

People have an intuitive sense of what *emotion* means. Still, the term is difficult to define precisely. The terms *emotion, feeling,* and *mood* are often used interchangeably in everyday language, but it is useful to distinguish between them. An **emotion** is an immediate, specific negative or positive response to environmental events or internal thoughts. Emotions typically interrupt whatever is happening, or they trigger changes in thought and behavior. You are sitting at your desk and see a movement out of the corner of your eye and ... eek, it is a rat! You are having a negative emotional response. For psychologists, emotion (sometimes called *affect*) has three components: a physiological process (e.g., heart beating fast and sweating), a behavioral response (e.g., eyes and mouth opening wide), and a feeling that is based on cognitive appraisal of the situation and interpretation of bodily states (e.g., I'm scared!). A *feeling* is the subjective experience of the emotion, such as feeling scared, but not the emotion itself.

By contrast, *moods* are diffuse, long-lasting emotional states that do not have an identifiable object or trigger. Rather than interrupting what is happening, they influence thought and behavior. Often people who are in good or bad moods have no idea why they feel the way they do. Thus, moods refer to people's vague senses that they feel certain

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between primary and secondary emotions.
- Discuss the roles that the insula, amygdala, and prefrontal cortex play in emotional experience.
- Compare and contrast the James-Lange, Cannon-Bard, and Schachter-Singer twofactor theories of emotion.
- Define misattribution of arousal and excitation transfer.

ways. Think of the difference this way: Getting cut off in traffic can make a person feel angry (emotion), but for no apparent reason a person can be irritable (mood).

Emotions Vary in Valence and Arousal

Many emotion theorists distinguish between primary and secondary emotions. This approach is conceptually similar to viewing color as consisting of primary and secondary hues. Basic emotions, or **primary emotions**, are innate, evolutionarily adaptive, and universal (shared across cultures). These emotions include anger, fear, sadness, disgust, happiness, surprise, and contempt. **Secondary emotions** are blends of primary emotions. There are numerous secondary emotions, such as remorse, guilt, submission, shame, love, bitterness, and jealousy.

Emotions have also been categorized along different dimensions. One such system is the *circumplex model*. In this model, emotions are plotted along two continuums: valence (how negative or positive they are) and arousal (how arousing they are; Russell, 1980; **FIGURE 10.2**). *Arousal* is a generic term used to describe physiological activation (such as increased brain activity) or increased autonomic responses (such as quickened heart rate, increased sweating, or muscle tension).

To understand the difference between valence and arousal, imagine that you are walking along and find a \$5 bill on the ground. This experience will most likely make you happy, so you will judge it to have positive valence. It also might make you slightly aroused (increase your autonomic responses somewhat). Now imagine that you find a lottery ticket that turns out to be worth a million dollars. This experience will most likely make you even happier, so you will judge it as even further on the positive side of the valence scale. Your arousal would probably be topping the chart.

Psychologists have debated the names for the emotion dimensions and even the whole idea of dimensions. However, circumplex models have proved useful as a basic taxonomy, or classification system, of mood states (Barrett, Mesquita, Ochsner, & Gross, 2007).

Some emotional states seem to contradict the circumplex approach of viewing emotions on a continuum from negative to positive. Consider the bittersweet feeling of being both happy and sad. For example, you might feel this way when remembering good times with someone who has died. In one study, research participants reported feeling happy and sad after moving out of their dormitories, after graduating from college, and after seeing the movie Life Is Beautiful (in which a good-natured father tries to protect his son in a Nazi prison camp; Larsen, McGraw, & Cacioppo, 2001). Neurochemical evidence supports the idea that positive affect and negative affect are independent (Watson, Wiese, Vaidya, & Tellegen, 1999). Positive activation states appear to be associated with an increase in dopamine, whereas negative activation states appear to be associated with an increase in norepinephrine (for explanations of neurochemistry, see Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior").

Emotions Have a Physiological Component

While waiting for a job interview, you might find your heart racing and your palms sweating. When you are angry, you might feel your face get hot. When someone tells you he or she loves you, you might feel warm all over. Even everyday language includes bodily descriptions to describe emotional experiences, such as getting "cold feet"

emotion

An immediate, specific negative or positive response to environmental events or internal thoughts.

primary emotions

Emotions that are innate, evolutionarily adaptive, and universal (shared across cultures).

secondary emotions Blends of primary emotions.



FIGURE 10.2

Circumplex Map of Emotion

Emotions can be categorized by valence (negative to positive) and by level of arousal (low to high).

FIGURE 10.3 Body Maps of Emotion

These maps represent areas of the body that are more active (warm colors) or less active (cool colors) when people consider how various emotions make them feel. The color bar reflects the extent of increasing or decreasing activity.



when reconsidering a commitment, being "heartbroken" when extremely distressed, or having "knots in your stomach" when anxious. Emotions involve activation of the autonomic nervous system to prepare the body to meet environmental challenges (Levenson, 2003, 2014).

Controversy exists about such physiological responses. Does each emotion have a specific bodily response (Lench, Flores, & Bench, 2011)? Or do all emotions share core physical properties related to valence and arousal (Wilson-Mendenhall, Feldman Barrett, & Barselou, 2013), making them difficult to distinguish based on bodily response alone? Many of the autonomic responses to emotion overlap. However, the specific patterns across multiple autonomic responses (skin color, heart rate, sweating, pupil dilation, and goose bumps) suggest some level of specificity for each emotion (Levenson, 2014).

Recently, Finnish researchers asked people from various cultures to use a computer program to color which areas of the body were involved in feeling various emotions (Nummenmaa, Glerean, Hari, & Hietanen, 2014). Across five studies, emotions were generated in different ways (e.g., imagining the emotions, reading short stories, or watching movies). The reported activation of body parts by emotions overlapped somewhat, but specific emotions were characterized by discrete patterns of activity in the body (**FIGURE 10.3**). According to the researchers, perception of these bodily sensations may play a role in how different emotions are experienced.

LIMBIC SYSTEM In 1937, the neuroanatomist James Papez proposed that many subcortical brain regions are involved in emotion. Fifteen years later, the physician and neuroscientist Paul MacLean (1952) expanded this list of regions and called it the limbic system. (As discussed in Chapter 3, the limbic system consists of brain structures that border the cerebral cortex.) We now know that many brain structures outside the limbic system are involved in emotion and that many limbic structures are not central to emotion per se. For instance, the hippocampus is important



FIGURE 10.4

The Insula and the Amygdala

This figure shows the insula and the amygdala from the front and midway through the brain, indicating their relative locations. Figure 4.36 shows the insula from the side. Figure 10.5 shows the amygdala from the side. mostly for memory, and the hypothalamus is important mostly for motivation. Thus, the term *limbic system* is used mainly in a rough, descriptive way rather than as a means of directly linking brain areas to specific emotional functions. For understanding emotion, the most important limbic system structures are the insula (see Figure 4.36) and the amygdala (**FIGURE 10.4**), though several other areas contribute to emotional processing. In addition, various regions of the prefrontal cortex are important for acting on emotions.

The insula receives and integrates somatosensory signals from the entire body. It is also involved in the subjective awareness of bodily states, such as sensing your heartbeat, feeling hungry, or needing to urinate. Given that emotions produce bodily responses, it is not surprising that the insula plays an important role in the experience of emotion (Craig, 2009; Zaki, Davis, & Ochsner, 2012). Imaging studies have found that the insula is particularly active when people experience disgust (such as when



The amygdala processes the emotional significance of stimuli, and it generates immediate emotional and behavioral reactions (Phelps, 2006). According to the emotions theorist Joseph LeDoux (2007), the processing of emotion in the amygdala is a circuit that has developed over the course of evolution to protect animals from danger. LeDoux (1996, 2007) has established the amygdala as the brain structure most important for emotional learning, as in the development of classically conditioned fear responses (see Chapter 6, "Learning"). People with damage to the amygdala do not develop conditioned fear responses to objects associated with dangerous objects. Suppose that study participants receive an electric shock each time they see a picture of a blue square. Normally such participants will develop a conditioned response—indicated by greater physiological arousal—when they see the blue square. But people with damage to the amygdala do not show classical conditioning of these fear associations.

Consider S.P., a patient who first showed signs of neurological impairment at around age 3 and later was diagnosed with epilepsy (Anderson & Phelps, 2000). At age 48, a portion of her amygdala was removed to reduce the frequency of her seizures. The surgery was reasonably successful, and S.P. retained most of her intellectual faculties. She has a normal IQ, has taken college courses, and performs well on standardized tests of visual attention. She does not show fear conditioning, however. While S.P. can tell you that the blue square is associated with shock, her body shows no physiological evidence of having acquired the fear response.

Information reaches the amygdala along two separate pathways. The first path is a "quick and dirty" system that processes sensory information nearly instantaneously. Recall from Chapter 5 that, with the exception of smell, all sensory information travels to the thalamus before going on to other brain structures and the related portions of the cortex (**FIGURE 10.5A**). Thus, along this fast path, sensory information travels quickly through the thalamus directly to the amygdala for priority processing (**FIGURE 10.5B, GREEN ARROW**).





FIGURE 10.5 The Emotional Brain

(a) The amygdala is one of the most important brain structures for processing emotion. Before sensory information reaches the amygdala, it passes through the thalamus. From the thalamus, it may travel through the visual cortex. (b) When sensory information reaches the thalamus, it can take two paths. The fast path (from the thalamus to the amygdala) and the slow path (from the thalamus, through the visual cortex, to the amygdala) enable people to assess and respond to emotion-producing stimuli in different ways. (a)



(b)



FIGURE 10.6 Evaluating Facial Expressions

Which of these people would you trust? Most people would say that (a) this person looks trustworthy and (b) this person looks untrustworthy. Viewing the untrustworthy face leads to greater amygdala activity. People with certain brain injuries cannot detect how trustworthy people are from facial expressions such as these. The second path is somewhat slower, but it leads to more deliberate and more thorough evaluations. Along this slow path, sensory material travels from the thalamus to the cortex (the visual cortex or the auditory cortex), where the information is scrutinized in greater depth before it is passed along to the amygdala (see Figure 10.5b, orange arrows). Theorists believe that the fast system prepares animals to respond to a threat in case the slower pathway confirms the threat (LeDoux, 2000). You have experienced the two pathways if, for example, you have shied away from a blurry movement in the grass, only to realize it was the wind and not a snake.

As noted in Chapter 7, emotional events are especially likely to be stored in memory. The amygdala plays a role in this process. Brain imaging studies have shown that emotional events are likely to increase activity in the amygdala, and that increased activity is likely to improve long-term memory for the event (Cahill et al., 2001; Hamann, Ely, Grafton, & Kilts, 1999). Researchers believe that the amygdala modifies how the hippocampus consolidates memory, especially memory for fearful events (Phelps, 2004, 2006). In short, thanks to the amygdala, emotions such as fear strengthen memories. This adaptive mechanism enables us to remember harmful situations and thus potentially avoid them.

The amygdala is also involved in the perception of social stimuli, as when we decipher the emotional meanings of other people's facial expressions, such as their trustworthiness (Todorov, Mende-Siedlecki, P., & Dotsch, 2013; FIGURE 10.6). Imaging studies demonstrate that the amygdala is especially sensitive to the intensity of fearful faces (Dolan, 2000). This effect occurs even if a face is flashed so quickly on a screen that participants do not know they have seen it (Whalen et al., 1998). Perhaps surprisingly, the amygdala reacts more when a person observes a face displaying fear than when the person observes a face displaying anger. On the surface, this difference makes little sense, because a person looking at you angrily is likely to be more dangerous. According to some researchers, the greater activity of the amygdala when a person looks at a frightened face is due to the ambiguity of the situation (Whalen et al., 2001). In other words, if a person is looking at you when she is angry, she is probably angry at you-no ambiguity there. But when the person shows fear, it seems unlikely that she is afraid of you (after all, you are not doing anything to her). She must be afraid of something else, such as a spider that is dangling behind you. The amygdala response to fear expressions in others warns of potential dangers to you. The amygdala also responds to other emotional expressions, even happiness. Generally, however, the effect is greatest for fear. One study showed that the amygdala can be activated even by neutral facial expressions, but this effect occurs only in people who are chronically anxious (Somerville, Kim, Johnstone, Alexander, & Whalen, 2004).

Given that the amygdala is involved in processing the emotional content of facial expressions, it is not surprising that social impairments result when the amygdala is damaged. Those with damage to the amygdala often have difficulty evaluating the intensity of fearful faces. They do not have difficulty, however, in judging the intensity of other facial expressions, such as happiness. One study suggests that those with damage to the amygdala can tell a smile from a frown but that they fail to use information within facial expressions to make accurate interpersonal judgments (Adolphs, Tranel, & Damasio, 1998). For instance, they have difficulty using photographs to assess people's trustworthiness—a task most people can do easily (Adolphs, Sears, & Piven, 2001; see Figure 10.6). They also tend to be unusually friendly with people they do not know. This extra friendliness might result from a lack of the normal mechanisms for caution around strangers and for the feeling that some people should be avoided.

essential characteristic of ne human nature is that people occasionally lie to one another. As long as there have been lies, people have tried to develop methods for detecting such deception. Potential suspects in criminal investigations and applicants for certain types of jobs, such as those that involve classified documents, are often asked to take a polygraph test, known informally as a lie detector test. A polygraph is an electronic instrument that assesses the body's physiological response to questions. It records numerous aspects of arousal, such as breathing rate and heart rate.

The use of polygraphs is highly controversial. Most courts do not allow polygraph results as evidence, and they are banned in the private sector. Yet they continue to be used by criminal investigators and federal agencies, such as the FBI and CIA. How valid are polygraphs as lie detectors?

The goal of polygraphy is to determine a person's level of emotionality, as indicated by autonomic arousal, when confronted with certain information. For instance, criminals might be asked about specific illegal activities, job applicants might be asked about drug use, and potential Secret Service or CIA agents might be asked about sympathies for foreign countries. Lying is stressful for most people, so autonomic arousal should be higher when people are lying than when they are telling the truth. But some people become nervous simply because the whole procedure is new and scary, or they are upset that someone thinks they are guilty when they are innocent.

No absolute measure of autonomic arousal can indicate the presence or absence of a lie, because each person's level of autonomic arousal is different. Being highly aroused does not indicate guilt. Instead, to assess physiological arousal, polygraphers use a controlquestion technique in which they ask a variety of questions, some of which are relevant to the critical information and some of which are not. Control questions, such as "What is your home address?" and "Have you ever been to Canada?" are selected with the assumption that they should not produce a strong emotional response. Critical questions, such as "Did you steal the money?" or "Do you use drugs?" are those of specific interest to the investigators. The differences between the physiological responses to the control questions and physiological responses to the critical questions is the measure used to determine whether the person is lying (FIGURE 10.7). Sometimes the

questions include information that only a guilty party would know, such as how a person was killed or where the body was found. Thus, simply having guilty knowledge should produce arousal and therefore be detected by the polygraph.

There are numerous problems with using polygraphs to uncover deception. One serious drawback is that innocent people are often falsely classified as being deceptive (Ben-Shakhar, Bar-Hillel, & Kremnitzer, 2002). Most people who fail the tests are actually telling the truth and are simply anxious about taking the test. The polygraph cannot tell whether a response is due to lying, nervousness, or anything else arousing. As a result, lie detector tests are pretty easy to pass if you



FIGURE 10.7 Lie Detection

A polygraph measures autonomic systems, such as heart rate, respiration, and skin conductance from sweating. Differences in autonomic reactions to critical questions, compared to control questions, indicate arousal. That arousal in turn may indicate nervousness as a result of lying. However, the arousal may instead be due to general nervousness and thus may falsely indicate that the person is lying.

use countermeasures, such as counting backward by sevens or pressing your feet to the floor during critical questions (Honts, Raskin, & Kircher, 1994). Anyone can easily learn to use these techniques.

Perhaps the most serious problem with lie detector tests is that the investigator has to make a subjective judgment as to whether the pattern of arousal indicates deception. This judgment is often influenced by the investigator's beliefs about whether the person is guilty. This type of confirmation bias has also been found in laboratory studies, especially when the polygraphy results are ambiguous (Elaad, Ginton, & Ben-Shakhar, 1994). Confirmation bias is a problem throughout forensic assessments, particularly when individuals develop "tunnel vision" and fixate on a Perhaps the most serious problem with lie detector tests is that the investigator has to make a subjective judgment.

particular suspect, ignoring or discounting evidence that is contrary (Kassin, Dror, & Kukucka, 2013).

As you might expect, researchers are seeking new strategies to uncover deception. For instance, numerous studies using EEG and fMRI have detected differences in brain activity between

when people are lying and when they are telling the truth. However, the deception tasks in these studies have been relatively trivial, and the participants probably did not feel anxious about being deceptive (after all, the experimenters asked them to lie). Whether the activation of various brain regions indicates genuine deception or simply reflects other cognitive processes is currently unknown. A thoughtful review of this research by a team of neuroscience experts highlighted several methodological problems with fMRI research to detect deception. These experts raised additional ethical issues, such as privacy, that need further consideration before fMRI is ready for the courtroom (Farah, Hutchinson, Phelps, & Wagner, 2014).

There Are Three Major Theories of Emotion

Suppose you are in a rural area. You walk from the house to a shed and open the door to the shed. Inside, a grizzly bear looks up at you from the bag of dog food it was eating. You might think that seeing the bear would make you scared. Your heart would start to race, and you would slam the door shut and run back into the house. As this example illustrates, common sense suggests that experiences, such as seeing a bear, generate emotions, such as fear, which then lead to bodily responses and behavior. Three major theories have proposed different ways that these processes might work: the James-Lange theory, the Cannon-Bard theory, and the Schachter-Singer two-factor theory.

JAMES-LANGE THEORY Although common sense suggests that our bodies respond to emotions, William James (1884) made the counterintuitive argument that the situation is just the opposite. James asserted that a person's interpretation of physical changes leads that person to feel an emotion. As he put it, "We feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, [it is] not that we cry, strike, or tremble because we are sorry, angry, or fearful" (p. 190).

James believed that physical changes occur in distinct patterns that translate directly into specific emotions. Around the same time, a similar theory was independently proposed by the physician and psychologist Carl Lange. According to what is called the **James-Lange theory of emotion**, we perceive specific patterns of bodily responses, and as a result of that perception we feel emotion (**FIGURE 10.8**). That is, seeing the bear causes your heart to race, and you perceive your racing heart as fear.

Some research supports the James-Lange theory. Studies using brain imaging have found that different primary emotions produce different patterns of brain activation (Vytal & Hamann, 2010). These results suggest that different experiences that generate emotion are associated with different physiological reactions (Levenson, 2014). As noted earlier, however, other research indicates that physical reactions are often not specific enough to fully explain the subjective experiences of emotions (Cacioppo, Berntson, Larsen, Poehlmann, & Ito, 2000).

James-Lange theory of emotion People perceive specific patterns of bodily responses, and as a result of that perception they feel emotion.

Cannon-Bard theory of emotion Information about emotional stimuli is sent simultaneously to the cortex and the body and results in emotional experience and bodily reactions respectively.

two-factor theory of emotion A label applied to physiological arousal results in the experience of an emotion. One implication of the James-Lange theory is that if you mold your facial muscles to mimic an emotional state, you activate the associated emotion. In other words, facial expressions trigger the experience of emotions, not the other way around. In 1963, Silvan Tomkins proposed this idea as the *facial feedback hypothesis*. James Laird (1984) later tested the idea by having people hold a pencil between their teeth or with their mouths in a way that produced a smile or a frown (**FIGURE 10.9**). When participants rated cartoons, those in a posed smile found the cartoons the funniest.

CANNON-BARD THEORY In 1927, James's former student the physiologist Walter B. Cannon came up with some objections to James's theory. Cannon's student Philip Bard (1934) later expanded on Cannon's criticisms. Their alternative theory is now called the **Cannon-Bard theory of emotion.** Cannon and Bard thought that the autonomic nervous system was too slow to account for the subjective feelings of emotions. The mind is quick to experience, while the body is much slower, taking at least a second or two to react. For instance, you may feel embarrassed before you blush.

Cannon and Bard also noted that many emotions produce similar bodily responses. The similarities make it too difficult for people to determine quickly which emotion they are

experiencing. For instance, anger, excitement, and sexual interest all produce similar changes in heart rate and blood pressure. Exercise brings about these same changes, and it may affect your emotional state, but it does not generate a specific emotion.

Cannon and Bard proposed that information about emotional stimuli is sent to the mind and body separately and simultaneously. As a result, mind and body experience emotions independently. According to the Cannon-Bard theory of emotion, the information from an emotion-producing stimulus is processed in subcortical structures (Cannon originally focused on the thalamus, but it is now known that many limbic system structures are involved in emotion). The subcortical structures then send information separately to the cortex and the body. As a result, people experience two separate things at roughly the same time: an emotion, produced in the cortex, and physical reactions, produced in the body (**FIGURE 10.10**). When you see the bear in the garage, separate signals cause your heart to race and you to feel scared.

SCHACHTER-SINGER TWO-FACTOR THEORY The social psychologists Stanley Schachter and Jerome Singer (1962) saw some merit in both theories. They thought that the James-Lange theory was right in equating the perception of the body's reaction with an emotion, but they agreed with Cannon-Bard that too many different emotions existed for there to be a unique autonomic pattern for each. Schachter and Singer proposed a **two-factor theory of emotion**. They proposed that the physiological response to all emotional stimuli was essentially the same, which they called undifferentiated physiological arousal.



FIGURE 10.8 James-Lange Theory of Emotion

(a) According to the commonsense view of emotion, an experience-such as

(b) According to the James-Lange theory, bodily perception comes before the feeling of emotion. For example, when a grizzly bear threatens you, you begin to sweat, experience a pounding heart, and run (if you can). These responses generate in you the emotion of fear.



FIGURE 10.9 Facial Feedback Hypothesis According to this hypothesis, a person's facial expression triggers that person's experience of emotion. Even the forced alteration of a person's facial expression can change that person's experience of emotion.



FIGURE 10.10 Cannon-Bard Theory of Emotion

According to this theory, emotion and physical reactions happen independently but at the same time. For example, when a grizzly bear threatens you, you simultaneously feel afraid, begin to sweat, experience a pounding heart, and run (if you can).

FIGURE 10.11 Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory

According to this theory, a person experiences physiological changes and applies a cognitive label to explain those changes. For example, when a grizzly bear threatens you, you begin to sweat, experience a pounding heart, and run (if you can). You then label those bodily actions as responses to the bear. As a result, you know you are experiencing fear. The arousal was just interpreted differently, depending upon the situation, and given a *label*.

According to this theory, when people experience arousal, they initiate a search for its source (**FIGURE 10.11**). The search for a cognitive explanation, or label, is often quick and straightforward, since a person generally recognizes the event that led to his or her emotional state. When seeing the bear in the garage, you experience arousal. Your knowledge that bears are dangerous leads you to attribute the arousal to the bear and label the arousal fear.

What happens when the situation is more ambiguous? According to the two-factor theory, whatever the person *believes* caused the emotion will determine how the person labels the emotion.

Schachter and Singer devised an ingenious experiment to test the two-factor theory. First, the participants, all of whom were male, were injected with either a stimulant or a placebo. The stimulant was adrenaline, which produced symptoms such as sweaty palms, increased heart rate, and shaking. Some of the participants

who received adrenaline were told that the drug they took would make them feel aroused. The other participants were not told anything about the drug's effects. Finally, each participant was left to wait with a confederate of the experimenter. The confederate, also male, was working with the experimenter and behaved according to the research plan.

In the euphoric condition, each participant was exposed to a confederate who was in a great mood, played with a hula hoop, and made paper airplanes. In the angry condition, each participant was seated in a room with a confederate. Both the participant and the confederate were asked to fill out a long questionnaire that asked them very intimate, personal questions, such as "With how many men (other than your father) has your mother had extramarital relationships?" (To make the question even more insulting, the choices were 4 or fewer, 5 to 9, or 10 or more.) The confederate became increasingly angry as he filled out the questionnaire. Finally, he ripped it up and stormed out of the room.

When participants received adrenaline but were told how their bodies would respond to the drug, they had an easy explanation for their arousal. They attributed it to the adrenaline, not to the situation. In contrast, when participants received adrenaline but were not given information about its effects, they were just as aroused as the informed group, but they did not know why. They looked to the environment to explain or label their bodies' responses (sweating palms, increased heart rate, and shaking). Participants in the no-explanation group reported that they felt happy when they waited with the euphoric confederate and that they felt less happy when they waited with the angry



confederate. While they attributed their feelings to what was happening in the environment, participants in the informed group did not (see "Scientific Thinking: Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory"). Those in the placebo condition responded in between the two adrenaline conditions, depending on how aroused they were by the confederate.

Scientific Thinking

Testing the Schachter-Singer Two-Factor Theory

HYPOTHESIS: Whatever a person believes caused an emotion will determine how the person experiences and labels the emotion.

- 1 Participants were injected with a stimulant (adrenaline) or a placebo.
- 2 Informed participants in the adrenaline condition were told the drug they were given might make them feel shaky, cause their hearts to beat faster, and make their faces feel flushed. All of these bodily activities are side effects of taking adrenaline. Uninformed participants were not told anything about the drug's effects.
- 3 In the euphoric condition, each participant was exposed to a confederate who was in a great mood, played with a hula hoop, and made paper airplanes.

In the angry condition, each participant was seated with a confederate. Both the participant and the confederate were asked to fill out a questionnaire that asked very insulting questions, such as a question that implied their mothers had cheated on their fathers. The confederate became angry, tore up the questionnaire, and stormed out of the room.

4 The experimenters coded behavioral indicators of euphoria, such as joining in the fun. They also coded behavioral indicators of anger, such as agreeing with the angry confederate. In addition, participants were asked about their emotional states, such as whether they felt happy or angry.



Euphoric condition

Angry condition

RESULT: When participants received the adrenaline and were told how their bodies would respond to the drug, they had an easy explanation for their arousal. They attributed it to the adrenaline, not to the situation. In contrast, when participants received adrenaline but were not given information about its effects, they looked to the environment to explain or label their bodies' responses.



When uninformed participants waited with the euphoric confederates, they displayed behavioral indicators of euphoria (see left-side graph). They also reported feeling happy. When uninformed participants waited with the angry confederates, they displayed behavioral indicators of anger (see right-side graph). They also reported feeling angry. These results happened because the uninformed participants attributed their feelings to what was happening in the environment. Informed participants did not react in the same ways or make the same attributions. For example, in the angry condition, their behavioral indicators of anger decreased.

CONCLUSION: Feelings of arousal can be attributed to events in the environment, thereby shaping people's emotions.

SOURCE: Schachter, S., & Singer, J. (1962). Cognitive, social, and physiological determinants of emotional state. *Psychological Review, 69, 379–399.*

One interesting implication of the two-factor theory is that physical states caused by a situation can be attributed to the wrong emotion. When people misidentify the source of their arousal, it is called *misattribution of arousal*.

Using Psychology in Your Life



How Can I Control My Emotions?

motions can be disruptive and troublesome. Negative feelings can prevent people from behaving as they would like to, but so can positive feelings. Have you ever been so nervous that you found it hard to talk in front of an audience (FIGURE 10.13A)? Or have you ever felt so excited about an upcoming event that you were unable to concentrate on an exam (FIGURE 10.13B)? In our daily lives, circumstances often require us to control our emotions, but doing so is not easy. How do you mask your expression of disgust when you are obligated by politeness to eat something you dislike? How do you force yourself to be nice about losing a competition that really matters to you?

James Gross (1999; 2013) outlined various strategies people use to regulate their emotions. Some of these strategies help people prevent or prepare for events, and some of them help in dealing with events after they occur. Not all strategies for regulating emotional states are equally successful, however.

What not to do: Two common strategies, thought suppression and rumination, do not work. With *thought suppression*, people attempt to not feel or respond to the emotion at all. Daniel Wegner and colleagues (1990) have demonstrated that trying to suppress negative thoughts is extremely difficult. In fact, doing so often leads to a *rebound* effect, in which people think more about something after suppression than before. For example, people who are dieting and try to not think about tasty foods end up thinking about them more than if they had tried to engage in another activity as a way of not thinking about food.

Rumination involves thinking about, elaborating on, and focusing on undesired thoughts or feelings. This response prolongs the mood, and it impedes successful mood regulation strategies, such as distracting oneself or focusing on solutions for the problem (Lyubomirsky & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1995). So what can you do to regulate emotion? Research shows that the following strategies are more successful than thought suppression or rumination.

Control the location: If you want to feel romantic when proposing to your girlfriend, you are better off proposing in a quiet, intimate bistro than in a fastfood joint. If you want to avoid feeling jealous of your sister's athletic skill, you could choose not to attend her soccer, basketball, and softball games. By putting yourself in certain situations and avoiding other situations, you can influence the likelihood of experiencing certain emotions.

Change the meaning: It is also possible to directly alter emotional reactions to events by *reappraising* those events in more neutral terms. So if you get scared



FIGURE 10.12 Misattribution of Arousal Men who walked across this narrow

and scary bridge over the Capilano River displayed more attraction to the female experimenter on the bridge than did men who walked across a safer bridge. In one exploration of this phenomenon, researchers tried to see whether people could feel romantic attraction through misattribution (Dutton & Aron, 1974). Each participant, a heterosexual male, was asked to cross either of two bridges over the Capilano River, in British Columbia. One was a narrow suspension bridge with a low rail that swayed 230 feet above raging, rocky rapids. The other was a sturdy modern bridge just above the river. At the middle of the bridge, an attractive female research assistant approached the man and interviewed him. She gave him her phone number and offered to explain the results of the study at a later date if he was interested. According to the two-factor theory of emotion, the less stable bridge would produce arousal (sweaty palms, increased heart rate), which could be misattributed as attraction to the interviewer. Indeed, men interviewed on the less stable bridge were more likely to call the interviewer and ask her for a date (**FIGURE 10.12**).

Can you think of a possible confound affecting this study? What about initial differences between the men who chose to cross the less stable bridge and those who chose the safer bridge? Perhaps men who were more likely to take risks were more likely to choose a scary bridge *and* to call for a date. The general idea—that people can misattribute arousal for affection—has been supported in other studies, however.



FIGURE 10.13 Disruptive Emotions

Our actions can be disrupted by (a) negative feelings, such as nervousness, or (b) positive feelings, such as excitement.

while watching a movie, you can remind yourself that the whole spectacle has been staged and no one is actually being hurt. Brain imaging studies have found that engaging in reappraisal changes the activity of brain regions involved in the experience of emotion (Ochsner, Bunge, Gross, & Gabrieli, 2002; Ochsner, Silvers, & Buhle, 2012).

Find humor: Using humor has many mental and physical health benefits (Samson & Gross, 2012). Most obviously, humor increases positive affect. When you find something humorous, you smile, laugh, and enter a state of pleasurable, relaxed excitation. Research shows that laughter stimulates endocrine secretion, improves the immune system, and stimulates the release of hormones, dopamine, serotonin, and endorphins. When people laugh, they experience rises in circulation, blood pressure, skin temperature, and heart rate, along with a decrease in pain perception. All of these responses are similar to those resulting from physical exercise, and they are considered beneficial to short-term and long-term health.

People sometimes laugh in situations that do not seem very funny, such as at funerals or wakes. According to one theory, laughing in these situations helps people distance themselves from their negative emotions, and it strengthens their connections to other people. In one study on the topic, Dacher Keltner and George Bonanno (1997) interviewed 40 people who had recently lost a spouse. The researchers found that genuine laughter during the interview was associated with positive mental health and fewer negative feelings, such as grief. It was a way of coping with a difficult situation.

Distract Yourself: Doing something other than the troubling activity or thinking about something other than the troubling thought is an especially good strategy for controlling emotion (Webb, Miles, & Sheeran, 2012). For example, if you are afraid of flying, you can distract yourself from your anxiety by helping the woman next to you entertain her restless toddler. By absorbing attention, distraction temporarily helps people stop focusing on their problems.

Some distractions backfire, however. People may change their thoughts but end up thinking about other problems. Or they may engage in maladaptive behaviors. For example, as noted in Chapter 4, people sometimes try to escape self-awareness by overeating or binge drinking. To temporarily escape your problems, you might try watching a movie that captures your attention. Choose a movie that will not remind you of your troubled situation. Otherwise, you might simply find yourself wallowing in self-pity. (For more suggestions on dealing with your day-to-day problems and stresses, see Chapter 11, "Health and Well-Being.")

Excitation transfer is a similar form of misattribution. Here, residual physiological arousal caused by one event is transferred to a new stimulus. For example, in the period after exercise, the body slowly returns to its baseline state. Residual arousal symptoms include an elevated heart rate. After a few minutes, most people will have caught their breath and may not realize their bodies are still aroused. During this interim period, they are likely to transfer the residual excitation from the exercise to any event that occurs. This response has a practical application: On your next date, you might suggest seeing a movie that you think will produce arousal, such as a tearjerker or an action film. Perhaps the person you are out with will misattribute residual arousal to you!

Summing Up

What Are Emotions?

Emotions are often classified as primary or secondary. Primary emotions are innate, evolutionarily adaptive, and universal (shared across cultures). These emotions include anger, fear, sadness, disgust, happiness, surprise, and contempt. Secondary emotions are blends of primary emotions. They include remorse, guilt, submission, shame, love, bitterness, and jealousy.

- Emotions have a valence (positive or negative) and a level of activation (arousal, from low to high).
- The insula receives and integrates somatosensory signals, helping us experience emotion, especially disgust, anger, guilt, and anxiety. The amygdala processes emotional significance of stimuli and generates immediate reactions. The amygdala is also associated with emotional learning, memory of emotional events, and the interpretation of facial expressions of emotion.
- Three main theories of emotion differ in their relative emphases on subjective experience, physiological changes, and cognitive interpretation. The James-Lange theory states that specific patterns of physical changes give rise to the perception of associated emotions. The Cannon-Bard theory proposes that two separate pathways-physical changes and subjective experiences-are activated at the same time. The Schachter-Singer two-factor theory emphasizes the combination of generalized physiological arousal and cognitive appraisals in determining specific emotions.
- Consistent with the Schachter-Singer two-factor theory, research has shown that people can
 misattribute the causes of their emotions, seeking environmental explanations for their feelings.

Measuring Up

For each of the three main theories of emotions-James-Lange, Cannon-Bard, and Schachter-Singer two-factor-select all the descriptive statements and examples that apply. Some answers may apply to more than one theory.

Descriptive statements:

- 1. Emotions follow from bodily responses.
- 2. Cognitive responses to situations are important in determining emotions.
- 3. Bodily responses are an important part of how people label emotions.
- **4.** Excitation transfer is incompatible with this theory of emotion.

Examples:

- a. If you sing a happy song, you will feel happy.
- **b.** If you want someone to fall in love (not necessarily stay in love) with you, you should choose exciting activities for your first dates, such as snowboarding or rock climbing.
- **c.** Smiling during a painful procedure, such as a painful injection, will put you in a better mood.
- d. You feel angry and simultaneously notice your heart is beating fast.

ANSWERS: For James-Lange, 1, 3, a, and c apply. For Cannon-Bard, 3, 4, and d apply. For Schachter-Singer two-factor, 1, 2, 3, and b apply.

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the impact of emotions on cognition and decision making.
- Review research on the cross-cultural universality of emotional expressions.
- Define display rules.
- Discuss the interpersonal functions of guilt and embarrassment.

10.2 How Are Emotions Adaptive?

Over the course of human evolution, we have developed ways of responding to environmental challenges. In solving our adaptive problems, our minds have drawn on our emotions. Negative and positive experiences have guided our species to behaviors that increase the probability of our surviving and reproducing. In other words, emotions are adaptive because they prepare and guide successful behaviors, such as running when you are about to be attacked by a dangerous animal.

Emotions provide information about the importance of stimuli to personal goals, and then they prepare people for actions aimed at achieving those goals (Frijda, 1994). Emotions also guide us in learning social rules and are necessary in order to live cooperatively in groups. In the next section we will look at how emotions have served cognitive and social functions to allow people to adapt to their physical and social environments.

Emotions Serve Cognitive Functions

For a long time, psychologists considered cognitive processes as separate from emotional processes. Researchers studied decision making, memory, and so on as if people were evaluating the information from a purely rational perspective. Yet immediate affective responses arise quickly and automatically. They color perceptions at the very instant an object is noticed. As Robert Zajonc put it, "We do not just see 'a house': We see a *handsome* house, an *ugly* house, or a *pretentious* house" (1980,

p. 154). These instantaneous evaluations subsequently guide decision making, memory, and behavior. Therefore, psychologists now generally acknowledge that it is unrealistic to try to separate emotion from cognition (Phelps, 2006).

As Chapter 8 emphasizes, everyday cognition is far from cold and rational. Decisions and judgments are affected by emotions and moods. For example, when people are in good moods, they tend to be persistent and to find creative, elaborate responses to challenging problems (Isen, 1993). When people are pursuing goals, positive feelings signal that they are making satisfactory progress and thereby encourage additional effort.

DECISION MAKING Would you rather go rock climbing in the Alps or

attend a performance by a small dance troupe in Paris? In considering this question, did you think rationally about all the implications of either choice? Or did you flash on how you would feel in either situation? Emotions influence decision making in different ways. For example, people anticipate future emotional states, which then serve as a source of information and a guide in decision making. In this way, individuals are able to make decisions more quickly and more efficiently. And in the face of complex, multifaceted situations, emotions serve as heuristic guides: They provide feedback for making quick decisions (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor, 2002). Risk judgments are strongly influenced by current feelings, and when emotions and cognitions are in conflict, emotions typically have the stronger impact on decisions (Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee, & Welch, 2001).

According to the *affect-as-information* theory, proposed by Norbert Schwarz and Gerald Clore (1983), people use current moods to make judgments and appraisals. They rely on their moods even if unaware of a mood's source. For instance, Schwarz and Clore asked people to rate their overall life satisfaction. To answer this question, people potentially must consider a multitude of factors, including situations, expectations, personal goals, and accomplishments. As the researchers noted, however, in arriving at their answers respondents did not labor through all these elements but instead seemed to rely on their current moods. People in good moods rated their lives as satisfactory, whereas people in bad moods gave lower overall ratings (**FIGURE 10.14**). Likewise, people's evaluations of plays, lectures, politicians, and even strangers are influenced by their moods. Moods, meanwhile, are influenced by the day of the week, the weather, health, and so on. If people are made aware of the sources of their moods (as when a researcher suggests that a good mood might be caused by the bright sunshine), their feelings have less influence over their judgments.

SOMATIC MARKERS The neuroscientist Antonio Damasio has suggested that reasoning and decision making are guided by the emotional evaluation of an action's consequences. In his influential book *Descartes' Error* (1994), Damasio sets forth the *somatic marker theory*. According to this theory, most self-regulatory actions and decisions are influenced by bodily reactions called **somatic markers**.





FIGURE 10.14 Moods and Life Satisfaction Mood affects a person's satisfaction with life, and weather affects mood. As a result, people may report being more satisfied with their lives on sunny days than on rainy days.

somatic markers

Bodily reactions that arise from the emotional evaluation of an action's consequences.

(a)







FIGURE 10.15 Contextual Effects on Categorizing Emotional Expression

Research participants were shown images such as these and asked to categorize them as depicting anger, fear, pride, sadness, disgust, surprise, or happiness. (a) This photo pairs a sad face with a sad posture. When the face appeared in this context, most participants categorized the expression as sad. (b) This photo pairs the same sad face with a fearful posture. When the face appeared in this context, most participants categorized the expression incorrectly, as fearful. Have you ever had a queasy feeling in your stomach when you looked over the edge of a tall building? For Damasio, the term *gut feeling* can be taken almost literally. When you contemplate an action, you experience an emotional reaction based partly on your expectation of the action's outcome. Your expectation is influenced by your history of performing either that action or similar actions. For example, to the extent that driving fast has led to speeding tickets, which made you feel bad, you may choose to slow down when you see a speed limit sign. Hence, somatic markers may guide people to engage in adaptive behaviors.

Damasio has found that patients who have damage to the middle of the prefrontal region often are insensitive to somatic markers. When this region is damaged, people can still recall information, but the information has lost most of its affective meaning. They might be able to describe their current problems or talk about the death of a loved one, but they do so without experiencing any of the emotional pain that normally accompanies such thoughts. As a result, these people tend not to use past outcomes to regulate future behavior. For instance, in studies using a gambling task, patients who had damage to their frontal lobes continued to follow a risky strategy: They generally selected cards from a stack that had rare huge rewards but frequent bad losses rather than from a deck that had frequent small rewards and infrequent small losses (people without frontal injuries choose this safer strategy). Choosing cards from the high-risk deck had proved unsuccessful in previous trials, but as the patients contemplated selecting a card from the risky deck, they failed to show the more typical response of increased arousal (Bechara, Damasio, Tranel, Damasio, 2005). That is, the somatic marker that would tell most people that something is a bad idea is absent among those with frontal lobe damage.

Facial Expressions Communicate Emotion

In his 1872 book *Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals*, Charles Darwin argued that expressive aspects of emotion are adaptive because they communicate feelings. People interpret facial expressions of emotion to predict other people's behavior. Facial expressions provide many clues about whether our behavior is pleasing to others or whether it is likely to make them reject, attack, or cheat us. Thus, facial expressions, like emotions themselves, provide adaptive information.

Both the eyes and mouth convey emotional information. The eyes are extremely important in communicating emotion. For example, when people are afraid they open their eyes very wide so that more of their eye whites are showing. Simply showing people larger eye whites increases activity in the amygdala, even when the viewers are unaware that the whites are larger (Whalen et al., 2004). If people are presented with pictures of just eyes or just mouths and asked to identify the emotion expressed, they are more accurate when using the eyes (Baron-Cohen, Wheelwright, & Jolliffe, 1997). However, in a classic study, Knight Dunlap (1927) demonstrated that the mouth better conveys emotion than the eyes for telling positive from negative affect. The smile or frown is so noticeable it overrides any information provided by the eyes (Kontsevich & Tyler, 2004).

Much of the research on facial expression is conducted by showing people isolated faces. Yet in the real world faces appear in contexts that provide cues as to what emotion a person is experiencing. In an intriguing study, researchers showed identical facial expressions in different contexts and found that the context profoundly altered how people interpreted the emotion (Aviezer et al., 2008; **FIGURE 10.15**).

FACIAL EXPRESSIONS ACROSS CULTURES Darwin argued that the face innately communicates emotions to others and that these communications are understandable by all people, regardless of culture. His hypothesis was left untested until Paul Ekman came on the scene and set out to disprove it. Ekman believed that emotions vary on a scale from pleasant to unpleasant and that facial expression and what it signifies are learned socially. In other words, he proposed that the meaning of each facial expression varies from one culture to another. Ekman and his colleagues (1969) tested this hypothesis in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Japan, and the United States. They found that Ekman's hypothesis was wrong and Darwin was right.

In each country, participants viewed photographs of posed emotional expressions and then were asked to identify the emotional responses. In all five countries, the participants recognized the expressions as anger, fear, disgust, happiness, sadness, and surprise. Because people in these countries had extensive exposure to each

Scientific Thinking ——— Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures

HYPOTHESIS: Ekman proposed that the meaning of facial expressions is socially learned. Therefore, the meaning of expressions should vary across cultures.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- In the second part of this study, participants in New Guinea were photographed displaying certain facial expressions. For example, they were asked to look like they had come across a rotting pig or like one of their children had died.
- 2 Participants from other countries were asked to identify the emotions being expressed by the New Guineans.



RESULTS: People across cultures largely agreed on the meaning of different facial expressions. The examples here are **(a)** happiness, **(b)** sadness, **(c)** anger, and **(d)** disgust.

CONCLUSION: Ekman's hypothesis was wrong. Recognition of facial expressions may be universal and therefore biologically based.

SOURCE: Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1971). Constants across cultures in the face and emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *17*, 124–129.



(b)



FIGURE 10.16 Pride Expressions

In response to victory in separate judo matches, (a) a sighted athlete and (b) a congenitally blind athlete expressed their pride through similar behaviors. Because such similarities occur across cultures, the physical expression of pride appears to be biologically based.

display rules

Rules learned through socialization that dictate which emotions are suitable in given situations. other's cultures, however, learning and not biology could have been responsible for the cross-cultural agreement. To control for that potential confound, the researchers then traveled to a remote area in New Guinea. The natives there had little exposure to outside cultures and received only minimal formal education. Nonetheless, the study participants were able to identify the emotions seen in the photos fairly well, although agreement was not quite as high as in other cultures. The researchers also asked participants in New Guinea to display certain facial expressions, and they found that evaluators from other countries identified the expressions at a level better than chance (Ekman & Friesen, 1971; see "Scientific Thinking: Ekman's Study of Facial Expressions Across Cultures," on p. 419).

Subsequent research has found general support for cross-cultural agreement in identifying some facial expressions; support is strongest for happiness and weakest for fear and disgust (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). Some scholars believe the results of these cross-cultural studies may be biased by cultural differences in the use of emotion words and by the way people are asked to identify emotions (Russell, 1994). Overall, however, the evidence indicates that some facial expressions are universal. Therefore, they probably have a biological basis.

Would you expect the physical expression of pride to be biologically based or culturally specific? The psychologist Jessica Tracy has found that young children can recognize when a person feels pride and that isolated populations with minimal Western contact also accurately identify the physical signs, which include smiling face, raised arms, expanded chest, and torso pushed out (Tracy & Robins, 2008). Tracy and David Matsumoto (2008) examined pride responses among those competing in judo matches in the 2004 Olympic and Paralympic Games, in which sighted and blind athletes from 37 nations competed. After victory, the behaviors displayed by sighted and blind athletes were very similar. This finding suggests that pride responses are innate rather than learned by observing them in others (**FIGURE 10.16**).

Display Rules Differ Across Cultures and Between the Sexes

As we have seen, basic emotions, such as pride, seem to be expressed similarly across cultures. The situations in which people display emotions differ substantially, however. **Display rules** govern how and when people exhibit emotions. These rules are learned through socialization, and they dictate which emotions are suitable in given situations. Differences in display rules help explain cultural stereotypes, such as the loud and obnoxious Americans and Australians, the cold and bland British, and the warm and emotional Italians. Display rules also may explain why the identification of facial expressions is much better within cultures than between cultures (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002).

From culture to culture, display rules tend to be different for women and men. In particular, the rules for smiling and crying differ between the sexes. It is generally believed that women display emotions more readily, frequently, easily, and intensely (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). The evidence suggests that this belief is true—except perhaps for emotions related to dominance, such as anger (LaFrance & Banaji, 1992). Thus, men and women may vary in their emotional expressiveness for evolutionary reasons: The emotions most closely associated with women are related to caregiving, nurturance, and interpersonal relationships. The emotions associated with men are related to dominance, defensiveness, and competitiveness.

While women may be more likely to display many emotions, they do not necessarily experience them more intensely. Although there is strong evidence that women report more-intense emotions, this finding might reflect societal norms about how women are supposed to feel (Grossman & Wood, 1993). Perhaps because of differences in upbringing in modern Western society, women tend to be better than men at articulating their emotions (Feldman Barrett, Lane, Sechrest, & Schwartz, 2000).

Ultimately, do sex differences in emotional expression reflect learned patterns of behaviors or biologically based differences? Nature and nurture work together here, so it is difficult—often impossible—to distinguish their effects.

Emotions Strengthen Interpersonal Relations

Because humans are social animals, many emotions involve interpersonal dynamics. People feel hurt when teased, angry when insulted, happy when loved, and proud when complimented. In interacting with others, people use emotional expressions as powerful nonverbal communications (**FIGURE 10.17**). Although English alone includes over 550 words that refer to emotions (Averill, 1980), people can communicate their emotions quite well without verbal language. For example, because infants cannot talk, they must communicate their needs largely through nonverbal actions and emotional expressions. Newborns are capable of expressing joy, interest, disgust, and pain. Nonverbal displays of emotions signal inner states, moods, and needs. It can even be argued that humans are a social species *because* emotions enable people to live together. As Steven Pinker (2011) notes, "We sympathize with, trust, and feel grateful to those who are likely to cooperate with us, rewarding them with our own cooperation. And we get angry at or ostracize those who are likely to cheat, withdrawing cooperation or meting out punishment" (p. 490).

For most of the twentieth century, however, psychologists paid little attention to interpersonal emotions. Guilt, embarrassment, and the like were associated with Freudian thinking and therefore not studied in mainstream psychological science. Theorists have since reconsidered interpersonal emotions in view of humans' evolutionary need to belong to social groups. Given that survival was enhanced for those who lived in groups, those who were expelled would have been less likely to survive and pass along their genes. According to this view, individuals were rejected primarily because they drained group resources or threatened group stability. The fundamental need to belong (as discussed more fully in the next section) indicates that people will be sensitive to anything that might lead them to be kicked out of the group, and social emotions may reflect reactions to this possibility. Thus, social emotions may be important for maintaining social bonds.

GUILT STRENGTHENS SOCIAL BONDS Guilt is a negative emotional state associated with anxiety, tension, and agitation. The experience of guilt rarely makes sense outside the context of interpersonal interaction. For instance, the typical guilt experience occurs when someone feels responsible for another person's negative affective state. Thus when we believe that something we did directly or indirectly harmed another person, we experience feelings of anxiety, tension, and remorse—feelings that can be labeled as guilt. Guilt occasionally can arise even when we are not personally responsible for others' negative situations (e.g., survivor guilt, the guilt felt by people who survive incidents—accidents or catastrophes—in which others have died).

Although excessive feelings of guilt may have negative consequences, guilt is not entirely negative. One theoretical model of guilt outlines its benefits to close relationships. Roy Baumeister and colleagues (1994) contend that guilt protects and strengthens interpersonal relationships in three ways. First, feelings of guilt discourage people from doing things that would harm their relationships, such as



FIGURE 10.17 Emotion as Communication Nonverbal expressions of emotion, such as these displays of love and joy, can communicate as powerfully as words.
cheating on their partners, and encourage behaviors that strengthen relationships, such as phoning one's parents regularly. Second, displays of guilt demonstrate that people care about their relationship partners, thereby affirming social bonds. Third, guilt is a tactic that can be used to manipulate others. Guilt is especially effective when used against people who hold power over others. For instance, a person might try to make his boss feel guilty so he does not have to work overtime. Children may use guilt to get adults to buy them presents or grant them privileges.

Evidence indicates that socialization is more important than biology in determining specifically how children experience guilt. A longitudinal study involving identical and fraternal twins examined the impact of socialization on the development of various negative emotions (Zahn-Waxler & Robinson, 1995). The study found that all the negative emotions showed considerable genetic influence, but guilt was unique in being highly influenced by social environment. With age, the influence of a shared environment on guilt became stronger, whereas the evidence for genetic influences disappeared. Perhaps surprisingly, parental warmth is associated with greater guilt in children. This finding suggests that feelings of guilt arise in healthy and happy relationships. As children become citizens in a social world, they develop the capacity to empathize, and they subsequently experience feelings of guilt when they transgress against others.

EMBARRASSMENT AND BLUSHING ACKNOWLEDGE SOCIAL AWKWARD-

NESS A person is likely to feel embarrassed after violating a cultural norm, losing physical poise, being teased, or experiencing a threat to his or her self-image (Miller,



1996). Some theories of embarrassment suggest that it rectifies interpersonal awkwardness and restores social bonds. Embarrassment represents submission to and affiliation with the social group. It also represents recognition of the unintentional social error. Research supports these propositions in showing that individuals who look embarrassed after wrongdoing elicit more sympathy, more forgiveness, more amusement, and more laughter from onlookers (Cupach & Metts, 1990; **FIGURE 10.18**). Like guilt, embarrassment may reaffirm close relationships after wrongdoing.

The writer Mark Twain once said, "Man is the only animal that blushes. Or needs to." Darwin, in his 1872 book, called blushing the "most peculiar and the most human of all expressions," thereby separating it from emotional responses he deemed necessary for survival. Recent theory and research suggests that blushing occurs when people believe others view them negatively and that blushing

communicates a realization of interpersonal errors. This nonverbal apology is an appeasement that elicits forgiveness in others, thereby repairing and maintaining relationships (Keltner & Anderson, 2000).

Summing Up

How Are Emotions Adaptive?

- Emotions are adaptive because they bring about states of behavioral readiness.
- Emotions influence decision making, serving as heuristic guides for quick decisions. They also give rise to somatic markers, bodily reactions, that facilitate self-regulation.

FIGURE 10.18 Embarrassment

In this photo, the psychologist Dacher Keltner is demonstrating the classic facial signals of embarrassment.

- The evolutionary basis for emotions is supported by research on cross-cultural agreement in the display and recognition of some emotional expressions.
- Display rules are learned through socialization and dictate which emotions are suitable to given situations.
- Across cultures, display rules differ for females and males.
- Emotions that are interpersonal in nature-for example, guilt and embarrassment-are
 particularly important for the maintenance and repair of close interpersonal relationships.

Measuring Up

1. A display rule is

- **a.** a term that refers to displays of aggression among animals in the wild.
- **b.** a rule that specifies when and how certain people can express an emotion.
- c. a way of measuring the extent of people's emotions.
- d. an interacting system of guidelines for interpreting various motivations.

2. What is a likely explanation for blushing?

- a. It is a nonverbal way of admitting a mistake.
- **b.** It has no adaptive function, although in earlier times it probably signaled lower social status.
- It shows a disregard for others and thus can maintain social status for the blushing person.
- **d.** It signals weakness, which is important in human evolution.

ANSWERS: (1) b. a rule that specifies when and how certain people can express an emotion. (2) a. It is a nonverbal way of admitting a mistake.

10.3 How Are People Motivated?

What inspires you to get up in the morning? Why do you choose to eat certain foods? Does being in a sexual relationship interest you? Questions such as these are about why people do what they do. As discussed at the opening of this chapter, Gabby Douglas's story illustrates that behavior is strongly influenced by motivation as well as emotion. In fact, the words *emotion* and *motivation* come from the same Latin word: *movere*, "to move."

Most of the general theories of motivation emphasize four essential qualities of motivational states. First, motivational states are *energizing*, or stimulating. They activate behaviors—that is, they cause animals to do something. For instance, the desire for fitness might motivate you to get up and go for a run on a cold morning. Second, motivational states are *directive*. They guide behaviors toward satisfying specific goals or specific needs. Hunger motivates you to eat; thirst motivates you to drink; pride (or fear or another feeling) motivates you to study for exams. Third, motivational states help animals *persist* in their behavior until they achieve their goals or satisfy their needs. Hunger gnaws at you until you find something to eat; a desire to win drives you to practice foul shots until you succeed. Fourth, most theories agree that motives differ in *strength*, depending on internal and external forces. Thus, for psychologists, **motivation** is a process that energizes, guides, and maintains behavior toward a goal. This section looks at a wide range of factors that, to different degrees, motivate people's behaviors.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between a motive, a need, and a drive.
- Describe Maslow's hierarchy of needs.
- Describe the Yerkes-Dodson law.
- Distinguish between extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation.
- Discuss the relationships between self-efficacy, the achievement motive, delayed gratification, and goal achievement.
- Describe need to belong theory.



"What do you think . . . should we get started on that motivation research or not?"

motivation

A process that energizes, guides, and maintains behavior toward a goal.

need

A state of biological or social deficiency.

need hierarchy

Maslow's arrangement of needs, in which basic survival needs must be met before people can satisfy higher needs.

self-actualization

A state that is achieved when one's personal dreams and aspirations have been attained.

Drives Motivate the Satisfaction of Needs

What do we really need to do to stay alive? For one, we have to satisfy our biological needs. We all *need* air, food, and water to survive. But satisfying our basic biological needs is not enough to live a fully satisfying life. We also have social needs, including the need for achievement and the need to be with others. People *need* other people, although preferences to be solitary or social vary. A **need**, then, is a state of deficiency, which can be either biological (e.g., water) or social (e.g., to be with other people). Either way, needs lead to goal-directed behaviors. Failure to satisfy a particular need leads to psychosocial or physical impairment.

MASLOW'S NEED HIERARCHY In the 1940s, Abraham Maslow proposed an influential "need theory" of motivation. Maslow believed that people are driven by many needs, which he arranged into a **need hierarchy (FIGURE 10.19**). He placed survival needs (such as hunger and thirst) at the base of the hierarchy, believing they had to be satisfied first. He placed personal growth needs at the pinnacle. To experience personal growth, he believed, people must fulfill their biological needs, feel safe and secure, feel loved, and have a good opinion of themselves.

The pinnacle of Maslow's theory was **self-actualization**. This state occurs when someone achieves his or her personal dreams and aspirations. A self-actualized person is living up to his or her potential and therefore is truly happy. Maslow writes, "A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is ultimately to be at peace with himself. What a man *can* be, he *must* be" (Maslow, 1968, p. 46).

Maslow's need hierarchy has long been embraced in education and business, but it lacks empirical support. Self-actualization might or might not be a requirement for happiness, but the ranking of needs is not as simple as Maslow suggests. For instance, some people starve themselves in hunger strikes to demonstrate the importance of



FIGURE 10.19 Need Hierarchy

According to Maslow's classification of needs, basic needs (such as for food and water) must be satisfied before people can address higher needs (such as for achievement).



FIGURE 10.20

Needs, Drives, and Behaviors According to Drive Reduction

According to drive reduction, a need is a deficiency in some area that creates a drive-an internal psychological state. The drive motivates a person to behave in ways that satisfy a need. For example, if you hold your breath, you will start to feel a strong sense of urgency, even anxiety. This state of arousal is a drive. That drive will force you to breathe, satisfying your need for oxygen.

their personal beliefs. Others, who have satisfied their physiological and security needs, prefer to be left alone. Maslow's hierarchy, therefore, is more useful as an indicator of what *might* be true about people's behaviors than of what actually *is* true about them.

DRIVE REDUCTION AND HOMEOSTASIS What motivates people to satisfy their needs? A **drive** is a psychological state that, by creating arousal, motivates an organism to satisfy a need. A particular drive encourages behaviors that will satisfy a particular need. To experience one of your own needs and a drive in response to it, see **FIGURE 10.20.**

For biological states such as thirst or hunger, basic drives help animals maintain steadiness, or *equilibrium*. In the 1920s, Walter Cannon coined the term **homeostasis**, which means the tendency for bodily functions to maintain equilibrium. A good analogy is a home heating and cooling system controlled by a thermostat. The thermo-

stat is set to some optimal level, or *set-point*. That hypothetical state indicates homeostasis. If the actual temperature is different from the set-point, the furnace or air conditioner operates to adjust the temperature.

Similarly, the human body regulates a set-point of around 37°C (98.6°F). When people are too warm or too cold, brain mechanisms (particularly the hypothalamus) initiate responses such as sweating (to cool the body) or shivering (to warm the body). At the same time, people become motivated to perform behaviors such as taking off or putting on clothes (**FIGURE 10.21**). Models like this, in which the body responds to negative feedback, are useful for describing various basic biological processes, among them eating, fluid regulation, and sleep.

Building on Cannon's work, Clark Hull (1943) proposed that when an animal is deprived of some need (such as water, sleep, or sex), a drive increases in proportion to the amount of biological deprivation. The hungrier you are, the more driven you are to find food. The drive state creates arousal, which encourages you to do something to reduce the drive, such as having a late-night snack. Although the

drive

A psychological state that, by creating arousal, motivates an organism to satisfy a need.

homeostasis

The tendency for bodily functions to maintain equilibrium.



FIGURE 10.21 A Negative-Feedback Model of Homeostasis



FIGURE 10.22 Graph of the Yerkes-Dodson Law

According to this law, performance on challenging tasks increases with arousal until a moderate level. After that point, additional arousal interferes with performance.

Yerkes-Dodson law

The psychological principle that performance on challenging tasks increases with arousal up to a moderate level. After that, additional arousal impairs performance.

incentives

External objects or external goals, rather than internal drives, that motivate behaviors.

initial behaviors the animal engages in are arbitrary, any behavior that satisfies a need is reinforced and therefore is more likely to recur. Over time, if a behavior consistently reduces a drive, it becomes a *habit* and therefore the dominant response produced by arousal. The likelihood that a behavior will occur is due to drive and habit.

Suppose you feel the need to forget your troubles. To satisfy that need, you feel driven to distract yourself, so you go to YouTube and watch videos of cute animals. Watching those videos makes you forget your troubles, and that outcome reinforces further video viewing. Over time, you might develop the habit of watching cute animal videos, especially when you are stressed.

AROUSAL AND DRIVE Because drives motivate behavior by creating arousal, you might think that more arousal will lead to greater drive and thus to better performance. Consider, however, the **Yerkes-Dodson Iaw** (named after the two researchers who formulated it, in 1908). This psychological principle dictates that performance on challenging tasks increases with arousal up to a moderate point. After that, performance is impaired by any additional arousal. A graph of this relationship is shaped like an inverted U (**FIGURE 10.22**). As the Yerkes-Dodson law predicts, students perform best on exams when feeling moderate anxiety. Too little anxiety can make them inattentive or unmotivated, while too much anxiety can interfere with their thinking ability. Likewise, athletes have to pump themselves up for their events, but they can fall apart under too much stress.

All people function better with some arousal. In other words, motivation does not always lower tension and arousal. Instead, people are motivated to seek an optimal level of arousal—the level of arousal they most prefer. Too little, and they are bored; too much, and they are overwhelmed. People choose stimulating, exciting, or even frightening activities—those that arouse them and absorb their attention. As discussed further in Chapter 13, however, people differ in how stimulating, exciting, frightening, or pleasurable they want those activities to be.

People Are Motivated by Incentives

Drive states push us to reduce arousal, but we are also pulled toward certain things in our environments. **Incentives** are external objects or external goals, rather than internal drives, that motivate behaviors. For example, getting a good grade on an exam is an incentive for studying hard. According to incentive theory, people do not always wait for deficient needs to drive behavior in daily life. Instead, people are motivated by their desires to achieve external goals. For example, Gabby Douglas may be driven by the incentive to achieve another gold medal, not by a need state that must be satisfied.

Even forces outside of conscious awareness can provide incentives to behave in particular ways. For example, smokers sometimes develop cravings for cigarettes after watching people smoke on-screen. In some cases, the viewers have not even consciously registered that the on-screen figures are smoking (Wagner, Dal Cin, Sargent, Kelly, & Heatherton, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 4, subliminal cues influence behavior, even though they appear so quickly that people cannot report what they saw. Researchers from France and England found that study participants worked harder for a larger financial reward—in this case, a subliminally presented pound coin versus a real penny coin—even when they were unable to report how much money was at stake (Pessiglione et al., 2007). Likewise, pairing a positive word, such as *good*, with a subliminal cue, such as the word *exert*, led people to squeeze a lever harder than when the cue was presented without the positive word (Aarts, Custers, & Marien, 2008). Preschool children who were exposed to food advertising ate 45 percent more snack foods than preschool children who did not see the advertising (Harris, Bargh, & Brownell, 2009).

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION Incentive theorists differentiate between two types of incentive motivation (**FIGURE 10.23**). Extrinsic motivation is directed toward an external goal, typically a reward. For example, people work to earn paychecks. Gabby Douglas trains to earn medals. Many of the activities people find most satisfying, however—such as reading a good novel, solving crossword puzzles, or listening to music—seem to fulfill no obvious purpose other than enjoyment. Such activities are directed toward **intrinsic motivation**: value or pleasure associated with an activity, rather than for any external goal. Intrinsically motivated behaviors are performed for their own sake. They simply are enjoyable. Some students study to earn good grades (extrinsic motivation), whereas others study because they are curious and want to learn about the topic (intrinsic motivation). The incentives may differ, but the behaviors they bring about may be the same.

Some intrinsically motivated activities may satisfy natural curiosity and creativity. After playing with a new toy for a long time, children start to lose interest and will seek out something new. Playful exploration is characteristic of all mammals and especially primates. For example, as Harry Harlow and colleagues have shown, monkeys have a strong exploratory drive. They will work hard, without an external reward, to solve relatively complex puzzles (Harlow, Harlow, & Meyer, 1950). One function of play is that it helps people learn about the objects in an environment. This outcome clearly has survival value, since knowing how things work allows people to use those objects for more serious tasks.

Similarly, many of us are driven toward creative pursuits. Whether we are visiting an art museum or creating artwork ourselves, we may do so simply because we enjoy activities that allow us to express our creativity. Creativity is the tendency to generate ideas or alternatives that may be useful in solving problems, communicating, and entertaining ourselves and others (Franken, 2007). Although many creative pursuits are not adaptive solutions, creativity is an important factor in solving adaptive problems.

SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY AND SELF-PERCEPTION THEORY As

discussed in Chapter 6, a basic principle of learning theory is that rewarded behaviors increase in frequency. You might expect that rewarding intrinsically motivated behaviors would reinforce them. Surprisingly, consistent evidence suggests that extrinsic rewards can undermine intrinsic motivation. In a classic study, Mark Lepper and colleagues allowed children to draw with colored marking pens (Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973). Most children find this activity intrinsically motivating. One group of children were extrinsically motivated to draw by being led to expect a "good player award." Another group of children were rewarded unexpectedly following the task. A third group were neither rewarded nor led to expect a reward. During a subsequent free-play period, children who were expecting an extrinsic reward spent much less time playing with the pens than did the children who were never rewarded or the children who received an unexpected reward. The first group of children responded as though it was their job to draw with the colored pens. In other words, why would they play with the pens for free when they were used to being "paid"? There are two theoretical explanations:

According to *self-determination theory*, people are motivated to satisfy needs for competence, relatedness to others, and autonomy, which is a sense of personal control. Self-determination theory argues that extrinsic rewards may reduce intrinsic value because such rewards undermine people's feeling that they are choosing to do something for themselves. In contrast, feelings of autonomy and competence make people feel good about themselves and inspire them to do their most creative work (Deci & Ryan, 1987).



(b)



FIGURE 10.23 Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation

(a) Extrinsic motivation is an external factor that causes people to behave in a certain way. That factor is a reward. A major example is money.
(b) Intrinsic motivation causes people to behave in a certain way simply because the activity, or the result of the activity, is enjoyable.

extrinsic motivation Motivation to perform an activity because of the external goals toward which that activity is directed.

intrinsic motivation

Motivation to perform an activity because of the value or pleasure associated with that activity, rather than for an apparent external goal or purpose. According to *self-perception theory*, people are seldom aware of their specific motives. Instead, they draw inferences about their motives according to what seems to make the most sense (Bem, 1967). Suppose someone gives you a big glass of water. After drinking the whole thing, you exclaim, "Wow, I must have been thirsty!" You believe you were thirsty because you drank the whole glass, even though you were unaware of any physical sensations of thirst. When people cannot come up with obvious external explanations for their behaviors—such as that they acted with the expectation of being rewarded or to satisfy a biological drive—they conclude that they simply like the behaviors. Rewarding people for engaging in an intrinsic activity, however, gives them an alternative explanation for engaging in it. They performed the behavior not just for fun but because of the reward. Therefore, without the reward, they have no reason to engage in the behavior. The reward has replaced the goal of pure pleasure.

PLEASURE/PAIN AND APPROACH/AVOIDANCE MOTIVATION Sigmund Freud proposed that people act according to the *pleasure principle*, which encourages them to seek pleasure and avoid pain. This idea of seeking pleasure is central to incentive theories of motivation (Higgins, 1997). Originating with the ancient Greeks, the concept of *hedonism* refers to humans' desire for pleasantness. We do things that feel good. If something feels good, we do it again. Sexual activity is a good example of hedonism. Even though sex is crucial for the survival of the species, people engage in a variety of sexual behaviors even when they do not want to reproduce.

The idea that pleasure motivates behavior helps us understand a criticism of biological drive theories (such as Clark Hull's). If biological drives explain all behaviors, why do animals engage in behaviors that do not necessarily satisfy biological needs? These behaviors, such as eating dessert when you are not hungry, commonly occur because they are pleasurable (Cabanac, 1992). That is, the incentive to enjoy the taste motivates eating certain foods, regardless of your hunger state.

From an evolutionary perspective, positive and negative incentives are adaptive. We are motivated to approach certain things and avoid others. For instance, people experience *approach motivations* to seek out food, sex, and companionship because they are all typically associated with pleasure. By contrast, *avoidance motivation* encourages people to avoid negative outcomes, such as dangerous animals, because of the association with pain (Watson, Wiese, Vaidya, & Tellegen, 1999). A good example of this principle is the finding that most animals prefer to eat sweets. Infants given sweet solutions seem to find them pleasurable, as revealed by their facial expressions (Steiner, 1977; **FIGURE 10.24**). Sweetness usually indicates that food is safe to eat. By contrast, most poisons and toxins taste bitter, so it is not surprising that animals avoid bitter tastes.

People Set Goals to Achieve

What would you like to be doing 10 years from now? What things about yourself would you change? So far, we have focused on motivation to fulfill short-term goals, such as satisfying our hunger or spending a pleasurable afternoon. But people have long-term aspirations as well. These aspirations might not be as newsworthy as Gabby Douglas's Olympic dreams, but they matter greatly to the individual. What motivates people to fulfill those goals?

In the 1930s, the personality psychologist Henry Murray proposed 27 basic *psychosocial needs*, including the needs for power, autonomy, achievement, and play. The study of psychosocial needs has yielded important insights into what motivates human behavior. A key insight is that people are especially motivated to achieve



FIGURE 10.24 Early Motivation

As these photos reveal, even newborns prefer sweet tastes to bitter ones.

personal goals. *Self-regulation* of behavior is the process by which people change their behavior to attain personal goals.

Good goals motivate people to work hard. But what is a good goal? The organizational psychologists Edwin Locke and Gary Latham (1990) developed an influential theory. According to Locke and Latham, challenging and specific goals are the best, as long as they are not overly difficult. Challenging goals encourage effort, persistence, and concentration. In contrast, goals that are too easy or too hard can undermine motivation and therefore lead to failure. Dividing specific goals into concrete steps also leads to success. If you are interested in running the Boston Marathon, for instance, your first goal might be gaining the stamina to run 1 mile. When you can run a mile, you can set another goal and thus build up to running the 26-mile marathon. Focusing on concrete, short-term goals facilitates achieving long-term goals.

SELF-EFFICACY AND THE ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE Albert Bandura (1977) argued that people's personal expectations for success play an important role in motivation. For instance, if you believe studying hard will lead to a good grade on an exam, you will be motivated to study. *Self-efficacy* is the expectation that your efforts will lead to success. This expectation helps mobilize your energies. If you have low self-efficacy—that is, if you do not believe your efforts will pay off—you may be too discouraged even to study. People with high self-efficacy often set challenging goals that lead to success. Sometimes, however, people whose self-views are inflated set goals they cannot possibly achieve. Again, goals that are challenging but not overwhelming are usually most conducive to success.

People differ in how insistently they pursue challenging goals. The *achievement motive* is the desire to do well relative to standards of excellence. Compared with those low in achievement motivation, students high in achievement motivation sit closer to the front of classrooms, score higher on exams, and obtain better grades in courses relevant to their career goals (McClelland, 1987). Students with high achievement motivation are more realistic in their career aspirations than are students low in achievement motivation. Those high in achievement motivation set challenging but attainable personal goals, while those low in achievement motivation set extremely easy or impossibly high goals.





FIGURE 10.25 Delaying Gratification These three techniques help a person delay gratification.

DELAYED GRATIFICATION One common challenge in self-regulation is postponing immediate gratification in the pursuit of long-term goals. For example, students who want to be accepted to graduate school often have to stay home and study while their friends are out having fun.

In a series of studies, the developmental psychologist Walter Mischel gave children the choice of waiting to receive a preferred toy or food item or having a less preferred toy or food item right away (Mischel, 1961). Mischel found that some children are better at delaying gratification than other children are. In addition, the ability to delay gratification is predictive of success in life. Children able to delay gratification at age 4 were rated 10 years later as being more socially competent and better able to handle frustration. The ability to delay gratification in childhood has been found to predict higher SAT scores and better school grades (Mischel, Shoda, & Rodriguez, 1989). A 40-year follow-up study found that the ability to delay gratification remained stable into adulthood (Casey et al., 2011). These researchers also conducted a brain imaging study in which participants had to inhibit responding to a rewarding stimulus. Those low in delay of gratification as children showed greater activity as adults in brain reward regions when they tried not to respond to the rewarding stimulus. These findings indicate that the inability to delay gratification and control behavior in childhood may have lifelong implications. Indeed, a study from New Zealand found that self-control in childhood predicted better physical health and personal finances, less substance abuse, and fewer criminal offenses at age 32 (Moffitt et al., 2011).

In Mischel's now-classic studies, how did some children manage to delay gratification? Given the choice between eating one marshmallow right away or two after several minutes, some children waited and engaged in strategies to help them not eat the marshmallow while they waited. One strategy was simply ignoring the tempting item rather than looking at it. Some of the children covered their eyes or looked away. Very young children tended to look directly at the item they were trying to resist, making the delay especially difficult. A related strategy was self-distraction, through singing, playing games, or pretending to sleep.

The most successful strategy involved what Mischel and his colleague Janet Metcalfe (1999) refer to as turning *hot cognitions* into *cold cognitions*. This strategy involves mentally transforming the desired object into something undesired. In one study, children reported imagining a tempting pretzel as a brown log or imagining marshmallows as clouds (**FIGURE 10.25**). Hot cognitions focus on the rewarding, pleasurable aspects of objects. Cold cognitions focus on conceptual or symbolic meanings.

Metcalfe and Mischel (1999) proposed that this hot/cold distinction is based on how the brain processes the information. As discussed in Chapter 3, subcortical brain regions such as the amygdala and the nucleus accumbens are important for motivating behavior. The prefrontal cortex performs cold-cognitive processes, such as the control of thought and of behavior.

People Have a Need to Belong

Over the course of human evolution, our ancestors who lived with others were more likely to survive and pass along their genes. Children who stayed with adults (and resisted being left alone) were more likely to survive until their reproductive years because the adults would protect and nurture them. Similarly, adults capable of developing long-term, committed relationships were more likely to reproduce and to have offspring who survived to reproduce. Effective groups shared food, provided mates, and helped care for offspring, including orphans. Some survival tasks (such as hunting large mammals or looking out for predatory enemies) were best accomplished by group cooperation. It therefore makes great sense that, over the millennia, humans have committed to living in groups. Roy Baumeister and Mark Leary (1995) formulated the **need to belong theory**, which states that the need for interpersonal attachments is a fundamental motive that has evolved for adaptive purposes.

MAKING AND KEEPING FRIENDS The need to belong theory explains how easily most people make friends (**FIGURE 10.26**). Societies differ in their types of groups, but all societies have some form of group membership (Brewer & Caporael, 1990). Not belonging to a group increases a person's risk for various adverse consequences, such as illnesses and premature death (Cacioppo, Hughs, Waite, Hawkley, & Thisted, 2006). Such negative effects suggest that the need to belong is a basic motive driving behavior, just as hunger drives people to seek food and avoid dying from starvation.

If humans have a fundamental need to belong, they need to have some way of knowing whether they are included in particular groups (MacDonald & Leary, 2005). In other words, given the importance of being a group member, people need to be sensitive to signs that the group might kick them out. Indeed, evidence indicates that people feel anxious when facing exclusion from their social groups. Further, people who are shy and lonely tend to worry most about social evaluation and pay much more attention to social information (Gardner, Pickett, Jefferis, & Knowles, 2005). The take-home message is that just as a lack of food causes hunger, a lack of social contact causes emptiness and despair. In the movie *Cast Away*, Tom Hanks's character becomes stranded on a deserted island and has such a strong need for companion-ship that he begins carrying on a friendship with a volleyball he calls Wilson (named for the manufacturer, whose name is on the ball). As noted by the film reviewer Susan Stark (2000), this volleyball convinces us that "human company, as much as shelter, water, food and fire, is essential to life as most of us understand it."

ANXIETY AND AFFILIATION Do you like to be around other people when you are anxious, or do you prefer to avoid them? In a classic study, the social psychologist Stanley Schachter (1959) manipulated anxiety levels and then measured how much the participants, all female, preferred to be around others. The participants in these studies thought they were taking part in a routine psychological study. "Dr. Zilstein," a serious- and cold-looking man with a vaguely European accent, greeted them at the lab. After explaining that he was from the neurology and psychiatric school, the doctor said the study involved measuring "the physiological effects of electric shock."

Zilstein told the participants he would hook them up to some electrical equipment and then administer electric current to their skin. Those in the low-anxiety condition were told the shocks would be painless—no more than a tickle. Those in the high-anxiety condition were told: "These shocks will hurt; they will be painful. As you can guess, if we're to learn anything that will really help humanity, it is necessary that our shocks be intense. These shocks will be quite painful, but, of course, they will do no permanent damage." As you might imagine, the participants who heard this speech were quite fearful and anxious.

Zilstein then said he needed time to set up his equipment, so there would be a 10-minute period before the shocks began. At that point, the participants were offered a choice: They could spend the waiting time alone or with others. This choice was the critical dependent

measure. After the choice was made, the experiment was over. No one received a shock. Schachter found that increased anxiety led to increased affiliative motivations: Those in the high-anxiety condition were much more likely to want to wait with other people (see "Scientific Thinking: Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation," on p. 432).

need to belong theory The theory that the need for interpersonal attachments is a fundamental motive that has evolved for adaptive purposes.



FIGURE 10.26 Making Friends

College provides many opportunities for making friends. First-year students often make lifelong friendships within days of arriving on campus.

Scientific Thinking ______ Schachter's Study on Anxiety and Affiliation

HYPOTHESIS: Feeling anxious makes people want to be with others.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 The participants, all female, were told they would be hooked up to equipment that would administer electric current to their skin.
- 2 Some participants were told the shocks would be painless. Others were told the shocks would be quite painful.
- 3 All participants were then asked if, while the experiment was being set up, they wanted to wait alone or with others.

RESULTS: The participants who were told the shocks would be painful (the high-anxiety condition) were much more likely to want to wait with others.



CONCLUSION: Increased anxiety led to increased motivation to be with others, at least for females.

SOURCE: Schachter, S. (1959). *The psychology of affiliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Thus, misery appears to love company. But does misery love just any company? A further study revealed that high-anxiety participants wanted to wait only with other high-anxiety participants, not with people who supposedly were waiting just to see their research supervisors. So misery loves miserable company, not just any company.

Why do people in a stressful situation prefer to be around other people in the same situation? According to Schachter, other people provide information that helps us evaluate whether we are acting appropriately. According to Leon Festinger's *social comparison theory* (1954), we are motivated to have accurate information about ourselves and others. We compare ourselves with those around us to test and validate personal beliefs and emotional responses. The effect occurs especially when the situation is ambiguous and we can compare ourselves with people relatively similar to us.

Summing Up

How Are People Motivated?

- Motivation energizes, directs, and sustains behavior.
- Maslow described a hierarchy of needs: People first must satisfy lower needs, such as hunger and thirst, before satisfying safety needs, social needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs.
- Needs arise from states of biological or social deficiency. Drives are psychological states that create arousal and motivate behaviors to satisfy needs.
- Drives help maintain homeostasis-that is, equilibrium of bodily functions.
- The Yerkes-Dodson law suggests that if people are underaroused or overaroused, their performance will suffer.
- People are also motivated by incentives, which are external objects or goals.
- Some incentives are extrinsically motivated (directed toward an external reward). Other incentives are intrinsically motivating (directed toward an internal reward or simply enjoyable).
- Providing people with extrinsic rewards can undermine their intrinsic motivation.
- According to research, the most successful motivation comes from goals that are challenging and specific but not overly difficult.
- People who are high in self-efficacy and have a high achievement motive are more likely to set challenging but attainable goals for themselves.
- People who are able to delay gratification are more likely to report successful outcomes later in life.
- Need to belong theory suggests that people have a fundamental need for interpersonal attachments. Need to belong explains the ease with which people make friends, their sensitivity to social exclusion, the adverse feelings experienced in the absence of social contact, and efforts to affiliate with others when anxious.

Measuring Up

1. Arrange the levels of Maslow's need hierarchy in the correct order, with lowest needs at the bottom, and then match each example with the correct level.

Needs:

- a. belonging and love
- **b.** self-actualization
- c. physiological needs
- d. esteem

e. safety

Examples:

- 1. You are sleep deprived.
- **2.** You are being physically threatened by a bully.
- **3.** You are about to take an exam in a class you are failing.
- 4. You have just moved to a new city, where you know few people.
- 5. You are an accomplished poet engaged in writing a new book of poems.
- 2. Indicate whether the motivation in each of the following scenarios is intrinsic or extrinsic.
 - **a.** Mary enjoys reading her psychology textbook so much that she is even reading the chapters her teacher did not assign.
 - **b.** Natasha is reading her psychology textbook to get a good grade on the exam and would never read an unassigned chapter.
 - c. Most children love to read and will do so for the sheer joy of reading.
 - **d.** As part of a plan to increase children's reading, a librarian will award prizes to the children who read the most books over the summer.

4. belonging and love; and 5. self-actualization.
 4. betrinsic; b. extrinsic; c. intrinsic; d. extrinsic.

ANSWERS: (1) Lowest to highest levels are c, e, a, d, b. Examples are 1. physiological; 2. safety; 3. esteem;

Learning **Objectives**

- Identify neural structures associated with eating.
- Describe the glucostatic and lipostatic theories of eating.
- Discuss the role that hormones play in regulating eating behavior.
- Discuss the impact of time, taste, and cultural learning on eating behavior.

(a)





FIGURE 10.27 Hyperphagia in Humans (a) In 2012, Alexis Shapiro underwent brain surgery that accidentally

damaged her hypothalamus. (b) This damage caused her to feel extremely hungry all the time, even though she had become obese.

10.4 What Motivates Eating?

One of life's greatest pleasures is eating, and we do a lot of it. Most people in industrialized countries consume between 80,000 and 90,000 meals during their lives-more than 40 tons of food! Everyone needs to eat to survive, but eating involves much more than simply survival. Around the globe, special occasions often involve elaborate feasts, and much of the social world revolves around eating.

Common sense assumes that most eating is strongly influenced by a biological hunger drive and *satiety*. That is, people eat when they feel hungry and stop eating when they are full. Some people, however, eat a lot even when they are not hungry or do not stop eating when they are sated. Others avoid eating even though they are not full. In other words, eating involves both drives and incentives. Hunger drives eating, but what people eat is often determined by what they like to eat. What complex interactions between biology, cultural influences, and cognition determine eating behavior?

Many Physiological Factors Influence Eating

Animals need to eat to maintain vital body functions. Perhaps then it is not surprising that many different biological mechanisms encourage eating. The hypothalamus (see Figure 3.24) is the brain structure that most influences eating. Although it does not act alone, the hypothalamus integrates the various inhibitory and excitatory feeding messages and organizes behaviors involved in eating. In the first half of the twentieth century, research revealed that, depending on the specific area injured, damage to the hypothalamus dramatically changes eating behavior and body weight. One of the first observations occurred in 1939, when researchers discovered that patients with tumors of the hypothalamus became obese (Greene, 1939).

To examine whether obesity could be induced in animals of normal weight, researchers selectively damaged specific hypothalamic regions in rats (Graff & Stellar, 1962). When the middle, or *ventromedial*, region of the hypothalamus (VMH) is damaged, rats eat great quantities of food. This condition, hyperphagia, causes the rats with VMH damage to grow extremely obese. Sometimes damage to the VMH can cause obesity in humans (FIGURE 10.27).

In contrast, when the outer, or *lateral*, region of the hypothalamus (LH) is damaged, rats eat far less than normal. This condition, aphagia, leads to weight loss and eventual death unless the rat is force-fed. The idea that VMH signals fullness and LH signals hunger is too simplistic, however. Instead, the hypothalamus monitors various hormones and nutrients and operates to maintain a state of homeostasis.

In addition, brain structures other than the hypothalamus are involved in eating behavior. For instance, a region of the prefrontal cortex processes taste cues such as sweetness and saltiness (Rolls, 2007). Such cues indicate the potential reward value of particular foods. The craving triggered by seeing tasty food is associated with activity in the limbic system (Volkow, 2007). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the limbic system is the main brain region involved in emotion and reward (FIGURE 10.28).

Damage to the limbic system or the right frontal lobes sometimes produces gourmand syndrome, in which people become obsessed with the quality and variety of food and how food is prepared. One 48-year-old man who had suffered a stroke grew preoccupied with food and eventually left his job as a political correspondent to become a food critic (Regard & Landis, 1997). Despite their fascination with fine food and its preparation, those who have gourmand syndrome are not obsessed with eating. They do not necessarily become overweight. Their obsession seems to center on the reward properties of food.

INTERNAL SENSATIONS For a long time, scientists believed eating was a classic homeostatic system. In other words, as discussed earlier, some sort of detector in the hypothalamus would notice deviations from the set-point and would signal that an animal should start or stop eating. But where did the hunger signals come from? The search for energy-depletion detectors has led scientists from the stomach to the bloodstream to the brain.

Contractions and distensions of the stomach can make the stomach growl. Over the past century, however, research has established that these movements are relatively minor determinants of hunger and eating. Indeed, people who have had their stomachs removed continue to report being hungry. Other research has pointed to the existence of receptors in the bloodstream that monitor levels of vital nutrients. The *glucostatic theory* proposes that the bloodstream is monitored for its glucose levels (Mayer, 1953). Because glucose is the primary fuel for metabolism and is especially crucial for neuronal activity, it makes sense for animals to become hungry when they are deficient in glucose. Similarly, the *lipostatic theory* proposes a set-point for body fat. In this scenario, when an animal loses body fat, hunger signals motivate eating and a return to the set-point (Mayer 1955).

HORMONAL ACTIVITY The hormone *leptin* is involved in fat regulation. Leptin is released from fat cells as more fat is stored. Leptin travels to the hypothalamus, where it acts to inhibit eating behavior. Some evidence indicates that leptin might affect the reward properties of food and make it less appetizing (Farooqi et al., 2007). Because leptin acts slowly, however, there is a significant delay after eating before leptin levels change in the body. Therefore, leptin may be more important for long-term body fat regulation than for short-term eating control. Animals lacking the gene necessary to produce leptin become extremely obese, and injecting leptin into these animals leads to a rapid loss of body fat (Friedman & Halaas, 1998).

The hormone *ghrelin* originates in the stomach. It surges before meals, then decreases after people eat, so it may play an important role in triggering eating (Abizaid, 2009; Higgins, Gueorguiev, & Korbonits, 2007). When people lose weight, an increase in ghrelin motivates additional eating in a homeostatic fashion (Zorrilla et al., 2006).

How much any hormone contributes to human obesity is unclear. Considerable research is under way to find out whether manipulating hormones can help prevent or treat obesity. As you will learn in Chapter 11, many factors—from genes to culture to bad eating habits—contribute to obesity. You will also learn why most people who diet have trouble losing weight and keeping it off.

Eating Is Influenced by Time and Taste

Eating is greatly affected by learning. Consider that most people eat lunch at approximately the same time—somewhere between noon and 2:00 pm. On a physiological level, this practice makes little sense because people differ greatly in their metabolic rates, the amounts they eat for breakfast, and the amounts of fat they have stored for long-term energy needs. However, people generally do not eat because they have deficient energy stores. They eat because they have been classically conditioned to associate eating with regular mealtimes.

The clock indicating mealtime is much like Pavlov's metronome. That is, mealtimes lead to various anticipatory responses that motivate eating behavior and prepare the body for digestion. For instance, an increase in insulin promotes glucose use and increases short-term hunger signals. The sight and smell of tasty foods can have the same effect. Just thinking about treats—freshly baked bread, pizza, a decadent dessert—may initiate bodily reactions that induce hunger.



FIGURE 10.28

The Reward Properties of Food Do these "finely plated" meals look tasty, or do they just strike you as odd? How you respond to particular kinds of food is of course related to what kinds of food you are used to. It is also partly biological. If you are experiencing cravings at the sight of these plates, your reaction is related to activity in your limbic system, the main brain region involved in reward.



FIGURE 10.29 The Impact of Variety on Eating Behavior

When people are presented with a variety of foods, they tend to eat more than when they are presented with only a few foods.

A main factor that motivates eating is flavor—not just good-tasting food but a variety of flavors. Animals, including humans, will stop eating relatively quickly if they have just one type of food to eat, but they will continue eating if presented with a different type of food. Thus, they tend to eat much more when various foods are available than when only one or two types of food are available (**FIGURE 10.29**).

One reason animals eat more when presented with a variety of foods is that they quickly grow tired of any one flavor. This phenomenon is called *sensory-specific satiety*. A region of the frontal lobes that is involved in assessing the reward value of food exhibits decreased activity when the same food is eaten over and over but shows increased activity when a new food is presented (Rolls, 2007). This increased activity, in encouraging people to continue eating,

may explain people's behavior during celebration feasts or at buffets. For example, on Thanksgiving, Americans notoriously overstuff themselves. They cannot imagine eating another bite of turkey, yet when dessert comes around they can often find room for a piece—or two—of pumpkin or pecan pie to finish off the meal. From an evolutionary perspective, sensory-specific satiety may be advantageous because animals that eat many types of food are more likely to satisfy nutritional requirements and thus to survive than animals that rely on a small number of foods. In addition, eating large meals may have been adaptive when the food supply was scarce or unpredictable.

Culture Plays a Role

What people will eat has little to do with logic and everything to do with what they believe is food. Nutritious foods such as fried termites are a favorite in Zaire and have more protein than beef, but North Americans find them disgusting. Spiders and other insects are nutritious and in many countries are eaten as tasty treats (**FIGURE 10.30**). Even when people are starving to death, they will refuse to eat perfectly nutritious substances. In Naples in 1770, people died because they were suspicious of the potatoes sent to relieve their famine. In Ireland during the potato famine (1845–1852), many people died because they refused to eat corn sent from America. In Bengal in 1943, 3 million people died despite being supplied with wheat, which they rejected



FIGURE 10.30 Tasty Treats

Crickets are a popular snack among Cambodians. What factors would influence you to eat or to refuse the fried cricket being offered by this vendor in Phnom Penh? because it was not familiar as food.

What people will eat is determined by a combination of personal experience and cultural beliefs. Infants have an inborn preference for sweets, but they can learn to like just about anything. Generally, familiarity determines food preferences (**FIGURE 10.31**). The avoidance of unfamiliar foods makes great sense evolutionarily because unfamiliar foods may be dangerous or poisonous, so avoiding them is adaptive for survival (Galef & Whiskin, 2000). Getting children to like new foods often involves exposing them to small amounts at a time until they grow accustomed to the taste. Infants and toddlers also learn to try foods by observing their parents and siblings. Children are much more likely to eat a new food offered by their mothers than the same food offered by a friendly stranger. This behavior, too, makes great sense from an evolutionary standpoint. After all, if Mom

eats something, it must be safe to eat.

Of course, what a mother or father prefers to eat is determined by his or her own upbringing and experiences. Therefore, families tend to like specific types of food. Ethnic differences in food preference often continue when a family moves to a new country. Although people often enjoy novel ethnic foods, in their regular diets most people prefer the foods of their own culture. As Paul Rozin (1996) points out, cultural rules govern which foods are appropriate in different contexts. For example, most people in North America like chocolate and french fries, but few people like them combined. Local norms for what to eat and how to prepare it—guidelines that Rozin calls *cuisine*—reinforce many food preferences. Moreover, religious and cultural values often tell people which foods to avoid. For example, those who follow Jewish dietary law eat beef but not pork or shellfish. Some Hindus eat pork but not beef, and some Hindus are vegetarians. Taboos on certain types of food may have been adaptive in the past because those foods were likely to contain harmful bacteria. Many food taboos and preferences are idiosyncratic, however, and have nothing to do with avoiding harm. They simply reflect an evolved group preference for specific foods, prepared and eaten in certain ways.



FIGURE 10.31

The Impact of Culture on Eating Behavior

As this graph illustrates, animals, including humans, tend to like the food they know. They tend to avoid unfamiliar food.

Summing Up

What Motivates Eating?

- A number of neural structures are associated with eating behavior, including the frontal lobes, hypothalamus, prefrontal cortex, and limbic system.
- Two theories have been proposed to explain eating behavior: glucostatic theory and lipostatic theory. Glucostatic theory maintains that eating is under the control of receptors in the bloodstream that monitor levels of glucose-the body's primary metabolic fuel. Lipostatic theory asserts that eating is regulated to maintain a body fat set-point.
- Two hormones have been found to be of central importance to eating behavior: leptin and ghrelin. Leptin is associated with long-term body fat regulation. Ghrelin motivates eating behavior.
- Eating is strongly affected by learning. Through classical conditioning, people associate eating with regular mealtimes.
- Sensory-specific satiety has evolved in animals to encourage the consumption of foods that contain diverse nutrients. Because of this mechanism, people quickly grow tired of any single flavor.
- What people eat is greatly influenced by cultural rules regarding which foods are appropriate to eat in different contexts.

Measuring Up

Imagine you are asked to design a program for people who need to lose weight. Based on the information in this chapter about the processes that regulate eating, which suggestion would you make in each of the following areas?

- 1. Time effects on eating
 - **a.** Encourage people to eat when feeling hungry, not by looking at the clock.
 - b. Encourage people to eat at set times, regardless of hunger levels.
- 2. Cultural effects on eating
 - Teach cultural and ethnic groups how to prepare lower-calorie versions of their usual foods.
 - **b.** Teach cultural and ethnic groups how to prepare low-calorie foods from a range of cuisines.

3. Sensory-specific satiety

- a. Do not present much variety in the foods you serve.
- **b.** Be sure that every meal includes a variety of foods.
- 4. What research would you recommend based on findings with leptin?
 - a. Study ways to get the body to produce more leptin.
 - **b.** Study ways to get the body to produce less leptin.

ANSWERS: (1) a; (2) a; (3) a; (4) a.

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the role that hormones play in sexual behavior.
- Identify the primary neurotransmitters involved in sexual behavior.
- Review the four stages of the human sexual response cycle.
- Discuss sex differences in sexual behavior and in mate preferences.
- Review contemporary theories of sexual orientation.

10.5 What Motivates Sexual Behavior?

Sexual desire has long been recognized as one of humanity's most durable and powerful motivators. Most human beings have a significant desire for sex, but sex drives vary substantially among individuals and across circumstances. Variation in sexual frequency can be explained by individual differences and by society's dominating influence over how and when individuals engage in sexual activity. This section examines what psychological science has learned about the motivation for sex.

Biology Influences Sexual Behavior

As discussed in Chapter 3, hormones are involved in producing and terminating sexual behaviors. In nonhuman animals, hormones profoundly influence sexual activity. In many species, females are sexually receptive only when fertile, and estrogen is believed to control reproductive behaviors. Estrogen appears to play only a small role in human female sexuality, but hormones affect human sexual behavior in two ways. First, as discussed in Chapter 9, they influence physical development of the brain and body during puberty. Second, hormones influence sexual behavior through motivation. That is, they activate reproductive behavior.

Given the important role of the hypothalamus in controlling the release of hormones into the bloodstream, it is no surprise that the hypothalamus is the brain region considered most important for stimulating sexual behavior (**FIGURE 10.32**). Studies have shown that damaging the hypothalamus in rats interrupts sexual behavior. However, which damaged brain area has the greatest effect differs slightly for males and females.

Sex hormones are released from the gonads (testes and ovaries), and females and males have some amount of all the sex hormones. But males have more androgen activity than females do, and females have more estrogens and progesterone activity. Androgens are apparently much more important for reproductive behavior than estrogens are, at least for humans. In men and women, testosterone—a type of androgen—is involved in sexual functioning (Sherwin, 2008). Males need a certain amount of testosterone to be able to engage in sex, but they do not perform better if they have more testosterone. The availability of testosterone, not large quantities of it, apparently drives male sexual behavior. The more testosterone women have, the more likely they are to have sexual thoughts and desires—although females typically have relatively low levels of testosterone (Meston & Frohlich, 2000). Adolescent females



FIGURE 10.32

Hypothalamus and Hormones Influence Sexual Behavior

The hypothalamus regulates sexual behavior by influencing production of the sex hormones, estrogens and androgens, in the reproductive organs.

with higher than average testosterone levels for their age are more likely to engage in sexual intercourse (Halpern, Udry, & Suchindran, 1997).

Another important hormone in men and women is *oxytocin*, which is released during sexual arousal and orgasm. Some researchers believe oxytocin may promote feelings of love and attachment between partners; it also seems to be involved in social behavior more generally (Bartels & Zeki, 2004).

NEUROTRANSMITTERS Neurotransmitters can affect various aspects of the sexual response. For instance, dopamine receptors in the limbic system are involved in the physical experience of pleasure, and dopamine receptors in the hypothalamus stimulate sexual activity (Pfaus, 2009). Serotonin also is implicated in sexual behavior. The most common pharmacological treatments for depression enhance serotonin function, but they seriously reduce sexual interest, especially for women. Small doses of drugs that enhance serotonin are also useful for treating premature ejaculation. Researchers currently do not know why these effects occur.

One chemical that acts as a neurotransmitter in the brain and is critical for sexual behavior is *nitric oxide*. Sexual stimulation leads to nitric oxide production. The

sexual response cycle A four-stage pattern of physiological and psychological responses during sexual activity. increased nitric oxide promotes blood flow to both the penis and the clitoris and subsequently plays an important role in sexual arousal, especially penile erections. When this system fails, males cannot maintain an erection. Various drugs that enhance this system, such as Viagra, have been developed to treat erectile disorders. It is not clear whether such drugs can be used to treat women's sexual disorders, but they appear to enhance the sexual experience for healthy women (Caruso, Intelisano, Farina, Di Mari, & Agnello, 2003).

VARIATIONS ACROSS THE MENSTRUAL CYCLE Women differ from men in how the hypothalamus controls the release of sex hormones. In men, hormones are released on a circadian cycle, with testosterone levels highest in the morning. In women, the release of hormones varies according to a cycle that repeats itself approximately every 28 days: the menstrual cycle. Research has found only minimal evidence that women's sexual behavior varies across the menstrual cycle. Recent evidence indicates, however, that women may process social information differently depending on whether they are in a fertile phase of the cycle. For instance, researchers used a computer program to alter masculinity and femininity in male faces (Penton-Voak et al., 1999). They found that, compared with preferences expressed in other phases of the menstrual cycle, during ovulation heterosexual women preferred the more masculine faces. In another study, heterosexual women who were ovulating rated self-assured men in videos as more desirable potential sex partners, but women who were not ovulating did not show a preference for self-assurance (Gangestad, Simpson, Cousins, Garver-Apgar, & Christensen, 2004). The everyday consequences of these differences on women, and on the men they interact with, are unknown.

SEXUAL RESPONSE CYCLE Beginning in the 1960s, William Masters and Virginia Johnson (1966) conducted laboratory studies of sexual behavior. This research enabled them to identify the **sexual response cycle**. This predictable pattern of physical and psychological responses consists of four stages (**FIGURE 10.33**).

The *excitement phase* occurs when people contemplate sexual activity or begin engaging in behaviors such as kissing and touching in a sensual manner. During this stage, blood flows to the genitals, and people report feelings of arousal. For men, the penis



FIGURE 10.33

Diagram of the Sexual Response Cycle

begins to become erect. For women, the clitoris becomes swollen, the vagina expands and secretes fluids, and the nipples enlarge.

As excitement continues into the *plateau phase*, pulse rate, breathing, and blood pressure increase, as do the various other signs of arousal. For many people, this stage is the frenzied phase of sexual activity. Inhibitions are lifted, and passion takes control.

The plateau phase leads into the *orgasm phase*. This stage consists of involuntary muscle contractions throughout the body, dramatic increases in breathing and heart rate, rhythmic contractions of the vagina for women, and ejaculation of semen for men. For healthy males, orgasm nearly always occurs. For females, orgasm is more variable. When it occurs, however, women and men report nearly identical pleasurable sensations.

Following orgasm, there is a dramatic release of sexual tension and a slow return to a normal state of arousal. In this stage, the *resolution phase*, the male enters a refractory period, during which he is temporarily unable to maintain an erection or have an orgasm. The female does not have such a refractory

period and may experience multiple orgasms with short resolution phases between each one. Again, the female response is more variable than the male response.

Cultural Scripts and Cultural Rules Shape Sexual Interactions

In the movies, sexual relationships often start when one attractive young person meets another by chance. They spend some exciting time together, an attraction develops, and sexual behavior ensues—often within a day or two. In real life, however, people generally do not fall into bed together as fast as they do in the movies. Most people know someone a long time before having sex. Nevertheless, the depiction of sexual behavior in movies and other media shapes beliefs and expectations about what sexual behaviors are appropriate and when they are appropriate.

Sexual scripts are cognitive beliefs about how a sexual episode should be enacted (for a discussion of scripts, see Chapter 8, "Thinking and Intelligence"). For instance, the sexual script indicates who should make the first move, whether the other person should resist, the sequence of sexual acts, and even how the partners should act afterward (**FIGURE 10.34**). In Westernized societies, the sexual script involves initial flirtation through nonverbal actions, the male initiating physical contact, the female controlling whether sexual activity takes place, and refusals typically being verbal and direct (Berscheid & Regan, 2005). The scripts differ in many places in the world, such as in countries where arranged marriages are common.

REGULATING SEXUAL BEHAVIOR The sexual revolution of the late twentieth century significantly changed sexual behaviors in many countries. Most of the changes in sexual behaviors must be attributed to changes in cultural pressures and cultural expectations. Although sexual customs and norms vary across cultures, all known cultures have some form of sexual morality. This universality indicates the importance to society of regulating sexual behavior. For example, one well-known pattern of regulating sexual behavior is the *double standard*. This unwritten law stipulates that certain activities (such as premarital or casual sex) are morally and socially acceptable for men but not for women. Cultures may seek to restrain and control sex for various reasons, including maintaining control over the birth rate, helping establish paternity, and reducing conflicts.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN SEXUAL BEHAVIOR A noticeable and consistent finding in nearly all measures of sexual desire is that men, on average, have a higher level of sexual motivation than women do. There are, of course, many individual exceptions. Research studies have found that, in general, men masturbate more frequently than women, want sex earlier in the relationship, think and fantasize about sex more often, spend more time and money (and other resources) in the effort to obtain sex, desire more different sexual activities, initiate sex more and refuse sex less, and rate their own sex drives as stronger than women's (Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001).

In one study, researchers asked college-age men and women how many sex partners they ideally would like to have in their lives, if unconstrained by fears about disease, social pressures, and the like (Miller & Fishkin, 1997). Most women wanted one or two partners. Men's average answer was several dozen. A study of more than 16,000 people from 10 major regions around the world found that the greater male motivation for sexual activity and sexual variety occurs in all cultures (Schmitt et al., 2003).

The relative influence of nature and culture on sexual motivation may vary with gender. Roy Baumeister's (2000) term *erotic plasticity* refers to the extent that sex drive can be shaped by social, cultural, and situational factors. Evidence suggests that women have higher erotic plasticity than men. A woman's sexuality may evolve and change throughout her adult life, whereas a man's desires remain relatively constant (except for a gradual decline with age). Women's sexual desires and behaviors depend







FIGURE 10.34 Sexual Scripts Sexual scripts influence behaviors such as (a) flirting, (b) pursuing romantic interest, and (c) dating.

sexual strategies theory

A theory that maintains that women and men have evolved distinct mating strategies because they faced different adaptive problems over the course of human history. The strategies used by each sex maximize the probability of passing along their genes to future generations.



FIGURE 10.35

Sexual Behaviors and Responses

Men and women were propositioned by a stranger of the opposite sex. Both sexes were equally likely to accept a date. Men were much more willing than women to agree to go home with or to have sex with the stranger. significantly on social factors such as education and religion, whereas men's sexuality shows minimal relationships to such influences.

To account for these differences, the evolutionary psychologist David Buss has proposed the **sexual strategies theory** (Buss & Schmitt, 1993). From this perspective, throughout human history males and females have faced different adaptive problems. One result is that women differ from men in how they maximize passing along their genes to future generations. Women's basic strategy is to care for a relatively small number of infants. Their commitment is to nurture offspring rather than simply maximize production. Once a woman is pregnant, additional matings are of no reproductive use. Once she has a small child, an additional pregnancy can put her current offspring at risk. Thus, biological mechanisms ensure spacing between children. For example, frequent nursing typically makes ovulation less likely to occur. On purely reproductive grounds, men have no such sexual breaks. For them, all matings may have a reproductive payoff. They bear few of the personal costs of pregnancy, and their fertility is unaffected by getting a woman pregnant.

According to the sexual strategies theory, women are more likely to be more cautious about having sex because having offspring is a much more intensive commitment for them than it is for men. Indeed, there is evidence that women are much less willing than men to have sex with someone they do not know well. In one study of 96 university students, a stranger approached a person of the opposite sex and said, "I have been noticing you around campus. I find you attractive. Would you go to bed with me tonight?" Each stranger was somewhere between mildly unattractive and moderately attractive. Not one woman said yes to the stranger's request, but three-quarters of the men agreed to the request (**FIGURE 10.35**). Indeed, the men were less likely to agree to go on a date with the stranger than they were to agree to have sex with her (Clark & Hatfield, 1989).

In another study, people were asked how long a couple should be together before it is acceptable for them to have sexual intercourse, given mutual desire. Women tend to think couples should be together for at least a month or more before sex is appropriate. Men tend to believe that even after relatively short periods of acquaintanceship, such as on the first or second date, sex is acceptable (Buss & Schmitt, 1993).

MATE PREFERENCES What do men and women want in their mates? It is perhaps easier to say what they do *not* want. In seeking mates, both sexes avoid certain characteristics, such as insensitivity, bad manners, loudness or shrillness, and the tendency to brag about sexual conquests (Cunningham, Barbee, & Druen, 1996).

According to sexual strategies theory, however, men and women should differ in what they desire in mates. Both men and women should seek attractive partners, because relative youth and beauty imply potential fertility. Because women are limited in the number of offspring they can produce, they should be choosier in selecting mates. Therefore, women should seek men who can provide resources that will help them successfully nurture their children. In essence, men should care mainly about looks because looks imply fertility, whereas women should also be concerned about indications that their mates will be good fathers. Is there any scientific support for these ideas?

According to a study of 92 married couples in 37 cultures, women generally prefer men who are considerate, honest, dependable, kind, understanding, fond of children, well liked by others, good earners, ambitious, career oriented, from a good family, and fairly tall. By contrast, men tend to value good looks, cooking skills, and sexual faithfulness. Above all, women value a good financial prospect more than men do. In all 37 cultures, women tend to marry older men, who often are more settled and financially stable (Buss, 1989). In short, males and females

differ in the relative emphases they place on social status and physical appearance, at least for long-term relationships.

In one study, men and women reported kindness and intelligence as necessary in their selection of mates, but their views of status and attractiveness differed. For the average woman seeking a long-term mate, status was a necessity and good looks were a luxury. In contrast, men viewed physical attractiveness as a necessity rather than a luxury in mate selection (Li, Bailey, Kenrick, & Linsenmeier, 2002).

This is not to say that women do not care about attractiveness. Women's preference for status over attractiveness depends on several factors. For example, is the relationship short term or long term? Looks are more important in the short term. Does the woman perceive herself as attractive? Women who view themselves as very attractive appear to want it all status and good looks (Buss & Shackelford, 2008). In general, both men and women value physical attractiveness highly, but their relative emphases conform to evolutionary predictions.



"I'm rich, you're thin. Together, we're perfect."

The evolutionary account of human mating is controversial. Some researchers believe that behaviors shaped by evolution have little impact on contemporary relationships. We must consider two important factors. First, the modern era is a tiny fraction of human evolutionary history. The modern mind resides in a Stone Age brain, solving adaptive problems that have faced our species for thousands of years. Thus, remnants of behaviors that were adaptive in prehistoric times may linger even if they are not adaptive in contemporary society. Second, however, is that natural selection bestows biological urges as well as a strong sensitivity to cultural and group norms. In other words, instinctive behaviors are constrained by social context. The frontal lobes work to inhibit people from breaking social rules, which are determined largely by culture.

The current social context differs greatly from that of millions of years ago, and human mating strategies are influenced by these contemporary norms. For example, from a biological view, it might seem advantageous for humans to reproduce as soon as they are able. But many contemporary cultures discourage sexual behavior until people are older and better able to care for their offspring. The critical point is that human behavior emerges to solve adaptive problems. To some degree, the modern era introduces new adaptive challenges based on societal standards of conduct. These standards shape the context in which men and women view sexual behavior as desirable and appropriate.

People Differ in Sexual Orientations

Why are some people gay and others straight? Homosexual behavior has been noted in various forms throughout recorded history. From an evolutionary perspective, homosexuality appears to make little sense. Exclusive homosexuality would not lead to reproduction and therefore would not survive in the gene pool. Many theories of sexual orientation have emerged, but none has received conclusive support. One evolutionary theory is that lesbians and gays often act as "spare" parents to their siblings' offspring. In this way, they might ensure the continuation of family genes. Of course, many gays and lesbians are parents, sometimes from earlier marriages and sometimes through artificial insemination or adoption.

In the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, at least in Western cultures, homosexuality was regarded as deviant and abnormal, a psychological disorder.

Until 1973, psychiatrists officially viewed homosexuality as a mental illness. Classic psychoanalytic theories of sexual orientation emphasized the importance of parenting practices. Families with a domineering mother and a submissive father were thought to cause the children to identify with the opposite-sex parent (e.g., a boy with his mother). Such identification translated into a sexual attraction toward the gender opposite of their identification—that is, a same-sex attraction. The overwhelming majority of studies, however, have found little or no evidence that how parents treat their children has anything to do with sexual orientation. Likewise, no other environmental factor has been found to account for homosexuality. So does biology determine sexual orientation?

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS Remember that when we ask whether something is biological, we really are talking about the relative contributions of biological factors compared with those of environmental factors. Every behavior results from biological processes, such as gene expression. Those processes are influenced by events in the person's environment.

One approach to examining the extent to which biological factors contribute to sexual orientation explores the effect of hormones. Early theorists speculated that lesbians had higher levels of testosterone and gay males had higher levels of estrogen, but those speculations were wrong. The levels of circulating hormones do not differ between straight and gay same-sex individuals. Rather, the best available evidence suggests that exposure to hormones, especially androgens, in the prenatal environment might play some role in sexual orientation (Mustanski, Chivers, & Bailey, 2002). For example, because of a mother's medical condition, some females are exposed to higher than normal levels of androgens during prenatal development. These females often have masculine characteristics, at birth and throughout life. Later in life, they are more likely to report being lesbians.

An intriguing finding is that compared with straight males, gay males are more likely to have older male siblings. One explanation is that the mother's body develops an immune reaction during pregnancy with a male and that subsequent immune responses alter the level of hormones in the prenatal environment when the mother becomes pregnant with another male (Blanchard & Ellis, 2001; Bogaert, 2006). But most males with older brothers are not gay, so why would this response affect only some males?

A second approach to understanding the biological contribution to sexual orientation is through genetics. The idea that gene expression might be involved in sexual orientation is supported by a study using fruit flies. Researchers found that altering the expression of a single "master" gene reversed the sexual orientations of male and female flies (Demir & Dickson, 2005). But what about in humans? In 1993, the biologist Dean Hamer and colleagues reported finding a link between a marker on the X chromosome and sexual orientation in males (Hamer, Hu, Magnuson, Hu, & Pattatucci, 1993), and the media quickly dubbed the marker "the gay gene." Other researchers have failed to find any specific genes for sexual orientation.

Is sexual orientation inherited? Twin studies have provided some support for the idea of a genetic component to sexual orientation, particularly for males. As discussed in Chapter 3, identical twins are most similar in genetic makeup, but they also are likely to have had similar environments, and it is difficult to pull apart these two types of contributions. In a review of previous studies, Mustanski and colleagues (2002) report the heritability of sexual orientation as being greater for males than for females but with a significant genetic component for both. It remains unclear how human sexual orientation might be encoded in the genes.

Some research suggests the hypothalamus may be related to sexual orientation. In postmortem examinations, the neuroscientist Simon LeVay (1991) found that an area

of the hypothalamus that typically differs between men and women was only half as large in gay men as in straight men. In fact, the size of this area in gay men was comparable to its size in straight women. Likewise, in a recent brain imaging study, straight males showed greater activation of the hypothalamus when they sniffed a female pheromone (a hormonal secretion that travels through the air; see the discussion in Chapter 5) than they did when they sniffed a male pheromone, whereas straight females showed greater activation when they sniffed a male pheromone rather than a female pheromone (Savic, Berglund, & Lindström, 2005). Gay men showed a pattern more similar to that of women than of straight men: greater activation of the hypothalamus in response to the male pheromone.

Of course, both of these studies can be criticized on the grounds that correlation does not equal causation. That is, a size difference or activation difference in any one part of the brain cannot establish whether this area determines sexual orientation, whether being straight or gay results in changes to brain structure or function, or whether a third variable is responsible for all these effects. For instance, some researchers believe that the size of the hypothalamus is determined by prenatal exposure to androgens. Thus, although these studies' findings are suggestive, evidence currently is insufficient to establish a causal connection between brain regions and sexual orientation. Considered together, the evidence is consistent that biological processes play some role in sexual orientation. The question is how and when biology contributes, and to what degree.

STABILITY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION Even though there are Web reports of effective homosexual conversion therapies, there is little empirical evidence that these programs do any more than suppress behavior. No good evidence exists that sexual orientation can be changed through therapy. Indeed, one prominent group that had been trying for nearly 40 years to convert gay people disbanded in 2013, its leader having concluded that sexual attraction cannot be changed (Lovett, 2013).

Moreover, being with people whose sexual orientation differs from yours does not change your sexual orientation. In some cultures and subcultures, people may engage in same-sex behaviors for a period and then revert to heterosexual behaviors. In jail, for example, men and women often engage in same-sex relationships but do not consider themselves gay. For reasons such as these, few psychologists or physicians believe that sexual orientation—as opposed simply to sexual activity—is a choice or that it can be changed.

Modern society, too, is increasingly acknowledging gays' rights to express their sexuality: Canada, Spain, Norway, Sweden, South Africa, Portugal, and an increasing number of states in the United States allow gays and lesbians to marry, and other places around the world recognize same-sex relationships in varying ways. The contemporary world is catching up with human history. Gays have always existed, whether or not they were free to be themselves (**FIGURE 10.36**).

Summing Up

What Motivates Sexual Behavior?

- Hormones influence the development of secondary sex characteristics during puberty and motivate sexual behavior.
- The hypothalamus organizes sexual behavior and influences the production of hormones.



FIGURE 10.36 Sexual Orientation

When John Mace and Richard Dorr became a couple in 1950, homosexuality was illegal in every state in the United States. In 2011, gay couples became legally allowed to marry in New York State. Mr. Mace, 91, and Mr. Dorr, 84, were finally married.

- The hormones testosterone and oxytocin are particularly important determinants of sexual behavior. Neurotransmitters, including dopamine, serotonin, and nitric oxide, have also been found to influence sexual functioning.
- Masters and Johnson identified four stages in the human sexual response cycle that are very similar for men and women: excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution.
- Sexual behavior is constrained by sexual scripts: socially determined beliefs regarding the appropriate behaviors for men and women to engage in during sexual interactions.
- On average, men have a higher level of sexual motivation and engage in more sexual activity than women.
- Men and women look for similar qualities in potential partners, but men are more concerned about a potential partner's attractiveness, and women are more concerned with a potential partner's status.
- Sex differences in preference for partner qualities may be due to the different adaptive problems the sexes faced over the course of human evolutionary history.
- Researchers have theorized that prenatal hormone exposure, genes, and functional differences in the hypothalamus may influence sexual orientation. However, the data supporting these theories are correlational and cannot be used to make causal inferences. Many psychologists believe that multiple biological and environmental factors determine sexual orientation.

Measuring Up

1. Arrange the stages of the human sexual response cycle in order, and match each stage with its description.

Stages: plateau, excitement, resolution, orgasm

- a. increasing signs of arousal, including increases in blood pressure and in breathing rate
- b. contractions of the vagina for women and ejaculation of semen for men
- c. swelling of genitals in response to blood flow
- **d.** return to prestimulation state
- 2. Identify whether each of the following statements about human sexual behavior best describes a biological, cultural, or evolutionary perspective. Some statements may describe more than one perspective.
 - **a.** Researchers have found that women prefer masculine-looking faces more during ovulation than in other phases of the menstrual cycle.
 - **b.** Across 37 cultures, women preferred men who could earn a good living, and men rated a future mate's physical attractiveness as more important than women did.
 - c. Across religious groups and in different countries, there are differences in women's willingness to engage in premarital sex.
 - **d.** Women tend to prefer erotica that is more relationship oriented than men do.
 - e. Many drugs used for depression also reduce sex drive, especially in women.
 - f. Male sex function requires a minimal level of androgens.
 - g. In general, men have higher levels of sexual motivation than women do.
- 3. Identify each of the following statements regarding sexual orientation as true or false.
 - a. Same-sex attraction is caused by a domineering mother and a weak father.
 - **b.** Exposure to androgens prenatally may play a role in sexual orientation.
 - c. There is a "gay gene."
 - d. Sexual orientation can be changed through therapy.

(3) a. false; b. true; c. false; d. false.

f. biological; **g.** biological and evolutionary.

(2) a. biological and evolutionary; b. evolutionary; c. cultural; d. cultural and evolutionary; e. biological;

ANSWERS: (1) excitement, c; plateau, a; orgasm, b; resolution, d.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

10.1 What Are Emotions?

- Emotions Vary in Valence and Arousal: Emotions are often classified as primary or secondary. Primary emotions are innate, evolutionarily adaptive, and universal (shared across cultures). These emotions include anger, fear, sadness, disgust, happiness, surprise, and contempt. Secondary emotions are blends of primary emotions. They include remorse, guilt, submission, shame, love, bitterness, and jealousy. Emotions have a valence (positive or negative) and a level of activation (arousal, from low to high).
- Emotions Have a Physiological Component: The insula and amygdala play important roles in the experience of emotion. The insula receives and integrates somatosensory signals, helping us experience emotion, especially disgust, anger, guilt, and anxiety. The amygdala processes emotional significance of stimuli and generates immediate reactions. It is associated with emotional learning, memory of emotional events, and the interpretation of facial expressions of emotion.
- There Are Three Major Theories of Emotion: Three main theories of emotion differ in their relative emphases on subjective experience, physiological changes, and cognitive interpretation. The James-Lange theory states that specific patterns of physical changes give rise to the perception of associated emotions. The Cannon-Bard theory proposes that two separate pathways, physical changes and subjective experience, are activated at the same time. The Schachter-Singer two-factor theory emphasizes the combination of generalized physiological arousal and cognitive appraisals in determining specific emotions. Consistent with the Schachter-Singer two-factor theory, research has shown that we often misattribute the causes of our emotions, seeking environmental explanations for our feelings.

10.2 How Are Emotions Adaptive?

- Emotions Serve Cognitive Functions: Emotions are adaptive because they bring about states of behavioral readiness. Emotions influence decision making, serving as heuristic guides for quick decisions. They also give rise to somatic markers, bodily reactions, that facilitate self-regulation.
- Facial Expressions Communicate Emotion: Facial expressions of emotion are adaptive because they communicate how we feel. Across cultures, some expressions of emotion are universally recognized, such as happiness, sadness, anger, and pride.
- Display Rules Differ Across Cultures and Between the Sexes: The evolutionary basis for emotions is supported by research on

cross-cultural agreement in the display and recognition of some emotional expressions. Display rules are learned through socialization and dictate which emotions are suitable to given situations. Across cultures, display rules differ for females and males.

• Emotions Strengthen Interpersonal Relations: Emotions facilitate the maintenance and repair of social bonds. Interpersonal emotions—for example, guilt and embarrassment—are particularly important for the maintenance and repair of close interpersonal relationships.

10.3 How Are People Motivated?

- Drives Motivate the Satisfaction of Needs: Motivation energizes, directs, and sustains behavior. Maslow described a hierarchy of needs: People first must satisfy lower needs, such as hunger and thirst, before satisfying safety needs, social needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs. This model is not supported by data. Needs arise from states of biological or social deficiency. Drives are psychological states that create arousal and motivate behaviors to satisfy needs. Drives help us maintain homeostasis—that is, equilibrium of bodily functions. The Yerkes-Dodson law suggests that if people are underaroused or overaroused, their performance will suffer.
- People Are Motivated by Incentives: Incentives are external objects or goals. Some incentives are extrinsically motivated (directed toward an external reward). Other incentives are intrinsically motivating (directed toward an internal reward or simply enjoyable). Providing people with extrinsic rewards can undermine their intrinsic motivation.
- People Set Goals to Achieve: According to research, the most successful motivation comes from goals that are challenging and specific but not overly difficult. People who are high in self-efficacy and have a high achievement motive are more likely to set challenging but attainable goals for themselves. People who are able to delay gratification are more likely to report successful outcomes later in life.
- **People Have a Need to Belong:** Need to belong theory suggests that people have a fundamental need for interpersonal attachments. Need to belong explains the ease with which people make friends, their sensitivity to social exclusion, the adverse feelings experienced in the absence of social contact, and efforts to affiliate with others when anxious.

10.4 What Motivates Eating?

 Many Physiological Factors Influence Eating: A number of neural structures are associated with eating behavior, including the frontal lobes, hypothalamus, prefrontal cortex, and limbic system. Two theories have been proposed to explain eating behavior: glucostatic theory and lipostatic theory. Glucostatic theory maintains that eating is under the control of receptors in the bloodstream that monitor levels of glucose-the body's primary metabolic fuel. Lipostatic theory asserts that eating is regulated to maintain a body fat set-point. Two hormones have been found to be of central importance to our eating behavior: leptin and ghrelin. Leptin is associated with long-term body fat regulation, whereas ghrelin motivates eating behavior.

- Eating Is Influenced by Time and Taste: Eating is strongly affected by learning. Through classical conditioning, people associate eating with regular mealtimes. Sensory-specific satiety evolved in animals to encourage the consumption of foods that contain diverse nutrients. Because of this mechanism, people quickly grow tired of any single flavor.
- Culture Plays a Role: What people eat is greatly influenced by cultural rules regarding which foods are appropriate to eat in different contexts. Infants have an innate preference for sweet tastes, but children can learn to like most foods-particularly those foods offered by family members.

10.5 What Motivates Sexual Behavior?

Biology Influences Sexual Behavior: Hormones influence the development of secondary sex characteristics during puberty and motivate sexual behavior. The hypothalamus organizes

Key Terms

Cannon-Bard theory of emotion, p. 411 display rules, p. 420 drive, p. 425 emotion, p. 404 extrinsic motivation, p. 427 homeostasis, p. 425 incentives, p. 426

intrinsic motivation, p. 427 James-Lange theory of emotion, p. 410 motivation, p. 423 need, p. 424 need hierarchy, p. 424 need to belong theory, p. 431 primary emotions, p. 405

secondary emotions, p. 405 self-actualization, p. 424 sexual response cycle, p. 440 sexual strategies theory, p. 442 somatic markers, p. 417 two-factor theory of emotion, p. 411 Yerkes-Dodson law, p. 426

Practice Test

- 1. Students enrolled in a difficult class are preparing to give end-ofterm presentations, which will count 50 percent toward their final grades. Which student below is likely to perform the best?
 - **a.** Ahn is not at all stressed about the presentation. He has done well all semester and is confident he will do just fine this time around, too. He puts together his slides a week before the due date and then reviews the talk a few hours before giving the presentation.
 - b. Sonya is somewhat anxious about this presentation. She knows her stuff but recognizes how much is riding on the quality of this presentation. This anxious energy motivates her to polish her slides and practice her talk.
- c. Marcus is very stressed about this presentation. A bad evaluation on the presentation will ruin his grade for the class, which in turn will ruin his strong GPA. He decides to spend every waking moment preparing the talk, working late into the night and sometimes dreaming about the presentation.
- 2. Which neurotransmitter is not implicated in the sexual response?
 - a. dopamine
 - **b.** GABA
 - c. nitric oxide
 - d. serotonin

sexual behavior and influences the production of hormones. The hormones testosterone and oxytocin have been found to be particularly important determinants of sexual behavior. Neurotransmitters, including dopamine, serotonin, and nitric oxide, have also been found to influence sexual functioning. Masters and Johnson identified four stages in the human sexual response cycle that are very similar for men and women: excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution

- Cultural Scripts and Cultural Rules Shape Sexual Interactions: Sexual behavior is constrained by sexual scripts: socially determined beliefs regarding the appropriate behaviors for men and women to engage in during sexual interactions. On average, men have a higher level of sexual motivation and engage in more sexual activity than women. Men and women look for similar qualities in potential partners, but men are more concerned about a potential partner's attractiveness, and women are more concerned with a potential partner's status. Sex differences in preference for partner qualities may be due to the different adaptive problems the sexes faced over the course of human evolutionary history.
- People Differ in Their Sexual Orientations: Many theories have been proposed to explain sexual orientation. Researchers have suggested that prenatal hormone exposure, genes, and functional differences in the hypothalamus may influence sexual orientation. Although evidence has emerged to support each of these ideas, the data are correlational and cannot be used to make causal inferences.

- 3. Identify each of the following emotions as primary or secondary.
 - a. fear
 - **b.** happiness
 - **c.** jealousy
 - d. guilt
 - e. disgust
 - $\textbf{f.} \ \text{romantic love}$
 - g. anger
 - $\boldsymbol{h}.$ remorse
- **4.** True or false: Research suggests that some emotions and emotional expressions are culturally universal.
- **5.** Identify each of the following phenomena as a need or a drive.
 - a. food
 - **b.** hunger
 - **c.** thirst
 - **d.** water
 - e. oxygen
 - f. money

- g. success
- $\boldsymbol{h}.$ belongingness
- **6.** According to the research, which of the following people will be most likely to set challenging but attainable goals for themselves?
 - a person low in self-efficacy but high in achievement motivation
 - **b.** a person high in self-efficacy but low in achievement motivation
 - **c.** a person low in self-efficacy and low in achievement motivation
 - **d.** a person high in self-efficacy and high in achievement motivation
- The hormone _____ motivates eating behavior. The hormone _____ is involved in long-term body fat regulation.
 - **a.** leptin; ghrelin
 - **b.** ghrelin; leptin
 - c. ghrelin; oxytocin
 - d. oxytocin; ghrelin

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.



Ask & Answer

11.1 What Affects Health? 453

11.2 What Is Stress? 469

11.3 How Does Stress Affect Health? 475

11.4 Can a Positive Attitude Keep People Healthy? 483



FIGURE 11.1 Questionable Study Habits

Like Liam, many college students use all-nighters and cramming to fit studying into their demanding schedules. Many also find themselves becoming ill. What is the connection?

Health and Well-Being

WHEN THE ALARM WENT OFF, Liam felt like he had just closed his eyes. Once again he had been up late, this time cramming for finals. As soon as his eyes opened he knew that he was getting sick again. Groggily sitting up, he noticed that his roommate Chris had already left for breakfast. Though they were in many of the same classes, they rarely saw each other. Along with carrying a full course load, Liam worked 10 hours a week, belonged to a few campus organizations, was the social director of his fraternity, and partied every weekend. He had been a jogger too, but as the weather turned cold and the end of the semester loomed, exercise had fallen by the wayside, as had sleep. He knew that instead of pulling all-nighters, he should have been studying more throughout the semester, but his methods seemed to be working (FIGURE 11.1). Meanwhile, Chris, who never got sick, decamped to the library every day after a trip to the gym and was in bed by 10:30. Chris did go out on weekends, but Liam thought he was a bit of a stick in the mud and tried to get him to party more, to no avail.

By the afternoon, Liam had a screaming sore throat. At the health center, he complained to his doctor that he always got sick at the worst time: during finals. What was up with that? After doing a couple of tests, the doctor pronounced the good news: "I was worried that you might have mono or a strep throat, but you don't-just a cold." She explained that stress decreases the ability of the immune system to fight off infections, which was probably why he always got colds during finals.

Liam rolled his eyes and replied that this statement sounded kind of touchy-feely. Don't viruses cause colds, not mental stress? Laughing, his doctor nodded. She explained that until fairly recently, many scientists would have agreed. Their minds began to change when an unusual research study examined the cause and transmission of the common cold. From 1946 to 1990, the researchers offered volunteers a 33 percent chance of getting a cold at the Common Cold Unit. The program was wildly popular. Volunteers had to queue up for the spots. Drawings were held. Why? Participation in the study included a ten-day, all-expenses-paid stay at the Unit in the countryside of Salisbury, England, where recreational opportunities abounded and the food was good. Many volunteers took part more than once, and some even spent their honeymoons there!

In one series of experiments, volunteers filled out questionnaires regarding how stressed they were. Then they were randomly spritzed up the nose with cold-causing rhinovirus or a placebo. A placebo is a substance that does not contain any active ingredients. In Chapter 15, you will learn more about placebos and their effects. In this case, the placebo nasal spray did not contain the rhinovirus or any other active ingredient. The participants that were more stressed, especially with chronic stress that had lasted longer than a month, were three times more likely to get a cold after being spritzed with the virus, even when all possible other variables were accounted for (Totman, Kiff, Reed, & Craig, 1980). Since then, multiple studies have replicated these results (Cohen et al, 1998). "So it isn't touchy-feely medicine, but the real deal," his doctor concluded. Because Liam had gotten her on a roll, she continued: "Stress doesn't only affect the immune system, however. The hormones that are released during prolonged states of anxiety and stress, such as cortisol, can cause or increase hypertension, atherosclerosis, heart disease, diabetes, depression, sleepiness and fatigue, trouble concentrating, memory loss, changes in appetite, sexual problems, and the list goes on." She paused to catch her breath. "It's your choice, of course, but my advice is to spend more of your time studying so you aren't stressed about your classes and don't have to cram. Your body needs regular sleep and exercise. I am not just talking about here in college. I am talking about for the rest of your life."

In this chapter, we will explore how health and well-being are intimately connected to psychological states. We will explore common behaviors that place health at risk and examine the social, psychological, and biological factors that influence these outcomes. We will then look at the physiological components of stress and see that many effects of stress on the brain are relatively short-lived, regulating immediate bodily responses, such as increased breathing and heart rates. These responses can be beneficial because they can motivate people to action. Chronic exposure to the hormones produced by stress, however, can harm health in numerous ways. For this reason, we will also look at how people cope with stress and suggest methods for successful coping. The final section of the chapter considers the benefits of a positive attitude to health and well-being.

11.1 What Affects Health?

People generally think about health and wellness in biological and medical terms. Like the stressed student Liam, they are therefore surprised to learn that their behaviors and attitudes affect their health. The traditional Western medical model defines health simply as the lack of disease. This approach focuses on disease states and the treatments to cure them. It views people as passive recipients of disease and of the medical treatments designed to return them to health after illness. The underlying assumption is that people's mental states have little effect on their physical states, in either health or disease.

Nearly three decades ago, psychologists, physicians, and other health professionals came to appreciate the importance of lifestyle factors to physical health. They launched the interdisciplinary field of **health psychology**, which integrates research on health and on psychology. Health psychologists rely on the research methods of psychology to understand the interrelationship between thoughts (health-related cognitions), actions, and physical and mental health. These researchers address issues such as ways to help people lead healthier lives. They study how behavior and social systems affect health and how ethnic and sex differences influence health outcomes. Health psychologists also study the inverse of these relationships: how health-related behaviors and health outcomes affect people's actions, thoughts, and emotions.

A central lesson in this chapter is that both mental states, such as outlook on life, and behaviors are critical in preventing illness, helping people regain health following illness, and helping achieve well-being. **Well-being** is a positive state that is sought by striving for optimal health and life satisfaction. To achieve optimal health, people need to actively participate in health-enhancing behaviors.

Health psychologists apply their knowledge of psychological principles to promote health and well-being. As you will learn in this chapter, a healthy lifestyle goes a long way toward promoting health and preventing disease.

Social Context, Biology, and Behavior Combine to Affect Health

How do people's personalities, thoughts, or behaviors affect their health? To answer this question, you need to understand the **biopsychosocial model**. According to this model, health and illness result from a combination of factors, such as biological characteristics (e.g., genetic predisposition), behavioral factors (e.g., lifestyle, stress, and beliefs about health), and social conditions (e.g., cultural influences, family relationships, and social support). Research that integrates these levels of analysis helps to identify strategies that may prevent disease and promote health.

As shown in **FIGURE 11.2**, thoughts and actions affect people's choices of the environments they

interact with. Those environments, in turn, affect the biological underpinnings of thoughts and actions. To understand how this continuous loop operates in real life, suppose you are genetically predisposed to be anxious. You learn that one way to reduce your anxiety is to eat comfort foods such as mashed potatoes, macaroni and

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the goals of health psychology.
- Describe the biopsychosocial model of health.
- Discuss disparities in health.
- Discuss the causes and consequences of obesity.
- Understand disorders of eating.
- Discuss the causes and consequences of smoking.
- Review the benefits of regular exercise.

health psychology

A field that integrates research on health and on psychology; it involves the application of psychological principles to promote health and wellbeing.

well-being

A positive state that includes striving for optimal health and life satisfaction.

biopsychosocial model

A model of health that integrates the effects of biological, behavioral, and social factors on health and illness.



FIGURE 11.2 The Biopsychosocial Model

This model illustrates how health and illness result from a combination of factors.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Taking Mental Shortcuts: Why Are People Afraid of Flying but Not of Driving (or Smoking)?

A re you an anxious flyer? Like many people, you may be at least somewhat anxious about flying. A statistical expert explained the risk of death from flying this way: "It's once every 19,000 years-and that is only provided the person flew on an airplane once a day for 19,000 years!" ("Six most feared," 2005, p. 5). Other researchers have estimated that 1 in 13 million passengers dies in an airplane crash.

What about being the victim of terrorism-do you fear that? In the months following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, many people avoided flying. Instead, they preferred what they believed to be the safety of driving. Yet after the attacks, the number of people who died in automobile accidents because they chose to drive instead of fly far exceeded the number of people who were killed in the attacks (Gigerenzer, 2004).

The more that the press reports crimes and acts of terrorism, the more that people feel they are likely to become the victims of crime or terrorism (Nellis & Savage, 2012). A 2013 Gallup poll found that 40 percent of Americans worry that they or a family member will be the victim of terrorism (**FIGURE 11.3**). This percentage is down considerably from the period immediIn terms of thinking about their health and well-being, people often fear the wrong things.

ately following 9/11. Fears dropped once the media reports about 9/11 declined, but fears rose again after the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings. The 40 percent who worry are greatly overestimating the risk. According to a report from the U.S. Department of State (2012) for the year 2011, 17 American private citizens died as a result of terrorist actions (none on U.S. soil). If we place this number in the context of the ways that people died in the United States during 2011 (Hoyert & Xu, 2012), the comparison means that people in the United States are more than 35,000 times more likely to die from heart disease and 33,000 times more likely to die from cancer than from terrorism.

In terms of thinking about their health and well-being, people often fear the wrong things. They tend not to be worried at all about the things that are most likely to kill them. Rare causes of

death-not just plane crashes or terrorism, but oddities such as "flesh eating bacteria" or being murdered while vacationing in a foreign country-are often judged to occur much more frequently they actually do, while common causes of death are underestimated (Lichtenstein, Slovic, Fischhoff, Layman, & Combs, 1978). People are most likely to die from causes that stem from their own behaviors, which they can learn to modify. For example, heart disease and cancer account for about half of all U.S. deaths (Hoyert & Xu, 2012). Those who suffer from heart disease or cancer are not always to blame for their conditions, but all of us can change our behaviors in ways that may reduce the likelihood of these illnesses (e.g., do not smoke, exercise, eat nutritiously). A report released by the Centers for Disease Control in 2014 indicated that over a guarter of a million early deaths could be prevented each year if people made better health choices (Yoon et al., 2014).

Why do people fear things that are unlikely to harm them but not worry about the things that are truly dangerous? Recall from Chapter 8 the availability heuristic, which refers to believing information that comes most easily to mind. People using this heuristic will judge an event as likely to occur if it is easy to imagine or recall

cheese, and ice cream. If you consume these foods in excess, you may gain weight and eventually become overweight. Overweight people often find that exercise is not very pleasant. If their extra weight makes even moderate exercise difficult, they may decrease their physical activity. That decrease would slow down their metabolism. The slower metabolism and decreased activity would cause them to gain weight. The circle would repeat. Additional examples of the interplay between biological, social, and psychological factors are presented elsewhere in this chapter.

The biopsychosocial model is central to understanding the difference between the traditional medical model and the approach taken by health psychologists. In the traditional model, the individual is passive. For health psychologists, the individual's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are central to understanding and improving health.

(Slovic, Fischhoff, Lichtenstein, & Roe, 1981). The press widely and dramatically reports plane crashes, as when headlines blazed for weeks after the disappearance of Malaysian Airlines Flight 370 in March 2014. Press reports of other crashes often include vivid pictures or detailed accounts that can readily be recalled or easily imagined. The ease with which people recall this information biases their risk estimates.

By contrast, figuring out the risks associated with eating a hamburger and french fries is much more challenging. You would have to know how eating that food would affect your body, such as the

likelihood that it would lead to weight gain. You would then need to compute the risk that your particular body weight places you at risk for disease. You would also have to include in your risk prediction your family history, your other risk behaviors, and other lifestyle factors that may be protective. These computations are difficult mental work! It is therefore difficult to look at a hamburger and fries and have the sense of dread that you might experience when you board an airplane.

Unless you are willing to hide in your house, you will actually have a much more difficult time protecting

yourself from terrorism than from the factors that are more likely to kill you as a student, such as excessive alcohol intoxication, an overdose of legal or illegal drugs, drinking and driving, or texting while driving. Because of optimism bias, young people also tend to feel invulnerable to many risky behaviors (Radcliffe & Klein, 2002). Yet each year many more college students die from these common behaviors than are killed by rare events such as plane crashes or terrorist activity.



FIGURE 11.3

Fears of Terrorism

According to Gallup surveys over the past two decades, different percentages of Americans have worried that they or their family members will be victims of terrorism. Fear increases after terrorist events that are widely reported by the media.

CAUSES OF MORTALITY Before the twentieth century, most people died from infections and from diseases transmitted person to person. Infections and communicable diseases remain the leading causes of mortality in some developing nations, but in most countries the causes have shifted dramatically. For example, in the United States people are now more likely to die from heart disease, cancer, strokes, lung disease, and accidents than from infectious diseases (Hoyert & Xu, 2012). All of these causes of death are at least partially outcomes of lifestyle. Daily habits such as poor nutrition, overeating, smoking, alcohol use, and lack of exercise contribute to nearly every major cause of death in developed nations (Smith, Orleans, & Jenkins, 2004).

FIGURE 11.4 Life Expectancy by Race and Sex

Although life expectancy has increased in the United States since 1970, African Americans continue to lag behind whites.



SOURCE: Murphy, Xu, & Kochanek (2013).

HEALTH DISPARITIES Worldwide, racial and ethnic groups have large disparities in health. For example, although life expectancies have increased in the United States over the last four decades (**FIGURE 11.4**), African Americans continue to have a lower life expectancy than white Americans (Murphy, Xu, & Kochanek, 2013). For children born in the United States in 2007, life expectancy varies as follows: 75.9 years for white males, 80.8 years for white females, 70 years for African American males, and 76.8 years for African American females (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010b). The reasons that racial and ethnic groups experience differences in their health include genetic variation in susceptibility to some diseases, access (or lack of access) to affordable health care, and cultural factors such as dietary and exercise habits. African Americans are less likely to have cancer screenings. Moreover, they are less likely to receive recommended treatments, and perhaps as a result they have lower survival rates (DeSantis, Naishadham, & Jemal, 2013). Racial biases inherent in the U.S. medical system contribute to health disparities (Klonoff, 2014).

In impoverished countries, the resources may be lacking to provide adequate treatments for many health conditions, such as HIV, malaria, and rotavirus, an intestinal virus that kills over a half million children each year. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has provided over \$26 billion in grant funding and spends more than \$2 billion each year on programs to reduce infectious diseases in poor countries. Efforts such as these have lowered deaths from malaria by 42 percent globally and nearly 50 percent in Africa, where, on average, hundreds of children die each day from malaria (World Health Organization, 2014). Vaccines for rotavirus have led to dramatic reductions in childhood hospitalization and death around the globe, including in North America (Parashar et al., 2013).

Different lifestyles also contribute to health differences. Consider that in some countries, people most often walk or ride bicycles for transportation. In the United States and Canada, people often drive or use public transportation, so their physical activity comes not from daily activity but from purposeful exercise. These differences in health behaviors have long-term consequences for people's health and expected life spans (**FIGURE 11.5**). For example, the adoption of more Westernized lifestyles in countries



FIGURE 11.5 The Longest-Living People

The Japanese tend to live very long lives. Their longevity is no doubt due to a combination of genetics and behavior. Pictured here are 99-yearold Matsu and 91-year-old Taido, both of Ogimi Village. like India and China, such as eating junk food and engaging in less physical activity, has led to dramatic increases in diseases related to obesity, such as diabetes (Zabetian, Sanchez, Narayan, Hwang, & Ali, 2014). Thus, researchers seek to understand how culture influences behaviors and how behaviors alter underlying biology. Each level of analysis provides a piece of the intricate puzzle that determines health and well-being.

body mass index (BMI) A ratio of body weight to height, used to measure obesity.

Obesity and Maladaptive Eating Habits Have Many Health Consequences

Obesity is a major health problem with physical consequences, such as heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, arthritis, and certain cancers (Berrington de Gonzalez et al., 2010). One widely used measure of obesity is **body mass index (BMI)**, a ratio of body weight to height. **FIGURE 11.6** shows how to calculate BMI and how to interpret the value obtained. People with BMIs over 25 are considered overweight, whereas those with BMIs over 30 are considered obese.

There are at least two issues with the use of BMI to predict health. First, BMI does not take age, sex, bone structure, or body fat distribution into account. Athletes or those with significant amounts of muscle may have high BMIs despite being in excellent physical condition (Rothman, 2008). Perhaps because of these limitations, a second issue is that a clear relationship between BMI and health outcomes does not exist except for the very obese.

A recent meta-analysis (Flegal, Kit, Orpana, & Graubard, 2013) looked at 97 studies that included nearly 3 million individuals, of whom 270,000 had died during the



FIGURE 11.6

Determining Body Mass Index

To determine your own BMI, find the point at which your weight and height meet on the graph. According to the traditional view, beyond or below the recommended weight range of 18.5–25 means you are at greater risk for health problems. Recent evidence suggests that a BMI between 25 and 30 may be more optimal.
various study periods. The researchers found that people who were slightly overweight (BMIs 25–30) had a lower probability of dying from any cause during the study periods than people with recommended BMIs of less than 25. Moreover, slightly obese individuals (BMIs less than 35) did not have a greater risk of death than those with BMIs under 25. Individuals with BMIs over 35, however, were much more likely to die.

Individuals with low BMIs are at increased risk for premature death, particularly if they are elderly (Hughes, 2013). Another meta-analysis examined 32 studies of nearly 200,000 people over age 65. The studies averaged 12 years of follow-up, during which 72,000 people died. Those with BMIs around 28 had the fewest deaths, and those whose BMIs were under 23 or over 34 were much more likely to have died (Winter, MacInnis, Wattanapenpaiboon, & Nowson, 2014). The take-home message is that being slightly over the recommended BMI is not as unhealthy as once believed and may even be protective. The term *overweight* might be a misnomer if viewed in terms of the health consequences. One possibility is that physicians may closely monitor those who are overweight and therefore are more likely to provide them with treatments for health risks such as elevated cholesterol or high blood pressure (Heymsfield & Cefalu, 2013).

Meanwhile, it is increasingly clear that maladaptive eating habits, such as eating junk food, are likely responsible for much of the poor health associated with obesity. People who eat food high in fat and sugar tend to store more body fat in the abdomen. These individuals are at increased risk for developing *metabolic syndrome*, a constellation of risk factors that includes high blood sugars, insulin resistance (in which the body produces but does not use insulin efficiently), high blood levels of unhealthy cholesterol, and cardiovascular disease (Ford, Giles, & Dietz, 2002). Metabolic syndrome is the result of poor nutrition rather than body weight per se (Unger & Scherer, 2010). Storing fat in the abdomen may have more influence on health than the amount of fat that is stored.

One recent approach has been to calculate *body shape index*, which considers the amount of abdominal fat relative to BMI (Krakauer & Krakauer, 2012). In two large studies in the United States and the United Kingdom, this method was found to predict health outcomes better than BMI alone did (Krakauer & Krakauer, 2014). People with low BMIs but large amounts of abdominal fat are at higher risk for poor health, whereas people with high BMIs who have fat distributed throughout their bodies are at lower risk for health problems (Ahima & Lazar, 2013). The bottom line, however, is that many obese people store fat in the abdomen and therefore have symptoms of metabolic syndrome.

According to the World Health Organization (2011), obesity has doubled around the globe since 1980. Although developing nations have lower overall rates of obesity, their populations are becoming obese at a greater rate than developed nations (Ng et al., 2014). In the United States, the rate has jumped from less than 15 percent of the population in 1980 to 35 percent in 2012 (Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2014). Indeed, the numbers are even higher for racial and ethnic minorities, with more than half of African American women (56.7 percent) and nearly half of Hispanic women (43.3 percent) classified as obese. Extreme obesity (having a BMI over 40), which was almost unheard of in 1960, now characterizes more than 1 in 20 Americans (Ogden & Carroll, 2010; **FIGURE 11.7**). Likewise, the percentage of obese children has quadrupled since the 1960s. About 1 in 6 children in the U.S. is obese, with African American and Hispanic children much more likely to be so (Ogden et al., 2014).

Given the health consequences associated with obesity, researchers have sought to understand why people are gaining weight and what might be done to reverse this trend. Understanding obesity requires a multilevel approach that examines behavior, underlying biology, cognition (how people think about food and obesity), and the



FIGURE 11.7

Trends in Overweight, Obesity, and Extreme Obesity

This graph shows the trends in overweight, obesity, and extreme obesity among adults over age 20 in the United States, 1960-2012.

societal context that makes cheap and tasty food readily available. In fact, obesity is an ideal example of the biopsychosocial model of health presented earlier in the chapter. As you read about obesity, keep in mind the linkages between genetic predispositions, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors as well as the continuous loop through which these variables cycle.

OVEREATING An increase in the variety of available food is another factor that contributes to maladaptive eating and therefore obesity. For instance, rats that normally maintain a steady body weight when eating one type of food eat huge amounts and become obese when presented with a variety of high-calorie foods, such as chocolate bars, crackers, and potato chips (Sclafani & Springer, 1976; **FIGURE 11.8**). Humans show the same effect, eating much more when various foods are available (as at a buffet) than when only one or two types of food are available (Epstein, Robinson, Roemmich, Marusewski, & Roba, 2010; Raynor & Epstein, 2001).



FIGURE 11.8

The Impact of Variety on Eating Behavior

(a) If you were presented with this table full of delicious foods, how many would you eat? Would you be tempted to try them all? (b) As shown in this graph, rats will become obese if given ample variety.





FIGURE 11.9 Body Weight Is Socially Contagious

Friends tend to influence one another's sense of what body weight is appropriate. People also eat more when portions are larger (Rolls, Roe, & Meengs, 2007), and portion sizes have increased considerably in many restaurants. In addition, overweight people show more activity in reward regions of the brain when they see tasty-looking foods than do individuals who are not overweight (Rothemund et al., 2007). Together, these findings suggest that, in industrialized nations, the increase in obesity and metabolic syndrome over the past few decades is partly explained by overeating. The overeating stems from three factors: the sheer variety of high-calorie foods, the large portions now served in many restaurants, and individual responses to food cues.

Moreover, body weight may be socially contagious. One study found that close friends of the same sex tend to be similar in body weight (Christakis & Fowler, 2007). This study also found that even when close friends live far apart from each other, if one friend is obese, the other one is likely to be obese as well. Studies of the social transmission of obesity suggest that it is not eating the same meals or cooking together that is critical. Instead, it is the implicit agreement on what body weight is acceptable or normal (**FIGURE 11.9**). If many of your close friends are obese, implicitly you learn that obesity is normal. Thus, subtle communications can affect how we think and act when we eat.

GENETIC INFLUENCE Obesity tends to run in families. Family and adoption studies indicate that approximately half the variability in body weight is genetic (Klump & Culbert, 2007). The BMI of adopted children is more strongly related to the BMI of their biological parents than to the BMI of their adoptive parents (Sorensen, Holst, Stunkard, & Skovgaard, 1992). Studies of identical and fraternal twins provide even stronger evidence of the genetic control of body weight.

As discussed in Chapter 3, heritability refers to the proportion of variability, in a population, that can be attributed to genetic transmission of a trait from parents to their offspring. Estimates of the heritability of body weight range from 60 percent to 80 percent. Moreover, the similarity between the body weights of identical twins does not differ for twins raised together versus twins raised apart (Bouchard & Pérusse, 1993; Wardle, Carnell, Haworth, & Plomin, 2008). This finding suggests that genetics has far more effect on body weight than environment does.

If genes primarily determine body weight, why has the percentage of Americans who are obese doubled over the past few decades? Albert Stunkard, a leading researcher on human obesity, points out that genetics determines whether a person *can* become obese, but environment determines whether that person *will* become obese (Stunkard, 1996). In an important study conducted by the geneticist Claude Bouchard, identical twins were overfed by approximately 1,000 calories a day for 100 days (Bouchard, Tremblay et al., 1990). Most of the twins gained some weight, but there was great variability among pairs in how much they gained (ranging from 4.3 kilograms to 13.3 kilograms, or 9.5 pounds to 29.3 pounds). Further, within the twin pairs there was a striking degree of similarity in how much weight they gained and in which parts of the body they stored the fat. Some of the twin pairs were especially likely to put on weight.

Thus, genetics determines sensitivity to environmental influences. Genes predispose some people to obesity in environments that promote overfeeding, such as contemporary industrialized societies. Many genes are involved in obesity, as might be expected for such a complex condition: More than 300 genetic markers or genes have been identified as playing some role (Snyder et al., 2004).

THE STIGMA OF OBESITY In most Western cultures, obese individuals are viewed as less attractive, less socially adept, less intelligent, and less productive than their

normal-weight peers (DeJong & Kleck, 1986). Moreover, perceiving oneself as overweight is linked to depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem (Stice, 2002). Bear in mind, however, that researchers cannot randomly assign people to conditions related to weight, depression, anxiety, or self-esteem. Therefore, most of the obesity research with human participants is correlational. For example, we can note links between being overweight and having low self-esteem, but we cannot say that one factor causes the other.

Not all cultures stigmatize obesity (Hebl & Heatherton, 1998). In some developing countries, such as many African nations, being obese is a sign of being upper class. Obesity may be desirable in developing countries because it helps prevent some infectious diseases, reduces the likelihood of starvation, and is associated with having more successful births. It may also serve as a status symbol in developing countries. That is, obesity may indicate that one can afford to eat luxuriously. In Pacific Island countries such as Tonga and Fiji, being obese is a source of personal pride, and dieting is uncommon. In 2013, more than half of men and nearly two-thirds of women living in Tonga were obese (Ng et al., 2014; **FIGURE 11.10A**).

In most industrialized cultures, food is generally abundant. Indeed, in the United States fresh and nutritious foods are often more expensive than high-calorie fast food. Therefore, in the industrialized world, being overweight is associated with lower socioeconomic status, especially for women. The relative affordability of fast food may contribute to overweight among those with limited finances.

The upper classes in Western cultures have a clear preference for very thin body types, as exemplified in fashion magazines (**FIGURE 11.10B**). The typical woman depicted by the fashion industry is 5 feet 11 inches tall and weighs approximately 110 pounds (**FIGURE 11.10C**). In other words, the standard represented by models is 7 inches taller and 55 pounds lighter than the average woman in the United States. Such extreme thinness represents a body weight that is difficult, if not impossible, for most people to achieve. In fact, women report holding body weight ideals that are not only lower than average weight but also lower than what men find attractive (Fallon & Rozin, 1985).

RESTRICTIVE DIETING Obese people typically try multiple diets and other "cures" to lose weight, but dieting is a notoriously ineffective means of achieving permanent weight loss (Aronne, Wadden, Isoldi, & Woodworth, 2009). Most individuals who lose weight through dieting eventually regain the weight. Often, they gain back more than they lost. Most diets fail primarily because of the body's natural defense against weight loss (Kaplan, 2007). Body weight is regulated around a set-point determined primarily by genetic influence. Consider two examples.

In 1966, several inmates at a Vermont prison were challenged to increase their body weight by 25 percent (Sims et al., 1968). For six months, these inmates consumed more than 7,000 calories a day, nearly double their usual intake. If each inmate was eating about 3,500 extra calories a day (the equivalent of seven large cheeseburgers), simple math suggests that each should have gained approximately 170 pounds over the six months. In reality, few inmates gained more than 40 pounds, and most lost the weight when they went back to normal eating. Those who did not lose the weight had family histories of obesity.

At the other end of the spectrum, researchers have investigated the short-term and long-term effects of semi-starvation (Keys, Brozek, Henschel, Mickelsen, & Taylor, 1950). During World War II, more than 100 men volunteered to take part in this study as an alternative to military service. Over six months, the participants lost an average of 25 percent of their body weight (**FIGURE 11.11**). Most found this weight reduction very hard to accomplish, and some had great difficulty losing more than 10 pounds.







FIGURE 11.10 Variations in Body Image

(a) In some places, people find larger body shapes more desirable. Consider these welcoming women on the island of Fatu Hiva, in French Polynesia.
(b, c) By contrast, consider the skinniness embodied by these models in the United States.





FIGURE 11.11 The Effects of Semi-starvation These men took part in a study in which they attempted to drastically lose weight.

The men underwent dramatic changes in emotions, motivation, and attitudes toward food. They became anxious, depressed, and listless; they lost interest in sex and other activities; and they became obsessed with eating. Many of these outcomes are similar to those experienced by people with eating disorders.

Although it is possible to alter body weight, the body responds to weight loss by slowing down metabolism and using less energy. Therefore, after the body has been deprived of food, it needs less food to maintain a given body weight. Likewise, weight gain occurs much faster in previously starved animals than would be expected by caloric intake alone. In addition, repeated alterations between caloric deprivation and overfeeding are maladaptive and have been shown to have cumulative metabolic effects. That is, each time an animal is placed on caloric deprivation, the animal's metabolic functioning and weight loss become slower than they were the previous time. When overfeeding resumes, the animal's weight gain occurs more rapidly (Brownell, Greenwood, Stellar, & Shrager, 1986). This pattern might explain why "yo-yo dieters" tend to become heavier over time.

RESTRAINED EATING Janet Polivy and Peter Herman (1985) characterize some chronic dieters as *restrained eaters*. According to Polivy and Herman, restrained eaters are prone to excessive eating in certain situations. These bouts of overeating may be occasional or not so occasional. For instance, if restrained eaters believe they have eaten high-calorie foods, they abandon their diets. Their mindset becomes, "I've blown my diet, so I might as well just keep eating." Many restrained eaters diet through the workweek. On the weekend, when they are faced with increased food temptations and at the same time are in less structured environments, they lose control.

In one study, restrained eaters and unrestrained eaters each consumed a large milkshake (Demos, Kelley, & Heatherton, 2011). When the restrained eaters then viewed pictures of appetizing food, activity increased in the brain regions connected with reward. By contrast, when the unrestrained eaters viewed the same pictures, the reward activity in their brains was reduced. Presumably, the milkshake had satisfied the unrestrained eaters. Thus, the reward systems in the brains of restrained eaters seem to encourage additional eating after the eaters break their diets. Being under stress also leads restrained eaters to break their diets (Heatherton, Herman, & Polivy, 1991).

Binge eating by restrained eaters depends on their *perceptions* of whether they have broken their diets. Dieters can eat 1,000-calorie Caesar salads and believe their diets are fine. But if they eat 200-calorie chocolate bars, they feel their diets are ruined and they become disinhibited. Becoming disinhibited means that, after first inhibiting their eating, they lose the inhibition. In short, the problem for restrained eaters is that they rely on cognitive control of food intake: Rather than eating according to internal states of hunger and satiety, restrained eaters eat according to rules, such as time of day, number of calories, and type of food. If they feel that food is healthy, whether it is or not, they eat more of it (Provencher, Polivy, & Herman, 2009). Such patterns are maladaptive and are likely to break down when dieters eat high-calorie foods or feel distressed. Getting restrained eaters back in touch with internal motivational states is one goal of sensible approaches to dieting.

DISORDERED EATING When dieters fail to lose weight, they often blame their lack of willpower. They may vow to redouble their efforts on the next diet. Repeated dietary failures may have harmful and permanent physiological and psychological consequences. In physiological terms, weight-loss and weight-gain cycles alter the dieter's metabolism and may make future weight loss more difficult. Psychologically, repeated failures diminish satisfaction with body image and damage

self-esteem. Over time, chronic dieters tend to feel helpless and depressed. Some eventually engage in more extreme maladaptive behaviors to lose weight, such as taking drugs, fasting, exercising excessively, or purging. For a vulnerable individual, chronic dieting may promote the development of a clinical eating disorder. Although eating disorders affect both sexes, they are more common for women. The three most common eating disorders are anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, and binge-eating disorder (**FIGURE 11.12**).

Individuals with **anorexia nervosa** have an excessive fear of becoming fat and severely restrict how much they eat. This reduction in energy intake leads to an unhealthy body weight. Anorexia most often begins in early adolescence. Although this disorder was once thought to mainly affect upper-middle-class and upper-class Caucasian girls, there is evidence that race and class are no longer defining characteristics of eating disorders (Polivy & Herman, 2002). This change might have come about because media images of a thin ideal have permeated all corners of society in the United States.

Although many adolescent girls strive to be thin, fewer than 1 in 100 meet the clinical criteria of anorexia nervosa as described by the most recent *Diagnostic* and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5), which was released in 2013 (**TABLE 11.1**; DSM-5 is discussed further in Chapter 14). These criteria include both objective measures of thinness and psychological characteristics that indicate an abnormal obsession with food and body weight.

Those who have anorexia view themselves as fat even though they are at a significantly low weight, often with BMIs under 17. Issues of food and weight pervade their lives, controlling how they view themselves and how they view the world. Initially, the results of self-imposed starvation may draw favorable comments from others, such as "You look so thin you could be a fashion model." These comments might come from friends who are also influenced by social messages that being thin is an important part of being attractive. But as the anorexic approaches her emaciated ideal, family and friends usually become concerned. The person with anorexia not only starves herself but often engages in activities such as vomiting, abuse of laxatives, or excessive exercise to further reduce the amount of food energy consumed. In many cases, medical attention is required to prevent death from starvation.

This dangerous disorder causes a number of serious health problems, in particular a loss of bone density, and about 15 percent to 20 percent of those with anorexia eventually die from the disorder—they literally starve themselves to death (American Psychiatric Association, 2000b).

Individuals with **bulimia nervosa** alternate between dieting, binge eating, and purging (i.e., self-induced vomiting) or other inappropriate compensatory behaviors, such as abusing laxatives or excessive exercising. Bulimia often develops during late adolescence. Approximately 1–2 percent of women in high school and college meet the criteria for bulimia nervosa. These women tend to be of average weight or slightly overweight.

Bulimics are caught in a vicious cycle: In an effort to quell negative emotions, they eat large quantities of food in a short amount of time. This eating leads them to feel guilty that they may gain weight. They will then engage in one or more compensatory behaviors, such as self-induced vomiting, excessive exercise, or the abuse of laxatives. Whereas anorexics cannot easily hide their self-starvation, binge-eating behavior tends to occur secretly. Although bulimia is associated with serious health problems, such as dental and cardiac disorders, it is seldom fatal (Keel & Mitchell, 1997).

A disorder similar to bulimia is **binge-eating disorder**. The American Psychiatric Association officially recognized this condition as a disorder in 2013. People with the disorder engage in binge eating at least once a week, but they do not purge. These individuals often eat very quickly, even when they are not hungry. Those with binge-eating



FIGURE 11.12 The Danger of Eating Disorders When this photo was taken, the young woman was dying of anorexia. Her mother intervened to save her life.

anorexia nervosa

An eating disorder characterized by excessive fear of becoming fat and therefore restricting energy intake to obtain a significantly low body weight.

bulimia nervosa

An eating disorder characterized by binge eating and inappropriate compensatory behaviors such as purging.

binge-eating disorder

An eating disorder characterized by binge eating that causes significant distress.

Table 11.1 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria for Eating Disorders

CRITERIA FOR ANOREXIA NERVOSA	CRITERIA FOR BULIMIA NERVOSA	CRITERIA FOR BINGE-EATING DISORDER
 A. Restriction of energy intake relative to requirements, leading to significantly low body weight in the context of age, sex, developmental trajectory, and physical health. <i>Significantly low weight</i> is defined as a weight that is less than minimally normal or, for children and adolescents, less than that minimally expected. B. Intense fear of gaining weight or of becoming fat, or persistent behavior that interferes with weight gain, even though at a significantly lower weight. C. Disturbances in the way in which one's body weight or shape is experienced, undue influence of body weight or shape on self- evaluation, or persistent lack of recognition of the seriousness of the current low body weight. 	 A. Recurrent episodes of binge eating. An episode of binge eating is characterized by both of the following: Eating, in a discrete period of time (e.g., within any 2-hour period), an amount of food that is definitely larger than what most individuals would eat in a similar period of time under similar circumstances. A sense of lack of control over eating during the episode (e.g., a feeling that one cannot stop eating or control what or how much one is eating). B. Recurrent inappropriate compensatory behaviors in order to prevent weight gain, such as self-induced vomiting, misuse of laxatives, diuretics, or other medications; fasting; or excessive exercise. C. The binge eating and inappropriate compensatory behaviors both occur, on average, at least once a week for 3 months. D. Self-evaluation is unduly influenced by body shape and weight. E. The disturbance does not occur exclusively during episodes of anorexia nervosa. 	 A. Recurrent episodes of binge eating. An episode of binge eating is characterized by both of the following: Eating, in a discrete period of time (e.g., within any 2-hour period), an amount of food that is definitely larger than what most individuals would eat in a similar period of time under similar circumstances. A sense of lack of control over eating during the episode (e.g., a feeling that one cannot stop eating or control what or how much one is eating). B. The binge-eating episodes are associated with three (or more) of the following: Eating much more rapidly than normal. Eating large amounts of food when not feeling physically hungry. 4. Eating alone because of feeling embarrassed by how much one is eating. Feeling disgusted with oneself, depressed, or very guilty afterward. C. Marked distress regarding binge eating is present. D. The binge eating occurs, on average, at least once a week for 3 months. E. The binge eating is not associated with bulimia nervosa or anorexia nervosa.

SOURCE: American Psychiatric Association (2013).

disorder often experience feelings of guilt and embarrassment, and they may binge eat alone to hide the behavior. Many people with binge-eating disorder are overweight or obese. Compared to bulimia, binge-eating disorder is more common among males and ethnic minorities (Wilfley, Bishop, Wilson, & Agras, 2007). Although bulimia and binge-eating disorder share many common features—differing most notably in that only bulimics purge—many researchers believe the two are distinct disorders (Striegel-Moore & Franco, 2008).

Eating disorders tend to run in families. Like obesity, these disorders are due partly to genetics. The incidence of eating disorders in the United States increased into the 1980s (Keel, Baxter, Heatherton, & Joiner, 2007). This increase suggests that when people have genetic predispositions for eating disorders, they will tend to develop the disorders if they live in societies with an abundance of food. Bulimia seems to be more culture bound, meaning that there are large cultural variations in its incidence. Anorexia is prevalent in all societies that have abundant food.

Smoking Is a Leading Cause of Death

Despite overwhelming evidence that smoking cigarettes leads to premature death, millions around the globe continue to light up (Fiore, Schroeder, & Baker, 2014). According to the World Health Organization (2008), increasing numbers of people are smoking in low-income countries, and 5.4 million deaths are caused by tobacco every year. Thirty percent of all smokers worldwide are in China, 10 percent are in India, and an additional 25 percent come from Indonesia, Russia, the United States, Japan, Brazil, Bangladesh, Germany, and Turkey combined (**FIGURE 11.13**). According to the 2014 U.S. Surgeon General's Report, just under 1 in 5 American adults are current smokers (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2014). Smoking is blamed for more than 480,000 deaths per year in the United States and decreases the typical smoker's life by more than 12 years (Jha et al., 2013).

Most smokers begin in childhood or early adolescence. Every day, approximately 3,200 Americans ages 11 to 17 smoke their first cigarette (USDHHS, 2014). About half of young smokers will likely continue smoking into adulthood, and if current smoking rates continue, 5.6 million American children alive today will die prematurely because of smoking (USDHHS, 2014). Fortunately, there has been a dramatic reduction in adolescent smoking over the last decade (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2011). Regular smoking dropped from approximately 13 percent to 6.6 percent, with a 33 percent drop in the number of adolescents who even try smoking (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010c; USDHHS, 2014).

Smoking causes numerous health problems, including heart disease, respiratory ailments, and various cancers. Cigarette smoke also causes health problems for nonsmoking bystanders, a finding that has led to bans on smoking in many public and

private places. Besides spending money on cigarettes, smokers pay significantly more for life insurance and health insurance. Why do they continue to smoke? Why does anyone start?

STARTING SMOKING It is hard to imagine any good reason to start smoking. First attempts at smoking often involve a great deal of coughing, watering eyes, a terrible taste in the mouth, and feelings of nausea. So why do kids persist? Most researchers point to powerful social influences as the leading cause of adolescent smoking (Chassin, Presson, & Sherman, 1990; **FIGURE 11.14**). Research has demonstrated that adolescents are more likely to smoke if their parents or friends smoke (Hansen et al., 1987). They often smoke their first cigarettes in the company of other smokers, or at least with the encouragement of their peers. Moreover, many adolescent smokers appear to show a false consensus effect: They overestimate the number of adolescent and adult smokers (Sherman, Presson, Chassin, Corty, & Olshavsky, 1983). Adolescents who incorrectly believe that smoking is common may take it up to fit in with the crowd.

Other studies have pointed to the potential meaning of "being a smoker" as having a powerful influence. For instance, research has shown that smokers are viewed as having positive qualities such as being tough, sociable, and good with members of the opposite sex. Children take up smoking partially to look "tough, cool, and independent of authority" (Leventhal & Cleary, 1980, p. 384). Thus smoking may be one way for adolescents to enhance their self-images as well as their public images (Chassin et al., 1990). As discussed in Chapter 6, adolescents imitate models through observational learning.





FIGURE 11.13 Smoking Is a Global Phenomenon

(a) These men are smoking in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China.
(b) These smokers belong to the Mentawi people, a semi-nomadic huntergatherer tribe in the coastal and rain forest regions of Indonesia.



FIGURE 11.14 Social Influence and Smoking

Cigarette companies have used "authorities" and other role models to encourage smoking. As this 1950s advertisement illustrates, they even touted the fact that doctors used particular brands.



FIGURE 11.15 Glamorous Portrayals of Smoking

The enormously popular AMC series Mad Men is set in and around the advertising business of the 1960s. The show has become famous and infamous for its portrayals of "adult" activities, such as drinking, having sex, and smoking. Smokers on television and in movies are often portrayed in glamorous ways that appeal to adolescents (**FIGURE 11.15**). Researchers in Germany found that the more German children ages 10 to 16 watched popular North American movies that depicted smoking, the more likely they were to try smoking (Hanewinkel & Sargent, 2008; compare with Figure 6.37, which depicts how adolescent smoking rates decline when movie depictions of smoking decline).

By the 12th grade, 50–70 percent of adolescents in the United States have had some experience with tobacco products (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010c; Mowery, Brick, & Farrelly, 2000). Of course, it is hard to look tough while gasping and retching; so while most adolescents try one or two cigarettes, most do not become regular smokers. Still, many of the experimenters go on to smoke on a regular basis (Baker, Brandon, & Chassin, 2004).

Over time, casual smokers become addicted. It is now widely acknowledged that the drug nicotine is of primary importance in motivating and maintaining smoking behavior (Fagerström & Schneider, 1989; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2004). Once the smoker becomes "hooked" on nicotine, going without cigarettes will lead to unpleasant withdrawal symptoms, including distress and heightened anxiety (Russell, 1990). Some people appear especially susceptible to nicotine addiction, perhaps because of genetics (Sabol et al., 1999). Nicotine may lead to increased activation of dopamine neurons, which can have a reinforcing effect. (The functions of dopamine neurons are discussed further in Chapter 3.)

ELECTRONIC CIGARETTES People continue to smoke in order to obtain nicotine. Within the past few years, a new nicotine delivery system has become increasingly popular: electronic cigarettes, or e-cigarettes. According to the 2014 U.S. Surgeon General's report, approximately 3 percent of U.S. adolescents and 6 percent of U.S. adults have ever used e-cigarettes. Most e-cigarette use is by current smokers or those trying to quit. A positive aspect of e-cigarettes is that they deliver nicotine less harmfully than regular cigarettes, which contain thousands of chemicals, many of them cancer causing. E-cigarettes also do not produce second-hand smoke, which can be harmful to nonsmokers. However, health officials do not yet know whether e-cigarettes are better or worse for individuals and society than traditional tobacco products (Glynn, 2014). Scientific data are lacking regarding the safety of e-cigarettes. In addition, nonsmokers, including adolescents, might be curious, try the electronic versions, and as a result become regular smokers.

QUITTING SMOKING Many people who smoke worry about the health risks and consider quitting or do attempt to quit smoking. Numerous treatment options are available to assist smoking cessation efforts. One widely used method is *nicotine replacement therapy*, such as smoking e-cigarettes, chewing nicotine gum, or wearing a patch that delivers nicotine (**FIGURE 11.16**). Prescription medications may also play a part in efforts to quit. Chantix is a drug that acts as partial agonist for nicotine receptors (recall from Chapter 3 that agonists can mimic the effects of drugs). This action reduces cravings and provides some of the desirable effects of smoking. Wellbutrin is a drug used to treat depression (you will learn more about such drugs in Chapter 15). Wellbutrin also reduces tobacco cravings, although not as strongly as Chantix. A review paper that compared treatments found that Chantix is more effective than nicotine replacement or Wellbutrin (Wu, Wilson, Dimoulas, & Mills, 2006).

In addition, numerous behavioral treatments encourage people to quit, teach them effective alternative ways of dealing with stress, and help them try to prevent relapse (Baker et al., 2011). Unfortunately, most people who use these methods do relapse.

Only 10–30 percent of people are able to quit smoking over the long term, even in the most effective treatment programs (Schlam & Baker, 2013).

In spite of these relatively unimpressive outcomes from treatment studies, millions of people have permanently given up smoking. How did they do it? Around 90 percent of people who successfully quit do so on their own, going "cold turkey" (Smith & Chapman, 2014). Often, some sort of critical event changes the way the smoker thinks about the addiction. The psychologist David Premack provides an example of a man who quit smoking one day because of something that happened when he was picking up his children from the city library: "A thunderstorm greeted him as he arrived there; and at the same time a search of his pockets disclosed a familiar problem: he was out of cigarettes. Glancing back at the library, he caught a glimpse of his children stepping out in the rain, but he continued around the corner, certain that he could find a parking space, rush in, buy the cigarettes and be back before the children got seriously wet" (Premack, 1970, p. 115).

For the smoker, it was a shocking revelation of himself "as a father who would actually leave the kids in the rain while he ran after cigarettes." The man quit smoking on the spot. Researchers have not yet identified the mechanisms that transform critical events into successful smoking cessation (Smith & Chapman, 2014). Because of the difficulty that many people have quitting smoking, much of current research on smoking examines ways to prevent people from smoking in the first place (USDHHS, 2014).

Exercise Has Numerous Benefits

In general, the more people exercise, the better their physical and mental health. Scientists do not know exactly how exercise exerts all of its positive effects. It makes people feel good because they know the exercise is good for them. It helps people build self-confidence and cope with stress. It affects neurotransmitter systems involved in reward, motivation, and emotion. It also enhances the growth of new neurons and the production of synaptic connections.

Research clearly shows the benefits of exercise on almost every aspect of our lives, including enhanced memory and enhanced cognition (Harburger, Nzerem, & Frick, 2007). Aerobic exercise-the kind that temporarily increases breathing and heart rate-promotes the growth of new neurons (Carmichael, 2007). The additional neurons created through exercise result in a larger brain, and the brain region that experiences the most growth is the hippocampus. As discussed in Chapter 3, the hippocampus is important for memory and cognition. Aerobic exercise is also especially good for cardiovascular health; it lowers blood pressure and strengthens the heart and lungs (Lesniak & Dubbert, 2001). As little as 10 minutes of exercise can promote feelings of vigor and enhance mood, although at least 30 minutes of daily exercise is associated with the most positive mental state (Hansen, Stevens, & Coast, 2001). In fact, there is compelling evidence that exercise can contribute to positive outcomes for the clinical treatment of depression (Craft & Perna, 2004), as well as being beneficial in the treatment of addiction and alcoholism (Read & Brown, 2003). A meta-analysis found that exercise is as effective as medications for preventing diabetes or heart disease or promoting recovery following heart attacks (Naci & Ioannidis, 2013). Although the different studies in the meta-analysis varied in the type of physical activity, as well as frequency, intensity, and duration, most included aerobic and muscle strengthening exercises.

Unlike societies throughout most of human history, modern society allows and even encourages people to exert little physical energy. People drive to work, take elevators, spend hours watching remote-controlled television, spend even more hours online, use various labor-saving devices, and complain about not having time to exercise. Once people are out of shape, it is difficult for them to start exercising regularly.



(b)





FIGURE 11.16 Nicotine Replacement Therapy Three ways to quit smoking involve replacing the nicotine delivery system: (a) smoking e-cigarettes, (b) chewing nicotine gum, or (c) wearing the patch. Fortunately, it is never too late to start exercising and receiving its positive benefits. In one study, sedentary adults between the ages of 60 and 79 were randomly assigned to either six months of aerobic training (such as running or fast dancing) or six months of a nonaerobic control group (Colcombe et al., 2006). Participants in aerobic training significantly increased their brain volume, including both white (myelinated) and gray matter. The nonaerobic control group experienced no comparable changes. In another study, older adults were assigned randomly to either three months of aerobic exercise or three months of a nonaerobic control group (Emery, Kiecolt-Glaser, Glaser, Malarkey, & Frid, 2005). All the participants agreed to have small cuts made on their bodies so the researchers could study whether aerobic group took an average of 29.2 days to heal, whereas those of the nonaerobic group took an average of 38.9 days to heal. Besides faster healing time, the aerobic group had better cardiorespiratory (heart and lung) fitness.

In another study, older adults with memory problems were randomly assigned to an exercise group (3 hours a week for 2 weeks) or to a control group (Lautenschlager et al., 2008). The participants in the exercise group improved in their overall cognition, including memory. The control group showed no changes. The researchers concluded that exercise reduces cognitive decline in older adults with moderate memory problems.

Summing Up

What Affects Health?

- The leading causes of death in industrialized societies are influenced by lifestyle choices.
- Racial and ethnic groups exhibit health disparities, some of which can be attributed to differences in their health behaviors.
- Excessive eating, smoking, and lack of exercise contribute to most major causes of death in developed nations.
- Excessive eating is most likely to occur when a variety of high-calorie foods are available and larger portions are served.
- Although obesity is largely influenced by genetic makeup, excessive intake of fat and sugar may also contribute to obesity.
- In addition to the adverse health consequences of obesity, individuals who are obese face a substantial social stigma.
- Restrictive dieting is relatively ineffective in accomplishing weight loss because body weight is regulated at a set-point.
- Restrained eating also tends to be ineffective because restrained eaters are prone to
 overeating when they believe they have broken their diets.
- In extreme cases, individuals may develop an eating disorder-anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, or binge-eating disorder-as a consequence of their efforts to control their weight and body shape.
- Smoking continues to be a major health concern.
- Individuals typically begin smoking in adolescence as a consequence of social influences or in an effort to exhibit the positive qualities sometimes associated with smokers (such as being tough and independent).
- Methods for quitting smoking include nicotine replacement therapy (e-cigarettes, the patch, or nicotine gum), prescription medications for use during therapy, and behavioral modification techniques. Even in the most effective programs, only 10-30 percent of smokers are able to quit long-term.
- Exercise is one of the best things people can do for their health. Regular physical activity improves memory and cognition, enhances emotional experiences, and strengthens the heart and lungs.

Measuring Up

1. Why do restrictive diets rarely work in reducing obesity?

- a. Obese people usually cheat when they are on restrictive diets.
- **b.** The body learns to conserve calories, so restrictive dieting may lead ultimately to greater weight gain.
- c. We do not know enough about foods' caloric contents to determine good diets.

2. How does exercise affect the brain?

- a. Exercise improves muscles and lungs but does not affect the brain.
- **b.** As revealed in MRI brain scans, excessive exercise can cause an aversion to physical activity.
- **c.** People already in good physical shape show no brain effects, whereas those in poor physical shape show an enlargement in the areas corresponding to motor control.
- **d.** Exercise causes the growth of new neurons and new neural connections, especially in brain areas associated with memory and cognition.

associated with memory and cognition.

greater weight gain. (2) d. Exercise causes the growth of new neurons and new neural connections, especially in brain areas

ANSWERS: (1) b. The body learns to conserve calories, so restrictive dieting may lead ultimately to

11.2 What Is Stress?

Stress is a basic component of our daily lives. However, stress does not exist objectively, out in the world. Instead, it results directly from the ways we think about events in our lives. For example, like Liam in the chapter opener, some students experience final exams as extremely stressful and often get sick at exam time, whereas other students perceive the same finals as mere inconveniences or even as opportunities to demonstrate mastery of the material. When researchers study stress, then, what are they studying?

Stress is a type of response that typically involves an unpleasant state, such as anxiety or tension. A **stressor** is something in the environment that is perceived as threatening or demanding and therefore produces stress. One person's stressor, such as having to speak in front of a crowd, may be another person's cherished activity. Stress elicits a **coping response**, which is an attempt to avoid, escape from, or minimize the stressor. When too much is expected of us or when events are worrisome or scary, we perceive a discrepancy between the demands of the situation and our resources to cope with them. That discrepancy might be real, or we might be imagining it. In general, positive and negative life changes are stressful. Think about the stresses of going to college, getting a job, marrying, being fired, losing a parent, winning a major award, and so on. The greater the number of changes, the greater the stress, and the more likely the stress will affect physiological states.

Stress is often divided into two types: *Eustress* is the stress of positive events. For example, you might experience eustress when you are admitted to the college you really want to attend or when you are preparing for a party you are looking forward to. *Distress* is the stress of negative events. For example, you might experience distress when you are late for an important meeting and become trapped in traffic or when you are helping a loved one deal with a serious illness.

Most people use the term *stress* only in referring to negative events, but both distress and eustress put strains on the body. The number of stressful events a person

Learning Objectives

- Define stress.
- Describe the hypothalamicpituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis.
- Discuss sex differences in responses to stressors.
- Describe the general adaptation syndrome.

stress

A type of response that typically involves an unpleasant state, such as anxiety or tension.

stressor

Something in the environment that is perceived as threatening or demanding and therefore produces stress.

coping response

Any attempt made to avoid, escape from, or minimize a stressor.





FIGURE 11.17 Stress in Everyday Life How do you cope with the stress in your life? What makes your strategies effective?

hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis A body system involved in stress responses. experiences, whether they are negative or positive, predicts health outcomes. Some events are more stressful than others, of course (**FIGURE 11.17**).

One team of researchers assigned point values to 43 different life events. For instance, the death of a spouse was 100 points, pregnancy was 40 points, and a vacation was 13 points (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). A person's stress level could be determined by adding up the points for every event the person had experienced in the previous year. Someone who had been married, moved, started a new job, had a child, and had a change in sleeping pattern during the previous year would score very high on this scale and therefore be likely to suffer poor health as a result. A version of the scale for students can be found in **TABLE 11.2**.

Psychologists typically think of stressors as falling into two categories: major life stressors and daily hassles. *Major life stressors* are changes or disruptions that strain central areas of people's lives (Pillow, Zautra, & Sandler, 1996). Major life stressors include choices made by individuals, not just things that happen to them. For instance, some parents report that having their first child is one of the most joyful—but also one of the most taxing—experiences of their lives. Nonetheless, research has shown that unpredictable and uncontrollable catastrophic events (such as floods, earthquakes, or wars) are especially stressful (Kanno et al., 2013; Tang, 2007). To avoid serious health problems, combat soldiers and others in prolonged stressful situations often must use combinations of strategies to cope with the stress of their situations.

Daily hassles are small, day-to-day irritations and annoyances, such as driving in heavy traffic, dealing with difficult people, or waiting in line. Daily hassles are stressful, and their combined effects can be comparable to the effects of major life changes (DeLongis, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1988). Because these low-level irritations are ubiquitous, they pose a threat to coping responses by slowly wearing down personal resources. Studies that ask people to keep diaries of their daily activities find consistently that the more intense and frequent the hassles, the poorer the physical and mental health of the participant (Almeida, 2005). People may habituate to some hassles but not to others. For example, conflicts with other people appear to have a cumulative detrimental effect on health and well-being. Living in poverty or in a crowded, noisy, or polluted place also can have cumulative detrimental effects on health and well-being (Santiago, Wadsworth, & Stump, 2011).

Stress Has Physiological Components

Researchers have a good understanding of the biological mechanisms that underlie the stress response. A stressor activates two systems: a fast-acting sympathetic nervous system response and a slower-acting response resulting from a complex system of biological events known as the **hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis**.

Stress begins in the brain with the perception of some stressful event. For our very distant ancestors, the event might have been the sight of a predator approaching rapidly. For us, it is more likely to be an approaching deadline, a stack of unpaid bills, a fight, an illness, and so on. The hypothalamus first activates the sympathetic nervous system, which activates the adrenal glands (located on top of the kidneys) to release epinephrine and norepinephrine, increasing heart rate, blood pressure, and respiration and making the body ready for action (see Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior"). Meanwhile, in the HPA axis (**FIGURE 11.18**), the hypothalamus sends a chemical message to the pituitary gland (a major gland located at the base of the brain). In turn, the pituitary gland sends a hormone that travels through the bloodstream and eventually also reaches the adrenal glands (although a different region of the gland than the faster system). The adrenals then secrete *cortisol*. In turn, cortisol increases

Table 11.2 Student Stress Scale

To determine the amount of stress in your life, select the events that have happened to you in the past 12 months.

EVENT	LIFE CHANGE UNITS	EVENT	LIFE CHANGE UNITS	EVENT	LIFE CHANGE UNITS
Death of close family member	100	Serious argument with close friend	40	Change in social activities	29
Death of close friend	73	Change in financial status	39	Serious argument with instructor	30
Divorce between parents	65	Change in major	39	Lower grades than	29
Jail term	63	Trouble with parents	39	expected	
Major personal injury or	63	New girlfriend or	38	Change in eating habits	28
illness		boyfriend		Chronic car trouble	26
Marriage	58	Increased workload at	37	Change in number of	26
Being fired from job	50	school		family get-togethers	
Failing important course	47	Outstanding personal	36	Too many missed classes	25
Change in health of family	45		25	Change of college	24
member		First term in college	35	Dropping more than	23
Pregnancy	45	Change in living conditions	31	one class	
Sex problems	44	Change in sleeping habits	29	Minor traffic violations	20

SCORING

Next to each event is a score that indicates how much a person has to adjust as a result of the change. Both positive events (outstanding personal achievement) and negative events (major personal injury or illness) can be stressful because they require one to make adjustments. Add together the life change unit scores to determine how likely you are to experience illness or mental health problems as a result of the stress of these events.

300 life change units or more: A person has a high risk for a serious health change.
150-299 life change units: About 1 of every 2 people is likely to have a serious health change.
149 life change units or less: About 1 of every 3 people is likely to have a serious health change.

SOURCE: Adapted from Holmes & Rahe (1967).

the amount of glucose in the bloodstream. All of these actions help the body prepare to respond to the stressor. For example, the response might consist of fighting an attacker.

Because hormones have long-lasting effects, stress affects organs after the stressor has been removed. Studies of stress show that, in human and nonhuman animals, excessive stress disrupts working memory, an effect that is especially noticeable when the demands on working memory are high (Oei, Everaerd, Elzinga, Van Well, & Bermond, 2006). Chronic stress has also been associated with long-term memory impairments: Excessive cortisol damages neurons in brain areas such as the hippocampus, which is important for storing long-term memories (Sapolsky, 1994). Stress also interferes with the ability to retrieve information from long-term memory (Diamond, Fleshner, Ingersoll, & Rose, 1996).



FIGURE 11.18 Hypothalamic-Pituitary-Adrenal (HPA) Axis A stressful event will set off a complex chain of responses in the body.

Early childhood stress is a risk factor for developing psychological disorders later in life (Heim, Newport, Mletzko, Miller, & Nemeroff, 2008). Emerging research suggests the possibility that stress experienced by mothers may be passed along to their offspring through epigenetics (genetic changes discussed in Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior"). In one study, rats were exposed to unpredictable stress that led to physiological changes in their brains. These rats were mated 14 days later and subsequently had offspring. When those offspring became adults they showed abnormalities in fear learning and heightened physiological responses to stress (Zaidan, Leshem, & Gaisler-Salomon, 2013). Through epigenetics, the effect of stress on mothers also leads to altered social behaviors in their offspring (Franklin, Linder, Russig, Thöny, & Mansuy, 2011). Thus, highly stressful experience can affect behavior across generations (Bohacek, Gapp, Saab, & Mansuy, 2013).

There Are Sex Differences in How People Respond to Stressors

From an evolutionary perspective, the ability to deal effectively with stressors is important to survival and reproduction. The physiological and behavioral responses that accompany stress help mobilize resources to deal

with danger. The physiologist Walter Cannon (1932) coined the term **fight-or-flight response** to describe the physiological preparation of animals to deal with an attack (**FIGURE 11.19**).

Within seconds, the sympathetic nervous system's response to a stressor enables the organism to direct all energy to dealing with the threat at hand. Our ancestors needed that energy for either outrunning a charging predator or standing their ground and fighting it. (Either response causes further stress.) The physical reaction includes increased heart rate, redistribution of the blood supply from skin and viscera (digestive organs) to muscles and brain, deepening of respiration, dilation of the pupils, inhibition of gastric secretions, and an increase in glucose released from the liver. Less critical autonomic activities such as food digestion, which can occur after the stressor is removed, are postponed. (The autonomic nervous system is described in more detail in Chapter 3.). At the same time, activation of the HPA axis helps prepare a prolonged response.

The generalizability of the fight-or-flight response has been questioned by Shelley Taylor and colleagues (Taylor, 2006; Taylor et al., 2002). They argue that because the vast majority of human and nonhuman animal research has been conducted using males (females represent fewer than 1 in 5 of the participants), the results have distorted the scientific understanding of responses to stress.

The exclusion of females from these early studies has many possible explanations. For example, researchers often use rats in heart disease studies that cannot be conducted with humans because the research might increase participants' risk of heart disease, and most rat studies use male rats to avoid complications that may be caused by female hormonal cycles. Similarly, most researchers have avoided using



FIGURE 11.19 Fight-or-Flight Response

This response is an organism's tendency to prepare for dealing with a stressor. Here, the man on the left appears to be the aggressor. If he strikes, the man on the right will need to respond, such as by fighting or fleeing. women in their studies of responses to stress because female menstrual patterns might make women more difficult to study. That is, women's responses could be mediated by (influenced by) fluctuations in circulating hormones that vary over the menstrual cycle. The result is a sex inequality in laboratory stress studies. This research bias can blind us to the fact that women and men often respond differently to stressors.

Taylor and colleagues argue that, in very general terms, females respond to stress by protecting and caring for their offspring, as well as by forming alliances with social groups to reduce risks to individuals, including themselves. They coined the phrase **tend-and-befriend response** to describe this pattern (**FIGURE 11.20**).

Tend-and-befriend responses make sense from an evolutionary perspective. Females typically bear a greater responsibility for the care of offspring, and responses that protect their offspring as well as themselves would be maximally adaptive. When a threat appears, quieting the offspring and hiding may be more effective means of avoiding harm than trying to flee while pregnant or with a clinging infant. Furthermore, females who selectively affiliate with others, especially other females, might acquire additional protection and support.

The tend-and-befriend stress response is an excellent example of how thinking about psychological mechanisms in view of their evolutionary significance may lead us to question long-standing assumptions about how the mind works. Females who respond to stress by nurturing and protecting their young and by forming alliances with other females apparently have a selective advantage over those who fight or flee, and thus these behaviors would pass to future generations.

Oxytocin, a hormone important for mothers in bonding to newborns, is produced in the hypothalamus and released into the bloodstream through the pituitary gland. Recent research has shown that oxytocin levels tend to be high for women—but not men—who are socially distressed. Although oxytocin exists naturally in men and women, it seems especially important in women's stress response. Thus, it provides a possible biological basis for the tend-and-befriend response to stress exhibited (mainly) by women (Taylor, 2006). A great deal of research is currently being conducted on the role of oxytocin during stress responses. According to one recent hypothesis, it is possible that the release of oxytocin during social stress encourages women to affiliate with, or befriend, others (Taylor, Saphire-Bernstein, & Seeman, 2010).

The General Adaptation Syndrome Is a Bodily Response to Stress

In the early 1930s, the endocrinologist Hans Selye began studying the physiological effects of sex hormones by injecting rats with hormones from other animals. The result was damage to a number of bodily systems. Surmising that the foreign hormones must have caused this damage, Selye conducted further tests. He tried different types of chemicals, and he even physically restrained the animals to create stressful situations. Selye found that each manipulation produced roughly the same pattern of physiological changes: enlarged adrenal glands, decreased levels of *lymphocytes* (specialized white blood cells) in the blood, and stomach ulcers. The decreased lymphocytes result from damage to part of the immune system (to be discussed more fully in the next section). Together, the enlarged adrenal glands



FIGURE 11.20 Tend-and-Befriend Response

This response is females' tendency to care for offspring and gather in social groups. Here women guide a group of schoolchildren.

fight-or-flight response

The physiological preparedness of animals to deal with danger by either fighting or fleeing.

tend-and-befriend response Females' tendency to protect and care for their offspring and form social alliances rather than fight or flee in response to threat.

oxytocin

A hormone that is important for mothers in bonding to newborns and may encourage affiliation during social stress. **general adaptation syndrome** A consistent pattern of responses to stress that consists of three stages: alarm, resistance, and exhaustion.



FIGURE 11.21

The General Adaptation Syndrome

Selye described three stages of physiological response to stress. As shown here, the body may progress from alarm to resistance to exhaustion.

and damage to the immune system reduce the organism's potential ability to resist additional stressors. Selye concluded that these responses are the hallmarks of a *nonspecific stress response*. He called this pattern the **general adaptation syndrome** (Selye, 1932).

The general adaptation syndrome consists of three stages: alarm, resistance, and exhaustion (**FIGURE 11.21**). The *alarm stage* is an emergency reaction that prepares the body to fight or flee (it is identical to Cannon's fight-or-flight response). Physiological responses, such as the release of cortisol and epinephrine, are aimed at boosting physical abilities while reducing activities that make the organism vulnerable to infection after injury. There is a brief reduction in stress resistance during this stage, when the body is most likely to be exposed to infection and disease. The immune system kicks in, and the body begins fighting back. During the *resistance stage*, the body prepares for longer, sustained defense from the stressor. Immunity to infection and disease increases somewhat as the body maximizes its defenses. When the body reaches the *exhaustion stage*, various physiological and immune systems fail. Body organs that were already weak before the stress are the first to fail.

These various perspectives show that short-term stress produces adaptive responses to the demands of daily living. Prolonged or overwhelming stress, however, impairs health, which we consider in the next section.

Summing Up

What Is Stress?

- Stress is a response that usually involves an unpleasant state.
- Stressors are things in the environment that are perceived as threatening or demanding and therefore produce stress. They include major life changes as well as daily hassles.
- Stressors quickly activate the sympathetic nervous system, which leads the adrenal glands to release epinephrine and norepinephrine, preparing the body for action.

- The hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis is a complex series of biological events that also occur when a stressor is encountered. The hypothalamus sends a signal to the pituitary gland, which causes the adrenal gland to release cortisol into the bloodstream. This slower system prepares for prolonged stress.
- Early childhood stress is a risk factor for developing psychological disorders later in life.
- Stress experienced by mothers may be passed along to their offspring through epigenetics.
- Research suggests that when confronted by a stressor, males characteristically exhibit the fight-or-flight response. Females characteristically exhibit the tend-and-befriend response.
- Hans Selye's general adaptation syndrome consists of three stages of physiological coping: alarm, resistance, and exhaustion.

Measuring Up

- 1. Match each stage in the general adaptation syndrome-alarm, resistance, and exhaustion-with one of the following examples.
 - **a.** After years of responding to tight deadlines at work, the executive developed several medical problems that required hospitalization.
 - **b.** When Myrtle returned home and found a stranger in her living room, her heart began pounding rapidly.
 - **c.** As the hurricane lashed the shore, nearby residents struggled to keep themselves safe.
- 2. In which order do the steps of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis occur?
 - **a.** Brain identifies a stressor, adrenal gland releases cortisol, hypothalamus activates pituitary gland.
 - **b.** Brain identifies a stressor, hypothalamus activates pituitary gland, adrenal gland releases cortisol.
 - **c.** Hypothalamus activates sympathetic nervous system and pituitary gland, brain identifies the stressor, adrenal gland releases cortisol.
 - **d.** Adrenal gland releases cortisol, hypothalamus activates pituitary gland, brain identifies a stressor.

ANSWERS: (1) a. exhaustion; b. alarm; c. resistance. (2) b.

11.3How Does StressAffect Health?

Although stress hormones are essential to normal health, over the long term they negatively affect health. People who have very stressful jobs—such as air traffic controllers, combat soldiers, and firefighters—tend to have many health problems that presumably are due partly to the effects of chronic stress. There is overwhelming evidence that chronic stress, especially psychosocial stress, is associated with the initiation and progression of a wide variety of diseases, from cancer to AIDS to cardiac disease (Cohen, Janicki-Deverts, & Miller, 2007; McEwen & Gianaros, 2011; Thoits, 2010). In addition, many people cope with stress by engaging in damaging behaviors. For instance, the number one reason that problem drinkers give for abusing alcohol is to cope with distress in their lives. When people are stressed, they drink, smoke cigarettes, eat junk food, use drugs, and so on (Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1994). As discussed earlier in this chapter, most of the major health problems in industrialized societies are partly attributable to unhealthful behaviors, many of which occur when people feel stressed. Here we examine the specific effects of stress on health.

Learning Objectives

- Understand how stress affects the immune system.
- Understand how stress affects the cardiovascular system.
- Discuss the association between personality traits and health.
- Distinguish between emotionfocused coping and problemfocused coping.

immune system

The body's mechanism for dealing with invading microorganisms, such as allergens, bacteria, and viruses.

lymphocytes

Specialized white blood cells that make up the immune system; the three types are B cells, T cells, and natural killer cells.

Stress Disrupts the Immune System

One of Selye's central points was that stress alters the functions of the immune system. The **immune system** is the body's mechanism for dealing with invading microorganisms, such as allergens, bacteria, and viruses. Normally, when these foreign substances enter the body, the immune system launches into action to destroy the invaders. Stress interferes with this natural process. At the time that Selye developed his theory, it was not known that a type of bacteria is the major cause of ulcers (Marshall & Warren, 1984). Although he thought another mechanism was at work, a less active immune system can account for the increased number of stomach ulcers. For example, bacteria can cause stomach ulcers when the immune system is less active due to stress (Levenstein, Ackerman, Kiecolt-Glaser, & Dubois, 1999). The field of psychoneuroimmunology studies the response of the body's immune system to psychological variables. More than 300 studies have demonstrated that short-term stress boosts the immune system, whereas chronic stress weakens it, leaving the body less able to deal with infection (Segerstrom & Miller, 2004).

The immune system is made up of three types of specialized white blood cells known as **lymphocytes**: *B cells*, *T cells*, and *natural killer cells*. B cells produce *antibod*-*ies*, protein molecules that attach themselves to foreign agents and mark them for destruction. Some types of B cells are able to remember specific invaders, making for easier identification in the future. For this reason, you have lifelong immunity to some diseases once you have been exposed to them naturally or through inoculation. The T cells are involved in attacking the intruders directly and also with increasing the strength of the immune response. Note that these so-called helper cells are

Scientific Thinking

Cohen's Study of Stress and the Immune System

HYPOTHESIS: Stress reduces the ability of the immune system to resist viruses.

RESEARCH METHOD: Researchers swabbed the noses of healthy volunteers with cold viruses.

RESULTS: Participants who reported higher levels of stress before being exposed to the cold viruses developed worse cold symptoms.



CONCLUSION: The functioning of the immune system can be impaired when a stress response is activated.

SOURCE: Cohen, S., Tyrrell, D. A. J., & Smith, A. P. (1991). Psychological stress and susceptibility to the common cold. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 325, 606–612.

incapacitated by infection with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which eventually leads to the immune disorder AIDS. Natural killer cells are especially potent in killing viruses and also help attack tumors. Brief stressors, including final exams, decrease the ability of white blood cells (Kiecolt-Glaser & Glaser, 1991) and natural killer cells (Kang, Coe, McCarthy, & Ershler, 1997) to fight off infection. The body heals more slowly when people are stressed than when not stressed (Kiecolt-Glaser, Page, Marucha, MacCullum, & Glaser, 1998). The detrimental effects of long-term stress on physical health are due partly to decreased lymphocyte production. This decrease renders the body less capable of warding off foreign substances.

Adding insult to injury, the immune systems of those who tend to be particularly anxious (Maes et al., 2002) or who are already juggling a bunch of other daily hassles (Marshall, Agarwal, Lloyd, Cohen, Henninger, & Morris, 1998) tend to be especially vulnerable. Recall Liam from the chapter opener, who was stressed out and caught a cold. Some of the behaviors that stressed-out college students may engage in—such as smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, and skipping sleep—further damage the immune system, making them vulnerable to illness or infection (Glaser & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2005).

In a particularly clear demonstration that stress affects the immune system, Sheldon Cohen and colleagues (1991) paid healthy volunteers to have cold viruses swabbed into their noses. Those who reported the highest levels of stress before being exposed to the cold viruses developed worse cold symptoms and higher viral counts than those who reported being less stressed (see "Scientific Thinking: Cohen's Study of Stress and the Immune System"). (Surprisingly, behaviors such as smoking, maintaining a poor diet, and not exercising had very small effects on the incidence of colds.) Apparently, when the underlying physiological basis of the stress response is activated too often or too intensely, the functioning of the immune system is impaired, and the probability and severity of ill health increase (Herbert & Cohen, 1993; McEwen, 2008).

In a study that looked specifically at the effects of desirable and undesirable events on the immune system, participants kept daily diaries for up to 12 weeks (Stone et al.,

1994). In the diaries, they recorded their moods and the events in their lives. They rated the events as desirable or undesirable. Each day, the participants took an antigen, a substance (in this case a protein from a rabbit) that their immune systems recognized as a threat and therefore formed antibodies against. Then the participants provided saliva samples so the researchers could examine their antibody responses. The more desirable events a participant reported, the greater the antibody production. Similarly, the more undesirable events reported, the weaker the antibody production. The effect of a desirable event on antibodies lasted for two days. These and subsequent findings provide substantial evidence that perceived stress influences the immune system. Although short-term stressors appear to boost immune responses, chronic stress, especially when associated with changes in social roles or identity (such as becoming a refugee, losing a job, or getting divorced), has the greatest impact on the immune system (Segerstrom & Miller, 2004).

Stress Increases the Risk of Heart Disease

Coronary heart disease is the leading cause of death for adults in the industrialized world. According to a World Health Organization report in 2011, each year more than 7 million people die from heart attacks (**FIGURE 11.22**). Even though the rate of heart disease is lower in women than in men, heart disease is the number one killer of women. Genetics is among the many factors that determine heart disease, but two extremely



FIGURE 11.22 Heart Disease

To increase people's awareness of this growing problem, countries, cities, and local agencies use public service campaigns such as this one.

Type A behavior pattern

A pattern of behavior characterized by competitiveness, achievement orientation, aggressiveness, hostility, restlessness, impatience with others, and inability to relax.

Type B behavior pattern A pattern of behavior characterized by noncompetitive, relaxed, easygoing, and accommodating behavior.







FIGURE 11.23 Personality Traits Predict Heart Disease

(a) People with Type A behavior pattern are ambitious, aggressive, and impatient. They tend to respond more to stressors and are more likely to develop heart disease. (b) People with Type B behavior pattern are noncompetitive, easygoing, and relaxed. They are less adversely affected by stressors and so are less likely to develop heart disease. (c) People with hostile personalities are hot-tempered, angry, and combative. They have strong physical responses to stressors and are more likely to experience heart disease. important determinants are health behaviors (such as bad eating habits, smoking, and lack of exercise) and a small number of personality traits related to the way people respond to stress.

TYPE A/B AND HEART DISEASE One of the earliest tests of the hypothesis that personality affects coronary heart disease was conducted by the Western Collaborative Group, in San Francisco (Rosenman et al., 1964). In 1960, this group of physicians began an 8 ½-year study. The participants were 3,500 men from northern California who were free of heart disease at the start of the study. The men were screened annually for established risk factors such as high blood pressure, accelerated heart rate, and high cholesterol. Their overall health practices were assessed. Personal details—such as education level, medical and family history, income, and personality traits—were also assessed.

The results indicated that a set of personality traits predicted heart disease. This set of traits is now known as the **Type A behavior pattern.** Type A describes people who are competitive, achievement oriented, aggressive, hostile, impatient, and time-pressed (feeling hurried, restless, unable to relax; **FIGURE 11.23**). Men who exhibited these traits were much more likely to develop coronary heart disease than were those who exhibited the **Type B behavior pattern.** Type B describes noncompetitive, relaxed, easygoing, accommodating people. In fact, this study found that a Type A personality was as strong a predictor of heart disease as was high blood pressure, high cholesterol, or smoking (Rosenman et al., 1975). Although the initial work was done only with men, subsequent research shows that these conclusions apply to women as well (Knox, Weidner, Adelman, Stoney, & Ellison, 2004; Krantz & McCeney, 2002).

HOSTILITY AND HEART DISEASE More recently, research has shown that only certain components of the Type A behavior pattern are related to heart disease. The most toxic factor on the list is hostility. Hot-tempered people who are frequently angry, cynical, and combative are much more likely to die at an early age from heart disease (Eaker, Sullivan, Kelly-Hayes, D'Agostino, & Benjamin, 2004). Indeed, having a high level of hostility while in college predicts greater risk for heart disease later in life (Siegler et al., 2003). There is also considerable evidence that negative emotional states not on the list, especially depression, predict heart disease (Miller, Freedland, Carney, Stetler, & Banks, 2003). Of course, having a heart condition might *make* people hostile and depressed. Still, having a hostile personality and being depressed also predicted the worsening of heart disease, so causes and effects might be connected in a vicious cycle.

The evidence across multiple studies with different indices of disease and markers for the early development of disease is clear: Hostile, angry people are at greater risk for serious diseases and earlier death than are those with more optimistic and happier personalities. This conclusion appears to be universal. For example, a cross-cultural comparative study conducted with Japanese and non-Japanese college students replicated the association of anger and impatience with a wide range of health symptoms for students from all ethnic and cultural groups (Nakano & Kitamura, 2001).

In contrast, optimistic people tend to be at lower risk for heart disease (Maruta, Colligan, Malinchoc, & Offord, 2002). Learning to manage both stress and anger improves outcomes for those who have heart disease (Sirois & Burg, 2003). Later in this chapter, you will find many suggestions for managing stress.

PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF STRESS ON THE HEART. Being stressed or feeling negative emotions can cause heart problems in three ways. First, people often cope with these states through behaviors that are bad for health. Second, some personality traits, such as hostility and depression, have negative effects on people's social networks and on any support they may provide against stress (Jackson, Kubzansky, Cohen, Jacob, & Wright, 2007). Third, negative personality traits and stress can produce direct physiological effects on the heart.

The heart pumps nearly 2,000 gallons of blood each day, on average beating more than 100,000 times. A vast network of blood vessels carries oxygen and nutrients throughout the body. As people age, the arteries that supply the heart and those leading from the heart become narrow due to the buildup of fatty deposits, known as plaque, and become stiff. This narrowing raises the pressure against which the heart has to pump, making the heart work harder and eventually leading to coronary heart disease (**FIGURE 11.24**).

Like aging, stress decreases blood flow by making blood vessels less able to dilate. Even doing a simple stress test, in which the partici-



pants only had to quickly push buttons in response to particular light colors, reduced blood vessels' ability to expand by 50 percent and this lasts for 45 minutes (Spieker et al, 2002). Blocking cortisol production prevents this dysfunction, suggesting a mechanism by which stress contributes to coronary heart disease and sudden cardiac death (Broadley et al., 2005).

Over time, stress causes wear and tear on the heart, making it more likely to fail. Chronic stress leads to overstimulation of the sympathetic nervous system, causing higher blood pressure, constriction of blood vessels, elevated levels of cortisol, increased release of fatty acids into the bloodstream, and greater buildup of plaque on arteries; each of these conditions contributes to heart disease. For these reasons, people who tend to be stressed out are more likely to have heart disease than are people who tend to be laid-back.



FIGURE 11.24 Heart Disease

Over time, plaque naturally builds up in the blood vessels around the heart, decreasing the heart's ability to function.

primary appraisals

Part of the coping process that involves making decisions about whether a stimulus is stressful, benign, or irrelevant.

secondary appraisals

Part of the coping process during which people evaluate their response options and choose coping behaviors.

emotion-focused coping

A type of coping in which people try to prevent having an emotional response to a stressor.

problem-focused coping

A type of coping in which people take direct steps to confront or minimize a stressor.





(b)



FIGURE 11.25 Emotion-Focused Coping and Problem-Focused Coping

(a) In emotion-focused coping, we avoid the stressor, minimize it, distance ourselves, or try to escape by eating or drinking. (b) In problemfocused coping, we try to address the stressor by solving problems. Think about a time when you were very angry with someone. How did it feel to be so angry? Your body responded by increasing your heart rate, shutting down digestion, moving more blood to your muscles. In short, your body acted as though you were preparing to fight or run away. You may have seen someone turn red with anger or start to shake. People with hostile personalities frequently experience such physiological responses, and these responses take a toll on the heart. Chronic hostility can lead to the same physical symptoms as chronic stress. Over time, then, being hostile or angry causes wear and tear on the heart, making the heart more likely to fail.

Coping Reduces the Negative Health Effects of Stress

We all experience stressful events. To deal effectively with the stressors in our lives, we use cognitive appraisals that link feelings with thoughts. Cognitive appraisals enable us to think about and manage our feelings more objectively. Richard Lazarus (1993) conceptualized a two-part appraisal process: People use **primary appraisals** to decide whether stimuli are stressful, benign, or irrelevant. If the stimuli are determined to be stressful, people use **secondary appraisals** to evaluate response options and choose coping behaviors. Such cognitive appraisals also affect perceptions of potential stressors and reactions to stressors in the future. In other words, making cognitive appraisals can help people prepare for stressful events or downplay them. Coping that occurs before the onset of a future stressor is called *anticipatory coping*. For example, when parents are planning to divorce, they sometimes rehearse how they will tell their children.

TYPES OF COPING Susan Folkman and Richard Lazarus (1988) have grouped coping strategies into two general categories: emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping. In **emotion-focused coping**, a person tries to prevent an emotional response to the stressor (**FIGURE 11.25A**). That is, the person adopts strategies, often passive, to numb the pain. Such strategies include avoidance, minimizing the problem, trying to distance oneself from the outcomes of the problem, or engaging in behaviors such as eating or drinking. For example, if you are having difficulty at school, you might avoid the problem by skipping class, minimize the problem by telling yourself school is not all that important, distance yourself from the outcome by saying you can always get a job if college does not work out, or overeat and drink alcohol to dull the pain of the problem. These strategies do not solve the problem or prevent it from recurring in the future.

By contrast, **problem-focused coping** involves taking direct steps to solve the problem: generating alternative solutions, weighing their costs and benefits, and choosing between them (**FIGURE 11.25B**). In this case, if you are having academic trouble, you might think about ways to alleviate the problem, such as arranging for a tutor or asking for an extension for a paper. Given these alternatives, you could consider how likely a tutor is to be helpful, discuss the problem with your professors, and so on. People adopt problem-focused behaviors when they perceive stressors as controllable and are experiencing only moderate levels of stress. Conversely, emotion-focused behaviors may enable people to continue functioning in the face of uncontrollable stressors or high levels of stress.

The best way to cope with stress depends on personal resources and on the situation. Most people report using both emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping. Usually, emotion-based strategies are effective only in the short run. For example, if your partner is in a bad mood and is giving you a hard time, just ignoring him or her until the mood passes can be the best option. In contrast, ignoring your partner's drinking problem will not make it go away, and eventually you will need a better coping strategy. Problem-focused coping strategies work, however, only if the person with the problem can do something about the situation.

In one study that tested the best way to cope with an extremely threatening situation (Strentz & Auerbach, 1988), 57 airline workers were held hostage for four days by five "terrorists." Even though the participants volunteered to be hostages and knew their captors were actually FBI agents, the situation was very realistic and extremely stressful. Half the participants had been trained to use emotion-based coping, and half had been trained to use problem-based coping. Can you predict which type of coping worked better?

The emotion-based participants experienced less stress because they assumed any resistance they offered would just put them in greater danger. In other words, their best coping strategy was to remain calm. Problem-focused coping would have been ineffective in this scripted situation.

In contrast, on September 11, 2001, the passengers on the hijacked United Airlines Flight 93 knew that three other planes had been crashed by terrorists that morning. Assuming their hijackers also planned to crash Flight 93, these passengers knew they had an equal or better chance of surviving if they resisted. Some of them decided they had nothing to lose, chose a problem-based coping strategy, and fought back against the hijackers (**FIGURE 11.26**).

POSITIVE REAPPRAISAL Susan Folkman and Judith Moskowitz (2000) have demonstrated that, in addition to problem-focused coping, three strategies can help people use positive thoughts to deal with stress. *Positive reappraisal* is a cognitive process in which a person focuses on possible good things in his or her current situation. That is, the person looks for the proverbial silver lining. Another strategy is to make *downward comparisons*, comparing oneself to those who are worse off. This kind of comparison has been shown to help people cope with serious illnesses. Finally, *creation of positive events* is a strategy of giving positive meaning to ordinary events.

If you were diagnosed with diabetes, you could use all three strategies. You could focus on how having diabetes will force you to eat a healthy diet and exercise regularly (positive reappraisal). You could recognize that diabetes is not as serious as heart disease (downward comparison). You could take joy in everyday activities (creation of positive events). For example, riding a bike, watching the sunset, or savoring a recent compliment might help you focus on the positive aspects of your life and deal with your negative stress.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN COPING People differ widely in their perceptions of how stressful life events are. Some people seem *stress resistant* because they are so capable of adapting to life changes by viewing events constructively. Suzanne Kobasa (1979) has named this personality trait *hardiness*. According to Kobasa, hardiness has three components: *commitment, challenge,* and *control*.

People high in hardiness are committed to their daily activities, view threats as challenges or as opportunities for growth, and see themselves as being in control of their lives. People low in hardiness typically are alienated, fear or resist change, and view events as being under external control. Numerous studies have found that people high in hardiness report fewer negative responses to stressful events (Maddi, 2013). In a laboratory experiment in which participants were given difficult cognitive tasks, people high in hardiness exhibited physiological changes that indicated active coping (Allred & Smith, 1989). Moreover, a questionnaire completed immediately after the tasks revealed that, in response to the stressor, participants high in hardiness increased the number of positive thoughts they had about themselves.



FIGURE 11.26 Flight 93

This film still is from *United* 93 (2006), a dramatic re-creation of events on the fourth hijacked plane on 9/11. Here passengers discuss their options after learning about the crashes of the three other planes.



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Generally, some people are more *resilient* than others, better able to cope in the face of adversity (Block & Kremen, 1996). When faced with hardships or difficult circumstances, resilient individuals bend without breaking, allowing them to bounce back quickly when bad things happen. Those who are highest in resilience are able to use their emotional resources flexibly to meet the demands of stressful situations (Bonanno, 2004).

In a study involving brain imaging, participants received one cue if they were about to see a threatening picture and a different cue if they were about to see a neutral picture (Waugh, Wager, Fredrickson, Noll, & Taylor, 2008). Sometimes, however, the threat cue was followed by a neutral picture rather than a threatening picture. In resilient individuals, activity increased in brain regions associated with anxiety only when threatening pictures appeared, regardless of the cue. In individuals low in resilience, heightened brain activity occurred following the cue whether the picture was threatening or not.

Michele Tugade and Barbara Fredrickson (2004) have found that people who are resilient experience positive emotions even when under stress. According to the *broaden-and-build theory*, positive emotions prompt people to consider novel solutions to their problems. Thus, resilient people tend to draw on their positive emotions in dealing with setbacks or negative life experiences (Fredrickson, 2001).

Can resilience be taught? Some researchers believe that people can become more resilient by following concrete steps (Algoe & Fredrickson, 2011). The steps in this process include coming to understand when particular emotions are adaptive, learning specific techniques for regulating both positive and negative emotions, and working to build healthy social and emotional relationships with others.

Summing Up

How Does Stress Affect Health?

- Stress has a negative effect on the immune system.
- Specifically, stress decreases the production of lymphocytes: B cells, T cells, and natural killer cells. Fewer lymphocytes means the body is less able to fight off infection and illness.
- Individuals who are hostile, depressed, or exhibit a Type A behavior pattern (competitive, achievement oriented, aggressive, and impatient) are more susceptible to heart disease than people who exhibit a Type B behavior pattern (easygoing and accommodating). Presumably, the personality traits increase the frequency of negative physiological responses that adversely affect the heart.
- Cognitive appraisals of potential stressors and the coping strategies used can alleviate the experience of stress or minimize its harmful effects.
- Emotion-focused coping strategies are attempts to prevent an emotional response by avoiding the stressor, minimizing the problem, or engaging in behaviors to try to forget, such as overeating or drinking.
- Problem-focused coping strategies involve direct steps to confront or minimize a stressor, such as establishing alternatives and engaging in behaviors to solve the problem.
- People high in hardiness handle stress well because they are committed to and actively
 engage in what they do, see obstacles as challenges to overcome, and believe that they can
 control events in their lives.

Measuring Up

- 1. How does long-term stress affect health?
 - a. The extended physiological response damages organs such as the heart.
 - **b.** Long-term stress sharpens a person's awareness of potentially harmful events and increases the person's attention span.
 - **c.** Repeated stress tunes the immune system so that the body is better able to fight disease.
 - d. Long-term stress provides an evolutionary advantage in modern societies.
- On September 11, 2001, passengers on United Flight 93 developed a plan to resist the terrorists who had taken over the plane. This plan is an example of a ______ coping strategy.

A. The extended physiological response damages organs such as the heart.
 (2) problem-based.

11.4Can a Positive Attitude KeepPeople Healthy?

Psychologists from the humanist school of thought focused on what is positive in the human experience. Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, and Erik Erikson were among the early pioneers in the field of positive psychology, although it was not known by that title then. These early humanist psychologists enjoyed the greatest success in the decades from 1950 to 1970. Other schools of thought, especially cognitive perspectives, then took the leading roles in psychology. Since the 1990s, positive psychology has enjoyed a tremendous comeback as psychologists have begun to use the methods of science to study humanity's positive aspects.

Positive Psychology Emphasizes Well-Being

The positive psychology movement was launched by the clinical psychologist Martin Seligman. He introduced the theme during his 1998 Presidential Address to the American Psychological Association. Seligman and others have encouraged scientific study of qualities such as faith, values, creativity, courage, and hope (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The earliest emphasis in positive psychology was on understanding what makes people authentically happy. According to positive psychologists, happiness has three components: (1) positive emotion and pleasure, (2) engagement in life, and (3) a meaningful life (Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005). For example, outgoing college students high in authentic happiness might experience pleasure when interacting with other students (component 1), might be actively engaged in class discussions and course readings (component 2), and might find meaning in how the material influences their lives (component 3).

More recently, Seligman has promoted a shift away from focusing on happiness to a greater emphasis on overall well-being. In his book *Flourish* (2011), Seligman argues that a truly successful life involves not only happiness (i.e., pleasure, engagement, and meaning) but also good relationships and a history of accomplishment.

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the goals of positive psychology.
- Describe the health benefits of positive affect, social support, marriage, trust, and spirituality.

FIGURE 11.27

Well-Being in the United States

These 2009 data are from Gallup's Well-Being Index. Each day, 500 people in the United States were surveyed about their lives, emotional health, work environment, physical health, healthy behaviors, and access to food and shelter. The data reveal a general pattern of people's satisfaction with their lives.



The new positive psychology emphasizes the strengths and virtues that help people thrive. Its primary aim is an understanding of psychological well-being. For instance, Ed Diener (2000) has found that well-being varies across cultures. According to Diener, the wealthiest countries often have the highest levels of satisfaction. This finding fits well with Maslow's proposal that people need to satisfy basic needs such as food, shelter, and safety before they can address self-esteem needs (**FIGURE 11.27**).

Being Positive Has Health Benefits

Earlier in this chapter, you read about the health consequences of negative emotions, especially hostility and stress. You may have wondered about the flip side of this relationship: Are positive emotions and well-being associated with good health (**FIGURE 11.28**)?

To address this question, researchers asked more than 1,000 patients in a large medical practice to fill out questionnaires about their emotional traits (Richman et al., 2005). The questionnaires included scales that measured positive emotions (hope and curiosity) and negative emotions (anxiety and anger). Two years after receiving the questionnaires, the researchers used the patients' medical files to determine whether there was a relationship between these emotions and three broad types of diseases: high blood pressure, diabetes, and respiratory tract infections. Higher levels of hope were associated with reduced risk of these medical diseases, and higher levels of curiosity were associated with reduced risk of hypertension and diabetes. Therefore, the answer is: Yes, in general, positive emotions can predict better health.

Indeed, research reveals that having a positive affect, or being generally positive, has multiple beneficial effects on the immune system (Marsland, Pressman, & Cohen, 2007). People with a positive affect show enhanced immune system functioning and greater longevity than their less-positive peers (Dockray & Steptoe, 2010; Xu & Roberts, 2010). For example, they have fewer illnesses after exposure to cold and flu viruses (Cohen, Alper, Doyle, Treanor, & Turner, 2006). Thus, across multiple studies and types of measures, positive emotions are related to considerable health benefits.



FIGURE 11.28 Positivity

Laughing clubs, such as this one in India, believe in laughter as therapy and a way to keep in shape.

Social Support Is Associated with Good Health

Social interaction is beneficial for physical and mental health. People high in wellbeing tend to have strong social networks and are more socially integrated than those lower in well-being (Smith, Langa, Kabeto, & Ubel, 2005). People with larger social networks—more people they interact with regularly—are less likely to catch colds (Cohen, Doyle, Skoner, Rabin, & Gwaltney, 1997). Apparently, people who have more friends also live longer than those who have fewer friends.

A study that used a random sample of almost 7,000 adults found that people with smaller social networks were more likely to die during the nine-year period between assessments than were people with more friends (Berkman & Syme, 1979). Men with fewer friends were 2.3 times more likely to die than comparable men with more friends. Women with fewer friends were 2.8 times more likely to die than comparable women with more friends. Social support was independent of other factors, such as stated health at the time of the first contact, obesity, smoking, socioeconomic status, and physical activity. In addition, ill people who are socially isolated are likely to die sooner than ill people who are well connected to others (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988). This effect may be related to the association between chronic loneliness and numerous psychological and health problems (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008). Indeed, accumulating evidence indicates that loneliness predicts both physical illness and mortality (Hawkley & Cacioppo, 2010).

Social support helps people cope and maintain good health in two basic ways. First, people with social support experience less stress overall. Consider single parents who have to juggle job and family demands. The lack of a partner places more demands on them, thus increasing their likelihood of feeling stressed. Therefore, social support can take tangible forms, such as providing material help or assisting with daily chores. To be most effective, however, social support needs to imply that people care about the recipient of the support. Knowing that other people care can lessen the negative effects of stress. The **buffering hypothesis** proposes that when others provide emotional support, the recipient is better able to cope with stressful events (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Examples of emotional support include expressions of caring and will-ingness to listen to another person's problems.

MARRIAGE CAN BE GOOD FOR YOUR HEALTH The research on social support shows clearly that positive relationships are good for health. Marriage is generally people's most intimate and long-lasting supportive relationship, and it has many health advantages. The health benefits may arise because each member of the couple can help the other deal with stress or assist in meeting life's demands. Married people may also influence their partners' healthful behavior by encouraging them to eat properly, to get exercise, and so on.

In an international study of marriage and well-being, involving more than 59,000 people from 42 countries, researchers found that marriage's effect on well-being was fairly similar in all the countries studied despite their diversity (Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000). Not only were there cross-cultural similarities in response to marriage, but men and women derived approximately equal benefits from marriage. One small difference between countries was the finding that the benefits of being married compared with being divorced were slightly higher in collectivist countries. Collectivist countries emphasize the common good and group values rather than individual achievement. (Countries considered collectivist in the study included China, South Korea, Nigeria, Turkey, and Brazil.

buffering hypothesis The idea that other people can provide direct emotional support in helping individuals cope with stressful events.





Relationship Between Marriage and Health

These data come from the National Health Interview Surveys in the United States from 1999 to 2002.

Individualist countries included the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Canada, and Switzerland.) Being single leads to greater mortality for both women and men. (Data on the relationship between marital status and health are shown in **FIGURE 11.29.**)

Comparable data are not available for gays or lesbians who are married or in longterm, marriage-like relationships. It is reasonable to expect, however, that homosexuals would receive the same beneficial effects as heterosexuals. A recent study compared straight and gay and lesbian couples in long-term, committed relationships (Roisman, Clausell, Holland, Fortuna, & Elieff, 2008). The couples were indistinguishable in terms of self-reports on the quality of the relationship, partner reports on the quality of the relationship, and various physiological indicators of health. The one exception was that the lesbian couples worked more cooperatively on laboratory tasks than the straight or gay couples did.

Marriage is not a panacea for ill health, however. Troubled marriages are associated with increased stress, and unmarried people can be happier than people in bad marriages. In a study that categorized newlyweds based on observed interactions, couples who fought more and showed more hostility toward each other exhibited decreased immune system activity in the 24 hours after conflict (Kiecolt-Glaser, Malarkey, Chee, & Newton, 1993). Janice Kiecolt-Glaser and Ronald Glaser (1988) found that people with troubled marriages and people going through a divorce or bereavement all had compromised immune systems.

TRUSTING OTHERS IS ASSOCIATED WITH BETTER HEALTH An important feature of healthy relationships is that partners trust one another. Given that social relationships are critical for health, it should be clear that trust is essential for psychological and physical health. In fact, various sources of data suggest that trust is associated with better health and a longer life. This relationship was supported in a study of more than 160,000 people from every state in the United States. Each participant responded to the question *Most people can't be trusted. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?* In each state, as the percentage of respondents who believed most people cannot be trusted increased, so did the percentage who reported that their health was fair to poor (Kawachi, Kennedy, & Glass, 1999; **FIGURE 11.30**).



FIGURE 11.30

Relationship Between Trust and Health

More than 160,000 people in the United States were asked if they agreed that most people cannot be trusted.

The hormone oxytocin appears to increase trust. In an experimental study on the relationship between oxytocin and trust, participants played a monetary exchange game (Uvnas-Moberg, 1998). In studies of this kind, participants are given money by the experimenter and then choose how much to give to another person. The experimenter then increases the amount of money received by the second person—say, by four or five times. The person who receives the money then chooses whether, or how much, to give back to the first person. Thus, to make the most money, the first person has to trust that the other person will share some of the larger pool of money.

In this study, oxytocin or a placebo was sprayed into the noses of the participants while they were playing. (Receptors for oxytocin exist throughout the brain but especially along the olfactory passages.) Players who had oxytocin sprayed in their noses gave the other players more money. In other words, they behaved as though they trusted the other players more than did players who had placebos sprayed in their noses. Oxytocin is also released when participants are engaged in trust relationships while playing monetary exchange games (Zak, Kurzban, & Matzner, 2005).

One way that oxytocin might increase both trust and well-being is by increasing social bonds. Recall from earlier in this chapter that oxytocin has been implicated as critical to the tend-and-befriend response. This phenomenon describes people's tendency to respond to stress by attending to their social relationships. As discussed in Chapter 9, oxytocin is involved in attachments between mothers and their children. It is also released when people feel empathy toward others, and it is involved in feelings of love (Panksepp, 1992).

Spirituality Contributes to Well-Being

In many studies, people who are religious report greater feelings of well-being than people who are not religious. According to David Myers (2000), religious people are

Using Psychology in Your Life



Can Psychology Improve My Health? Over the last four decades, psychologists have learned much about the complex relationships among stress, behavior, and health. A hundred years ago, people did not know that smoking is so unhealthy, that junk foods high in fat and sugar contribute to cardiovascular disease, or that being under prolonged stress can damage the body. We now know that, to be healthy, people need to cope with stress, regulate their emotions, and control their daily habits. The following strategies will enhance your health and well-being. Are you willing to adopt them and take control of your life?

 Eat natural foods. Food fads come and go, but the basic rules never change: Eat a varied diet that emphasizes natural foods. Complex carbohydrates-such as whole grains, fruits, and vegetablesshould be the major parts of that diet, but various animal products, such as poultry or other lean meats, can also be part of it. Avoid processed foods and fast foods. Avoid foods containing trans-fatty acids and other artificial types of fat that prolong shelf life.

Watch portion size. Eat a varied diet in moderation, and eat only when you are hungry. Eating small snacks between meals may prevent you from becoming too hungry and overeating at your next meal. Remember that many prepared foods are sold in large portions, which encourages overeating. Over time, the extra calories from large portions may contribute to obesity.



COMPLEX CARBOHYDRATES

- Drink alcohol in moderation, if at all. Some research indicates that one glass of wine per day, or similar quantities of other alcohol-containing drinks, may have cardiovascular benefits (Klatsky, 2009). But excessive alcohol consumption can cause serious health problems, including alcoholism, liver problems, some cancers, heart disease, and immune system deficiencies.
- Keep active. Exercise is an excellent daily strategy for keeping stress in check. Four times a week or more, engage in at least a half hour of moderate physical activity. Ignore the saying no pain, no gain, because pain may actually deter you from exercising over the long run. Start with moderate exercise that will not leave you breathless, and gradually increase the intensity. Look for other ways to be active, such as taking the stairs or walking to work or school.
- Do not smoke. This recommendation may seem obvious, yet every year many college students begin smoking. This habit eventually produces undesirable physical effects for all smokers, such as a hacking cough, unpleasant odor, bad breath, some cancers, and death at a younger age.
- Practice safe sex. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) affect millions of people worldwide-including college students. Many new HIV cases are occurring among those under age 25, who are infected through heterosexual or homosexual activity. Despite the devastating consequences of some STDs, many young adults engage in risky sexual practices, such as not using condoms, and they are especially likely to do so when using alcohol or other drugs. Ways to avoid STDs include condom use and abstinence.

- Learn to relax or meditate. Daily hassles and stress can cause many health problems. For example, conditions such as insomnia can interfere with the ability to function. By contrast, relaxation exercises can help soothe the body and mind. Seek help from trained counselors who can teach you these methods, such as using biofeedback to measure your physiological activity so you can learn to control it. You might also try a relaxing activity, such as yoga or meditation (for instructions on performing mindfulness meditation, see Figure 4.23).
- Learn to cope. Negative events are a part of life. Learn strategies for assessing them realistically and seeing what might be positive about them as well as accepting the difficulties they pose. You can learn strategies for dealing with stressors: seeking advice or assistance, attempting new solutions, distracting yourself with more pleasant thoughts or activities, reinterpreting situations humorously, and so on. Find out which strategies work best for you. The important thing is not to allow stress to consume your life.
- Build a strong support network. Friends and family can help you deal with much of life's stress, from daily frustrations to serious catastrophes. Avoid people who encourage you to act in unhealthy ways or are threatened by your efforts to be healthy. Instead, find people who share your values, who understand what you want from life, and who can listen and provide advice, assistance, or simply encouragement. Trusting others is a necessary part of social support, and it is associated with positive health outcomes.
- Consider your spiritual life. If you have spiritual beliefs, try incorporating them into your daily living.

Benefits can accrue from living a meaningful life and from experiencing the support provided by faith communities.

- Try some happiness exercises. Each of the following exercises may enhance your happiness by helping you focus on positive events and more-positive explanations of troubling events (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005).
- In the next week, write a letter of gratitude and deliver it in person to someone who has been kind to you but whom you have never thanked.
- 2. Once a week, write down three things that went well that day and explain why they went well.
- 3. Tell a friend about a time when you did your very best, and then think about the strengths you displayed. Review this story every night for the next week.
- Imagine yourself 10 years in the future as your best possible self, as having achieved all your most important goals. Describe in writing what your life is like and how you got there.
- Keep a journal in which you write about the positive aspects of your life. Reflect on your health, freedom, friends, and so on.
- Act like a happy person. Sometimes just going through the motions of being happy will create happiness.

Activities such as these are called "shotgun interventions" because they are fast acting, cover a broad range of behaviors, have relatively large effects for such a small investment, and pose little risk. However, the longterm effects of the interventions are unknown.



FIGURE 11.31 Spirituality and Well-Being A sense of spirituality can have

A sense of spirituality can have positive effects on well-being. That sense does not have to be connected with a particular religion. better at coping with crises in their lives. Their religious beliefs serve as a buffer against hard knocks. This effect may occur because people achieve and maintain well-being through the social and physical support provided by faith communities. Many religions also support healthy behaviors, such as avoiding alcohol and tobacco.

From their faith, people also derive meaning and purpose in their lives. The positive effects are not associated with any single religion, however. The benefits come from a sense of spirituality that occurs across religions and the social support that comes from interacting with other people who hold similar beliefs (Nilsson, 2014; **FIGURE 11.31**). As Rabbi Harold Kushner notes, people need to feel they are "something more than just a momentary blip in the universe" (quoted in Myers, 2000, p. 64).

Summing Up

Can a Positive Attitude Keep People Healthy?

- Positive psychology is concerned with the scientific study of the strengths and virtues that contribute to psychological well-being.
- A number of studies have shown that people who are positive are healthier and live longer than their more negative counterparts.
- Social support and being socially integrated in a group are also protective health factors, because concerned others provide material and emotional support.
- Research has shown that marriages that are low in conflict are associated with better health for both partners.
- Trust is another factor that is associated with better health and longer life.
- The hormone oxytocin has been implicated in the experience of trust.
- Spirituality also contributes to better health due to the support that people receive from their faith communities, the health behaviors that are promoted by religions, and the sense of meaning that can be derived from religious beliefs.

Measuring Up

- 1. Higher levels of well-being are correlated with which of the following?
 - a. sense of spirituality
 - **b.** belief that most people can be trusted
 - c. marriage, regardless of whether it is a happy one or an unhappy one
 - **d.** having a positive outlook
- 2. Which statements about social support and health are true? Select all that apply.
 - **a.** What matters is how many people you know, not how many people you interact with regularly.
 - **b.** Social support is linked to better health outcomes because social support is dependent on other factors, such as weight, income, and smoking status.
 - **c.** People with social support networks experience less stress overall because the presence of others provides tangible assistance.
 - **d.** Social support networks can provide emotinal support, which buffers stressful events, leading to better coping.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, b, and d are correct. (2) Choices c and d are correct.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

11.1 What Affects Health?

- Social Context, Biology, and Behavior Combine to Affect Health: The leading causes of death in industrialized societies are influenced by lifestyle choices. Racial and ethnic groups exhibit health disparities, some of which can be attributed to differences in their health behaviors. Excessive eating, smoking, and lack of exercise contribute to most major causes of death in developed nations.
- Obesity and Maladaptive Eating Habits Have Many Health Consequences: Excessive eating is most likely to occur when a variety of high-calorie foods are available and larger portions are served. Although obesity is largely influenced by genetic makeup, excessive intake of fat and sugar may also contribute to obesity. In addition to the adverse health consequences of obesity, individuals who are obese face a substantial social stigma. Restrictive dieting is relatively ineffective in accomplishing weight loss because body weight is regulated at a set-point. Restrained eating also tends to be ineffective because restrained eaters are prone to overeating when they believe they have broken their diets. In extreme cases, individuals may develop an eating disorder—for example, anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, or binge-eating disorder—as a consequence of their efforts to control their weight and body shape.
- Smoking Is a Leading Cause of Death: Smoking continues to be a major health concern. Individuals typically begin smoking in adolescence as a consequence of social influences or in an effort to exhibit the positive qualities sometimes associated with smokers (such as being tough and independent). Methods for quitting smoking include nicotine replacement therapy (e-cigarettes, the patch, or nicotine gum), prescription medications for use during therapy, and behavioral modification techniques. Even in the most effective programs, only 10–30 percent of smokers are able to quit long-term.
- Exercise Has Numerous Benefits: Exercise is one of the best things people can do for their health. Regular physical activity improves memory and cognition, enhances emotional experiences, and strengthens the heart and lungs.

11.2 What Is Stress?

Stress Has Physiological Components: Stress is a response that usually involves an unpleasant state. Stressors are situations that are perceived as threatening or demanding and therefore produce stress. They include major life changes as well as daily hassles. The sympathetic nervous system responds to stress by releasing epinephrine and norepinephrine into the bloodstream for immediate action. The hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis is a complex series of biological events that responds to stress over longer periods. The hypothalamus sends a signal to the pituitary gland, which causes the adrenal gland to release cortisol.

- There Are Sex Differences in How People Respond to Stressors: Research suggests that when confronted by a stressor, males are more likely to exhibit the fight-or-flight response, whereas females are more likely to exhibit the tend-and-befriend response.
- The General Adaptation Syndrome Is a Bodily Response to Stress: Hans Selye's general adaptation syndrome identifies three stages of physiological coping: alarm, resistance, and exhaustion.

11.3 How Does Stress Affect Health?

- Stress Disrupts the Immune System: Stress has a negative effect on the immune system. Specifically, stress decreases the production of lymphocytes: B cells, T cells, and natural killer cells. Fewer lymphocytes mean the body is less able to fight off infection and illness.
- Stress Increases the Risk of Heart Disease: Individuals who are hostile, depressed, or exhibit a Type A behavior pattern (competitive, achievement oriented, aggressive, and impatient) are more susceptible to heart disease than people who exhibit a Type B behavior pattern (easygoing and accommodating). Presumably, the personality factors increase the frequency of negative physiological responses that adversely affect the heart.
- Coping Reduces the Negative Health Effects of Stress: Cognitive appraisals of potential stressors and the coping strategies that are used can alleviate the experience of stress or minimize its harmful effects. Emotion-focused coping strategies are attempts to prevent an emotional response by avoiding the stressor, minimizing the problem, or engaging in behaviors to try to forget, such as overeating or drinking. Problem-focused coping strategies involve direct steps to confront or minimize a stressor, for example, establishing alternatives and engaging in behaviors to solve the problem.

11.4 Can a Positive Attitude Keep People Healthy?

- Positive Psychology Emphasizes Well-Being: Positive psychology is concerned with the scientific study of the strengths and virtues that contribute to psychological well-being.
- Being Positive Has Health Benefits: A number of studies have shown that people who are positive are healthier and live longer than their more negative counterparts.
- Social Support Is Associated with Good Health: Social support and being socially integrated in a group are also protective health

factors, because concerned others provide material and emotional support. Research has shown that marriages that are low in conflict are associated with better health for both partners. Trust is another factor associated with better health and longer life. The hormone oxytocin has been implicated in the experience of trust. • Spirituality Contributes to Well-Being: Spirituality contributes to better health. Well-being is increased for spiritual people likely due to the support received from faith communities, the health behaviors that are promoted by religions, and the sense of meaning that can be derived from religious beliefs.

Key Terms

anorexia nervosa, p. 463 binge-eating disorder, p. 463 biopsychosocial model, p. 453 body mass index (BMI), p. 457 buffering hypothesis, p. 485 bulimia nervosa, p. 463 coping response, p. 469 emotion-focused coping, p. 480 fight-or-flight response, p. 472 general adaptation syndrome, p. 474 health psychology, p. 453 hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis, p. 470 immune system, p. 476 lymphocytes, p. 476 oxytocin, p. 473 primary appraisals, p. 480 problem-focused coping, p. 480 secondary appraisals, p. 480 stress, p. 469 stressor, p. 469 tend-and-befriend response, p. 473 Type A behavior pattern, p. 478 Type B behavior pattern, p. 478 well-being, p. 453

Practice Test

- 1. Which of the following statements most accurately represents health psychologists' current understanding of illness?
 - **a.** Illness is totally under our own control. We can stay healthy simply by making healthy decisions.
 - **b.** Illness is a matter of luck. If our bodies are destined to become ill, we're out of luck.
 - **c.** When a person has a family history of heart disease, breast cancer, or diabetes, the person's genetic predisposition guarantees that she or he will develop the illness.
 - **d.** Genetic predispositions to some diseases exist. But living healthily can help reduce the chance of developing a disease.
- 2. The correct answer to the previous question is consistent with the _____ model of health and illness.
 - a. biomedical
 - \mathbf{b} . biopsychosocial
 - **c.** moral
 - d. self-efficacy
- 3. Which of the following statements are true?
 - **a.** Our bodies have natural defenses against weight loss that limit dieting's effectiveness.

- **b.** Body weight seems to be determined mostly by a set-point.
- **c.** Dieters who lose and regain weight repeatedly tend to become lighter over time.
- $\textbf{d.}\ Exercise is an essential element of any weight control program.$
- **4.** According to research, ______ is as effective as medication for preventing diabetes or heart disease and for promoting recovery from heart attacks.
 - a. remaining underweight for body size
 - **b.** having children
 - c. drinking red wine
 - **d.** exercise
- **5.** True or false: Mothers' highly stressful experiences can affect their offspring's behavior across generations, even if the stress occurs before pregnancy.
 - a. true
 - **b.** false

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.


Social Psychology

Ask & Answer

12.1 How Does Group Membership Affect People? 496

12.2 When Do People Harm or Help Others? 510

12.3 How Do Attitudes Guide Behavior? 519

12.4 How Do People Think About Others? 525

12.5 What Determines the Quality of Relationships? 534

CORY BOOKER, FORMER MAYOR OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, gives new meaning to the phrase *public servant* (**FIGURE 12.1**). In 2012, after returning home from a television interview, Booker noticed that his neighbor's house was on fire. He then heard someone screaming that a woman was trapped inside. Booker's security guards initially tried to hold him back, but later one of the guards explained what happened: "He basically told me, 'This woman is going to die if we don't help her,' and what can I say to that? I let him go and without thinking twice, he just ran into the flames and rescued this young lady." Booker rushed to the second floor of the home, feeling flames behind him and seeing

FIGURE 12.1

Cory Booker's Helping Behavior

During his tenure as mayor of Newark, New Jersey, Cory Booker demonstrated many ways that people can help each other and develop strong relationships with others. Here, Booker helps dig out the snowbound car of a Newark resident.



social psychology The study of how people influence other people's thoughts, feelings, and actions. nothing but smoky darkness in front of him. He found the woman and carried her back through the house, which was by then engulfed in flames, and they managed to escape. Booker sustained second-degree burns and was treated for smoke inhalation. But he is a hero for saving the woman.

Although this story shows how people sometimes risk their lives for another person, it is particularly striking because this was not Cory Booker's only act of heroism. In 2010, a resident of the city asked the mayor to send someone to shovel her elderly father's driveway. She feared he would have a heart attack doing it himself. Booker showed up 20 minutes later and cleared the snow himself. Following Hurricane Sandy in October 2012, Booker invited residents without power to eat and sleep in his house. He set up beds, made his DVD collection of sci-fi and kids' movies available, and housed and fed around 30 people a day. And on a bitterly cold day in January 2013, a reporter tweeted to the mayor that someone had left a dog outside in the freezing cold. Booker showed up on the scene and carried the shaking dog to safety. "This is brutal weather," Booker said. "You just can't leave your dogs out here on a day like this and expect them to be okay."

Every day we read about how people can be cruel to each other. We hear about bullying leading to teen suicide, wars victimizing the innocent, gangs engaging in shootouts-the list seems endless. And yet there are people like Cory Booker, who show us that people can and do perform acts of compassion on a large and a small scale every day. Their stories not only impress us, but they can inspire us to help others. In 2013, Booker won a special election to become the junior United States senator from New Jersey. His heroic actions apparently found favor with voters.

Humans are social animals who live in a highly complex world. At any moment, while millions of people are talking with friends, working together on complex projects, getting to know strangers, or falling in love with potential mates, others are spreading false rumors, fighting, or even killing one another. People's regular interactions with others-even imagined others or online "avatars"-shape who they are and how they understand the world.

Social psychology is concerned with how people influence other people's thoughts, feelings, and actions. Because almost every human activity has a social dimension, research in social psychology covers expansive and varied territory: how people perceive and understand others, how people function in groups, why people hurt or help others, why people stigmatize and discriminate against certain others, why people fall in love. In this chapter, you will learn the basic principles of how people interact with each other.

12.1 How Does Group Membership Affect People?

Humans have an overriding motivation to fit in with the group. Recall from Chapter 10 that the need for interpersonal attachments is a fundamental motive that has evolved for adaptive purposes.

Learning Objectives

- Describe the advantages and disadvantages of groups.
- Explain factors that determine ingroup and outgroup formation.
- Describe the effects of group membership on personal identity and on brain activity.
- Define social facilitation, deindividuation, group polarization, groupthink, and social loafing.
- Differentiate between conformity, compliance, and obedience.

Any animals' genes survive by being passed on from generation to generation. For that to happen, the animals that carry those genes must survive long enough to reproduce. To survive and reproduce, animals need food, water, shelter, and mates. These resources have been in limited supply throughout humans' evolutionary history. As a result, our ancestors competed for the limited resources. Those who won the competition passed on their genes. Contemporary humans have inherited the genes that coded for the successful behaviors, and one of the successful strategies that humans evolved was to live in social groups. Since over the course of human evolution being kicked out of the group would have had dire consequences, people are motivated to maintain good relations with members of their groups.

But group membership brings many challenges, such as figuring out how to be a good group member. The *social brain hypothesis* (Dunbar, 1998; 2014) places such challenges in the context of brain size. One of the largest biological classes that humans belong to is the order *primates*, which includes great apes and monkeys. According to this theory, primates have large brains—in particular, large prefrontal cortexes—because they live in dynamic and complex social groups that change over time (**FIGURE 12.2**). Being a good group member requires the capacity to understand complex and subtle social rules, recognize when actions might offend others, and control desires to engage in behaviors that might violate group norms. Various brain regions involved in processing social information and controlling behavior work together to support human sociality (Heatherton, 2011).

People Favor Their Own Groups

Banding together in a group provides numerous advantages, such as security from predators and assistance in hunting and gathering food (Buss & Kenrick, 1998). Group living also provides mating opportunities. The downside of grouping is that other groups may compete for the same limited resources. Alternatively, other groups may be able to supply needed resources, as in trade, or cooperate in attaining the resources. Thus, over the course of human evolution it was critical for groups to identify other groups as friends (suppliers) or foes (competitors). Once such a categorization was made, it was equally critical to react accordingly, either by working together or by exhibiting aggression.

Social groups, or coalitions, are prevalent in some primate species, such as chimpanzees, and in other social mammals, such as dolphins. Humans automatically and pervasively form groups. Because human ancestors banded together

for survival, people are powerfully connected to the groups they belong to: sororities and fraternities, sports teams, and so on. People cheer on their own groups, fight for them, and sometimes are even willing to die for them (Swann et al., 2014). Those groups to which particular people belong are *ingroups*; those to which they do not belong are *outgroups* (**FIGURE 12.3**).

FORMATION OF INGROUPS AND OUTGROUPS Two conditions appear to be critical for group formation: reciprocity and transitivity (Gray et al., 2014). *Reciprocity* means that if Person A helps (or harms) Person B, then Person B will help (or harm) Person A. In other words, if you scratch my back, I will scratch yours. *Transitivity* means that people generally share their friends' opinions of other

people. If Person A and Person B are friends, then if Person A likes Person C and dislikes Person D, then Person B will also tend to like Person C and dislike Person D.

Gray and colleagues (2014) developed a computer program in which simulated individuals interacted in a game that involved simple rules of reciprocity and transitivity. The rules were so simple that the program consisted of only 80 lines of code, whereas



FIGURE 12.2

Social Brain Hypothesis Most of the cerebral cortex consists of its outer layer, known as the neocortex. According to the social brain hypothesis, the size of a primate species' standard social group is related to the volume of that species' neocortex. In terms of neocortex size, great apes may lie on a separate line from monkeys because they need more cognitive resources to support group living. Humans are at the pinnacle of the great apes in terms of neocortex and average group size.



FIGURE 12.3 Ingroups and Outgroups In this photo from the 2014 World Cup, it is easy to tell Brazilian supporters (in yellow) from Chilean supporters (in red).

497

outgroup homogeneity effect The tendency to view outgroup members as less varied than ingroup members.

social identity theory

The idea that ingroups consist of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category and experience pride through their group membership.

ingroup favoritism

The tendency for people to evaluate favorably and privilege members of the ingroup more than members of the outgroup.



FIGURE 12.4 Women and Ingroup Bias Female friends tend to be comfortable expressing affection for each other.

most programs include thousands or millions of lines. After 10,000 rounds of interaction, the simulated individuals formed into stable groups and showed many of the characteristics that are true of human groups. This research shows that ingroups and outgroups can be formed based on minimal rules of social interaction and thus may help explain the pervasive nature of groups throughout human history.

Once people categorize others as ingroup or outgroup members, they treat the others accordingly. For instance, due to the outgroup homogeneity effect, people tend to view outgroup members as less varied than ingroup members. University of Missouri students may think University of Kansas students are all alike, but when they think about Missouri students, they cannot help but notice the wide diversity of student types. Of course, for Kansas's students, the reverse is true about Missouri's students and themselves.

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY Group memberships are an important part of social identities, and they contribute to each group member's overall sense of self-esteem (Hogg, 2012). According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), ingroups consist of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category. Inherent in social identity theory is the idea that people value the groups with which they identify and in doing so also experience pride through their group membership. Whether it is pride in your school, your ethnicity, your country, and so on, defining yourself by that group status is part of your social identity.

As people define themselves as members of groups, they begin to conceive of themselves in terms of how other group members typically behave toward both ingroup and outgroup members. One consequence of categorizing people as ingroup or outgroup members is **ingroup favoritism**. That is, people are more likely to distribute resources to ingroup members than to outgroup members. The simulated individuals in the study mentioned earlier showed this kind of behavior (Gray et al., 2014). In addition, people are more willing to do favors for ingroup members or to forgive their mistakes or errors. The power of group membership is so strong that people exhibit ingroup favoritism even if the groups are determined by arbitrary processes.

Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) randomly assigned volunteers to two groups, using meaningless criteria such as flipping a coin. This procedure is known as the minimal group paradigm. Participants were then given a task in which they divided up money. Not surprisingly, they gave more money to their ingroup members, but they also tried to prevent the outgroup members from receiving any money. These effects occurred even when the participants were told that the basis of group membership was arbitrary and that giving money to the outgroup would not affect how much money their own group obtained. Why do people favor members of their own groups? We can speculate that those who work together to keep resources within their group and deny resources to outgroup members have a selective advantage over those who are willing to share with the outgroup. This advantage would become especially important when groups are competing for scarce resources.

In addition, women show a much greater automatic ingroup bias toward other women than men do toward other men (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004). Although men generally favor their ingroups, they fail to do so when the category is sex. Rudman and Goodwin speculate that men and women depend on women for nurturing and that both are threatened by male violence. Moreover, women can freely express their affection for their female friends (FIGURE 12.4). Men may be less comfortable doing so for their male friends, perhaps because it might threaten their sexual identities (Morman & Floyd, 1998).

BRAIN ACTIVITY ASSOCIATED WITH GROUP MEMBERSHIP Being a good group member requires recognizing and following the group's social rules. When

members violate these rules, they risk exclusion from the group. They therefore need to be able to understand what other group members are thinking, especially how others are thinking about them. The middle region of the prefrontal cortex, called the medial prefrontal cortex, is especially important for thinking about other people-thinking about them generally or specifically, whether they are in ingroups or outgroups (Mitchell, Heatherton, & Macrae, 2002). Activity in this region is also associated with ingroup bias that emerges after assignment through the minimal group paradigm (Volz, Kessler, & von Cramon, 2009). However, when people observe others in pain, a different set of brain regions becomes activated (recall the idea of mirror neurons, from Chapter 6, which may enable people to empathize with others). These "pain regions" are more active when people see an ingroup member being harmed than when they see the same harm inflicted on an outgroup member (Xu, Zuo, Wang, & Han, 2009). Indeed, sports fans show activity in brain reward regions when a rival team performs poorly (Cikara, Botvinick, & Fiske, 2011). In general, various brain regions (including the fusiform face area, the nucleus accumbens, the insula, and the amygdala) are differentially active when we consider ingroup versus outgroup members (Cikara & Van Bavel, 2014).

The medial prefrontal cortex is less active when people consider members of outgroups, at least members of extreme outgroups such as homeless persons or drug addicts (Harris & Fiske, 2006). One explanation for this reduction in activity is that people *dehumanize* some outgroups (Harris & Fiske, 2011). People more readily see human minds in ingroups than in outgroups (Hackel, Looser, & Van Bavel, 2014).

In developed nations, people tend to pass the homeless as if they were mere obstacles, and they generally do not feel much sympathy regarding people's plights in developing nations (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Indeed, such dehumanization of outgroups has been used as a propaganda tool to justify inhumane acts. In World War II-era Germany, the Nazis classified Jews as vermin. In Rwanda in 1994, the Hutu majority described the Tutsi minority as cockroaches. These descriptions were major factors in the subsequent genocides against the Jews and the Tutsi.

Groups Influence Individual Behavior

Given the importance of groups, it is not surprising that people's thoughts, emotions, and actions are strongly influenced by their desire to be good group members. One way people try to fit in is by presenting themselves positively. That is, they display their best behavior and try not to offend others.

Most people are easily influenced by others, conform to group norms, and obey commands made by authorities. In fact, the desire to fit in with the group and avoid being ostracized is so great that under some circumstances people willingly engage in behaviors they otherwise would condemn. As noted throughout this chapter, the power of the social situation is much greater than most people believe—and this truth is perhaps the single most important lesson from social psychology. Here, we examine some of the ways that people are influenced by the presence of others.

SOCIAL FACILITATION The first social psychology experiment was conducted in 1897. Through that experiment, Norman Triplett showed that bicyclists pedal faster when they ride with other people than when they ride alone. They do so because of **social facilitation.** That is, the presence of others generally enhances performance. Social facilitation also occurs in other animals, including horses, dogs, rats, birds, fish, and even cockroaches.

Robert Zajonc (1965) proposed a model of social facilitation that involves three basic steps (**FIGURE 12.5**). According to Zajonc, all animals are genetically predisposed

social facilitation The idea that the presence of others generally enhances performance.



FIGURE 12.5 Zajonc's Model of Social Facilitation

According to this model, the mere presence of others leads to increased arousal. The arousal favors the dominant response (the response most likely to be performed in the situation). If the required response is easy or well learned, performance is enhanced. If the required response is novel or not well learned, performance suffers.





FIGURE 12.6

Effect of Groups in the Stanford Prison Study and at Abu Ghraib

(a) In the Stanford prison study, student-guards took on their roles with such vigor that the study was ended early because of the concerns for the well-being of the "guards" and the "prisoners." (b) Soldier-guards at Abu Ghraib harassed, threatened, and tortured prisoners.

deindividuation

A state of reduced individuality, reduced self-awareness, and reduced attention to personal standards; this phenomenon may occur when people are part of a group.

to become aroused by the presence of others of their own species. Why? Others are associated with most of life's rewards and punishments. Zajonc then invokes Clark Hull's well-known learning principle: Arousal leads animals to emit a dominant response-that is, the response most likely to be performed in the situation. In front of food, for example, the dominant response is to eat.

Zajonc's model predicts that social facilitation can either enhance or impair performance. The change depends on whether the response that is required in a situation is the individual's dominant response. If the required response is easy or well learned (such as an experienced cyclist riding a bike), so that the dominant response is good performance, the presence of others will enhance performance. If the required response is novel or less well learned (such as riding a unicycle for the first time), so that the dominant response is poor performance, the presence of others will further impair performance. These effects help explain why crowds of spectators distract professional golfers less than they distract novice golfers. The professionals practice so often that hitting a good shot is their dominant response. Therefore, the professionals may be even more likely to hit well in the presence of spectators. When you need to make a public presentation, try to practice your presentation repeatedly so that it becomes easy for you. You want your best work to be your dominant response, so that you do well even under pressure.

DEINDIVIDUATION In a classic study, the psychologists Philip Zimbardo and Chris Haney showed how quickly apparently normal students could be transformed into the social roles they were playing (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973; FIGURE 12.6A). The researchers had male undergraduates at Stanford University play the roles of prisoners and guards in a mock prison. The students, who had all been screened and found to be psychologically stable, were randomly assigned to their roles. What happened was unexpected and shocking.

Within days, the "guards" became brutal and sadistic. They constantly harassed the "prisoners," forcing them to engage in meaningless and tedious tasks and exercises. The prisoners became helpless to resist. Although the Stanford prison study was scheduled to last two weeks, the researchers stopped it after only six days. The study lacked many of the features of a true experiment, and it is likely that the participants experienced reactivity for how they were supposed to behave (recall the Hawthorne Effect from Chapter 2). Nonetheless, the results demonstrate what people are willing to do when put in a situation with defined social roles.

Because of a real-life situation that has been likened to the Stanford study, the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, now named the Baghdad Central Prison, will always be remembered as the site of horrible abuses of power. During 2003, the first year of the Iraq War, American soldiers brutalized Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib. The soldiers raped prisoners, threatened them with dogs, beat them, placed them in humiliating positions, and forced them to perform or simulate oral sex and masturbation (FIGURE 12.6B).

When the news media began to reveal the abuse at Abu Ghraib, U.S. military and government officials were quick to claim that these incidents were isolated and carried out by a small group of wayward soldiers. They emphasized that even amid the horrors of war, soldiers are expected to behave in a civilized and professional manner. The idea that only a few troubled individuals were responsible for the abuses is strangely comforting, but is it true?

The soldiers at Abu Ghraib, like the students in the Stanford study, were probably normal people who were caught up in overwhelming situations where being part of the group influenced their actions in extreme ways. People sometimes lose their individuality when they become part of a group. Deindividuation occurs when people are not

self-aware and therefore are not paying attention to their personal standards. When self-awareness disappears, so do restraints. Deindividuated people often do things they would not do if they were alone or self-aware. A good example is crowd behavior. Most of us like to think we would try to help a person who was threatening suicide. But people in crowds often fail to intercede in such situations. Disturbingly, they also sometimes egg the person on, yelling "Jump! Jump!" to someone teetering on a ledge.

People are especially likely to become deindividuated when they are aroused and anonymous and when responsibility is diffused. Rioting by fans, looting following disasters, and other mob behaviors are the products of deindividuation. Not all deindividuated behavior is so serious, of course. Gamblers in crowded casinos, fans doing the wave, and people dancing the funky chicken while inebriated at a wedding are most likely in deindividuated states. Accordingly, in these situations, people act in ways they would avoid if they were self-aware (**FIGURE 12.7**).



Sometimes group members are particularly concerned with maintaining the group's cohesiveness. Therefore, for the sake of cordiality, the group may end up making a bad decision. In 1972, the social psychologist Irving Janis coined the term **groupthink** to describe this extreme form of group polarization. Contemporary examples of groupthink include the decision in 1986 to launch the space shuttle *Challenger* despite the clear evidence of a problem with a part; choices made by President Bill Clinton and his advisers in 1998 following the allegations of his affair with Monica Lewinsky, a sequence of events that ultimately led to his impeachment; and the second Bush administration's decision in 2003 to go to war with Iraq over weapons of mass destruction that turned out not to exist.

Groupthink typically occurs when a group is under intense pressure, is facing external threats, and is biased in a particular direction. The group does not carefully process all the information available to it, dissent is discouraged, and group members assure each other they are doing the right thing. To prevent groupthink, leaders must refrain from expressing their opinions too strongly at the beginning of discussions. The group should be encouraged to consider alternative ideas, either by having someone play devil's advocate or by purposefully examining outside opinions. Carefully going through alternatives and weighing the pros and cons of each can help people avoid groupthink.

Of course, a group can make a bad decision even without falling victim to groupthink. Others factors, such as political values, can bias a group's decision making. The



FIGURE 12.7 Deindividuation

Here, deindividuated fans are doing the "wave" during a University of Oklahoma game against the University of Miami.

group polarization The process by which initial attitudes of groups become more extreme over time.

groupthink

The tendency of groups to make bad decisions when the group is under pressure, facing external threats, and is biased.

social loafing

The tendency for people to not work as hard in a group than when working alone.

conformity

The altering of one's behaviors and opinions to match those of other people or to match other people's expectations.

normative influence

The tendency for people to conform in order to fit in with the group.

informational influence

The tendency for people to conform when they assume that the behavior of others represents the correct way to respond.

social norms

Expected standards of conduct, which influence behavior.

FIGURE 12.8 Social Norms

One social norm in industrialized societies is to stand facing the elevator door and facing away from other passengers. Violating this norm may make the other passengers very uncomfortable.



main point behind the concept of groupthink is that group members sometimes go along with bad decisions to protect group harmony.

SOCIAL LOAFING In some cases, people do not work as hard when in a group as when working alone. This effect is called **social loafing.** It occurs when people's efforts are pooled so that individuals do not feel personally responsible for the group's output. In a classic study, six blindfolded people wearing headphones were told to shout as loudly as they could. Some were told they were shouting alone. Others were told they were shouting with other people. Participants did not shout as loudly when they believed that others were shouting as well (Latané, Williams, & Harkins, 1979).

When people know that their individual efforts can be monitored, they do not engage in social loafing. Thus, if a group is working on a project, each person must feel personally responsible for some component of the project for everyone to exert maximum effort (Williams, Harkins, & Latané, 1981).

People Conform to Others

Another powerful form of social influence is **conformity**. Why do people conform, altering their behaviors or opinions to match those of others or to match what is expected of them? Social psychologists have identified two primary reasons that people conform: **Normative influence** occurs when people go along with the crowd to fit in with the group and to avoid looking foolish. **Informational influence** occurs when people assume that the behavior of the crowd represents the correct way to respond. Suppose you are in a train station. You turn a corner and see a mass of people running for the exit. You might join them if you suspect they are exiting for a good reason. In situations such as this potential emergency, other people's actions provide information about the right thing to do.

Normative influence relies on the societal need for rules. For example, imagine the problems you would cause if you woke up one morning and decided that from then on you would drive on the wrong side of the road. Expected standards of conduct are called **social norms**. These norms influence behavior in multiple ways. For example, norms indicate which behavior is appropriate in a given situation and also how people will respond to those who violate norms. Standing in line is a social norm, and people who violate that norm by cutting in line are often reprimanded and directed to the back of the line. Normative influence works because people feel embarrassed when they violate social norms and they worry about what others think of them. The next time you enter an elevator, try standing with your back to the elevator door and facing people. You may find it quite difficult to defy this simple social norm (**FIGURE 12.8**).

In the 1930s, Muzafer Sherif became one of the first researchers to demonstrate the power of conformity in social judgment. Sherif's studies relied on the *autokinetic*

effect. Through this perceptual phenomenon, a stationary point of light appears to move when viewed in a totally dark environment. This effect occurs because people have no frame of reference and therefore cannot correct for small eye movements. Sherif asked participants who were alone in a room to estimate how far the light moved. Individual differences were considerable: Some saw the light move only an inch or two, whereas others saw it move 8 inches or more.

In the second part of the study, Sherif put two or more participants in the room and had them call out their estimates. Although there were initial differences, participants quickly revised their estimates until they agreed.

HYPOTHESIS: Conformity would not take place if there were objective perceptions.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 A naive participant joined a group of five other participants. The five others were confederates, secretly in league with the researcher. Each participant was asked to look at a reference line (left) and then say out loud which of three comparison lines matched it (right).



Reference line

Comparison lines

2 On 12 of the 18 trials, the five confederates deliberately gave the wrong answer.





The real participant, in the middle, hears the answer given by the confederates.





But he starts to go along with the group's obviously wrong answer.

RESULTS: When confederates gave false answers first, 3/4 of the real participants conformed by giving the wrong answer at least once.

CONCLUSION: People tend to conform to social norms, even when those norms are obviously wrong.

SOURCE: Asch, S. E. (1955). Opinions and social pressure. Scientific American, 193, 31–35.

They relied on the information provided by others to base their estimates. This result is an example of informational influence. In ambiguous situations, people often compare their reactions with the reactions of others to judge the correct course of action.

Solomon Asch (1955) speculated that Sherif's results probably occurred because the autokinetic effect is a subjective visual illusion. If perceptions were objective, Asch thought, participants would not conform. To test his hypothesis, Asch assembled male participants for a study of visual acuity. In the 18 trials, the participants looked at a reference line and three comparison lines. They decided which of the three comparison lines matched the reference line and said their answers aloud. Normally, people are able to perform this easy task with a high level of accuracy. But in these studies, Asch included a naive participant with a group of five confederates who pretended to be participants but were actually working for the experimenter. The real participant always went sixth, giving his answer after the five confederates gave theirs.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Relative Comparisons: Can Social Norms Marketing Reduce Binge Drinking?

an the power of social norms be harnessed to modify behavior in positive ways? As noted in Chapter 4. excessive drinking kills more than 1,800 college students each year, is often involved in unprotected sexual activity, and contributes to date rape. Across North America, universities have tried to use social norms marketing to reduce binge drinking on campus. The assumption of such programs is that students often overestimate how often and how much other students drink. Moreover, students use their beliefs about peer norms to judge their own behavior. Students who believe that most students drink heavily may do so themselves in order to fit in with their peer group. Social norms marketing tries to correct these false beliefs by giving factual normative comparisons for average students at a particular college. Thus, to change norms, colleges put up posters with messages such as "Most students have fewer than four drinks when they party."

Some studies have found that social norms marketing reduces the level of binge drinking on college campuses (Mattern & Neighbors, 2004). Indeed, one large study of 18 college campuses, involving several thousand students, found that students attending schools that used social norms marketing had a lower risk of binge drinking than students at control schools (DeJong et al., 2006). One recent Australian study used Facebook to provide students with individualized feedback comparing their behavior to the actual behavior of students in their class (Ridout & Campbell, 2014).

Can the power of social norms be harnessed to modify behavior in positive ways?

These students were selected because they reported excessive drinking on an initial survey. They were randomly assigned to an intervention or control group, and both groups reported their drinking in surveys they completed one and three months later. The researchers found considerable reductions in self-reported alcohol consumption

for the intervention group (**FIGURE 12.9**). Because of findings such as these, the use of social norms marketing has become extremely popular, with most college campuses adopting some form of it.

Unfortunately, social norms marketing may inadvertently increase drinking among light drinkers, whose behavior is also susceptible to social norms (Russell, Clapp, & Dejong, 2005). Students who usually have only one drink might interpret the posters as suggesting that the norm is to have two or three drinks,

and they might adjust their behavior accordingly. Indeed, one large study found that social norms marketing actually increased the drinking behavior and misperceived norms they set out to correct (Wechsler et al., 2003). One team of researchers demonstrated that simply providing descriptive norms (i.e., the frequency of behavior) can cause this sort of backfire effect. They found that adding a message that the behavior is undesirable might help prevent social norms marketing from increasing the behavior it is meant to reduce (Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007). These findings indicate that campuses that want to reduce student drinking need to do more than simply publicize drinking norms. They need to also convince students that there are numerous negative consequences associated with excessive drinking.



FIGURE 12.9

A Social Norms Study

This graph reports the results of using Facebook for social norms marketing at one college. The group that received intervention experienced a far greater decrease in drinking than the control group. On 12 of the 18 trials, the confederates deliberately gave the same wrong answer. After hearing five wrong answers, the participant then had to state his answer. Because the answer was obvious, Asch speculated that the participant would give the correct answer. About one-third of the time, however, the participant went along with the confederates. More surprisingly, in repeated trials, three out of four people conformed to the incorrect response at least once. Why did most people conform? It was not because they knew others were providing the right answer. Instead, people conformed because they did not want to look foolish by going against the group (see "Scientific Thinking: Asch's Study on Conformity to Social Norms," on p. 503). Thus, the findings of the Asch study were attributable to normative influence.

Research has consistently demonstrated that people tend to conform to social norms. This effect can be seen outside the laboratory as well: Adolescents conform to peer pressure to smoke; jury members go along with the group rather than state their own opinions; people stand in line to buy tickets. But when do people reject social norms? In a series of follow-up studies, Asch (1956) and others identified factors that decrease the chances of conformity. One factor is group size. When there are only one or two confederates, a naive participant usually does not conform. When the confederates number three or more, the participant is more likely to conform. Conformity seems to level off at a certain point, however. Subsequent research has found that even groups as large as 16 do not lead to greater conformity than groups of 7.

Asch found that lack of unanimity is another factor that diminishes conformity. If even one confederate gives the correct answer, conformity to the group norm decreases a great deal. Any dissent from majority opinion can diminish the influence of social norms. But dissenters are typically not treated well by groups. Stanley Schachter (1951) conducted a study in which a group of students debated the fate of a juvenile delinquent, Johnny Rocco. A confederate deviated from the group judgment of how Johnny should be treated. When it became clear that the confederate would not be persuaded by group sentiment, the group began to ostracize him. When group members subsequently were given the opportunity to reduce group size, they consistently rejected the "deviant" confederate.

The bottom line is that groups enforce conformity, and those who fail to go along are rejected. The need to belong, including the anxiety associated with the fear of social exclusion, gives a group powerful influence over its members. Indeed, a brain imaging study was done that used a conformity test similar to Asch's (Berns et al., 2005). Some participants gave answers that did not conform to the group's incorrect answer. In the dissenting participants' brains, there was activity in the amygdala that the authors speculated might have represented a fear response.

People Are Often Compliant

People often influence others' behavior simply by asking them to do things. If someone does the requested thing, she or he is exhibiting **compliance**. A number of factors increase compliance. For instance, Joseph Forgas (1998) has demonstrated that a person in a good mood is especially likely to comply. This tendency may be the basis for "buttering up" others when we want things from them. In addition, according to Robert Cialdini (2008), people often comply with requests because they fail to pay attention. Wanting to avoid conflict, they follow a standard mental shortcut: They respond without fully considering their options. Thus, if you simply give people a reason for a request, they will be much more likely to comply, even if the reason makes little sense. Recall from Chapter 1 that heuristic processing is a form of psychological reasoning in which mental shortcuts can yield quick results, but noncritical thinking can also lead to poor conclusions or bad outcomes.

compliance The tendency to agree to do things requested by others.

foot-in-the-door effect

The idea that if people agree to a small request, they become more likely to comply with a large and undesirable request.

obedience

When a person follows the orders of a person of authority.

People can use a number of powerful strategies to influence others to comply. Consider the **foot-in-the-door effect:** If people agree to a small request, they become more likely to comply with a large and undesirable request. Jonathan Freedman and Scott Fraser (1966) asked homeowners to allow a large, unattractive "DRIVE CAREFULLY" sign to be placed on their front lawns. As you might imagine, fewer than 1 in 5 people agreed to do so. Other homeowners, however, were first asked to sign a petition that supported legislation intended to reduce traffic accidents. A few weeks later, these same people were approached about having the large sign placed on their lawns, and more than half agreed. Once people *commit* to a course of action, they behave in ways consistent with that commitment.

The opposite influence technique is the *door in the face:* People are more likely to agree to a small request after they have refused a large request (Cialdini et al., 1975). After all, the second request seems modest in comparison, and the people want to seem reasonable. This effect is an example of reciprocity in which the compliant person feels compelled to compromise because the requester has compromised. As you might have encountered, salespeople often use this technique.

Another favorite tactic among salespeople is the *low-balling strategy*. Here, a salesperson offers a product—for example, a car—for a very low price. Once the customer agrees, the salesperson may claim that the manager did not approve the price or that there will be additional charges. Whatever the reason, someone who has already agreed to buy a product will often agree to pay the increased cost. The big decision was whether to make a purchase at all. Once a person has committed to that option, then deciding to do so by spending a bit more money does not seem like such a big decision.

People Are Obedient to Authority

One of the most famous and most disturbing psychology experiments was conducted in the early 1960s by Stanley Milgram. Milgram wanted to understand why apparently normal German citizens willingly obeyed orders to injure or kill innocent people during World War II (**FIGURE 12.10**). Milgram was interested in the determinants of **obedience.** That is, he wanted to find out which factors influence people to follow orders given by an authority, such as a boss, parent, or police officer.

Imagine yourself as a participant in Milgram's experiment. You have agreed to take part in a study on learning. On arriving at the laboratory, you meet your fellow participant, a 60-year-old grandfatherly type. The experimenter describes the study as consisting of a teacher administering electric shocks to a learner engaged

in a simple memory task that involves word pairs. Your role as the teacher is determined by an apparently random drawing of your name from a hat. On hearing that he may receive electric shocks, the learner reveals that he has a heart condition and expresses minor reservations. The experimenter says that although the shocks will be painful, they will not cause permanent tissue damage. You help the experimenter take the learner to a small room and hook him up to the electric shock machine. You then proceed to a nearby room and sit at a table in front of a large shock generator with switches that will deliver from 15 volts to 450 volts. Each voltage level carries a label, and the labels range from "slight" to "danger severe shock" to, finally, an ominous "XXX."

FIGURE 12.10 Stanley Milgram

Milgram, pictured here with his infamous shock generator, demonstrated that average people will obey even hideous orders given by an authority figure.



Each time the learner makes a mistake, your task as the teacher is to give him a shock. With each subsequent error, you increase the voltage. When you reach 75 volts, over the intercom you hear the man yelp in pain. At 150 volts, he screams, bangs on the wall, and demands that the experiment be stopped. At the experimenter's command, you apply additional, stronger shocks. The learner is clearly in agony. Each time you say you are quitting and try to stop the experiment, the experimenter replies, "The experiment requires that you continue," "It is essential that you go on," "There is no other choice; you must go on!" So you do. At 300 volts, the learner refuses to answer any more questions. After 330 volts, the learner is silent. All along you have wanted to leave, and you severely regret participating in the study. You might have killed the man, for all you know.

Does this scenario sound crazy to you? If you really were the teacher, at what level would you stop administering the shocks? Would you quit as soon as the learner started to complain? Would you go up to 450 volts? Before conducting the experiment, Milgram asked various people for predictions. These people predicted that most participants would go no higher than 135 volts. They felt that fewer than one in a thousand participants would administer the highest level of shock. But that is not what happened. What did happen changed how people viewed the power of authority.

Almost all the participants tried to quit. Nearly two-thirds, however, completely obeyed all the experimenter's directives (**FIGURE 12.11**). The majority were willing to administer 450 volts to an older man with a heart condition (actually a confederate). These findings have been replicated by Milgram and others around the world. The conclusion of these studies is that ordinary people can be coerced into obedience by insistent authorities. This effect occurs even when what the people are coerced into doing goes against the way they usually would behave. At the same time, these results do not mean all people are equally obedient. Indeed, some aspects of personality seem related to being obedient, such as the extent to which people are concerned about how others view them (Blass, 1991). As discussed in the next chapter, both situation and personality influence behavior.

Surprised by the results of his study, Milgram next studied ways to reduce obedience. He found that some situations produced less obedience. For instance, if the teacher could see or had to touch the learner, obedience decreased. When the experimenter gave the orders over the telephone and thus was more removed from the situation, obedience dropped dramatically.

Throughout these studies, Milgram was highly concerned with his participants' mental states. In systematic debriefings, he carefully revealed the true nature of the experiments to the participants, and he made sure that the teachers met the confederate learners and that the teachers could see that the learners were not hurt in any way. Milgram (1974) also followed his participants over time to ensure that they experienced no long-term negative effects. Actually, many people were glad they had participated. They felt they had learned something about themselves and about human nature. Most of us assume that only evil people would willingly inflict injury on others when ordered to do so. Milgram's research, and studies that followed up on it, demonstrated that ordinary people may do horrible things when ordered to do so by an authority (see "Scientific Thinking: Milgram's Shock Experiments on Obedience," on p. 508). Although some people have speculated that these results would not be true today, a recent replication found that 70 percent of the participants were obedient up to the maximum voltage in the experiment (Burger, 2009).

The overall prediction was that fewer than 1/10 of a percent of participants in the Milgram experiments would obey completely and provide the maximum level of shock.



FIGURE 12.11 Predicting the Results

Psychiatrists, college sophomores, middle-class adults, and both graduate students and professors in the behavioral sciences offered predictions about the results of Milgram's experiments. Their predictions were incorrect.

Scientific Thinking — Milgram's Shock Experiments on Obedience

HYPOTHESIS: People are obedient to authority figures.

RESEARCH METHOD:

- 1 In one condition, each participant (teacher) was instructed to "shock," from another room, a participant (learner). The learner was secretly in league with the experimenter.
- 2 In another condition, each participant was instructed to touch and "shock" a learner sitting next to the participant. In both conditions, the experimenter would instruct the participant to give the learner increasingly severe shocks.
- 3 After the experiment, each participant was introduced to the confederate learner and could see that the learner had not been harmed.



RESULTS: In the first condition, almost all the participants tried to quit, but nearly ½ obeyed the experimenter's directives. In the "touch" condition, fewer than ½ of the participants obeyed the experimenter's orders.

CONCLUSION: Most people will obey even hideous orders given by insistent authority figures, but this willingness is lessened when people are made more personally responsible.

SOURCE: Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. New York: Harper & Row.

Summing Up

How Does Group Membership Affect People?

- People readily identify ingroups, to which they belong, and outgroups, to which they do not belong. Ingroup and outgroup formation and maintenance are affected by reciprocity (if Person A helps Person B, Person B will help Person A) and transitivity (friends having the same opinions toward other people).
- The outgroup homogeneity effect describes the tendency to perceive outgroup members as stereotypically more similar than ingroup members are. People also tend to dehumanize members of outgroups.
- According to social identity theory, an individual's social identity is based on identification with an ingroup.
- Ingroup favoritism is pervasive and may reflect evolutionary pressure to protect both self and resources.
- The medial prefrontal cortex appears important for thinking about other people. Research has found higher levels of medial prefrontal activity when people evaluate ingroup members than when they evaluate outgroup members.

- A number of phenomena demonstrate the influence of the group on the individual. These phenomena include social facilitation (improved performance of relatively easy tasks in the presence of others), social loafing (not working as hard when in a group than when alone), deindividuation (loss of individuality, of self-awareness, and of attention to personal standards, when in a group), group polarization (adopting the initial opinions of the group more strongly through mutual persuasion), and groupthink (agreeing to bad decisions to maintain group harmony). Other forms of social influence include conformity, compliance, and obedience.
- People conform when they alter their behaviors or opinions to match those of others or the expectations of others. Conformity results from normative influence (the attempt to fit in with the group and avoid looking foolish) and informational influence (the assumption that the behavior of others is the correct way to respond). Conformity is influenced by group size and unanimity.
- People comply when they agree to the requests of others. Compliance is influenced by mood and by strategies such as the foot-in-the-door and door-in-the-face techniques.
- People obey when they follow orders given by an authority. Obedience is influenced by personality and by proximity to the authority figure.

Measuring Up

- 1. Match each of the following social influence constructs with the correct description: deindividuation, group polarization, social facilitation, or social loafing.
 - **a.** A lack of self-awareness has a disinhibiting effect, allowing people to act in ways that are inconsistent with their beliefs and values.
 - **b.** People make less individual effort when their efforts are pooled than when they work alone.
 - **c.** Over the course of group discussion, individuals become increasingly committed to attitudes they held before the group discussion.
- 2. Label each of the following scenarios as an example of conformity, compliance, or obedience.
 - **a.** Bettina decides to join Facebook because all her friends have already created profiles.
 - **b.** Elisa says to her son, "Wash the dishes before you go outside to play." He does so.
 - c. Randall goes into an office supply store to make photocopies. There are long lines at each copier. As a woman steps up to one of the machines to take her turn, he approaches her and asks, "Do you mind if I go next? I need to make a copy." The woman lets him go next.
- 3. To form teams for a frisbee tournament, half of the players were given red shirts to wear and the other half were given blue shirts. Based on what you know about ingroup/ outgroup formation, which of the following statements are true? Choose all that apply.
 - **a.** Since the formation of groups was based on an arbitrary measure, players will not develop ingroup/outgroup identifications.
 - **b.** Players wearing one color of shirt will see all those wearing a different color of shirt as being extremely similar to each other.
 - **c.** Female group members will be more likely than male members to form ingroup biases.
 - **d.** Players who see a player from a different team get hurt will show increased activity in the medial prefrontal cortex.

ANSWERS: (1) a. deindividuation; b. social loafing; c. group polarization.
 (2) a. conformity; b. obedience; c. compliance.
 (3) Choices b and c are true.

Learning Objectives

- Identify situational, biological, and sociocultural determinants of aggression.
- Review evolutionary explanations for altruism.
- Consider four factors that affect the bystander intervention effect.
- Explain how bias against outgroups may be decreased.



(b)



FIGURE 12.12 Harming Versus Helping (a) Forces from the rebel group Séléka engage in military action in the Central African Republic in 2013.

(b) Members of Doctors Without Borders treat the wounded during the Central African Republic coup.

aggression Any behavior that involves the intention to harm another.

12.2When Do People Harm orHelp Others?

Although obedience can lead people to commit horrible acts, the need to belong to a group can also lead to acts of altruism and of generosity. Events of the past decade have revealed the human capacities for harming and helping others. At points around the globe, we have seen terrorists, special forces, and militias killing civilians (**FIGURE 12.12A**). As noted in the opening vignette describing Cory Booker, we have also seen people being kind, compassionate, and giving in response to natural disasters. Similarly, members of the group Doctors Without Borders travel to dangerous regions to care for those in need (**FIGURE 12.12B**). This tension between our aggressive and altruistic sides is at the core of who we are as a species. Psychologists working at all levels of analysis have provided much insight into the roles that nature and nurture play in these fundamental human behaviors.

Many Factors Can Influence Aggression

Aggression can be expressed through countless behaviors. These behaviors all involve the intention to harm another. Among nonhuman animals, aggression often occurs in the context of fighting over a mate or defending territory from intruders. In the latter case, just the threat of aggressive action may be sufficient to dissuade. Among humans, physical aggression is common among young children but relatively rare in adults due to social norms discouraging it. Adults' aggressive acts more often involve words, or other symbols, meant to threaten, intimidate, or emotionally harm others.

Many situational factors have been associated with aggression. Recall from Chapter 6 that people can learn to be aggressive by observational learning and exposure to media violence. Aggression is also likely when people feel socially rejected. Throughout evolutionary history, rejection from the group has been akin to a death warrant, and therefore signs of rejection can activate defensive mechanisms that include lashing out at those who are perceived to be responsible for the rejection (MacDonald & Leary, 2005). Feeling ostracized or rejected and the desire to retaliate have been identified as factors in many school shootings (Fox & DeLateur, 2014).

Another factor that influences aggression is heat. More crime occurs in the summer, and more violence occurs in hotter regions (Anderson, 1989; Anderson & DeLisi, 2011). Major league baseball pitchers are most likely to hit batters with pitches when the weather is hottest (Reifman, Larrick, & Fein, 1991), especially in hot weather when their own players have been hit by pitches (Larrick, Timmerman, Carton, & Abrevaya, 2011). A common thread through many of the situations that lead to aggression is that they involve negative emotions. Any situation that induces negative emotions—such as being insulted, afraid, frustrated, overly hot, or in pain—can trigger physical aggression (Berkowitz, 1990). This effect may occur because emotional states can disrupt the functioning of brain regions involved in controlling behavior (Heatherton & Wagner, 2011).

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS Genetic research has identified the role of the MAOA gene in aggression. The MAOA gene controls the amount of MAO (monoamine oxidase), an enzyme that regulates the activity of a number of neurotransmitters, including serotonin and norepinephrine. One study found an unusual MAOA gene mutation in an extended Dutch family in which several of the males had a history of impulsive aggression (Brunner, Nelen, Breakefield, Ropers, & Van Oost, 1993). Since the Dutch study, numerous other studies have shown that the MAOA gene is involved in aggressive violence (Buckholtz & Meyer-Lindenberg, 2008; Dorfman, Meyer-Lindenberg, & Buckholtz, 2014). Indeed, it is often referred to in the media as the "warrior gene."

MAOA is not a "violence gene" per se. Instead, a particular form of the gene appears to make individuals susceptible to environmental risk factors associated with antisocial behaviors. Recall the New Zealand study from Chapter 3, in which those who had one version of the MAOA gene and suffered childhood maltreatment were much more likely to become violent criminals (Caspi et al., 2002). In 2009, a man from Tennessee who brutally murdered his wife with a machete used the defense of possessing the warrior gene and having been abused as a child. The jury found him guilty of manslaughter rather than first-degree murder (Hagerty, 2010).

The MAOA gene regulates the neurotransmitter serotonin, and several lines of evidence suggest that serotonin is especially important in the control of aggressive behavior (Caramaschi, de Boer, & Koolhaus, 2007). Altered serotonin function has been associated with impulsive aggressiveness in adults and hostility and disruptive behavior in children (Carver & Miller, 2006). Alterations in serotonin activity increase the amygdala response to threat and interfere with the prefrontal cortex's control over aggressive impulses (Buckholtz & Meyer-Lindenberg, 2013).

When people are angry, they often have to control their urges to lash out at others. Being angry is associated with activity in a number of brain regions, including the amygdala (Coccaro, McClosky, Fitzgerald, & Phan, 2007). The prefrontal cortex is important for controlling emotional and behavioral reactions (Brower & Price, 2001). In human imaging studies, aggressive responses appear to result when the prefrontal cortical regions involved in controlling behaviors do not function in response to subcortical threat signals produced by the amygdala (Payer, Lieberman, & London, 2011).

The hormone testosterone also appears to have a modest correlation with aggression. Males have more testosterone than females, and males carry out the vast majority of aggressive and violent acts. Boys play more roughly than girls at an early age. They become especially aggressive during early adolescence, a time when their levels of testosterone rise tenfold (Mazur & Booth, 1998). However, these increases in testosterone in boys coincide with other maturational changes that promote aggression, such as physical growth. Particularly aggressive men, such as violent criminals, and especially physical athletes, such as hockey players, have been found to have higher levels of testosterone than other males (Dabbs & Morris, 1990). This relationship is small, though, and it is unclear how testosterone is linked to greater aggressiveness. Testosterone may increase aggression because it reduces the activity of brain circuits that control impulses (Mehta & Beer, 2010).

In addition, testosterone changes may be the result—rather than the cause—of aggressive behavior. That is, the situation may change testosterone levels. A number of studies have shown that testosterone rises just before athletic competition (Mazur & Booth, 1998). Testosterone remains high for the winners of competitive matches and drops lower for the losers (Booth, Shelley, Mazur, Tharp, & Kittok, 1989). Even those who simply watch a competition can be affected. Hockey players who watched a replay of a former victory by their team showed increased testosterone (Carré & Putnam, 2010). Fans are affected as well. Testosterone levels increased in Brazilian television viewers who watched Brazil beat Italy in the 1994 World Cup soccer tournament, but levels decreased in Italian television viewers (Bernhardt, Dabbs, Fielden, & Lutter, 1998). These results suggest that testosterone might not play a direct role in aggression, but rather may be related to social dominance, the result of having greater power and status (Mehta, Jones, & Josephs, 2008).

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS Violence varies dramatically across cultures and even within cultures at different times. For example, over the course of 300 years, Sweden went from being one of the most violent nations on Earth to being one of the most peaceable. This cultural change did not correspond with a change in the gene pool or with other immediately apparent biological changes. Moreover, murder rates are far higher in some countries than in others (**FIGURE 12.13**). And analysis of crime statistics in the United States reveals that physical violence is much more prevalent in the South than in the North (UNODC, 2013). Aggression may be part of human nature and influenced by situational factors, but society and culture influence people's tendencies to commit violent acts.

Some cultures may be violent because they subscribe to a *culture of honor*. In this belief system, men are primed to protect their reputations through physical aggression. Men in the southern United States, for example, traditionally were (and perhaps still are) raised to be ready to fight for their honor and to respond aggressively to personal threats. To determine whether southern males are more likely to be aggressive than northern males, researchers at the University of Michigan conducted a series



FIGURE 12.13

Aggression Varies Across Cultures

The numbers in this chart are the most recent available, from 2012. They come from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013a).



FIGURE 12.14

Aggressive Responses to Insults

These graphs show differences in behavior between men from the South and those from the North in studies at the University of Michigan.

of studies (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). In each study, a male participant had to walk down a narrow hallway. The participant had to pass a filing cabinet, where a male confederate was blocking the hallway. As the participant tried to edge past the confederate, the confederate responded angrily and insulted the participant. Compared with participants raised in the North, those raised in the South became more upset and were more likely to feel personally challenged. Perhaps because of a need to express social dominance in this situation, the southern participants were more physiologically aroused (measured by cortisol and testosterone increases), more cognitively primed for aggression, and more likely to act in an aggressive and dominant manner for the rest of the experiment. For instance, in another part of the studies, participants raised in the South shook a new confederate's hand much more vigorously than the participants raised in the North did (**FIGURE 12.14**).

Many Factors Can Influence Helping Behavior

As Corey Booker has illustrated, people often act in ways that help others. **Prosocial behaviors** include doing favors, offering assistance, paying compliments, subjugating egocentric desires or needs, resisting the temptation to insult or hit another person, or simply being pleasant and cooperative. By providing benefits to others, prosocial behaviors promote positive interpersonal relationships. Living in groups, in which people necessarily engage in prosocial behaviors such as sharing and cooperating, may be a central human survival strategy. After all, a group that works well together is a strong group, and belonging to a strong group benefits the individual members.

Why are humans prosocial? Theoretical explanations range from selflessness to selfishness and from the biological to the philosophical. For instance, Daniel Batson and colleagues (Batson et al., 1988; Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995) argue that

prosocial behaviors Actions that tend to benefit others, such as doing favors or helping. prosocial behaviors are motivated by empathy, in which people share other people's emotions. Conversely, Robert Cialdini and colleagues (1987; also Maner et al., 2002) argue that most prosocial behaviors have selfish motives, such as wanting to manage one's public image or relieve one's negative mood. Other theorists have proposed that people have an inborn tendency to help others. Consider that young infants become distressed when they see other infants crying (Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1990). Generally, children's early attempts to soothe other children are ineffective. For instance, they tend initially to comfort themselves rather than the other children. Still, this empathic response to other people's suffering suggests that prosocial behavior is hardwired in humans.

Altruism is providing help when it is needed, without any apparent reward for doing so. The fact that people help others, and even risk personal safety to do so, may seem contrary to evolutionary principles. After all, those who protect themselves first would appear to have an advantage over those who risk their lives to help others. During the 1960s, the geneticist William Hamilton offered an answer to this riddle. Hamilton (1964) proposed that natural selection occurs at the genetic level rather than at the individual level.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the "fittest" animals pass along the most genes to future generations. These animals increase the chances of passing along their genes by helping ensure that their offspring survive. Hamilton's concept of inclusive fitness describes the adaptive benefits of transmitting genes rather than focusing on individual survival. According to this model, people are altruistic toward those with whom they share genes. This phenomenon is known as kin selection. A good example of kin selection occurs among insects, such as ants and bees. In these species, workers feed and protect the egg-laying queen, but they never reproduce. By protecting the group's eggs, they maximize the number of their common genes that will survive into future generations (Dugatkin, 2004).

Of course, animals sometimes help nonrelatives. For example, dolphins and lions will look after orphans within their own species. Similarly, a person who jumps into a lake to save a drowning stranger is probably not acting for the sake of genetic transmission. To help explain altruism toward nonrelatives, Robert Trivers (1971) proposed the idea of reciprocal helping. According to Trivers, one animal helps another because the other may return the favor in the future. Consider grooming, in which primates take turns cleaning each other's fur: "You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours."

For reciprocal helping to be adaptive, benefits must outweigh costs. Indeed, people are less likely to help others when the costs of doing so are high (Wagner & Wheeler, 1969). Reciprocal helping is also much more likely to occur among animals, such as humans, that live in social groups, because their species survival depends on cooperation. Thus, as discussed earlier, people are more likely to help members of their ingroups than to help members of outgroups. From an evolutionary perspective, then, altruism confers benefits. When an animal acts altruistically, it may increase the chances that its genes will be transmitted. The altruistic animal may also increase the likelihood that other members of the social group will reciprocate when needed.

Some Situations Lead to **Bystander Apathy**

In 1964, a young woman named Kitty Genovese was walking home from work in a relatively safe area of New York City. An assailant savagely attacked her for half an hour, eventually killing her. At the time, a newspaper reported that none of the 38 witnesses to the crime tried to help or called the police. As you might imagine, most

altruism

Providing help when it is needed, without any apparent reward for doing so.

inclusive fitness

An explanation for altruism that focuses on the adaptive benefit of transmitting genes, such as through kin selection, rather than focusing on individual survival.

bystander intervention effect

The failure to offer help by those who observe someone in need when other people are present.

people who followed the story were outraged that 38 people could sit by and watch a brutal murder (**FIGURE 12.15**). That story appears to have been wrong, however. Few of the witnesses were in a position to observe what was happening to Genovese (Manning, Levine, & Collins, 2007), and at least two people did call the police.

Yet the idea of 38 silent witnesses prompted researchers to undertake important research on how people react in emergencies. Shortly after the Genovese murder, the social psychologists Bibb Latané and John Darley examined situations that produce the **bystander intervention effect.** This term refers to the failure to offer help by those who observe someone in need. Common sense might suggest that the more people who are available to help, the more likely it is that a victim will be helped. Latané and Darley made the paradoxical claim, however, that a person is less likely to offer help if other bystanders are around.

To test their theory, Latané and Darley conducted studies in which people were placed in situations that indicated they should seek help. In one of the first situations, male college students were in a room, filling out questionnaires (Latané & Darley, 1968). Pungent smoke started puffing in through the heating vents. Some participants were alone. Some were with two other naive participants. Some were with two confederates, who noticed the smoke, shrugged, and continued filling out their questionnaires. When participants were on their own, most went for help. When three naive participants were together, however, few initially went for help. With the two calm confederates, only 10 percent of participants went for help in the first 6 minutes (**FIGURE 12.16**). The other 90 percent "coughed, rubbed their eyes, and opened the window — but they did not report the smoke" (p. 218).

In subsequent studies, people were confronted with mock crimes, apparent heart attack victims in subway cars, and people passed out in public places. The experimenters obtained similar results each time. The bystander intervention effect, also called *bystander apathy*, has been shown to occur in a wide variety of contexts. Even divinity students, while rushing to give a lecture on the Good Samaritan—a biblical figure who helps a severely injured traveler—failed to help a person in apparent need of medical attention (Darley & Batson, 1973).

Years of research have indicated four major reasons for the bystander intervention effect. First, a *diffusion of responsibility* occurs. In other words, bystanders expect other bystanders to help. Thus, the greater the number of people who witness someone in need of help, the less likely it is that any of them will step forward. Second, people fear making *social blunders* in ambiguous situations. All the laboratory situations had some degree of ambiguity, and people may have worried that they would look foolish if they sought help that was not needed. There is evidence that people feel less constrained from seeking help as the need for help becomes clearer. In the Genovese murder

case, some of the witnesses found the situation unclear and therefore might have been reluctant to call the police. Third, people are less likely to help when they are *anonymous* and can remain so. Therefore, if you need help, it is often wise to point to a specific person and request his or her help by saying something like, "You, in the red shirt, call an ambulance!" Fourth, people weigh two factors: How much harm do they risk to themselves by helping? What benefits might they have to forgo if they help? Imagine you are walking to a potentially dull class on a beautiful day. Right in front



FIGURE 12.15 Kitty Genovese News reports that 38 witnesses failed to help murder victim Kitty Genovese caused outrage.



FIGURE 12.16

The Bystander Intervention Effect

In Latané and Darley's experiments, participants waited with two apathetic confederates, with two other naive participants, or alone. This chart records the participants' reactions to smoke filling the room. of you, someone falls down, twists an ankle, and needs transportation to the nearest clinic. You probably would be willing to help. Now imagine you are running to a final exam that counts for 90 percent of your grade. In this case, you probably would be much less likely to offer assistance.

Cooperation Can Reduce Outgroup Bias

Can the findings of social psychology be used to encourage harmony between groups? Since the 1950s, social psychologists have worked with politicians, activists, and others in numerous attempts to alleviate the hostility and violence between factions. Beliefs about ethnic groups are embedded deeply in cultural and religious values, however, and it is extraordinarily difficult to change such beliefs. Around the world, groups clash over disputes that predate the births of most of the combatants. Sometimes people cannot even remember the original sources of particular conflicts. There have been success stories, however, such as the reconciliation between the Tutsi and Hutu 20 years after the genocide in Rwanda. There have also been examples of people banding together to help those outside their groups. Recall the earthquakes and tsunamis in Japan in 2011, when thousands of people were killed, or the devastating earthquake in Haiti in 2010, when hundreds of thousands of people were killed and millions were left homeless (**FIGURE 12.17**). The international responses to these tragedies show that people respond to outgroup members in need. In working together toward a greater purpose, people can overcome intergroup hostilities.

Social psychology may be able to suggest strategies for promoting intergroup harmony and producing greater tolerance for outgroups. The first study to suggest so was conducted in the 1950s by Muzafer Sherif and colleagues (1961). Sherif arranged for 22 well-adjusted and intelligent fifth-grade boys from Oklahoma City to attend a summer camp at a lake. The boys did not know each other. Before arriving at camp, they were divided into two groups that were essentially the same. During the first week, each group lived in a separate camp on a different side of the lake. Neither group knew that the other group existed.

The next week, over a four-day period, the groups competed in an athletic tournament. They played games such as tug-of-war, football, and softball, and the stakes were high. The winning team would receive a trophy, individual medals, and appealing prizes. The losers would receive nothing. The groups named themselves the Rattlers and the Eagles. Group pride was extremely strong, and animosity between the groups quickly escalated. The Eagles burned the Rattlers' flag, and the Rattlers retaliated by

FIGURE 12.17 Global Cooperation

After the earthquake in Haiti in 2010, workers from around the world assisted efforts to rebuild the country. Dealing with a natural catastrophe can help people overcome their differences.



trashing the Eagles' cabin. Eventually, confrontations and physical fights had to be broken up by the experimenters. All the typical signs of prejudice emerged, including the outgroup homogeneity effect and ingroup favoritism.

Phase 1 of the study was complete. Sherif had shown how easy it was to make people hate each other: Simply divide them into groups and have the groups compete, and prejudice and mistreatment will result. Phase 2 of the study then explored whether the hostility could be undone.

Sherif first tried what made sense at the time: simply having the groups come in contact with each other. This approach failed miserably. The hostilities were too strong, and skirmishes continued. Sherif reasoned that if competition led to hostility, then cooperation should reduce hostility. The experimenters created situations in which members of both groups had to cooperate to achieve necessary goals. For instance, the experimenters rigged a truck to break down. Getting the truck moving required all the boys to pull together. In an ironic twist, the boys had to use the same rope they used earlier in the tug-of-war. When they succeeded, a great cheer arose from the boys, with plenty of backslapping all around. After a series of tasks that required cooperation, the walls between the two sides broke down, and the boys became friends across the groups. Among strangers, competition and isolation created enemies. Among enemies, cooperation created friends (see "Scientific Thinking: Sherif's Study of Competition and Cooperation").

Research over the past four decades has indicated that only certain types of contact between hostile groups is likely to reduce prejudice and discrimination. Shared *superordinate* goals — goals that require people to cooperate — reduce hostility between groups. People who work together to achieve a common goal often break down subgroup distinctions as they become one larger group (Dovidio et al., 2004).

Scientific Thinking Sherif's Study of Competition and Cooperation

HYPOTHESIS: Just as competition between groups promotes prejudice and hostility, so cooperation between groups can promote harmony.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 In Phase 1 of the experiment, boys from two summer camps were pitted against each other in athletic competitions:



2 In Phase 2, the boys from the two camps were required to work together as one group to achieve common goals.

RESULTS: At first, competition created tension and hostility. After a series of cooperative efforts, the boys began to make friends across groups.

CONCLUSION: When shared goals require cooperation across group lines, hostility can decrease between the groups.

SOURCE: Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *Intergroup cooperation and competition: The Robbers Cave experiment*. Norman, OK: University Book Exchange.

For example, athletes on multiethnic teams often develop positive feelings toward other ethnicities.

JIGSAW CLASSROOM The programs that most successfully bring groups together involve person-to-person interaction. A good example is the social psychologist Eliot Aronson's *jigsaw classroom*, which he developed with his students in the 1970s. In this program, students work together in mixed-race or mixed-sex groups in which each member of the group is an expert on one aspect of the assignment. For instance, when studying Mexico, one group member might focus on the country's geography, another on its history, and so on. The various geography experts from each group get together and master the material. They then return to their own groups and teach the material to their team members. In other words, each group member cooperates outside the group and within the group. This process makes all team members equally valuable to the group. More than 800 studies of the jigsaw classroom have demonstrated that it leads to more-positive treatment of other ethnicities and that students learn the material better and perform at higher levels. According to Aronson (2002), children in jigsaw classrooms grow to like each other more and develop higher self-esteem than do children in traditional classrooms.

Summing Up

When Do People Harm or Help Others?

- Aggression is a fundamental human behavior.
- Situational factors that lead to negative emotions-factors including social rejection, fear, heat, and pain-can influence aggression.
- The MAOA gene and serotonin levels are especially important in the control of aggressive behavior. A modest correlation exists between testosterone and aggression.
- Societies that subscribe to a culture of honor are prone to higher levels of violence.
- Prosocial behaviors maintain social relations. From the evolutionary perspective, altruistic behavior is selfishly motivated. That is, people help others in order to pass on genes or to increase the likelihood that others will reciprocate when help is needed.
- The bystander intervention effect occurs when people fail to help someone in need when other people are present. Bystander apathy is most likely to occur when people are in ambiguous situations, can remain anonymous, and perceive risk in helping others.
- Cooperation and working toward superordinate goals can increase harmony across groups.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether each of the following statements supports a biological, situational, or social/cultural explanation for aggression.
 - Individuals engaging in aggressive or violent behavior have been found to have high testosterone levels.
 - **b.** If individuals have recently watched a violent movie, they are more likely to act aggressively.
 - c. Levels and types of violence vary across cultures.
 - **d.** Levels and types of violence vary within cultures across time.
 - e. Physical violence is more prevalent in the southern United States than in the northern United States.
 - f. Mutations in the MAOA gene have been found in highly aggressive individuals.
 - **g.** The more an individual's goals are blocked, the greater his or her frustration and aggression.

- 2. For each of the following scenarios, indicate whether the individuals are likely to evidence bystander apathy. Briefly explain why or why not.
 - **a.** A college student is in an academic building late one Friday afternoon, when almost everyone has gone home for the weekend. She sees one of her professors lying in the hallway. His breathing is shallow, and he is grasping his chest.
 - **b.** A driver hurrying to a meeting sees a man hovering over a woman sitting on a park bench. The man is shaking his fist violently, and the woman is looking up at him with terror in her eyes.
 - **c.** College students are walking across campus after a night on the town. They come across a person who appears to be homeless, curled up on the sidewalk. His eyes and mouth are open, but he does not seem alert.

ANSWERS: (1) a, f-biological; b, g-situational; c, d, e-sociocultural. (2) a. no (no ambiguity, no opportunity to diffuse responsibility, no anonymity); b. yes (high cost-benefit ratio, driver can remain anonymous, opportunity for diffusion of responsibility); c. yes (situtation is ambiguous, opportunity for diffusion of responsibility).

12.3How Do AttitudesGuide Behavior?

You probably have feelings, opinions, and beliefs about yourself, your friends, your favorite television program, and so on. These feelings, opinions, and beliefs are called **attitudes.** Such evaluations of objects, of events, or of ideas are central to social psychology. Attitudes are shaped by social context, and they play an important role in how we evaluate and interact with other people.

People have attitudes about all sorts of things. For example, people have opinions on trivial and mundane matters, such as which deodorant works best. They also form positions on grand issues, such as politics, morals, and religion—that is, the core beliefs and values that define who one is as a human being. Some attitudes are held consciously, while others remain below conscious awareness. This section considers how attitudes affect people's daily lives.

People Form Attitudes Through Experience and Socialization

Throughout life, people encounter new things. Those things can be objects, other people, or situations. When people hear about things, read about them, or experience them directly, they learn about them and perhaps explore them. Through this process, they gain information that shapes their attitudes. Generally, people develop negative attitudes about new things more quickly than they develop positive attitudes about them (Fazio, Eisner, & Shook, 2004). Throughout evolution, sensitivity to learning about danger would have been particularly adaptive. While missing out on something pleasurable may be a lost opportunity, it is unlikely that such a loss would produce a really bad outcome. Ignoring danger, however, might be deadly. In general, bad is always a stronger motivating force than good (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001).

People talk about acquiring a taste for foods that they did not like originally, such as bleu cheese or sushi. How do they come to like something that they could not stand the first time they were exposed to it? Typically, the more people are exposed to something, the more they tend to like it. In a classic set of studies, Robert Zajonc (1968,

Learning Objectives

- Explain how attitudes are formed.
- Identify characteristics of attitudes that are predictive of behavior.
- Distinguish between explicit and implicit attitudes.
- Describe cognitive dissonance theory.
- Identify factors that influence the persuasiveness of messages.
- Describe the elaboration likelihood model.

attitudes People's evaluations of objects, of events, or of ideas.



FIGURE 12.18 The Mere Exposure Effect

If he is like most people, U.S. president Barack Obama will prefer (right) his mirror image to (left) his photographic image. There is nothing wrong with the photographic image. President Obama will simply be more familiar with the mirror image. 2001) exposed people to unfamiliar items a few times or many times. Greater exposure to the item, and therefore greater familiarity with it, caused people to have more-positive attitudes about the item. This process is called the **mere exposure effect**.

For example, when people are presented with normal photographs of themselves and the same images reversed, they tend to prefer the reversed versions. Why would this be the case? The reversed images correspond to what people see when they look in the mirror (**FIGURE 12.18**). Their friends and family members prefer the true photographs, which correspond to how they view the person. You can try

this yourself by taking a "selfie" and then flipping it. Which image do you prefer?

Because people's associations between things and their meanings can change, attitudes can be conditioned (for a full discussion of conditioning, see Chapter 6). Advertisers often use classical conditioning: When people see a celebrity paired with a product, they tend to develop more-positive attitudes about the product. After conditioning, a formerly neutral stimulus (e.g., a deodorant) triggers the same attitude response as the paired object (e.g., Brad Pitt if he were to endorse a deodorant). Operant conditioning also shapes attitudes: If you are rewarded with good grades each time you study, you will develop a more positive attitude toward studying.

FIGURE 12.19 Socialization Shapes Attitudes This photo was taken in Gainesville, Georgia, in 1992. The child's attitudes about African Americans may have been socialized by his parents' involvement with a racist organization.

mere exposure effect The idea that greater exposure to a stimulus leads to greater liking for it. Attitudes are also shaped through socialization (**FIGURE 12.19**). Caregivers, peers, teachers, religious leaders, politicians, and media figures guide people's attitudes about many things. For example, teenagers' attitudes about clothing styles and music, about behaviors such as smoking and drinking alcohol, and about the latest celebrities are heavily influenced by their peers' beliefs. Society instills many basic attitudes, including which things are edible. For instance, many Hindus do not eat beef, whereas many Jews do not eat pork.

Behaviors Are Consistent with Strong Attitudes

In general, the stronger and more personally relevant the attitude, the more likely it is to predict behavior. The strong and personally relevant nature of the attitude will lead the person to act the same across situations related to that attitude. It will also lead the person to defend the attitude. For instance, someone who grew up in a strongly Democratic household, especially one where derogatory comments about Republicans were expressed frequently, is more likely to register as a Democrat and vote Democratic than someone who grew up in a more politically neutral environment.

Moreover, the more specific the attitude, the more predictive it is. For instance, your attitudes toward recycling are more predictive of whether you take your soda cans to a recycling bin than are your general environmental beliefs. Attitudes formed through direct experience also tend to predict behavior better. Consider parenthood. No matter what kind of parent you think you will be, by the time you have seen one child through toddlerhood, you will have formed very strong attitudes about child-rearing techniques. These attitudes will predict how you approach the early months and years of your second child.

From moment to moment, the way that you rear your second child will also depend on your memory. How easily can you retrieve from memory your attitudes about child rearing? *Attitude accessibility* refers to the ease or difficulty that a person has in retrieving an attitude from memory. This accessibility predicts behavior consistent with the attitude. Russell Fazio (1995) has shown that easily activated attitudes are more stable, predictive of behavior, and resistant to change. Thus, the more quickly you recall that you like your psychology course, the more likely you are to attend lectures and read the textbook.

Attitudes Can Be Explicit or Implicit

How do you know your attitude about something? Recall from Chapter 4 that access to mental processes is limited and that unconscious processes can influence behavior. People's conscious awareness of their attitudes can be limited because of several factors, such as their desire to believe they hold positive attitudes about certain racial groups, but their actions can reveal their less positive attitudes (Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011).

Over the last 15 years, researchers have demonstrated that attitudes can be explicit or implicit and that these different attitudes have different effects on behavior. **Explicit attitudes** are those you know about and can report to other people. If you say you like bowling, you are stating your explicit attitude toward it. Anthony Greenwald and Mahzarin Banaji (1995) have noted that people's many **implicit attitudes** influence their feelings and behaviors at an unconscious level. People access implicit attitudes from memory quickly, with little conscious effort or control. In this way, implicit attitudes function like implicit memories. As discussed in Chapter 7, implicit memories make it possible for people to perform actions, such as riding a bicycle, without thinking through all the required steps. Similarly, you might purchase a product endorsed by a celebrity even though you have no conscious memory of having seen the celebrity use the product. The product might simply look familiar to you. Some evidence suggests that implicit attitudes involve brain regions associated with implicit rather than explicit memory (Lieberman, 2000).

One method researchers use to assess implicit attitudes is a reaction time test called the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The IAT measures how quickly a person associates concepts or objects with positive or negative words (**FIGURE 12.20**). Responding more quickly to the association *female* = *bad* than to *female* = *good* indicates your implicit attitude about females. A meta-analysis of more than 100 studies found that, in socially sensitive situations in which people might not want to admit their real attitudes, the IAT is a better predictor of behavior than explicit self-reports are (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). However, some recent evidence suggests that the IAT may not be an effective way to predict racial and ethnic discrimination (Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2014).

Discrepancies Lead to Dissonance

Generally, attitudes seem to guide behavior. Citizens vote for candidates they like, and people avoid foods they do not like. What happens when people hold conflicting attitudes? In 1957, the social psychologist Leon Festinger answered that question by proposing the theory of **cognitive dissonance** (**FIGURE 12.21**).

According to this theory, *dissonance*—a lack of agreement—occurs when there is a contradiction between two attitudes or between an attitude and a behavior. For example, people experience cognitive dissonance when they smoke even though they know that smoking might kill them. A basic assumption of cognitive dissonance theory is that dissonance causes anxiety and tension. Anxiety and tension cause displeasure. Displeasure motivates people to reduce dissonance. Generally, people reduce

explicit attitudes Attitudes that a person can report.

implicit attitudes

Attitudes that influence a person's feelings and behavior at an unconscious level.

cognitive dissonance

An uncomfortable mental state resulting from a contradiction between two attitudes or between an attitude and a behavior.



FIGURE 12.20 Implicit Association Test When a word appears on the screen, a person has to select whether it is bad or good or a male name or a female name.



FIGURE 12.21 Leon Festinger Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance was an important influence on research in experimental social psychology.



FIGURE 12.22

Cognitive Dissonance

In Festinger and Carlsmith's dissonance study, participants performed an extremely boring task and then reported to other participants how enjoyable it was. Some participants were paid \$20 to lie, and some were paid \$1. dissonance by changing their attitudes or behaviors. They sometimes also rationalize or trivialize the discrepancies.

INSUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION In one of the original dissonance studies, each participant performed an extremely boring task for an hour (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). The experimenter then paid the participant \$1 or \$20 to lie and tell the next participant that the task was really interesting, educational, and worthwhile. Nearly all the participants subsequently provided the false information. Later, under the guise of a different survey, the same participants were asked how worthwhile and enjoyable the task had actually been. You might think that those paid \$20 remembered the task as more enjoyable, but just the opposite happened. Participants who had been paid \$1 rated the task much more favorably than those who had been paid \$20.

According to the researchers, this effect occurred because those paid \$1 had insufficient monetary justification for lying. Therefore, to justify why they went along with the lie, they changed their attitudes about performing the dull experimental task. Those paid \$20 had plenty of justification for lying, since \$20 was a large amount of money in 1959 (roughly equivalent to \$150 today), so they did not experience dissonance and did not have to change their attitudes

about the task (**FIGURE 12.22**). As this research shows, one way to get people to change their attitudes is to change their behaviors first, using as few incentives as possible.

POSTDECISIONAL DISSONANCE According to cognitive dissonance theory, dissonance can arise when a person holds positive attitudes about different options but has to choose one of the options. For example, a person might have trouble deciding which of many excellent colleges to attend. The person might narrow the choice to two or three alternatives and then have to choose. *Postdecisional dissonance* then motivates the person to focus on one school's—the chosen school's—positive aspects and the other schools' negative aspects. This effect occurs automatically, with minimal cognitive processing, and apparently without awareness. Indeed, even patients with long-term memory loss may show postdecisional effects for past choices, even if the patients do not consciously recall which items they chose (Lieberman, Ochsner, Gilbert, & Schacter, 2001).

JUSTIFYING EFFORT So far, the discussion of people's attitudes has focused on changes in individual behavior. What about group-related behavior? Consider the extreme group-related behaviors of initiation rites. On college campuses, administrators impose rules and penalties to discourage hazing, yet some fraternities and sororities continue to do it. The groups require new recruits to undergo embarrassing or difficult rites of passage because these endurance tests make membership in the group seem much more valuable. The tests also make the group more cohesive.

To test these ideas, Eliot Aronson and Judson Mills (1959) required women to undergo a test to see if they qualified to take part in a research study. Some women had to read a list of obscene words and sexually explicit passages in front of the male experimenter. In the 1950s, this task was very difficult for many women and took considerable effort. A control group read a list of milder words, such as *prostitute*. Participants in both conditions then listened to a boring and technical presentation about mating rituals in lower animals. Women who had read the embarrassing words reported that the presentation was much more interesting, stimulating, and important than did the women who had read the milder words. As this research shows, when people put themselves through pain, embarrassment, or discomfort to join a group, they experience a great deal of dissonance. After all, they typically would not choose to be in pain, embarrassed, or uncomfortable. Yet they made such a choice. They resolve the dissonance by inflating the importance of the group and their commitment to it. This justification of effort helps explain why people are willing to subject themselves to humiliating experiences such as hazing (**FIGURE 12.23**). More tragically, it may help explain why people who give up connections to families and friends to join cults or to follow enigmatic leaders are willing to die rather than leave the groups. If they have sacrificed so much to join a group, people believe the group must be extraordinarily important.



Attitudes Can Be Changed Through Persuasion

A number of forces other than dissonance can conspire to change attitudes. People are bombarded by television advertisements; lectures from parents, teachers, and physicians; pressure from peers; public service announcements; politicians appealing for votes; and so on. **Persuasion** is the active and conscious effort to change an attitude through the transmission of a message. In the earliest scientific work on persuasion, Carl Hovland and colleagues (1953) emphasized that persuasion is most likely to occur when people pay attention to a message, understand it, and find it convincing. In addition, the message must be memorable, so its impact lasts over time.

Various factors affect the persuasiveness of a message (Petty & Wegener, 1998). These factors include the *source* (who delivers the message), the *content* (what the message says), and the *receiver* (who processes the message). Sources who are both attractive and credible are the most persuasive. Thus, television ads for medicines and medical services often feature very attractive people playing the roles of physicians (see Figure 1.5). Even better, of course, is when a drug company ad uses a spokesperson who is both attractive *and* an actual doctor. Credibility and persuasiveness may also be heightened when the receiver perceives the source as similar to himself or herself.

Of course, the arguments in the message are also important for persuasion (Greenwald, 1968). Strong arguments that appeal to emotions are the most persuasive. Advertisers also use the mere exposure effect, repeating the message over and over in the hope that multiple exposures will lead to increased persuasiveness. For this reason, politicians often make the same statements over and over during campaigns. Those who want to persuade (including, of course, politicians) also have to decide whether to deliver one-sided arguments or to consider both sides of particular issues. One-sided arguments work best when the audience is on the speaker's side or is gullible. With a more skeptical crowd, speakers who acknowledge both sides but argue that one is superior tend to be more persuasive than those who completely ignore the opposing view.

According to the **elaboration likelihood model** (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), persuasive communication leads to attitude change in two fundamental ways (**FIGURE 12.24**). When people are motivated to process information and are able to process that information, persuasion takes the *central route*. That is, people are paying attention to the arguments, considering all the information, and using rational cognitive processes. This route leads to strong attitudes that last over time and that people actively

FIGURE 12.23 Justifying Effort

In early 2008, the University of Maryland removed the Delta Sigma chapter of the Delta Tau Delta fraternity from the College Park campus. Photos such as this one revealed that the fraternity's hazing included abusive alcohol consumption and mental, emotional, and physical duress.

persuasion

The active and conscious effort to change an attitude through the transmission of a message.

elaboration likelihood model The idea that persuasive messages lead to attitude changes in two ways: via the central route or via the peripheral route.

FIGURE 12.24 The Elaboration Likelihood Model

When people are motivated and able to consider information, they process it via the central route. As a result, their attitude changes reflect cognitive elaboration (left). When people are either not motivated or not able to consider information, they process it via the peripheral route. As a result, their attitude changes reflect the presence or absence of shallow peripheral cues. For example, as a result of peripheral processing, people may be persuaded because the person making an argument is attractive or a celebrity (right).



defend. When people are either not motivated to process information or are unable to process it, persuasion takes the *peripheral route*. That is, people minimally process the message. This route leads to more-impulsive action, as when a person decides to purchase a product because a celebrity has endorsed it or because of how an advertisement makes the person feel. Peripheral cues, such as the attractiveness or status of the person making the argument, influence what attitude is adopted. Attitudes developed through the peripheral route are weaker and more likely to change over time.

Summing Up

How Do Attitudes Guide Behavior?

- Attitudes are evaluations of objects, of events, or of ideas. Attitudes are formed through direct experience, are influenced by familiarity (the mere exposure effect), and may be shaped by conditioning and socialization.
- Attitudes best predict behavior when they are strong, personally relevant, specific, formed through personal experience, and easily accessible.
- Explicit attitudes are those that people are aware of and can report. Implicit attitudes
 operate at an unconscious level. In socially sensitive situations, implicit attitudes are a better
 predictor of behavior than explicit attitudes.
- Discrepancies between attitudes, or between attitudes and behavior, lead to cognitive dissonance. People reduce dissonance by changing their attitudes or behaviors or by rationalizing or trivializing the discrepancy.
- Persuasion is the active and conscious effort to change attitudes through transmission of a message.

According to the elaboration likelihood model, persuasion through the central route (which involves careful thought about the message) produces stronger and more persistent attitude change than persuasion through the peripheral route (which relies on peripheral cues, such as the attractiveness of the person making the argument).

Measuring Up

- Identify the attitude formation or change process(es) described in each of the following examples. Choose from cognitive dissonance, conditioning, mere exposure effect, persuasion, and socialization.
 - **a.** Miwa returns home from her first day of kindergarten. She tells her parents, "I don't like my teacher." A few weeks later, her parents hear Miwa talking about how much she likes her teacher.
 - **b.** Arnie always wears his seatbelt because his parents taught him to when he was a child.
 - **c.** Given the choice between a Coke or a Pepsi, Manish chooses a Coke. Later that night, he watches his favorite TV show and realizes that Coca-Cola is one of its sponsors.
 - **d.** Samantha proclaims her love of coffee to her date. Yet, when they go to a café, Samantha orders an Italian soda.
- 2. For each of the following scenarios, indicate whether the attitude is likely to predict the subsequent behavior. In a few words, explain why or why not.
 - a. Badu somewhat agrees that it is important to vote. Later, a friend asks Badu if he would like to go to the polling place with him.
 - **b.** When asked how she feels about eating fast food, Brooke immediately looks disgusted and proclaims, "Ick!" Later, a friend asks her to grab lunch at a popular fast food joint.
 - **c.** Zane writes a blog entry advocating justice. Later, a friend asks Zane to attend a protest supporting an increase in the wages earned by migrant farm workers.

c. No, attitude lacks specificity.

ANSWERS: (1) a. mere exposure; b. persuasion and socialization; c. conditioning; d. cognitive dissonance. (2) a. No, attitude is not strong; b. Yes, attitude is strong and highly accessible;

12.4 How Do People Think About Others?

As social psychologists have shown, long-term evaluations of people are heavily influenced by first impressions. But the factors that affect first impressions can lead to perceptual biases. For instance, when one person's gender or skin color leads someone else to automatically think about the person in particular ways, those first impressions can often be mistaken.

Physical Appearance Affects First Impressions

When someone walks toward you, you make a number of quick judgments. For example, do you know the person? Does the person pose a threat? Do you want to know the person better?

The first thing people notice about another person is usually the face. When human babies are less than an hour old, they prefer to look at and will track a picture of a human face rather than a blank outline of a head (Morton & Johnson, 1991). After

Learning Objectives

- Discuss the roles of appearance and of nonverbal behavior in impression formation.
- Define the fundamental attribution error and the actor/ observer discrepancy.
- Describe the functions of stereotypes.
- Distinguish between prejudice and discrimination.
- Define modern racism and discuss its impact on prejudice and discrimination.
- Discuss strategies to inhibit stereotypes and reduce prejudice.

FIGURE 12.25

Reading Nonverbal Behavior

(a) People's body language affects impressions of the people and their situations. (b) In one study, participants watched a 10-second silent video or figural outline of someone walking or gesturing. The participants correctly guessed the figure's sexual orientation at a better-thanchance rate (Ambady, Hallahan, & Conner, 1999).





all, the face communicates information such as emotional state, interest, competence, and trustworthiness. In one study, participants were shown pairs of faces of candidates who were competing in U.S. congressional elections. The people selected as the most competent, based solely on facial appearance, won nearly 70 percent of the actual elections (Todorov, Mandisodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005). Throughout human evolution, it has been crucial to identify others who might not be trustworthy. By age 7, children can make judgments about whether a face is trustworthy or not (using descriptors such as *nice* or *mean*) that match adult consensus judgments (Cogsdill, Todorov, Spelke, & Banaji, 2014). As mentioned in Chapter 10, the amygdala is particularly important for judging trustworthiness.

According to popular perception, trustworthy people can "look us in the eye." Eye contact is important in social situations, though how people perceive that contact depends on their culture. People from Western cultures tend to seek eye contact when they speak to someone. If the other person does not meet their eyes, they might assume, perhaps incorrectly, that the person is embarrassed, ashamed, or lying, whereas they tend to view a person who looks them in the eyes as truthful and friendly. For this reason, people wearing sunglasses are often described as cold and aloof, and police officers sometimes wear sunglasses partly to seem intimidating. Poker players may wear sunglasses to mask nonverbal cues about whether they are holding a good or bad hand. However, in other groups, such as certain Native American tribes, making direct eye contact, especially with the elderly, is considered disrespectful.

Facial expressions, gestures, mannerisms, and movements are all examples of **nonverbal behavior**, sometimes referred to as *body language* (**FIGURE 12.25**). How much can be learned from nonverbal behavior? Nalini Ambady and Robert Rosenthal have found that people can make accurate judgments based on only a few seconds of observation. Ambady and Rosenthal refer to such quick views as *thin slices of behavior*. Thin slices of behavior are powerful cues for impression formation. For instance, videotapes of judges giving instructions to juries reveal that a judge's nonverbal actions can predict whether a jury will find the defendant guilty or not guilty. Judges, perhaps unconsciously, may indicate their beliefs about guilt or innocence through facial expressions, tones of voice, and gestures. In one study, the participants viewed soundless 30-second film clips of college teachers lecturing (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993). The participants were asked to rate the lecturers' teaching ability. Based solely on nonverbal behaviors, the participants' ratings corresponded very highly with the ratings given by the instructors' students.

nonverbal behavior

The facial expressions, gestures, mannerisms, and movements by which one communicates with others.

People Make Attributions About Others

People constantly try to explain other people's motives, traits, and preferences. For example, as discussed at the opening of this chapter, why did Cory Booker rescue his neighbor from her burning house? Is he just a really brave person, or was he trying to impress voters? **Attributions** are explanations for events or actions, including other people's behavior. People are motivated to draw inferences in part by a basic need for both order and predictability. The world can be a dangerous place in which many unexpected things happen. People prefer to think that things happen for reasons and that therefore they can anticipate future events. For instance, you might expect that if you study for an exam, you will do well on it.

ATTRIBUTIONAL DIMENSIONS In any situation, various plausible explanations may exist for specific outcomes. For example, doing well on a test could be due to brilliance, luck, intensive studying, the test's being unexpectedly easy, or a combination of factors. Fritz Heider (1944), the originator of attribution theory, drew an essential distinction between two types of attributions. **Personal attributions** are internal or dispositional attributions. These explanations refer to things within people, such as abilities, moods, or efforts. For instance, if you believe that Cory Booker rescued his neighbor from flames because he is brave, you are making a personal attribution. **Situational attributions** are external attributions. These explanations refer to outside events, such as luck, accidents, or the actions of other people. Cory Booker said that he just did what most neighbors would do if they realized someone was trapped in a burning building. He noted also that firefighters and police officers perform those kinds of actions every day.

Bernard Weiner (1974) noted that attributions can vary on other dimensions. For example, attributions can be stable over time (permanent) or unstable (temporary). They can be controllable or uncontrollable. Consider that the weather is situational, unstable, and uncontrollable. How would you classify good study habits?

ATTRIBUTIONAL BIAS Social psychologists such as Fritz Heider and Harold Kelley have described people as intuitive scientists who try to draw inferences about others and make attributions about events. Unlike objective scientists, however, people tend to be systematically biased when they process social information. When explaining other people's behavior, people tend to overemphasize the importance of personality traits and underestimate the importance of situations. Edward Jones called it the *correspondence bias* to emphasize the expectancy that people's actions correspond with their beliefs and personalities (Jones & Davis, 1965). For example,

someone who follows orders to inflict harm on another, as in the obedience study, is assumed to be an evil person. This tendency is so pervasive that it has been called the **fundamental attribu-tion error** (Ross, 1977).

People generally fail to take into account that other people are influenced by social circumstances, such as the social pressures that lead to obedience to authority. Consider the host of *Jeopardy!*, Alex Trebek. Viewers exhibit the fundamental attribution error when they assume Trebek must be very smart because he knows so much information. Trebek may indeed be very smart. But when viewers develop this belief based on his performance on the show, they neglect to take into account that he knows the questions and the answers because writers have provided them on cards (**FIGURE 12.26**).

attributions

People's explanations for why events or actions occur.

personal attributions

Explanations of people's behavior that refer to their internal characteristics, such as abilities, traits, moods, or efforts.

situational attributions

Explanations of people's behavior that refer to external events, such as the weather, luck, accidents, or other people's actions.

fundamental attribution error In explaining other people's behavior, the tendency to overemphasize personality traits and underestimate situational factors.

FIGURE 12.26

Fundamental Attribution Error Since 1984, Alex Trebek has hosted the enormously popular television game show *Jeopardy!* Here, Trebek converses with three contestants on the show. Can we judge from this interaction how smart Trebek is?



In contrast, when people make attributions about themselves, they tend to focus on situations rather than on their personal dispositions. In conjunction with the fundamental attribution error, this focus on personal situations leads to the *actor/observer discrepancy*. This term refers to two tendencies: When interpreting their own behavior, people tend to focus on situations. When interpreting other people's behavior, they tend to focus on dispositions. For instance, people tend to attribute their own lateness to external factors, such as traffic or competing demands. They tend to attribute other people's lateness to personal characteristics, such as laziness or lack of organization. According to a meta-analysis of 173 studies, the actor/observer effect is not large and happens mainly for negative events or when people explain the behavior of people they know well (Malle, 2006).

Is the fundamental attribution error really fundamental? That is, does it occur across cultures, or do attributional styles differ between Eastern cultures and Western cultures? As discussed in Chapter 1, people in Eastern cultures tend to be more holistic in how they perceive the world. They see the forest rather than individual trees. On average, people in Eastern cultures use much more information when making attributions than do people in Western cultures, and they are more likely to believe that human behavior is the outcome of both personal and situational factors (Choi, Dalal, Kim-Prieto, & Park, 2003; Miyamoto & Kitayama, 2002). Although Easterners are more likely than Westerners to take situational forces into account, however, they still tend to favor personal information over situational information when making attributions about others (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999). Thus, in interpreting behavior, cultures tend not to differ in whether they emphasize personal factors. Instead, cultures differ in how much they emphasize the situation.

Stereotypes Are Based on Automatic Categorization

Do all Italians have fiery tempers? Do all Canadians like hockey? Can white women rap? People hold beliefs about groups because such beliefs make it possible to answer these sorts of questions quickly (**FIGURE 12.27**). As discussed in Chapter 8, such beliefs are stereotypes. That is, they are cognitive schemas that help in the organization of information about people on the basis of their membership in certain groups. Mental shortcuts are forms of heuristic thinking: They enable people to make quick decisions. Stereotypes are mental shortcuts that allow for easy, fast processing of social information. Stereotyping occurs automatically and, in most cases, outside of awareness (Devine, 1989).



FIGURE 12.27 Stereotypes

(a) Would this photo, of fans at a 2010
Olympic Gold Medal Hockey game between Canada and the United
States, lead you to think that all
Canadians like hockey? (b) When you think of a rapper, do you picture a
Caucasian woman? Probably not. But lggy Azalea is one of the white female rappers establishing themselves in this traditionally male-dominated field.



In and of themselves, stereotypes are neutral. They simply reflect efficient cognitive processes. They can contain information that is negative or positive. Some stereotypes are based in truth: Men tend to be more violent than women, and women tend to be more nurturing than men. These statements are true on average. However, not all men are violent, nor are all women nurturing.

People construct and use such categories for two basic reasons: to streamline the formation of impressions and to deal with the limitations inherent in mental processing (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994). That is, because of limited mental resources, people cannot scrutinize every person they encounter. Rather than consider each person as unique and unpredictable, people categorize others as belonging to particular groups. They hold knowledge about the groups in long-term memory. For example, they might automatically categorize others on the basis of clothing or hairstyles. Once they have put others into particular categories, they will have beliefs about the others based on stereotypes about the particular categories. That is, stereotypes affect the formation of impressions, which can be positive or negative (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Consider the stereotype that men are more likely than women to be famous. As a result of this stereotype, people are more likely to falsely remember a male name than a female name as that of a famous person (Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; this misremembering, the false fame effect, is discussed further in Chapter 7).

Once people form stereotypes, they maintain them by numerous processes. As schemas, stereotypes guide attention toward information that confirms the stereotypes and away from disconfirming evidence. Memories may also become biased to match stereotypes. As a result of directed attention and memory biases, people may see *illusory correlations*. Such correlations are an example of the psychological reasoning error (discussed in Chapter 1 and in the "What to Believe?" feature in Chapter 6) of seeing relationships that do not exist. In this case, people believe false relationships because they notice only information that confirms their stereotypes.

Suppose you are stuck in traffic behind an elderly driver. If you attribute this delay to the typical driving patterns of older drivers, you are using a stereotype to make an attribution. In doing so, you might be influenced by an illusory correlation between age and driving speed that you made in the past—failing to notice the many times that you have been stuck behind young drivers or passed by older drivers. Similarly, one type of behavior might be perceived in different ways so it is consistent with a stereotype. A lawyer described as aggressive and a construction worker described as aggressive conjure up different images.

Moreover, when people encounter someone who does not fit a stereotype, they put that person in a special category rather than alter the stereotype. This latter process
is known as subtyping. Thus, a racist who believes Latinos are lazy may categorize a superstar such as Selma Hayak or Jennifer Lopez as an exception to the rule rather than as evidence for the invalidity of the stereotype. Forming a subtype that includes successful Latinos allows the racist to maintain his or her stereotype that Latinos are lazy.

Stereotypes Can Lead to Prejudice

Stereotypes may be positive, neutral, or negative. When they are negative, stereotypes can lead to prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice involves negative feelings, opinions, and beliefs associated with a stereotype. Discrimination is the inappropriate and unjustified treatment of people as a result of prejudice. Prejudice and discrimination are responsible for much of the conflict and warfare around the world. Within nearly all cultures, some groups of people are treated negatively because of prejudice. Over the last half century, social psychologists have studied the causes and consequences of prejudice, and they have tried to find ways to reduce its destructive effects.

Why do stereotypes so often lead to prejudice and discrimination? Various researchers have theorized that only certain types of people are prejudiced, that people treat others as scapegoats to relieve the tensions of daily living, and that people discriminate against others to protect their own self-esteem. One overarching explanation, consistent with our discussion in the first section of this chapter, is that evolution has led to two processes that produce prejudice and discrimination: People tend to favor their own groups over other groups, and people tend to stigmatize those who pose threats to their groups. From the perspectives of competition between groups over scarce resources and social identity theory, it is understandable that people can feel threatened by anything that favors the outgroup at the expense of the ingroup. People are hardwired to categorize people into groups and to defend the ingroups to which they belong and with which they identify.

STEREOTYPES AND PERCEPTION So far, the discussion of stereotypes has focused on beliefs and behavior. What does social psychology have to say about perception itself?

As mentioned earlier, stereotypes can affect attention. Indeed, research has shown that stereotypes can influence basic perceptual processes. In two experiments that demonstrated this influence, white participants looked at pictures of either tools or guns and were asked to classify them as quickly as possible (Payne, 2001). Immediately before seeing a picture, the participants were briefly shown a picture of a white face or a black face. They were told that the face was being shown to signal that either a gun or a tool would appear next. Being shown a black face led the participants to identify guns more quickly and to mistake tools for guns (see "Scientific Thinking: Payne's Experiments on Stereotypes and Perception"). Another study, in which over 90 percent of the participants were white, found that the reverse is also true: Priming people with pictures of weapons, such as guns and knives, may lead them to pay greater attention to pictures of black faces than to pictures of white faces (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004).

Using a virtual reality simulation, Greenwald, Oakes, and Hoffman (2003) required each participant in a study to play the role of a police officer. On each trial, the participant had to respond, or not, as three things appeared: When a criminal was holding a gun, the participant needed to click a computer mouse to shoot the criminal; when a fellow police officer was holding a gun, the participant needed to press the space bar; when a civilian was holding a neutral object, the participant needed to do nothing. In some trials, the criminal holding a gun was a white male and the police officer holding

prejudice

Negative feelings, opinions, and beliefs associated with a stereotype.

discrimination

The inappropriate and unjustified treatment of people as a result of prejudice.

Scientific Thinking

Payne's Experiments on Stereotypes and Perception

HYPOTHESIS: Stereotypes can influence basic perceptual processes.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 White participants were shown a picture of a white face or a picture of a black face.





2 Immediately after viewing a picture of a face, participants were shown a picture of an object and asked to classify it as a gun or a tool as quickly as possible.





RESULTS: Participants primed by seeing black faces identified guns more quickly and mistook tools for guns.

CONCLUSION: Stereotypes affect perception.

SOURCE: Payne, B. K. (2001). Prejudice and perception: The role of automatic and controlled processes in misperceiving a weapon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *81*, 181–192.

a gun was a black male. In the other trials, these pairings were reversed. Whatever their assigned roles in the study, blacks were more likely to be incorrectly shot. These shootings occurred, in part, because the participants were more likely to identify as weapons the objects held by the blacks.

Fortunately, evidence suggests that special computerized training—in which race is unrelated to the presence of a weapon—can help police officers avoid racial bias in deciding when to shoot (Plant & Peruche, 2005). Research compared police officers who received this training with community members who had not. In simulated decisions to shoot or not shoot blacks and whites, the police officers were much less likely to shoot unarmed people and were equally likely to shoot armed blacks and whites (Correll et al., 2007). The community members were more likely to shoot unarmed black targets. Thus, training seems to be able to override the effects of stereotypes.

MODERN PREJUDICE Most people know that expressing negative stereotypes publicly can lead to trouble. Social norms have made it unacceptable for people to

modern racism Subtle forms of prejudice that coexist with the rejection of racist beliefs.



FIGURE 12.28 Controversy and Modern Prejudice

Gay rights issues can reveal subtle forms of prejudice. Many opponents of gay marriage, such as this protester in Utah, do not advocate discrimination against gays. They argue that samesex marriage threatens traditional marriage. express prejudiced beliefs toward groups based on race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or gender. Of course, many people still harbor racist, homophobic, and sexist beliefs. They just try not to publicly reveal them.

Even people who believe themselves to be egalitarian may hold negative implicit attitudes about certain groups of people. In 2014, when the Dallas Mavericks owner Mark Cuban said he would cross the street to avoid a black man in a hoodie or a white person looking like a skinhead, he was acknowledging his prejudices even as he condemned himself for having them. Although nowadays few people are openly racist, and many explicitly reject racist attitudes, there remain more subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination. Social psychologists have introduced the idea of **modern racism**, which refers to subtle forms of prejudice that coexist with the rejection of racist beliefs. Modern racists tend to believe that discrimination is no longer a serious problem and that minority groups are demanding too much societal change, as in too many changes to traditional values (Henry & Sears, 2000). Modern racism often leaks out more through indifference to the concerns of minority group members than through overt negativity. For instance, people may condemn racist attitudes toward Latinos but be unwilling to help a Latino in need (Abad-Merino, Newheiser, Dovidio, Tabernero, & González, 2013).

Because people are reluctant to acknowledge explicit racist attitudes, researchers use questionnaires, such as the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), to measure subtle prejudices. For example, a version of this scale was used to assess subtle racism against Asians in Canada (Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008). Participants were asked to agree or disagree with statements such as "There are too many foreign students of Asian descent being allowed to attend university in Canada," "Discrimination against Asians is no longer a problem in Canada," and "It is too easy for Asians to illegally arrive in Canada and receive refugee status."

Modern racism arises in part because the equal treatment of minorities can challenge traditions associated with the majority. Other prejudices also have modern subtle forms, such as people who say that gays should not face discrimination but are reluctant to support gay marriage because it threatens the traditional definition of marriage as being between a man and a woman. (**FIGURE 12.28**)

Prejudice Can Be Reduced

Earlier we mentioned that the jigsaw classroom and having people work on superordinate goals can reduce outgroup bias. These methods also reduce prejudice. Even simply imagining positive social interactions with outgroup members can reduce prejudice and increase prosocial behaviors toward outgroup members (Miles & Crisp, 2014). In addition, other strategies have been shown to reduce prejudice. For example, bilingual instruction in schools lessens ingroup favoritism among elementary school children (Wright & Tropp, 2005). Prejudice can also be reduced through explicit efforts to train people about stereotypical associations. For example, participants who practice associating women and counter-stereotypical qualities (e.g., strength, dominance) are more likely than a control group to choose to hire women (Kawakami, Dovidio, & van Kamp, 2005).

INHIBITING STEREOTYPES Patricia Devine (1989) made the important point that people can override the stereotypes they hold and act in nondiscriminatory ways. For instance, most people in North America know some of the negative stereotypes associated with Muslim Americans. When a non-Muslim North American encounters a Muslim person, the information in the stereotypes becomes cognitively available. According to Devine, people who are motivated to be low in prejudice override this

automatic activation and act in a nondiscriminatory fashion. Although some automatic stereotypes alter how people perceive and understand the behavior of those they stereo-type, simply categorizing people does not necessarily lead to mistreating them.

Indeed, numerous studies have shown that people can consciously alter their automatic stereotyping (Blair, 2002). For instance, Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001) found that presenting positive examples of admired black individuals (e.g., Denzel Washington) produced more-favorable responses toward African Americans. In another study, training people to respond counter-stereotypically—as in having them press a "no" key when they saw an elderly person paired with a stereotype of the elderly—led to reduced automatic stereotyping in subsequent tasks (Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000).

In everyday life, however, inhibiting stereotyped thinking is difficult and requires self-control (Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002). The challenge comes, in part, from the need for the frontal lobes to override the emotional responses associated with amygdala activity. As discussed throughout this book, the frontal lobes are important for controlling both thoughts and behavior, whereas the amygdala is involved in detecting potential threats. In one brain imaging study, the amygdala became activated when white participants were briefly shown pictures of black faces (Cunningham et al., 2004). In this context, the amygdala activity may indicate that the participants' immediate responses to black faces were negative. If the faces were presented longer, however, the frontal lobes became active and the amygdala response decreased. Thus, the frontal lobes appear to have overridden the immediate reaction.

PERSPECTIVE TAKING AND PERSPECTIVE GIVING The technique called *perspective taking* involves people actively contemplating the psychological experiences of other people. Such contemplation can reduce racial bias and help to smooth potentially awkward interracial interactions (Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky, 2011). Taking another group's perspective appears to reduce negative or positive stereotypes. In one study, participants who used perspective taking rated a

typical construction worker to be smarter and more passionate and a typical doctor to be less intelligent and less passionate than did participants in the control condition who did not engage in perspective taking and used their stereotypes to rate a typical construction worker and doctor (Wang, Ku, Tai, & Galinksy, 2014).

The value of perspective taking for reducing prejudice may depend on whether the person is a member of the majority group or the minority group. In a study that included Palestinian and Israeli participants, perspective taking led the Israelis to the largest positive changes in attitude toward the Palestinians (Bruneau & Saxe, 2012). By contrast, *perspective giving*, in which people share their experiences of being targets of discrimination, led the Palestinians to the largest positive changes in attitude toward the Israelis. These results illustrate the critical roles, in

reducing prejudice, of *being heard* for minority group members (e.g., the Palestinians) and *listening* for majority group members (i.e, the Israelis). Bruneau and Saxe (2012) found a similar pattern for Mexican immigrants and white Americans in Arizona (**FIGURE 12.29**). However, perspective taking by the Mexican group actually worsened their attitudes about white Americans. Disempowered groups may resent having to consider the perspectives of empowered groups (Bruneau & Saxe, 2010). Social psychologists continue to conduct research to find the most useful ways to reduce intergroup hostility and reduce prejudice and discrimination (Oskamp, 2013).



FIGURE 12.29

Groups and Communication For the minority Mexican immigrants, being heard led to more-positive attitudes toward the outgroup. By contrast, perspective taking led to a worsening of attitudes. For the majority white Americans, being heard led to more-positive attitudes toward the outgroup, but listening produced even greater change.

Summing Up

How Do People Think About Others?

- Social interaction requires people to form impressions of others.
- People are highly sensitive to nonverbal information (e.g., facial expression, eye contact), and they can develop accurate impressions of others on the basis of very thin slices of behavior.
- People use personal attributions and situational attributions to explain behavior. The fundamental attribution error occurs when people favor personal attributions over situational attributions in explaining other people's behavior. The actor/observer discrepancy is people's tendency to make personal attributions when explaining other people's behavior and situational attributions when explaining their own behavior.
- Stereotypes result from the normal cognitive process of categorization and may be positive, neutral, or negative.
- People tend to develop prejudices and engage in discrimination against outgroup members-that is, members of groups to which the person does not belong.
- Modern racism is a subtle form of prejudice that has developed as people have learned to inhibit the public expression of their racist attitudes.
- Stereotypes may be inhibited-for instance, by presenting people with positive examples
 of negatively stereotyped groups. Prejudice and discrimination can be reduced by sharing
 superordinate goals that require cooperation, imagining positive interactions with
 outgroup members, and engaging in perspective taking and perspective giving.

Measuring Up

- 1. Max was arrested for driving while under the influence of alcohol. Label each of the following statements as an example of personal attribution or situational attribution. Which one of them may be an example of the fundamental attribution error?
 - **a.** Max says, "Nobody would give me a ride home. I couldn't sleep at the bar, so I had to get home. I had no other option."
 - b. Max's friend says, "Max is a selfish and irresponsible jerk."
- 2. Label each of the following statements as an example of stereotyping, prejudice, or discrimination.
 - a. "People from New York City are loud and obnoxious."
 - **b.** "What can I say, I just don't like people from New York City."
 - c. Walter refuses to do business with a firm from New York City.

ANSWERS: (1) a. situational attribution; b. personal attribution that may be an example of the tundamental attribution error. (2) a. stereotyping; b. prejudice; c. discrimination.

Learning Objectives

- Identify factors that influence interpersonal attraction.
- Discuss the social and personal benefits that being attractive can bring.
- Distinguish between passionate and companionate love.
- Identify interpersonal styles and attributional styles that contribute to dissatisfaction in relationships and to the dissolution of relationships.

12.5What Determines theQuality of Relationships?

Involvements between people sometimes lead to relationships. Here, the term *relationships* refers to connections with friends and romantic partners. Researchers have made considerable progress in identifying the factors that lead people to form relationships (Berscheid & Regan, 2005). Many of these findings consider the adaptive value of forming lasting affiliative bonds with others. As discussed throughout this chapter, humans have a strong need for social contact, and various factors influence how people select friends and mates. This section considers the factors that determine the quality of human relationships: how friendships develop, why people fall in

love, why romantic relationships sometimes fail, and how people can work to sustain their romantic relationships. As you will see, many of the same principles are involved in choosing friends and choosing lovers.

Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships

What factors influence which people become friends, lovers, or even enemies? Social psychologists have discovered a number of factors that predict people becoming friends or romantically involved. Some of these factors are situational, such as the frequency with which people come into contact, whereas others depend on specific personal characteristics, such as whether a person is judged to be trustworthy. For romantic relationships, psychologists have also identified certain physical characteristics that are found to be more or less attractive in a potential partner.

PROXIMITY AND FAMILIARITY In an early study, Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back (1950) examined friends in a college dorm. Because room assignments were random, the researchers were able to examine the effects of proximity on friendship. *Proximity* here simply means how often people come into contact with each other because they are physically nearby. The more people come into contact, the more likely they are to become friends. Indeed, friendships often form among people who belong to the same groups, clubs, and so on. In other words, people's social networks tend to form with individuals they regularly come into contact with (Rivera, Soderstrom, & Uzzi, 2010).

Proximity might have its effects because of familiarity: People like familiar things more than unfamiliar ones. In fact, humans generally fear anything novel. This phenomenon is known as *neophobia*. By contrast, as discussed earlier, when people are repeatedly exposed to something, they tend to like the thing more over time. This effect—the mere exposure effect—has been demonstrated in hundreds of studies that have used various objects, including faces, geometric shapes, Chinese characters, and nonsense words (Zajonc, 2001). Familiarity can sometimes breed contempt rather than liking. The more we get to know someone, the more aware we become of how different that person is from us (Norton, Frost, & Ariely, 2007). And we tend to prefer people who are similar to us.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER Birds of a feather really do flock together. People similar in attitudes, values, interests, backgrounds, and personalities tend to like each other. In high school, people tend to be friends with those of the same sex, race or ethnicity, age, and year in school. College roommates who are most similar at the beginning of the school year are most likely to become good friends (Neimeyer & Mitchell, 1988). The most successful romantic couples also tend to be the most physically similar, a phenomenon called the *matching principle* (Bentler & Newcomb, 1978; Caspi & Herbener, 1990). Of course, people can and do become friends with, become romantic partners with, and marry people of other races, people who are much older or younger, and so on. Such friendships and relationships tend to be based on other important similarities, such as values, education, and socioeconomic status.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS People tend to especially like those who have admirable personality characteristics and who are physically attractive. This tendency holds true whether people are choosing friends or lovers. In a now-classic study, Norman Anderson (1968) asked college students to rate 555 trait descriptions by how much they would like others who possessed those traits. As you might guess from the earlier discussion of who is rejected from social groups, people dislike

MOST POSITIVE	MOST NEGATIVE
Sincere	Unkind
Honest	Untrustworthy
Understanding	Malicious
Loyal	Obnoxious
Truthful	Untruthful
Trustworthy	Dishonest
Intelligent	Cruel
Dependable	Mean
Open-Minded	Phony
Thoughtful	Liar

Table 12.1The Ten Most Positive and Most NegativePersonal Characteristics

SOURCE: Anderson (1968).

cheaters and others who drain group resources. Indeed, as shown in **TABLE 12.1**, the least likable characteristics are related to dishonesty, insincerity, and lack of personal warmth. Conversely, people especially like those who are kind, dependable, and trust-worthy. Generally, people like those who have personal characteristics valuable to the group. For example, people like those whom they perceive to be competent or reliable much more than those they perceive to be incompetent or unreliable. People who seem overly competent or too perfect make others feel uncomfortable or inadequate, however, and small mistakes can make a person seem more human and therefore more likable. In one study, a highly competent person who spilled a cup of coffee on himself was rated more favorably than an equally competent person who did not perform this clumsy act (Helmreich, Aronson, & LeFan, 1970). This "pratfall effect" helps to humanize people and make others like them more.

PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS What determines physical attractiveness? Some standards of beauty, such as preferences for particular body types, appear to change over time and across cultures. Nevertheless, how people rate attractiveness is generally consistent across all cultures (Cunningham, Roberts, Barbee, Druen, & Wu, 1995). Indeed, brain imaging studies show activity in brain reward regions when both men and women see photographs of opposite-sex faces that have been rated as attractive by other people (Cloutier, Heatherton, Whalen, & Kelley, 2008).

As noted in Chapter 10, there is a general tendency in mate selection for men to seek physical attractiveness and for women to seek status. From an evolutionary point of view, men are attracted to signs of youth and fertility to maximize passing along their genes, whereas women are motivated to find partners who can provide resources for them and their offspring. If women truly are motivated in this way, we would expect them to show preferences for and be attracted to men displaying cues of dominance, strength, and earnings potential. Which physical characteristics might imply dominance in males? As noted earlier in this chapter, the hormone testosterone has been associated with ratings of dominance. One study found that men with the highest level of testosterone had faces with a higher width-to-height ratio (Lefevre, Lewis, Perrett, & Penke, 2013; **FIGURE 12.30**). If higher width-to-height ratio is a sign of dominance, then heterosexual women might be expected to find men with such characteristics most attractive. Recently, researchers had participants meet many potential partners using

speed dating. Width-to-height ratio in men was associated with their perceived dominance, physical attractiveness, and likelihood of being chosen for a second date (Valentine, Li, Penke, & Perrett, 2014).

At a more general level, most people find symmetrical faces more attractive than asymmetrical ones (Perrett et al., 1999). This preference may be adaptive, because a lack of symmetry could indicate poor health or a genetic defect. Indeed, one study found evidence that people with more-symmetrical faces reported using fewer antibiotics during the preceding three years, indicating they may be more disease resistant (Thornhill & Gangestad, 2006). There are no racial differences in the extent to which faces are symmetrical, but biracial people tend to have more-symmetrical facial features and correspondingly are rated as more attractive than those who are uniracial (Phelan, 2006). It does not seem to matter which two races are involved in the genetic makeup.

In a cleverly designed study of what people find attractive, Langlois and Roggman (1990) used a computer program to combine (or "average") various faces without regard to individual attractiveness. They found that as more faces were combined, participants rated the "averaged" faces as more attractive (FIGURE 12.31). People may view averaged faces as attractive because of the mere exposure effect. In other words, averaged faces may be more familiar than unusual faces. Other researchers contend that although averaged faces might be attractive, averaged *attractive* faces are rated more favorably than averaged unattractive faces (Perrett, May, & Yoshikawa, 1994).

Attractiveness can bring many important social benefits: Most people are drawn to those they find physically attractive (Langlois et al., 2000). Attractive people are less likely to be perceived as criminals; are given lighter sentences when convicted of crimes; are typically rated as happier, more intelligent, more sociable, more capable, more gifted, more successful, and less socially deviant; are paid more for doing the same work; and have greater career opportunities. These findings point to what Karen Dion and colleagues (1972) dubbed the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype.

Do attractive people actually possess characteristics consistent with the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype? The evidence on this issue is mixed. Attractive people tend to be more popular, more socially skilled, and healthier, but they are not necessarily smarter or happier (Feingold, 1992). Among studies of college students, the correlation between objective ratings of attractiveness and other characteristics appears small. In one study, multiple judges objectively rated the attractiveness of the participants. The researchers did not find any relationship between appearance and grades, number of personal relationships, financial resources, or just about anything (Diener, Wolsic, & Fujita, 1995). In addition, attractive people are similar to less attractive people in intelligence, life satisfaction, and self-esteem. Why does having all the









8 Number of faces averaged together



Sample 1, lowest testosterone



Sample 2, lowest testosterone



Sample 1, highest testosterone



Sample 2, highest testosterone

FIGURE 12.30

Testosterone and Facial Width This figure shows the average faces of twenty men with the (left) lowest and (right) highest testosterone levels in two different samples of men (one sample on top, one sample on bottom). The men with the highest testosterone levels have wider faces.

"what is beautiful is good" stereotype The belief that attractive people are superior in most ways.

FIGURE 12.31 "Average" Is Attractive The more faces that are averaged

together, the more attractive people find the outcome. The face on the right, a combination of 32 faces, typically is rated most attractive.

passionate love

A state of intense longing and desire.

companionate love

A strong commitment based on friendship, trust, respect, and intimacy.

benefits of attractiveness not lead to greater happiness? Possibly, attractive people learn to distrust attention from others, especially romantic attention (Reis et al., 1982). They assume that people like them simply for their looks. Because they believe that good things happen to them primarily because they are good-looking, attractive people may come to feel insecure. After all, looks can change or fade with age.

Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships

The pioneering work of Ellen Berscheid and Elaine (Walster) Hatfield (1969) has drawn an important distinction between passionate love and companionate love. **Passionate love** is a state of intense longing and sexual desire. This kind of love is often portrayed stereotypically in the arts and media. In passionate love, people fall head over heels for each other. They feel an overwhelming urge to be together. When they are together, they are continually aroused sexually (**FIGURE 12.32A**). Brain imaging studies show that passionate love is associated with activity in dopamine reward systems, the same systems involved in drug addiction (Fisher, Aron, & Brown, 2006; Ortigue, Bianchi-Demicheli, Hamilton, & Grafton, 2007).

People experience passionate love early in relationships. In most enduring relationships, passionate love evolves into companionate love (Sternberg, 1986).
 Companionate love is a strong commitment to care for and support a partner (Berscheid & Walster, 1969). This kind of love develops slowly over time because it is based on friendship, trust, respect, and intimacy (FIGURE 12.32B).

One theory of love is based on attachment theory. As discussed in Chapter 9, infants can form different levels of attachment with their parents. According to Cindy Hazan and Phillip Shaver (1987), adult relationships also vary in their attachment styles. Romantic relationships are especially likely to vary in terms of attachment. The attachment style a person has as an adult appears to be related to how the person's parents treated her or him as a child (Fraley & Shaver, 2000). People who believe their parents were warm, supportive, and responsive report having secure attachments in their relationships. They find it easy to get close to others and do not fear being abandoned. Just under 60 percent of adults report having this attachment style (Mickelson, Kessler, & Shaver, 1997). The remaining roughly 40 percent have insecure attachments. For example, people who believe their parents were cold and distant report having avoidant attachments. They find it hard to trust or depend on others, and they are wary of those who try to become close to them. Relationship partners make them uncomfortable. About 25 percent of adults report having this attachment style. People whose parents treated them inconsistently-sometimes warm and sometimes not-have ambivalent attachments. These people are best described

as clingy. They worry that people do not really love them and are bound to leave them. About 11 percent of adults report having this attachment style.

These findings are based partly on people's recollections of how their parents treated them, however. It is possible that people's memories in this area are distorted. Moreover, relationships can change people's attachment styles. People are likely to become secure in attachment style with a patient, understanding, and trustworthy partner. They may become insecure if paired with a "bad" partner.

Staying in Love Can Require Work

Passion typically fades over time. The long-term pattern of sexual activity within relationships shows a rise and then a decline. Typically, for a period of months or even



(b)



FIGURE 12.32 Passionate Versus Companionate Love

(a) The arts tend to focus on passionate love. Consider this image from the 2014 movie *Endless Love*, starring Gabriella Wilde and Alex Pettyfer. (b) Some romances, however, depict the development of companionate love. Contrast the *Endless Love* shot with this image from the 2014 movie *The Fault in Our Stars*, starring Ansel Elgort and Shailene Woodley. years, the two people experience frequent, intense desire for one another. They have sex as often as they can arrange it. Past that peak, however, their interest in having sex with each other decreases. For example, from the first year of marriage to the second, frequency of sex declines by about half (James, 1983). After that, the frequency continues to decline, but it does so more gradually. In addition, people typically—and normally—experience less passion for their partners over time as they shift from passionate to companionate love. If people do not develop companionate forms of satisfaction in their



romantic relationships—such as friendship, social support, and intimacy—the loss of passion leads to dissatisfaction and often to the eventual dissolution of the relationship (Berscheid & Regan, 2005).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, relatively few marriages meet the blissful ideals that newlyweds expect. Many contemporary Western marriages fail. In the United States, approximately half of all marriages end in divorce or separation. There are considerable racial differences in the probability of divorce, with Asians being the most likely to remain married after 20 years and African Americans the least likely (Copen, Daniels, Vespa, & Mosher, 2012; **FIGURE 12.33**).

DEALING WITH CONFLICT Even in the best relationships, some conflict is inevitable. Couples continually need to resolve strife. Confronting and discussing important problems is clearly an important aspect of any relationship. The way a couple deals with conflict often determines whether the relationship will last.

John Gottman (1994) describes four interpersonal styles that typically lead couples to discord and dissolution. These maladaptive strategies are *being overly critical, holding the partner in contempt* (i.e., having disdain, lacking respect), *being defensive,* and *mentally withdrawing from the relationship.* Gottman humorously uses the phrase *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (a reference to the biblical Book of Revelation) to reflect the serious threats that these patterns pose to relationships. For example, when one partner voices a complaint, the other partner responds with his or her own complaint(s). The responder may raise the stakes by recalling all of the other person's failings. People use sarcasm and sometimes insult or demean their partners. Inevitably, any disagreement, no matter how small, escalates into a major fight over the core problems. Often, the core problems center on a lack of money, a lack of sex, or both.

When a couple is more satisfied with their relationship, the partners tend to express concern for each other even while they are disagreeing. They manage to stay relatively calm and try to see each other's point of view. They may also deliver criticism lightheartedly and playfully (Keltner, Young, Heerey, Oemig, & Monarch, 1998). In addition, optimistic people are more likely to use cooperative problem solving; as a result, optimism is linked to having satisfying and happy romantic relationships (Assad, Donnellan, & Conger, 2007; Srivastava, McGonigal, Richards, Butler, & Gross, 2006). For additional suggestions about maintaining strong relationships, see "Using Psychology in Your Life: How Can Psychology Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship?" (on the next page).

FIGURE 12.33 Success Rates for First Marriages

This graph shows the probability that first marriages in the United States will remain intact, without disruption. The marriages were those of women 15–44 years of age, and the data were gathered in 2006–2010.

Using Psychology in Your Life



How Can Psychology Rekindle the Romance in My Relationship? **S** ome couples seem loving and supportive. We look at them and think, "That's the kind of relationship I'd like to have someday!" Other couples seem downright mean to each other. We look at them and think, "That relationship seems so toxic! Why are they even together?" What factors help create these healthy and unhealthy relationships? How can their successes and failures help you create a healthy relationship that will thrive?

Over the past two decades, a number of psychologists have conducted research on healthy and unhealthy relationships. Among the foremost of these researchers is John Gottman. To understand what predicts marital outcomes, Gottman (1998) has studied thousands of married couples. In Why Marriages Succeed or Fail . . . and How You Can Make Yours Last (1995), Gottman outlines numerous differences between couples who are happy and those who are not.

Based on his research, Gottman believes that if a couple has about five positive interactions for every negative one, chances are good that the relationship will be stable. If the interactions fall below this level, the couple may be headed for a breakup. If there are as many negatives as positives in a relationship, the prognosis is pretty bleak. Therefore, the task for any couple is to seek opportunities for positive feelings and interactions within the relationship. According to Gottman and others, the same principles apply to all long-term, committed relationships, heterosexual or homosexual:

- 1. Show interest in your partner. Listen to him or her describe the events of the day. Pay attention while he or she is speaking, and maintain eye contact. Try to be empathetic: Show you really understand and can feel what your partner is feeling. Such empathy and understanding cannot be faked. To convey that you understand your partner's feelings, say things like "That must have been really annoying." Ask follow-up questions to show you are engaged in what your partner is saying.
- 2. Be affectionate. You can show love in very quiet ways, such as simply touching the person once in a while. Reminisce about happy times together. Appreciate the benefits of the relationship. When a couple talks about the joys of their relationship, they tend to be happier with the relationship. Such conversation can include comparing the partnership favorably with the partnerships of other people.
- 3. Show you care. Try to do spontaneous things such as bringing your partner a special treat from the bakery or texting at an unexpected time just to see how he or she is doing (FIGURE 12.34A). Such actions let your partner know you think about him or her, even when you are not together. When people are dating, they flirt, give each other compliments, and display their best manners. Being in a committed relationship does not mean discarding these things. Be nice to your partner and show him or her that you value your mutual companionship. Praise your

ATTRIBUTIONAL STYLE AND ACCOMMODATION Happy couples also differ from unhappy couples in *attributional style*, or how one partner explains the other's behavior (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990). Happy couples make partner-enhancing attributions. That is, they overlook bad behavior or respond constructively, a process called *accommodation* (Rusbult & Van Lange, 1996). In contrast, unhappy couples make distress-maintaining attributions: They view each other in the most negative ways possible. Essentially, happy couples attribute good outcomes to each other, and they attribute bad outcomes to situations. Unhappy couples attribute *good* outcomes to situations, and they attribute *bad* outcomes to each other. For example, if a couple is happy and one partner brings home flowers as a gift, the other partner reflects on the gift-giver's generosity and sweetness. If a couple is unhappy and one of the partners brings home flowers as gift, the other partner wonders what bad deed the first partner

partner whenever possible. In turn, he or she will feel free to act in kind, which will help you feel good about yourself. Positivity begets positivity.

- 4. Spend quality time together. It is easy for a couple to drift apart and develop separate lives. Find time to explore joint interests, such as hobbies or other activities (FIGURE 12.34B). Partners should pursue independent interests, but having some activities and goals in common helps bring a couple closer. In fact, research shows that, when a couple engages in novel and exciting activities, the couple's relationship satisfaction increases (Aron, Norman, Aron, McKenna, & Heyman, 2000). Having fun together is an important part of any relationship. Share private jokes, engage in playful teasing, be witty, have adventures. Enjoy each other.
- 5. Maintain loyalty and fidelity. Outside relationships can threaten an intimate partnership. Believing your partner is emotionally or physically involved with another person can pose harm to even the healthiest relationship, as can being distrustful or jealous for no reason. At their core, relationship partners have to trust each other. Anything that threatens that basic sense of trust will harm the relationship. When relationship partners dismiss attractive or threatening alternatives, the partners are better able to remain faithful (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993).
- 6. Learn how to handle conflict. Many people believe that conflict is a sign of a troubled relationship and that couples who never fight must be the happiest, but these ideas are not true. Fighting, especially when it allows grievances to be aired, is one of the healthiest things a couple can do for their relationship. Conflict is inevitable in any serious relationship, but resolving conflict positively is the key to happiness as a couple. Do not avoid conflict or pretend you have no serious issues. Rather, calm down, try to control your anger, and avoid name-calling, sarcasm, or excessive criticism; if you are unable to do so in the heat of the moment, call for a time-out. Return to the discussion when you both feel ready to engage respectfully. Validate your partner's feelings and beliefs even as you express your own feelings and beliefs. Look for areas of compromise.

Much of this advice may seem like common sense. However, many couples lose sight of how to express their love and commitment. Partners can get so caught up in everything else in their lives, from work to stress about exams to worries about family, that it becomes easier to focus on what is wrong in a relationship than on what is right. When that happens, the relationship has taken a wrong turn. To make a relationship stronger, partners should put considerable effort into recognizing and celebrating all that is good about the relationship. Those affirming experiences might make relationships succeed.

(b)

(a)



FIGURE 12.34 Principles for a Committed Relationship Positive interactions help keep a relationship stable. (a) A thoughtful gesture is one way to show your partner you care. (b) Doing activities you both enjoy is another way to spend quality time together.

is making up for. Above all, then, viewing your partner in a positive light—even to the point of idealization—may be key to maintaining a loving relationship.

To investigate this hypothesis, Murray and colleagues (1996) investigated partners' perceptions of each other. Their study included couples who were dating and married couples. The results were consistent with their predictions. Those people who loved their partners the most also idealized their partners the most. That is, they viewed their partners in very positive terms compared with how they viewed other people and compared with how their partners viewed themselves. Those people with the most positively biased views of their partners were more likely to still be in the relationships with their partners several months later than were those people with more "realistic" views of their partners. These perceptions cannot be completely unfounded. It is about viewing your partner kindly, not unrealistically.

Summing Up

What Determines the Quality of Relationships?

- People are attracted to individuals with whom they have frequent contact, with whom they share similar attributes, who possess admirable characteristics, and who are physically attractive.
- Men are attracted by physical signs of youth and fertility. Women are attracted by signs of dominance, strength, and earnings potential, and these signs may include faces with a higher width-to-height ratio.
- People find "averaged" faces and symmetrical faces to be most attractive.
- Physically attractive people experience many social benefits, but they do not report greater happiness.
- In the context of romantic love, researchers distinguish between passionate love and companionate love. Passionate love is characterized by intense longing and sexual desire. Companionate love is characterized by commitment and support.
- Passion typically fades, but the development of friendship, support, and intimacy over time contributes to the stability of romantic relationships.
- How a couple deals with conflict influences the stability of their relationship. Being overly critical, holding a partner in contempt, being defensive, and mentally withdrawing are maladaptive strategies for coping with interpersonal conflict. Couples that attribute positive outcomes to each other and negative outcomes to situational factors report higher levels of marital happiness.

Measuring Up

- 1. Label each of the following characteristics as an attribute of passionate love or companionate love.
 - a. a longing to be together
 - b. associated with dopamine reward systems
 - c. based on friendship
 - d. develops slowly over time
 - e. strong commitment to care for and support one's partner
 - f. typified by sexual desire
 - g. typified by trust and respect

2. For each of the following situations, select the comment that, according to empirical findings, indicates a lasting relationship.

Situation 1: Chris finds a receipt in Sam's pocket for a \$200 pair of pants. Because they are on a tight budget, this expense angers Chris. Chris confronts Sam about the expense.

- Sam replies, "It seems only fair that I get to treat myself when you have your \$70-a-month gym membership."
- b. Sam replies, "I understand why you're upset. I really do need a new pair of pants, but I don't need a \$200 pair of pants, so I'll return these tomorrow and get a less expensive pair."

Situation 2: Jordan and Jane receive a letter from the Internal Revenue Service saying they owe \$3,000 in back taxes because of an error in the documents their accountant filed a few years ago.

- a. Jordan notes, "The accountant made this error, and now we have to come up with the money to pay for it! Well, good thing we've been saving."
- b. Jordan notes, "Didn't you say you reviewed those documents? Next time, you have to be more careful."

(2) Situation 1-b; Situation 2-a.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, b, f are attributes of passionate love; c, d, e, g are attributes of companionate love.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

12.1 How Does Group Membership Affect People?

- People Favor Their Own Groups: Social psychology is the study of how people influence others' thoughts, feelings, and actions. People readily identify ingroups, to which they belong, and outgroups, to which they do not belong. Ingroup and outgroup formation and maintenance are affected by reciprocity (if Person A helps Person B, Person B will help Person A) and transitivity (friends having the same opinions toward other people). The outgroup homogeneity effect is the tendency to perceive outgroup members as stereotypically more similar than ingroup members are. People also tend to dehumanize members of outgroups. According to social identity theory, individual social identity is based on identification with an ingroup. Ingroup favoritism is pervasive and may reflect evolutionary pressure to protect the self and resources. The prefrontal cortex appears important for ingroup formation.
- Groups Influence Individual Behavior: The presence of others can improve performance (social facilitation). Loss of individuality and self-awareness (deindividuation) can occur in groups. Group decisions can become extreme (group polarization), and poor decisions may be made to preserve group harmony (groupthink). Working in a group can result in decreased effort (social loafing) if group members think their individual efforts cannot be determined.
- People Conform to Others: Conformity occurs when people alter their behaviors or opinions to match the behaviors, opinions, or expectations of others. Conformity results from normative influence (the attempt to fit in with the group and avoid looking foolish) and informational influence (the assumption that the behavior of others is the correct way to respond). People may reject social norms and not conform when group size is small or when the group includes at least one other dissenter. When group size is larger than six, conformity increases if the group demonstrates unanimity. Conformity likely results from a fear of social rejection, because social rejection could be detrimental to survival.
- People Are Often Compliant: Compliance occurs when people agree to the requests of others. Compliance increases when people are in a good mood or are subjected to tactics such as the foot-in-the-door, door-in-the-face, and low-balling techniques.
- People Are Obedient to Authority: Obedience occurs when people follow the orders of an authority. As demonstrated by Milgram's famous study, people may inflict harm on others if ordered to do so by an authority. Individuals who are concerned about others' perceptions of them are more likely to be obedient. Obedience decreases with greater distance from the authority.

12.2 When Do People Harm or Help Others?

- Many Factors Can Influence Aggression: Aggression is influenced by situational, biological, and sociocultural factors. Situational factors that lead to negative emotions—factors including social rejection, fear, heat, and pain—can influence aggression. A mutation in the MAOA gene and serotonin levels have been linked to aggressive behavior in some individuals. High levels of the hormone testosterone have also been associated with aggressive behavior, although it is difficult to determine whether high testosterone levels motivate aggression, or whether threatening encounters produce high testosterone levels. It is also possible that testosterone is more important for dominance than aggression. The effects of social and cultural factors on aggression can change over time. In societies that advocate a culture of honor, people are more likely to exhibit violence and aggression.
- Many Factors Can Influence Helping Behavior: Prosocial behaviors maintain social relations. Altruism toward kin members increases the likelihood of passing on common genes. Altruism toward nonrelatives increases the likelihood that others will reciprocate help when we need it.
- Some Situations Lead to Bystander Apathy: The bystander intervention effect occurs when people fail to help others in need when other people are around. Bystander apathy is most likely to occur when people experience diffusion of responsibility; when a situation is unclear and people fear making social blunders; when people are anonymous; and when people perceive greater risk than benefit to helping others.
- Cooperation Can Reduce Outgroup Bias: People can respond to outgroup members in need, as demonstrated by global response to natural disasters. Cooperation and working toward superordinate goals can increase harmony across groups.

12.3 How Do Attitudes Guide Behavior?

- People Form Attitudes Through Experience and Socialization: Attitudes are evaluations of objects, of events, or of ideas. Attitudes are influenced by familiarity (the mere exposure effect) and may be shaped by conditioning and socialization.
- Behaviors Are Consistent with Strong Attitudes: Attitudes that are strong, personally relevant, specific, formed through personal experience, and easily accessible are most likely to affect behavior.
- Attitudes Can Be Explicit or Implicit: Implicit attitudes operate at an unconscious level. They may differ from explicit attitudes attitudes that people are consciously aware of and can report. In some situations that are socially sensitive, implicit attitudes can predict behavior better than explicit attitudes.

- Discrepancies Lead to Dissonance: A contradiction between attitudes or between an attitude and a behavior produces cognitive dissonance. This state is characterized by anxiety, tension, and displeasure. People reduce dissonance by changing their attitudes or behaviors, or by rationalizing or trivializing the discrepancies.
- Attitudes Can Be Changed Through Persuasion: Persuasion involves the use of a message to actively and consciously change an attitude. According to the elaboration likelihood model, persuasion through the central route (which involves careful thought about the message) produces stronger and more persistent attitude change than persuasion through the peripheral route (which relies on peripheral cues, such as the attractiveness of the person making the argument).

12.4 How Do People Think About Others?

- Physical Appearance Affects First Impressions: Social interaction requires people to form impressions of others. People are highly sensitive to nonverbal information (e.g., facial expression, eye contact), and they can develop accurate impressions of others on the basis of very thin slices of behavior.
- People Make Attributions About Others: People use personal dispositions and situational factors to explain behavior. The fundamental attribution error occurs when people favor personal attributions over situational attributions in explaining other people's behavior. The actor/observer discrepancy is people's tendency to make personal attributions when explaining other people's behavior and situational attributions when explaining their own behavior.
- Stereotypes Are Based on Automatic Categorization: Stereotypes are cognitive schemas that allow for fast, easy processing of social information. Illusory correlations cause people to see relationships that do not exist, and they result from confirmatory bias toward selecting information that supports stereotypes.
- Stereotypes Can Lead to Prejudice: Prejudice occurs when the feelings, opinions, and beliefs associated with a stereotype are negative. Prejudice can lead to discrimination, the inappropriate and unjustified treatment of others. Modern racism is a subtle form

of prejudice that has developed as people have learned to inhibit the public expression of their racist attitudes. Stereotypes may be inhibited—for instance, by presenting people with positive examples of negatively stereotyped groups.

Prejudice Can Be Reduced: Sharing superordinate goals that require cooperation can lead to reduced prejudice and discrimination. Imagining positive interactions with outgroup members, perspective taking (actively contemplating the psychological experiences of other people), and perspective giving (describing personal experiences of discrimination) can also reduce prejudice and discrimination.

12.5 What Determines the Quality of Relationships?

- Situational and Personal Factors Influence Interpersonal Attraction and Friendships: People are attracted to individuals that they have frequent contact with, with whom they share similar attributes, who possess admirable characteristics, and who are physically attractive. Men are attracted by physical signs of youth and fertility. Women are attracted by signs of dominance, strength, and earnings potential, and these signs may include faces with a higher width-to-height ratio. People find "averaged" faces and symmetrical faces more attractive. Physically attractive people experience many social benefits, but they do not report greater happiness.
- Love Is an Important Component of Romantic Relationships: Passionate love is characterized by intense longing and sexual desire. Companionate love is characterized by commitment and support. In successful romantic relationships, passionate love tends to evolve into companionate love.
- Staying in Love Can Require Work: How a couple deals with conflict influences the stability of their relationship. Being overly critical, holding a partner in contempt, being defensive, and mentally withdrawing are maladaptive strategies for coping with interpersonal conflict. Couples who attribute positive outcomes to each other and negative outcomes to situational factors and make partner-enhancing attributions report higher levels of marital happiness.

Key Terms

aggression, p. 510 altruism, p. 514 attitudes, p. 519 attributions, p. 527 bystander intervention effect, p. 515 cognitive dissonance, p. 521 companionate love, p. 538 compliance, p. 505 conformity, p. 502 deindividuation, p. 500 discrimination, p. 530 elaboration likelihood model, p. 523 explicit attitudes, p. 521 foot-in-the-door effect, p. 506 fundamental attribution error, p. 527 group polarization, p. 501 groupthink, p. 501 implicit attitudes, p. 521 informational influence, p. 502 inclusive fitness, p. 514 ingroup favoritism, p. 498 mere exposure effect, p. 520 modern racism, p. 532 nonverbal behavior, p. 526 normative influence, p. 502 obedience, p. 506 outgroup homogeneity effect, p. 498 passionate love, p. 538 personal attributions, p. 527 persuasion, p. 523 prejudice, p. 530 prosocial behaviors, p. 513 situational attributions, p. 527 social facilitation, p. 499 social identity theory, p. 498 social loafing, p. 502 social norms, p. 502 social psychology, p. 496 "what is beautiful is good" stereotype, p. 537

Practice Test

- As appropriate, label the following statements as examples of illusory correlation, ingroup favoritism, or outgroup homogeneity.
 - a. A first-year college student states, "Students at our college are so unique! Each person has his or her own passions and aptitudes."
 - **b.** A professor mistakenly comments to a colleague, "The athletes in my class always seem to ask for extensions on their homework; none of my other students ever ask for extensions."
 - **c.** A senior at College A tells her friend, "Whatever you do, don't go to parties at College B. They all drink way too much, and the guys can't keep their hands off the women at their parties."
- 2. Dorm A and Dorm B have a long-standing rivalry. Recently, the rivalry has intensified, resulting in destructive acts to property and harassment of outgroup members. A couple of students from each dorm encourage their fellow students to get together to brainstorm possible strategies for easing the tension. According to the ideas presented in this chapter, which suggestion would be most effective?
 - **a.** "Let's hold a series of dorm dinners. Dorm A can invite people from Dorm B over one week, and Dorm B can invite people from Dorm A over the following week."
 - **b.** "Since people in Dorm A are such strong math students, we could have Dorm A offer math tutoring to students from Dorm B."
 - **c.** "The administration should hold a meeting with the dorm presidents to let them know that funding for dorm activities will be cut unless the interdorm tension subsides."
 - **d.** "We can hold an all-campus competition, where teams of dorms would compete for prizes. Dorm A and Dorm B could be on one team; Dorm C and Dorm D could be on the other team."
- 3. Why do people form groups?
 - a. enhanced capacity to obtain food and other resources
 - $\textbf{b.}\ \ fundamental\ need\ to\ belong$
 - **c.** to create a social identity
 - $\textbf{d.} \ only \ a \ and \ b$
 - $\boldsymbol{e}.~$ All of the above may be reasons why people form groups.
- **4.** Which of the following statements is a likely explanation for ingroup favoritism?
 - **a.** Typically, people become assigned to outgroups because there is something wrong with them that cannot be corrected, and so assisting outgroup members would be unproductive.

- **b.** Outgroup members could be "foes," and so supporting them could be to the detriment of the ingroup.
- **c.** Only ingroups that have members with high levels of bias, discrimination, and aggression show ingroup favoritism.
- $\textbf{d.} \ \ \text{All of the above are explanations.}$
- Which of the following phenomena explain the bystander intervention effect? Choose all that apply.
 - a. groupthink
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.\ perceived risk as greater than perceived benefit$
 - ${\bf c.}\$ discrimination against those in need
 - d. diffusion of responsibility
 - e. apathy
 - f. unclear situation and unsureness of the correct response
 - g. anonymity
 - **h.** ingroup favoritism
 - i. selfishness
- **6.** According to ______, persuasion is more effective if the message requires consideration and deep cognitive processing rather than relying on attractive spokespeople and emotional pleas.
 - a. cognitive dissonance theory
 - $\textbf{b.}\ informational\ influence$
 - ${\bf c.}\ {\rm outgroup\ homogeneity\ effect}$
 - $\textbf{d.}\ \text{the elaboration likelihood model}$
 - $\boldsymbol{e}.$ what is beautiful is good stereotype
- 7. Tanya is establishing a fundraiser so her organization can provide children in need with clothing and school supplies. While everyone in the organization supports the cause, Tanya has been having trouble getting people to volunteer to make phone calls for one hour a night to request donations. Research demonstrates that which of the following strategies might help Tanya get people to sign up for the one-hour time slots?
 - a. Ask people to sign up for six-hour time slots, and when they say no, ask if they could volunteer just one hour of their time.
 - **b.** Ask people to bring in cookies for a bake sale to support the cause, and when they say yes, ask if they could also volunteer one hour of their time to make phone calls.
 - **c.** Ask people to make calls for 15 minutes, and when they say yes, ask if they could stay for additional time.
 - ${\bf d}.~$ All of the above strategies should be effective.
 - e. None of the above strategies would be effective.



Ask & Answer

13.1 Where Does Personality Come From? 549

13.2 What Are the Theories of Personality? 557

13.3 How Stable Is Personality? 568

13.4 How Is Personality Assessed? 577

13.5 How Do We Know Our Own Personalities? 584

Personality

SIX YEARS AGO, MARC BROKE UP WITH THE WOMAN he had been dating for almost a decade. Internet dating was a growing phenomenon, but Marc was determined not to try it. He would find someone the old-fashioned way: by going out into the world and pursuing his interests. After all, he did not know exactly what qualities he was looking for in a companion. Mainly, he wanted someone who *was not* his ex-girlfriend. He lived in New York City, where he worked 9 to 5. Somewhere in the city, he hoped, he would meet a woman who enjoyed city life as much as he did. Where better to find a like-minded person than at a concert, a museum, a park, or a cultural event? In other words, Marc wanted to find someone by being himself. He was not interested in selling some version of himself on the Web.

Since the emergence of Internet dating in the 1990s, more and more people have been searching online for romantic partners and lifelong mates. According to a survey conducted by the Pew Foundation, nearly one-third of Americans know someone who has used an online dating site, and 1 in 6 adults knows someone who has been in a long-term relationship with someone she or he met online (Madden & Lenhart, 2006).

After a few months of being on his own, Marc heard success stories about couples who had met online. Friends encouraged him to give it a shot. He decided to try.

Months of bizarre encounters followed. After an email exchange, a first date usually involved sitting across a table from a relative stranger. Marc



(b)



FIGURE 13.1 Made for Each Other?

(a) Even as a boy in the presence of a professional photographer, Marc was determined to be himself. (b) As a girl, Christine played her own version of Wonder Woman.

spread his wares across the table and wondered if the other person would be interested. He had spent decades creating this version of himself, and in a matter of minutes someone had the opportunity to reject it outright: "Sorry, this doesn't seem like a match."

Just when Marc was fed up and ready to take a break from online dating, he visited the usual site and saw a photo of a stylish-looking woman. In her profile, she described qualities he found appealing. For example, among the items this woman could not live without were "cool sneakers" and "possibility." She sounded fun and positive and open, not like the tough-talking, guarded women he had been meeting. None of those women had really seemed to want to be in a relationship.

For about a month, Marc and the stylish-looking woman, Christine, carried on a sometimes entertaining, sometimes emotionally fraught email exchange. Finally, they met on a rainy Sunday. He liked the cute way she removed her hood before stepping inside the bar. She liked his smile.

Like Marc, Christine was fed up with online dating by that rainy Sunday. Despite his sometimes too-blunt emails, she decided to give this guy a try because he seemed more promising than the duds, doormats, and domineering characters she had been meeting. Christine tends to be more analytical than Marc, and she had a clearer sense of the characteristics she was looking for: a self-sufficient, trustworthy man with his own ideas. They have now been together for eight years.

When people choose romantic partners, describe their friends and enemies, or try to understand themselves, they rely on the notion of personality. But how does personality work? Do people remain the same across situations, or do they act differently at different times? Marc and Christine are both only children. They exhibit stereotypical tendencies of only children, such as selfcenteredness. They also avoid the stereotypes, such as by being emotionally expressive. They alternate between being shy and being outgoing. Each prefers to work alone, but each can become the catalyst for conversation at a party, a meeting, or some other gathering.

From observing their parents and themselves, Christine and Marc know very well that people's personalities come from the combination of genes and experiences. Photos from Christine's and Marc's early childhoods show them expressing many of the same traits-the stubbornness, the dramatic flair-that each exhibits today (**FIGURE 13.1**). Still, during their eight years together, Marc and Christine have brought out each other's best qualities. Marc thrives emotionally because he has someone to devote himself to. Because Christine accepts him for who he is, he knows that the work of being himself has paid off. Christine is less prone to letting her melancholic streak build up into a wall between herself and others. Because her boyfriend is also her best friend, she feels confident enough to present her best self to the world.

Where does personality come from? Can people change their personalities? Do life situations, such as long-term relationships, change personalities? People constantly try to figure out others-to understand why they behave in certain ways and to predict their behavior. In fact, many students take psychology courses partly because they want to know what makes other people tick. One challenge of figuring out people is that they may act differently in different situations. What does a person's behavior tell us about his or her personality?

13.1Where Does Personality
Come From?

Imagine if everyone felt the same, thought the same, and acted the same. Life would be boring, because differences between individuals add zest to life. For example, Marc and Christine make a good couple because their differences complement one another. This chapter explores how people differ. The picture that emerges is a familiar one in psychology: Personality is a combination of people's genetics, forces in their environments, and the life choices they make.

For psychologists, **personality** consists of people's characteristic thoughts, emotional responses, and behaviors. Some personality psychologists are most interested in understanding *whole persons*. That is, they take one person, such as Marc, and try to understand as much as possible about him as an individual. Other personality psychologists study how particular characteristics, such as self-esteem or shyness, influence behavior. For instance, they want to know how people with low self-esteem differ from those with high self-esteem. Their interest is in how the particular characteristic influences behavior. Each characteristic is a **personality trait**: a pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that is relatively consistent over time and across situations (Funder, 2012). Traits are dispositions to think, act, or feel in predictable ways in certain situations.

Personality is not just a list of traits, however. Gordon Allport, one of the founders of the field, gave a classic scientific definition of personality: "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine [the individual's] characteristic behavior and thought" (1961, p. 28; **FIGURE 13.2**). This definition includes many of the concepts most important to a contemporary understanding of personality. The notion of *organization* indicates that personality is a coherent whole. This organized whole is *dynamic* in that it is goal seeking, sensitive to particular contexts, and adaptive to the person's environment. By emphasizing *psychophysical systems*, Allport brought together two ideas: He highlighted the mental nature of personality (i.e., the *psycho-* part of *psychophysical*), and he recognized that personality arises from basic biological processes (i.e., the *-physical* part). In addition, his definition stresses that personality causes people to have *characteristic* behaviors and thoughts (and feelings). In other words, people do and think and feel things relatively consistently over time.

Over the past few decades, evidence has emerged that biological factors—such as genes, brain structures, and neurochemistry—play an important role in determining personality. Of course, these factors are all affected by experience. As discussed in Chapter 3, every cell in the body contains the genome, or master recipe, that provides detailed instructions for physical processes. Gene expression—whether a gene is turned off or on—underlies all psychological activity. Ultimately, genes have their effects only if they are expressed. Environment determines when or if gene expression happens. Through epigenetic changes, genes become more or less likely to be expressed. Recall from Chapter 3 that epigenetics refers to changes in whether genes are expressed, not to changes in the underlying DNA.

Learning Objectives

- Summarize the results of twin studies and adoption studies as those results pertain to personality.
- Understand the role of specific genes in personality.
- Identify distinct temperaments.
- Review research assessing personality traits among nonhuman animals.

personality

A person's characteristic thoughts, emotional responses, and behaviors.

personality trait

A pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that is relatively consistent over time and across situations.



FIGURE 13.2 Gordon Allport

In 1937, Allport published the first major textbook of personality psychology. His book defined the field. He also championed the study of individuals and established traits as a central concept in personality research. In terms of personality, genetic makeup may predispose certain traits or characteristics, but whether these genes are expressed depends on the unique circumstances that each person faces in life. For instance, as noted in Chapter 3, children with a certain gene variation were found to be more likely to become violent criminals as adults if they were abused during childhood. An important theme throughout this book is that nature and nurture work together to produce individuals, and this theme holds particularly true for personality.

Personality Is Rooted in Genetics

There is overwhelming evidence that nearly all personality traits have a genetic component (Plomin & Caspi, 1999; Turkheimer, Pettersson, & Horn, 2014). One of the earliest studies to document the heritability of personality was conducted by James Loehlin and Robert Nichols (1976). The researchers examined similarities in personality in more



"I could cry when I think of the years I wasted accumulating money, only to learn that my cheerful disposition is genetic."

than 800 pairs of twins. Across a wide variety of traits, identical twins proved much more similar than fraternal twins. This pattern reflects the actions of genes, since identical twins share nearly the same genes, whereas fraternal twins do not.

Numerous twin studies have subsequently found that genetic influence accounts for approximately half the variance (40–60 percent) between individuals for all personality traits, as well as in specific attitudes that reflect personality traits, such as attitudes toward the death penalty, abortion on demand, and how much they enjoy rollercoaster rides (Olson, Vernon, Harris, & Jang, 2001). Further, the genetic basis of the traits has been shown to be the same across cultures (Yamagata et al., 2006). These patterns persist whether the twins rate themselves or whether friends, family, or trained observers rate them (**FIGURE 13.3**).

Of course, identical twins might receive more-similar treatment than other siblings, and that treatment might explain the similarities in personality. The best evidence refuting this idea was obtained by Thomas Bouchard and colleagues (1990). As described in Chapter 3, these researchers found that twins raised apart are often as similar as, or even more similar than, twins raised together. This finding

suggests that personality unfolds pretty much the same way for twins during their lives, whether or not they are raised in the same household.

ADOPTION STUDIES Further evidence for the genetic basis of personality comes from adoption studies. Say that two children who are not biologically related are raised in the same household as adopted siblings. Those two children tend to be no more alike in personality than any two strangers randomly plucked off the street (Plomin & Caspi, 1999). Moreover, the personalities of adopted children bear no significant relationship to those of the adoptive parents. Together these findings suggest that parenting style may have relatively little impact on personality.

In fact, current evidence suggests that parenting style has much less impact than has long been assumed (Turkheimer et al., 2014). For instance, studies typically find small correlations in personality between biological siblings or between children and their biological parents. These correlations are still larger than for adopted children. In other words, the similarities in personality between biological siblings and between children and their biological parents seem to have some genetic component.



Why, then, are children raised together in the same household (who are not identical twins) so different (Plomin & Daniels, 2011)? One explanation is that the lives of siblings diverge as they establish friendships outside the home (Rowe, Woulbroun, & Gulley, 2013). The types of peers that children have affect how they think, behave, and feel, and thoughts, behaviors, and feelings can all influence personality development (Harris, 1995; 2011). Even though the siblings are raised in the same household, their home environments differ as a function of age and the fact that they have younger or older sisters or brothers and their parents respond to each of them differently (Avinun & Knafo, 2014). Siblings' personalities slowly grow apart as their initial differences become magnified through their interactions with the world.

Although the small correlations in personality among siblings might imply that parenting style has little effect, this does not mean that parents are unimportant (see Chapter 9, "Human Development"). David Lykken (2000), a leading behavioral genetics researcher, has argued that children raised with inadequate parenting are not socialized properly and therefore are much more likely to become delinquent or to display antisocial behavior. Thus, a minimum level of parenting is crucial, but the particular style of parenting may have less of an impact on personality.

Of course, parents influence many aspects of their children's lives, such as by selecting where the family lives. The chosen neighborhood can have a major impact on the child's peer groups and other experiences that shape personality. By selecting neighborhoods with good schools and low crime rates, parents influence the likelihood that their children will fall in with good rather than bad crowds. By nurturing athletic or artistic talents, parents can increase the likelihood that their children will meet likeminded children or have experiences that foster future interests. Thus, parents play an important role in selecting the environments that shape their children's personalities.

ARE THERE SPECIFIC GENES FOR PERSONALITY? Research has revealed genetic components for particular behaviors, such as television viewing habits or getting divorced, and even for specific attitudes, such as feelings about capital punishment or appreciation of jazz (Tesser, 1993). These findings do not mean, of course, that genes lurking in our DNA determine the amount or types of television we watch. Instead, genes predispose us to have certain personality traits. Those personality traits are associated with behavioral, cognitive, or

emotional tendencies, referred to as dispositions. In most cases, researchers note the influence of multiple genes that interact independently with the individual's environment to produce general dispositions. For example, genes and environment together might result in a person's preferring indoor activities to outdoor pursuits.

Initial studies found evidence that genes can be linked with some specificity to personality traits. For instance, a gene that regulates one particular dopamine receptor has been associated with novelty seeking, the desire to pursue new experiences (Cloninger, Adolfsson, & Svrakic, 1996; Ekelund, Lichtermann, Jaervelin, & Peltonen, 1999). The theory is that people with one form of this gene are deficient in dopamine. As a result, these people seek out new experiences to increase the release of dopamine. Research on emotional stability implicates a gene that regulates serotonin, although the effect is very small (Jang et al., 2001; Munafò et al., 2012). In fact, any links between specific genes and specific aspects of personality appear to be extraordinarily small (Turkheimer et al., 2014). Instead, thousands of genes contribute to specific traits. These genes combine to influence a person's overall personality (Weiss, Bates, & Luciano, 2008).

According to David Lykken and colleagues (1992), it may be that each chance aggregation of genes produces a unique individual. These researchers provide the analogy of a poker hand received by a child. Say that the child's mother has dealt the 10 and king of hearts and the child's father has dealt the jack, queen, and ace of hearts. Although neither parent alone has dealt a meaningful hand, together they have passed on a royal flush. Of course, some people receive winning hands and others receive difficult hands to play. The point is that each person's personality reflects the genetic hand dealt jointly by both parents.

Moreover, each person experiences different circumstances that may cause



"Oh, he's cute, all right, but he's got the temperament of a car alarm."

epigenetic changes and the selective expression of certain genes. Given the complexity of personality, the complexity of personality's underlying genetic basis is hardly surprising. Even though twin studies provide overwhelming evidence that genes account for about half the variance in personality, researchers may never identify the specific genes that produce these effects (Munafò & Flint, 2011). Adding in epigenetic changes that result from interactions with the environment makes it even more difficult to identify the influence of any specific gene (Zhang & Meaney, 2010).

Temperaments Are Evident in Infancy

Genes work by affecting biological processes. Since genes influence personality, it makes sense that genes help produce biological differences in personality. These differences are called **temperaments:** general tendencies to feel or act in certain ways. Temperaments are broader than personality traits. Life experiences may alter personal-

ity traits, as will be discussed later in this chapter, but temperaments represent the innate biological structures of personality and are more stable (Rothbart, 2011).

temperaments Biologically based tendencies to feel or act in certain ways. Arnold Buss and Robert Plomin (1984) have argued that three basic characteristics can be considered temperaments (**FIGURE 13.4**). *Activity level* is the overall amount of energy and of behavior a person exhibits. For example, some children race around the house, others are less vigorous, and still others are slow paced. *Emotionality* describes the intensity of emotional reactions. For example, children who cry often or easily become frightened, as well as adults who quickly anger, are likely to be high in emotionality. Finally, *sociability* refers to the general tendency to affiliate with others. People high in sociability prefer to be with others rather than to be alone.

These temperaments have been linked to people's propensities to move to new locations. A study of migration patterns in Finland found that people who scored high on sociability were more likely to migrate to urban areas and were more likely to migrate to places that were quite distant from their hometowns. Those people who had high activity levels were more likely, in general, to migrate to a new location, regardless of that location. Finally, those who were high in emotionality were likely to migrate to places that were close to their hometowns (Jokela, Elovainio, Kivimaki, & Keltikangas-Jarvinen, 2008). According to Buss and Plomin, these three temperamental styles are the main personality factors influenced by genes. Indeed, evidence from twin studies, adoption studies, and family studies indicates a powerful effect of heredity on these core temperaments. Researchers have also identified other temperaments, such as the extent to which children are able to control their behaviors and their emotions (Caspi, 2000).

Do temperament differences exist between girls and boys? A meta-analysis found robust gender differences in temperament in early childhood (Else-Quest, Hyde, Goldsmith, & Van Hulle, 2006). Girls demonstrated stronger abilities to control their attention and resist their impulses. Boys were more physically active and experienced more high-intensity pleasure, such as in rough-and-tumble play. However, there were no temperamental differences in negative emotions, such as being angry or neurotic, during childhood. Later in this chapter, you will learn about how females and males differ in their adult personalities and how these differences vary across cultures.

There Are Long-Term Implications of Temperaments

To what extent do infant temperaments predict adult personality? Recall the chapter-opening vignette, in which childhood photos of Marc and Christine showed that aspects of their adult personalities were on display at young ages. Recent research has documented compelling evidence that early childhood temperaments significantly influence behavior and personality structure throughout a person's development (Caspi, 2000). As discussed in Chapter 3, researchers investigated the health, development, and personalities of more than 1,000 people born during a one-year period (Caspi et al., 2002). These individuals were examined approximately every two years. Most of them (97 percent) remained in the study through their 21st birthdays. At 3 years of age, they were classified into temperamental types based on examiners' ratings (the classification of temperament types differed from those identified by Buss and Plomin). The classification at age 3 predicted personality structure and various behaviors in early adulthood. For instance, socially inhibited children were much more likely, as adults, to be anxious, to become depressed, to be unemployed, to have less social support, and to attempt suicide (Caspi, 2000; FIGURE 13.5). These findings suggest that early childhood temperaments may be good predictors of later behaviors.





(c)



FIGURE 13.4 Three Types of Temperament Temperaments are aspects of the personality that are more determined by biology. There are three temperaments, which are based on the degree of a child's (a) activity level, (b) emotionality, and (c) sociability.



FIGURE 13.5 Predicting Behavior

Researchers investigated the personality development of more than 1,000 people. As shown in these graphs, the individuals judged undercontrolled at age 3 were later more likely to be antisocial, to have alcohol problems, and to be criminals than those judged either well adjusted or inhibited. In each graph, the dotted line indicates the average for the entire sample. The extent to which people are shy in adolescence and adulthood has been linked to early differences in temperament. Research has shown that children as young as 6 weeks of age can be identified as likely to be shy (Kagan & Snidman, 1991). Approximately 15–20 percent of newborns react to new situations or strange objects by becoming startled and distressed, crying, and vigorously moving their arms and legs. The developmental psychologist Jerome Kagan refers to these children as *inhibited*, and he views this characteristic as biologically determined. Showing signs of inhibition at 2 months of age predicts later parental reports that the children are shy at 4 years of age, and such children are likely to be shy well into their teenage years. The biological evidence suggests that the amygdala—the brain region involved in emotional responses, especially fear—is involved in shyness.

Although shyness has a biological component, it has a social component as well. Approximately one-quarter of behaviorally inhibited children are not shy later in childhood (Kagan, 2011). This development typically occurs when parents create supportive and calm environments in which children can deal with stress and novelty at their own paces. But these parents do not completely shelter their children from stress, so the children gradually learn to deal with their negative feelings in novel situations.

Personality Is Adaptive

The human genome has been shaped over the course of evolution. In fact, it continues to be shaped by evolution. Through the processes of natural selection, adaptive characteristics have spread through the gene pool and have occurred in increasing numbers from generation to generation. Thus, we might expect that personality traits useful for survival and reproduction have been favored. For example, it is easy to imagine how being competitive has

enabled individuals to obtain great rewards or to enjoy increased value in their social groups. In addition, traits provide important information about desirable and undesirable qualities in mates. Through observing behavior, we come to know whether potential mates are conscientious, agreeable, neurotic, and so on. David Buss (1999) has argued that personality traits provide important information regarding mate selection.

Another possible explanation for individual differences is related to the skills possessed by members of groups. Namely, groups whose members possess diverse skills have a selective advantage over groups whose members have a limited number of skills (Caporael, 2001). Consider the trait of novelty seeking. Having group members who seek out and explore new territory might lead to the discovery of new resources, such as an abundant food supply. Novelty seekers expose themselves to greater risks, however, and the group would suffer if all of its members followed this strategy. Therefore, it is to the group's advantage to have cautious members as well. Cautious individuals may enhance the group in other ways, perhaps by being more considerate or providing social support. The diversity of skills thus makes the success of the group more likely. And, of course, members of successful groups are all more likely to survive and reproduce and thus transmit their genes to future generations.

ANIMAL PERSONALITIES If you have ever owned a pet, you probably felt that your pet had a distinct personality. For most of the history of psychological science, your intuition would have been regarded skeptically. That is, psychologists would have assumed that you were projecting your own sense of personality onto your pet. When

HYPOTHESIS: Nonhuman animals can be described in terms of basic personality traits.

1 The researchers defined 44 traits and asked four observers to rate 34 spotted hyenas on each trait.



2 Through factor analysis, the 44 traits were clustered into five principal dimensions:

ASSERTIVENESS CURIOSITY EXCITABILITY HUMAN-DIRECTED AGREEABLENESS SOCIABILITY

RESULTS: The four judges' ratings showed as much agreement as in most personality studies of humans. The five personality dimensions could not be accounted for by other factors, such as sex or age.

CONCLUSION: The finding that hyenas can reliably be described in terms of personality traits lends support for further personality research on nonhuman animals.

SOURCE: Gosling, S. D. (1998). Personality dimensions in spotted hyenas (*Crocuta crocuta*). *Journal of Comparative Psychology, 112,* 107–118.

considering the question of whether animals have personalities, some psychologists now think in terms of the principles of evolution. That is, humans and other animals evolved as they solved occasionally similar adaptive challenges. Therefore, some continuity exists across species. This view raises the possibility that animals, across circumstances, might display consistent individual differences in behaviors, and those individual differences might reflect underlying biological bases of personality (Gosling, 2001).

Sam Gosling studied the behavior of a group of 34 spotted hyenas (Gosling, 1998). From his findings, Gosling created a personality scale that consisted of 44 traits applicable to both humans and hyenas. Four observers who knew hyenas well used the scale independently to rate the animals. Agreement among the raters was as high as is typically found in personality studies of humans, and this result suggests that the raters could assess the hyenas reliably (see "Scientific Thinking: Gosling's Study of Personality in Animals").

Gosling and Oliver John (1999) summarized the findings of 19 studies that assessed multiple dispositions in the form of enduring characteristics in nonhuman animals. The studies involved modestly large samples of household pets, monkeys and other primates, pigs, donkeys, aquatic animals, and other species. Gosling and John found evidence for reliable versions of personality traits, such as extraversion and emotionality, that can be observed in many species, including humans. However, only chimpanzees showed signs of some human traits, such as how careful and controlled they appeared to be. This finding may not be surprising, since chimps are humans' closest relatives. Of all species, humans most consistently display traits that psychologists recognize as personality.

Summing Up

Where Does Personality Come From?

- Personality is a person's characteristic thoughts, emotional responses, and behaviors. A personality trait is a pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that is relatively consistent over time and across situations.
- The results of twin studies and adoption studies suggest that 40-60 percent of personality variation is the product of genetic variation.
- Parents play an important role in selecting the environments that shape their children's personalities.
- Personality characteristics are influenced by multiple genes, which interact with the environment to
 produce general dispositions.
- It is difficult to identify the influence of specific genes on personality. Some traits, such as novelty seeking, have been linked to a gene associated with dopamine levels, and emotional stability has been linked to a gene associated with serotonin levels.
- Temperaments, biologically based personality tendencies, are evident in early childhood and have long-term implications for adult behavior.
- Sex differences exist in temperament. Girls are more able to control attention and impulses, and boys are more active and gain more pleasure from physical activity.
- Childhood temperaments can predict adult personality traits. Personality traits that facilitate survival and reproduction are adaptive. Individual differences in personality within a group may be advantageous to the group's survival.
- Research has provided evidence of basic personality traits in nonhuman animals, suggesting that some traits are biologically based.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements are true regarding the relationship between environment, genes, personality traits, and temperaments? Select all that apply.
 - a. Environment interacts with personality traits to shape temperaments.
 - **b.** Environment interacts with temperaments to shape personality traits.
 - **c.** Genes act to produce temperaments.
 - **d.** Temperaments affect how each child responds to and shapes his or her environment.
 - e. The influence of genes on temperaments and on personality traits changes over the life span.
- 2. Which of the following have been identified as temperaments?
 - a. activity level, emotionality, sociability
 - **b.** activity level, control, curiosity
 - $\textbf{c.} \hspace{0.1 cm} \text{emotionality, agreeableness, extraversion}$
 - **d.** sociability, inhibition, conscientiousness
- 3. Research has revealed which of the following regarding children identified as inhibited at age 3?
 - Inhibited children showed signs of abuse and trauma as adults, providing evidence that personality is shaped by experience.
 - b. Inhibited children continued to be shy through adolescence and experienced more depression and anxiety as adults, suggesting that personality has a biological basis.
 - **c.** Inhibited children developed extraverted personalities as adults, proving that personality is learned through the individual's environment.
 - **d.** Inhibited children showed signs of cognitive dysfunction, offering evidence of a biological basis for personality.

anxiety as adults, suggesting that personality has a biological basis.

(3) b. Inhibited children continued to be $sh\gamma$ through adolescence and experienced more depression and

(2) a. activity level, emotionality, sociability.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices b, c, and d are true.

13.2 What Are the Theories of Personality?

Understanding personality as both dynamic and consistent may be one of humankind's oldest quests. In fact, the word *personality* comes from the Latin word *persona*, meaning "mask." In ancient Greek and Roman plays, actors performed their roles wearing masks. Each mask represented a separate personality.

Since antiquity, many theories have been proposed to explain such basic differences between individuals. During the twentieth century, psychologists approached the study of personality from a number of theoretical perspectives. Psychologists' views on personality were based on their individual theoretical orientations. For example, psychodynamic theorists believed unconscious forces determined personality. Behaviorists believed that personality resulted from histories of reinforcement. Cognitively oriented psychologists focused on how thought processes affected personality. Humanists emphasized personal growth and self-understanding. Contemporary psychologists are primarily interested in trait approaches and the biological basis of personality traits. The following sections consider these various theoretical perspectives.

Learning Objectives

- Describe the major approaches to the study of personality.
- Identify theorists associated with the major approaches to the study of personality.

psychodynamic theory The Freudian theory that unconscious forces determine behavior.

Psychodynamic Theories Emphasize Unconscious and Dynamic Processes

As discussed in Chapter 1, Sigmund Freud was a physician who developed many ideas about personality by observing patients he was treating for psychological disturbances. For example, some of Freud's patients suffered from paralysis that had no apparent physical cause. Freud came to believe their problems were psychogenic-caused by psychological rather than physical factors. From his clinical work, Freud developed his psychodynamic theory of personality. The central premise of this theory is that unconscious forces—such as wishes, desires, and hidden memories-determine behavior. Many of Freud's ideas are controversial and not well supported by scientific research, but they had an enormous influence over psychological thinking for much of the early history of the field.

UNCONSCIOUS INFLUENCE Freud believed that conscious awareness was only a small fraction of mental activity. That is, conscious awareness repre-

sented the proverbial tip of the iceberg, with most mental processes buried under the surface (**FIGURE 13.6**). According to this model, the *conscious* level consists of the thoughts that people are aware of. The *preconscious* level consists of content that is not currently in awareness but that could be brought to awareness. This level is roughly analogous to long-term memory. The *unconscious* level contains material that the mind cannot easily retrieve, including hidden memories, wishes, desires, and motives.

For Freud, unconscious forces that drive behavior could produce conflict. For instance, you might unknowingly want to steal an object you desire. That impulse



FIGURE 13.6 Levels of Consciousness

Sigmund Freud theorized that mental activity occurred at three levels. He believed that much of human behavior was influenced by unconscious processes, which can result in conflict between the three personality structures: the id, the ego, and the superego.

id

In psychodynamic theory, the component of personality that is completely submerged in the unconscious and operates according to the pleasure principle.

superego

In psychodynamic theory, the internalization of societal and parental standards of conduct.

ego

In psychodynamic theory, the component of personality that tries to satisfy the wishes of the id while being responsive to the dictates of the superego.

defense mechanisms

Unconscious mental strategies that the mind uses to protect itself from anxiety.



FIGURE 13.7 Anna Freud

Anna Freud studied defense mechanisms and contributed to the understanding of children's development. would conflict with your implicit knowledge that you could get in trouble for the theft or that society considers theft a crime. The conflicts produced by unconscious forces produce anxiety or other psychological discomfort.

In general, these forces and their conflicts are not accessible. Sometimes, however, this information leaks into consciousness. As discussed in Chapter 5, for example, people may accidentally reveal a hidden motive when uttering a *Freudian slip*. Think of someone introducing herself or himself to an attractive person by saying, "Excuse me, I don't think we've been properly seduced" instead of "properly introduced." For Freud, such slips were not accidents. Instead, they offered a glimpse into unconscious forces that indicate hidden, unconscious desires.

A STRUCTURAL MODEL OF PERSONALITY Freud (1923) also proposed a model of how personality is organized (see Figure 13.6). In this model, personality consists of three interacting structures, and these structures vary in their access to consciousness. The relative strengths of these structures are primarily responsible for an individual's personality.

The first structure, the **id**, exists at the most basic level: completely submerged in the unconscious. The id operates according to the *pleasure principle*, which directs the person to seek pleasure and to avoid pain. Freud called the force that drives the pleasure principle the *libido*. Although today the term *libido* has a sexual connotation, Freud used it to refer more generally to the energy that promotes pleasure seeking. In other words, the libido acts on impulses and desires. The id is like an infant, crying to be fed whenever hungry, held whenever anxious.

The second structure, the **superego**, acts as a brake on the id. Largely unconscious, the superego develops in childhood and is the internalization of parental and societal standards of conduct. It is a rigid structure of morality, or conscience.

The third structure, the **ego**, mediates between the id and the superego. That is, the ego tries to satisfy the wishes of the id while being responsive to the dictates of the superego. The ego operates according to the *reality principle*, which involves rational thought and problem solving. Some aspects of the ego's operations are open to conscious awareness. For example, the ego allows the person to delay gratification so that the wishes of the id can be realized while accommodating the rules of the superego. According to psychodynamic theory, unique interactions of the id, ego, and superego produce individual differences in personality.

Conflicts between the id and the superego lead to anxiety. The ego then copes with anxiety through various **defense mechanisms:** unconscious mental strategies that the mind uses to protect itself from distress. (Several common defense mechanisms are listed in **TABLE 13.1**.) For instance, people often *rationalize* their behavior by blaming situational factors over which they have little control. Perhaps you have told your parents or friends that you did not call them because you were too busy studying for an exam. Finding excuses like these keeps people from feeling bad and can also prevent others from feeling angry toward them.

Much of the theoretical work on defense mechanisms can be credited to Freud's daughter, Anna Freud (1936; **FIGURE 13.7**). Over the past 40 years, psychological research has provided considerable support for the existence of many of the defense mechanisms (Baumeister, Dale, & Sommers, 1998). According to contemporary researchers, however, these mechanisms do not relieve unconscious conflict over libidinal desires. Instead, defense mechanisms protect self-esteem. For instance, reaction formation occurs when a person wards off an uncomfortable thought about the self by embracing the opposite thought.

In one study of reaction formation in men, the participants were asked to express their views on homosexuality (Adams, Wright, & Lohr, 1996). Then they watched

MECHANISM	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Denial	Refusing to acknowledge source of anxiety	III person ignores medical advice.
Repression	Excluding source of anxiety from awareness	Person fails to remember an unpleasant event.
Projection	Attributing unacceptable qualities of the self to someone else	Competitive person describes others as supercompetitive.
Reaction formation	Warding off an uncomfortable thought by overemphasizing its opposite	Person with unacknowledged homosexual desires makes homophobic remarks.
Rationalization	Concocting a seemingly logical reason or excuse for behavior that might otherwise be shameful	Person cheats on taxes because "everyone does it."
Displacement	Shifting the attention of emotion from one object to another	Person yells at children after a bad day at work.
Sublimation	Channeling socially unacceptable impulses into constructive, even admirable, behavior	Sadist becomes a surgeon or dentist.

Table 13.1 Common Defense Mechanisms

videos that depicted gay sex. The men who had expressed the most negative views of homosexuality showed greater physiological arousal when watching the videos than did men who were more accepting of homosexuality. These findings suggest that repression of homosexual impulses might lead to reaction formation. The reaction consists of homophobia.

PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT An important component of Freudian thinking is the idea that early childhood experiences have a major impact on the development of personality. Freud believed that children unconsciously aim to satisfy libidinal urges to experience pleasure. In their pursuit of these satisfactions, children go through developmental stages that correspond to the different urges. These developmental stages are called **psychosexual stages**.

In each psychosexual stage, libido is focused on one of the *erogenous zones:* the mouth, the anus, or the genitals. The *oral stage* lasts from birth to approximately 18 months. During this time, infants seek pleasure through the mouth. Because hungry infants experience relief when they breast-feed, they come to associate pleasure with sucking. When children are 2 to 3 years old, they enter the *anal stage*. During this time, toilet training—learning to control the bowels—leads them to focus on the anus. From age 3 to 5, children are in the *phallic stage*. That is, they direct their libidinal energies toward the genitals. Children often discover the pleasure of rubbing their genitals during this time, although they have no sexual intent per se. The phallic stage is followed by a brief *latency stage*. During this time, children suppress libidinal urges or channel them into doing schoolwork or building friendships. Finally, in the *genital stage*, adolescents and adults attain mature attitudes about sexuality and adulthood. They center their libidinal urges on the capacities to reproduce and to contribute to society.

One of the most controversial Freudian theories applies to children in the phallic stage. According to Freud, children desire an exclusive relationship with the opposite-sex parent. For this reason, children consider the same-sex parent a rival and

psychosexual stages According to Freud, developmental stages that correspond to distinct libidinal urges; progression through these stages profoundly affects personality. develop hostility toward that parent. In boys, this phenomenon is known as the *Oedipus complex*. It is named after the Greek character Oedipus, who unknowingly killed his father and married his mother. Freud believed that children develop unconscious wishes to kill the one parent in order to claim the other parent. Children resolve this conflict by repressing their desires for the opposite-sex parent and identifying with the same-sex parent. That is, they take on many of that parent's values and beliefs. This theory was mostly applicable to boys. Freud's theory for girls was more complex and even less convincing. Few data support either theory.

According to Freud, progression through these psychosexual stages profoundly affects personality. For example, some people become *fixated* at a stage during which they receive excessive parental restriction or indulgence. For instance, those fixated at the oral stage develop *oral personalities*. They continue to seek pleasure through the mouth, such as by smoking. They are also excessively needy. Those fixated at the anal phase may have *anal-retentive personalities*. They are stubborn and highly regulating. Anal fixation may arise from overly strict toilet training or excessively rule-based childrearing. Again, evidence to support Freud's ideas is lacking.

PSYCHODYNAMIC THEORY SINCE FREUD Although Freud is the thinker most closely identified with psychodynamic theory, a number of influential scholars have modified his ideas in their own psychodynamic theories. While rejecting aspects of Freudian thinking, they have embraced the notion of unconscious conflict. These *neo-Freudians* include Carl Jung, Alfred Adler, and Karen Horney. For instance, Adler and Horney strongly criticized Freud's view of women, finding many of his ideas misogynistic. Consider that the phallic stage of development is named for the male sex organ, although Freud used this label for both female and male development. Many neo-Freudians rejected Freud's emphasis on sexual forces. Adler viewed the primary conflict as based on fears of inadequacy, which he called the *inferiority complex*. Horney focused on a fear of abandonment (i.e., basic insecurity). In her view, this fear resulted from the child's relationship with the mother.

Contemporary neo-Freudians focus on social interactions, especially children's emotional attachments to their parents or primary caregivers. This focus is embodied in *object relations theory*. According to this theory, a person's mind and sense of self develop in relation to others in the particular environment. "Objects" are real others in the world, and how the person relates to these others shapes her or his personality.

Psychologists have largely abandoned psychodynamic theories. After all, Freud's central premises cannot be examined through accepted scientific methods. Today, Freud has to be understood in the context of his time and the methods he had at his disposal. He was an astute observer of behavior and a creative theorist. His observations and ideas continue to affect personality psychology and have framed much of the research in personality over the last century (Hines, 2003; Westen, 1998). His terminology appears in many contexts, from literature and pop culture to most people's understanding (and misunderstanding) of psychology.

Personality Reflects Learning and Cognition

Behavioral psychologists such as B. F. Skinner rejected the idea that personality is the result of internal processes. Instead, behaviorists viewed personality mainly as learned responses to patterns of reinforcement. Over time, however, psychologists became dissatisfied with strict models of learning theory. They began to incorporate cognition into the understanding of personality. For instance, Julian Rotter (1954) introduced the idea that behavior is a function of two things: the person's *expectancies* for reinforcement and the *values* the person ascribes to particular reinforcers. Suppose you are deciding whether to study for an exam or go to a party. You will probably consider the likelihood that studying will lead to a good grade. You will consider how much that grade matters. Then you will weigh those two considerations against two others: the likelihood that the party will be fun and the extent to which you value having fun (**FIGURE 13.8**).

Rotter also proposed that people differ in how much they believe their efforts will lead to positive outcomes. People with an *internal locus of control* believe they bring about their own rewards. People with an *external locus of control* believe rewards— and therefore their personal fates—result from forces beyond their control. These generalized beliefs affect individuals' psychological adjustment.

The cognitive theorist George Kelly (1955) emphasized how individuals view and understand their circumstances. He referred to such views and understandings as *personal constructs:* personal theories of how the world works. Kelly believed that people view the world as if they are scientists—constantly testing their theories by observing ongoing events, then revising those theories based on what they observe. According to Kelly, personal constructs develop through experiences and represent each individual's interpretations and explanations for events in his or her social worlds.

The incorporation of cognition into learning theories led to the development of *cognitive-social theories* of personality. These theories emphasize how personal beliefs, expectancies, and interpretations of social situations shape behavior and personality. For instance, Albert Bandura (1977) argued that people's beliefs, thoughts, and expectations interact with their environments to influence their behavior. For Bandura, as discussed in Chapter 10, one important determinant of behavior is self-efficacy. This term refers to how much people believe they can achieve specific outcomes. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 6, Bandura proposed that people may develop expectancies partly through observational learning. For example, someone may notice that other people are rewarded for acting in certain ways and punished for acting in different ways.

One of the most influential cognitive-social theorists has been Walter Mischel. According to Mischel's *cognitive-affective personality system (CAPS)*, people's personalities often fail to predict their behavior across different circumstances (Mischel & Shoda, 1995). Instead, their responses are influenced by how they perceive a given situation, their affective (emotional) responses to the situation, their skills in dealing with challenges, and their anticipation of the outcomes of their behavior (**FIGURE 13.9**).

For example, do you tend to make a good impression when you walk into a room? If so, you might walk into a party expecting to make a good impression. But what if your social experiences have been very different? Suppose you tend to be awkward and shy in new social situations. In that case, you might walk into that same party expecting to be rejected. Your expectations will shape your behavior based on your beliefs about the party.

The CAPS model and other cognitive-social theories of personality also emphasize *self-regulatory capacities*. This term refers to individuals' relative ability to set personal goals, evaluate their progress, and adjust their behavior accordingly. Indeed, many personality psychologists believe that motives and strivings—such as those for achievement, power, or intimacy—are an essential aspect of personality (Snyder & Cantor, 1998). According to these views, then, what is personality? Personality represents behavior that emerges from the interaction of three factors: people's interpretations of their social worlds, their beliefs about how they will affect their social situations, and their beliefs about how they will be affected *by* their social situations.



FIGURE 13.8 Expectancies and Value According to Julian Rotter, a

student's expected value of events will determine whether he or she will decide to stay in and study or go out to a party.



FIGURE 13.9 CAPS Model

Mischel and Shoda proposed this model to account for cognitive-social influences on behavior.

humanistic approaches

Approaches to studying personality that emphasize how people seek to fulfill their potential through greater self-understanding.

Humanistic Approaches Emphasize Integrated Personal Experience

By the early 1950s, most psychological theories of personality were heavily deterministic. That is, theorists viewed personality and behavioral characteristics as arising from forces beyond a person's control. For example, Freudians had believed that personality is determined by unconscious conflicts. Behaviorists such as B. F. Skinner argued that personality is based on response tendencies, which are determined by patterns of reinforcement (see Chapter 6, "Learning").

Against this backdrop, a new view of personality emerged: **Humanistic approaches** emphasize personal experience, belief systems, the uniqueness of the human condition, and the inherent goodness of each person. They propose that people seek to fulfill their potential for personal growth through greater self-understanding. This process is referred to as *self-actualization*. Abraham Maslow's theory of motivation is an example. As discussed in Chapter 10, Maslow believed that the desire to become self-actualized is the ultimate human motive.

The most prominent humanistic psychologist was Carl Rogers (**FIGURE 13.10**). Rogers introduced a *person-centered approach* to understanding personality and human relationships. That is, he emphasized people's subjective understandings of their lives. In the therapeutic technique Rogers advocated, the therapist would create a supportive and accepting environment. The therapist and the client would deal with the client's problems and concerns as the client understood them.

Rogers's theory highlights the importance of how parents show affection for their children and how parental treatment affects personality development. Rogers speculated that most parents provide love and support that is conditional: The parents love their children as long as the children do what the parents want them to do. Parents who disapprove of their children's behavior may withhold their love. As a result, children quickly abandon their true feelings, dreams, and desires. They accept only those parts of themselves that elicit parental love and support. Thus, people lose touch with their true selves in their pursuit of positive regard from others.

To counteract this effect, Rogers encouraged parents to raise their children with *unconditional positive regard*. That is, parents should accept and prize their children no matter how the children behave. Parents might express disapproval of children's bad behavior, but at the same time they should express their love for the children. According to Rogers, a child raised with unconditional positive regard would develop a healthy sense of self-esteem and would become a *fully functioning person*.

Trait Approaches Describe Behavioral Dispositions

Psychodynamic and humanistic approaches seek to explain the mental processes that shape personality. According to these theories, the same underlying processes occur in everyone, but individuals differ because they experience different conflicts, are treated differently by their parents, and so on. Other approaches to personality focus more on description than explanation. For example, in describing a friend, you probably would not delve into unconscious conflicts. Instead, you would describe your friend as a certain type. You might say, "Jessica is such an introvert" or "Jorge is a free spirit."

Most contemporary personality psychologists are concerned with traits. As discussed earlier, traits are patterns of thought, emotion, and behavior that are relatively consistent over time and across situations. Traits exist on a continuum, so that most people fall toward the middle and relatively few people fall at the extremes.



FIGURE 13.10 Carl Rogers

Rogers was one of the founders of humanistic psychology. His approach emphasized people's subjective understandings of their lives. Thus, for example, people range from being very introverted to very extraverted, but most are somewhere in the middle. The **trait approach** to personality focuses on how individuals differ in personality dispositions, such as sociability, cheerfulness, and aggressiveness (Funder, 2001).

How many traits are there? Early in his career, Gordon Allport, along with his colleague Henry Odbert, counted the dictionary words that could be used as personality traits (Allport & Odbert, 1936). They found nearly 18,000. Later, the researcher Raymond Cattell (1943) set out to ascertain the basic elements of

OPENNESS TO EXPERIENCE NEUROTICISM Imaginative vs. down-to-earth Worried vs. calm Likes variety vs. likes routine Insecure vs. secure Independent vs. conforming Self-pitying vs. self-satisfied Personality **C**ONSCIENTIOUSNESS AGREEABLENESS Softhearted vs. ruthless Organized vs. disorganized Careful vs. careless Trusting vs. suspicious Self-disciplined vs. weak-willed Helpful vs. uncooperative EXTRAVERSION Social vs. retiring Fun-loving vs. sober Affectionate vs. reserved

personality. Cattell believed that statistical procedures would enable him to take the scientific study of personality to a higher level and perhaps uncover the basic structure of personality. He asked participants to fill out personality questionnaires that presented a number of trait items, which he had reduced from the larger set produced by Allport and Odbert. Cattell then performed *factor analysis*, grouping items according to their similarities. For instance, he grouped all the terms that referred to friendliness: *nice, pleasant, cooperative,* and so on. Through factor analysis, Cattell (1965) ultimately identified 16 basic dimensions of personality. These dimensions included intelligence, sensitivity, dominance, and self-reliance. Cattell gave many of the dimensions unusual names to avoid confusion with everyday language, but most personality psychologists no longer use these terms.

THE BIG FIVE In the last 30 years or so, many personality psychologists have embraced the **five-factor theory**. This theory identifies five basic personality traits (McCrae & Costa, 1999). These traits have emerged from factor analyses performed by personality researchers. The so-called *Big Five* are *openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness,* and *neuroticism* (**FIGURE 13.11**). For each factor, there is a continuum from low to high. In addition, each factor is a higher-order trait that is made up of interrelated lower-order traits. For instance, conscientiousness is determined by how careful and organized a person is. Agreeableness reflects the extent to which a person is trusting and helpful. A person high in openness to experience is imaginative and independent, whereas a person low in this basic trait is down-to-earth and conformist.

The Big Five emerge across cultures, among adults and children, even when vastly different questionnaires assess the factors. The same five factors appear whether people rate themselves or are rated by others. Furthermore, people's "scores" on the Big Five traits have been shown to predict a wide variety of different behaviors (Paunonen & Ashton, 2001). Their scores have also been shown to predict people's satisfaction with their jobs, their marriages, and life generally (Heller, Watson, & Ilies, 2004). Some cross-cultural differences emerge, however. For example, interpersonal relatedness, or harmony, is not an important trait in Western cultures, but personality studies conducted in China have shown that interpersonal relatedness is an important trait there (Cheung et al., 2001; Cheung, Cheung, & Leung, 2008). One possible explanation for this difference is that many Chinese live in densely populated areas. Therefore, getting along with others may be more essential in China than in societies where people live farther apart.

FIGURE 13.11 The Big Five Personality Factors

The acronym *OCEAN* is a good way to remember these terms.

trait approach

An approach to studying personality that focuses on how individuals differ in personality dispositions.

five-factor theory

The idea that personality can be described using five factors: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Considerable evidence supports the five-factor theory (John, 1990). Brain imaging research has shown that different personality traits are associated with activity in different brain regions. For example, fMRI studies find activity in brain reward systems, such as the nucleus accumbens, for extraversion and activity in brain areas involved in understanding other people, such as the medial prefrontal cortex, for agreeableness (DeYoung et al., 2010). Patterns such as these demonstrate that the Big Five factors can be reliably discriminated based on patterns of brain activity.

Some researchers have questioned whether the five-factor theory really clarifies personality. After all, the factor terms are descriptive rather than explanatory, and reducing all of human personality to five dimensions ignores individual subtleties. The theory is valuable, however, as an organizational structure for the vast number of traits that describe personality. By providing a common descriptive framework, the Big Five integrate and invigorate the trait approach (John & Srivastava, 1999). Moreover, the factors uniquely predict certain outcomes. For instance, conscientiousness predicts grades in college but not scores on standardized tests, whereas openness to experience predicts scores on standardized tests but not grades (Noftle & Robins, 2007). These particular effects may occur because of connections between the traits and the results: Highly conscientious people tend to work very hard, and this characteristic matters for achievement tests. Thus, factors exist at more than a descriptive level. Today, the Big Five approach dominates much of the way that psychologists study personality.

BIOLOGICAL TRAIT THEORY In the 1960s, the psychologist Hans Eysenck developed the *biological trait theory*. Eysenck initially proposed that personality traits had two major dimensions: introversion/extraversion and emotional stability (**FIGURE 13.12**). *Introversion* refers to how shy, reserved, and quiet



FIGURE 13.12 Evsenck's Biological Trait

Theory of Personality

According to Eysenck, personality is composed of traits that occur in three dimensions: extraversion/introversion, emotionally stable/neurotic, and high constraint/low constraint (originally called psychoticism). a person is. *Extraversion* refers to how sociable, outgoing, and bold a person is. This dimension is similar to the extraversion trait in the Big Five theory.

Emotional stability refers to variability in a person's moods and emotions. *Stability* describes consistency in moods and emotions. This dimension is similar to the Big Five trait of neuroticism. A person who is more emotional may be considered *neurotic*. A neurotic person experiences frequent and dramatic mood swings, especially toward negative emotions, compared with a person who is more emotionally stable. In addition, a neurotic person often feels anxious, moody, and depressed and generally holds a very low opinion of himself.

Eysenck later proposed a third dimension of personality traits. *Psychoticism* reflects a mix of aggression, poor impulse control, self-centeredness, and a lack of empathy. The term *psychoticism* implies a level of psychological disorder that Eysenck did not intend. As a result, more-recent conceptions of this trait call it *constraint* (see Figure 13.12). According to this view of the trait, people range from generally controlling their impulses to generally not controlling them (Watson & Clark, 1997). This dimension is most similar to the Big Five trait of conscientiousness, or how careful and organized someone is.

Eysenck proposed that personality traits are based on biological processes that produce behaviors, thoughts, and emotions. For instance, Eysenck believed that differences in arousal produce the behavioral differences between extraverts and introverts. Arousal, or alertness, is regulated by the reticular activating system (RAS). The RAS affects alertness and is also involved in inducing and terminating the different stages of sleep. As discussed in Chapter 10, each person prefers to operate—and operates best-at some optimal level of arousal. Eysenck proposed that the resting levels of the RAS are higher for introverts than for extraverts (FIGURE 13.13). Extraverts typically are below their optimal levels. In other words, extraverts are chronically underaroused. To operate efficiently, they have to find arousal, so they impulsively seek out new situations and new emotional experiences. Introverts typically are above their optimal levels of arousal. Because they do not want any additional arousal, they prefer quiet solitude with few stimuli. If you are an introvert, a noisy environment will distract you. If you are an extravert, quiet places will bore you. Consistent with Eysenck's theory, research has demonstrated that extraverts perform better in noisy settings (Geen, 1984).

If introverts are chronically more aroused than extraverts, they ought to be more sensitive to stimuli at all levels of intensity. Generally, introverts do appear more sensitive. For example, they experience pain more intensely than extraverts do (Lynn & Eysenck, 1961). They also experience sourness more intensely: They salivate more when lemon juice is placed on their tongues than extraverts do (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1967). Evidence for baseline differences in arousal has been more difficult to produce. That is, the visible biological difference between introverts and extraverts appears to be their level of arousability, or how much they react to stimuli. As you might have guessed, introverts are more arousable (Geen, 1984).

BEHAVIORAL ACTIVATION AND INHIBITION SYSTEMS A number of theorists have offered refinements to Eysenck's initial theory that reflect a more current understanding of how the brain functions. The various theories have some common features. For example, each theory differentiates between approach learning and



FIGURE 13.13 Optimal Arousal Influences Personality

(a) People who are extraverted have lower levels of arousal. To function optimally, they seek out exciting activities. (b) By contrast, people who are introverted have higher levels of arousal. To function optimally, they seek out calming activities.


FIGURE 13.14 Behavioral Approach System and Behavioral Inhibition System

(a) BAS signals "go." (b) BIS signals "stop."

behavioral approach system (BAS)

The brain system involved in the pursuit of incentives or rewards.

behavioral inhibition system (BIS)

The brain system that is sensitive to punishment and therefore inhibits behavior that might lead to danger or pain.

(a) BAS

- Sensitivity to rewards
- Pleasure seeking
- Positive affect
- Linked to extraversion

(b) BIS

- Sensitivity to punishment or rejection
- Increase in anxiety
- Negative affect
- Linked to neuroticism

avoidance learning. Jeffrey Gray (1982) incorporated this distinction in his approach/inhibition model of the relationships between learning and personality. Gray proposed that personality is rooted in two motivational functions: the *behavioral approach system* and the *behavioral inhibition system*. These functions have evolved to help organisms respond efficiently to reinforcement and punishment.

In Gray's model, the **behavioral approach system (BAS)** consists of the brain structures that lead organisms to approach stimuli in pursuit of rewards. This is the "go" system (**FIGURE 13.14A**). The "stop" system is known as the **behavioral inhibition system (BIS).** Because it is sensitive to punishment, the BIS inhibits behavior that might lead to danger or pain (**FIGURE 13.14B**). Gray's model has been revised to emphasize that the BIS is related more to anxiety than to fear (Gray & McNaughton, 2000) and to accommodate growing findings in neuroscience (Corr, DeYoung, & McNaughton, 2013).

The BAS is linked to extraversion. Extraverts are more influenced by rewards than by punishments and tend to act impulsively in the face of strong rewards, even following punishment (Patterson & Newman, 1993). The BIS is linked

to neuroticism. People high in neuroticism become anxious in social situations in which they anticipate possible negative outcomes. Different brain regions involved in emotion and reward underlie BIS/BAS systems (DeYoung & Gray, 2009). Gray's model has been particularly useful for understanding personality differences in impulsivity and risk taking, such as when people act impulsively or take risks while drinking or using drugs (Franken, Muris, & Georgieva, 2006).

Summing Up

What Are the Theories of Personality?

- According to Freud's psychodynamic approach, mental activity can be conscious, preconscious, or unconscious, with unconscious forces primarily determining behavior.
- Freud argued that personality consists of three structures: the id, the superego, and the ego. The ego mediates between the id and the superego, using defense mechanisms to reduce anxiety due to conflicts between the id and the superego.
- Freud proposed that people pass through five stages of psychosexual development and that these stages shape personality. In contrast to Freud, neo-Freudians have focused on relationships-in particular, children's emotional attachments to their parents. There is little empirical support for Freud's theories.
- According to social-learning theories, people learn patterns of responding that are guided by their personal constructs, expectancies, and values.
- Humanistic theories emphasize experiences, beliefs, and inherent goodness. Rogers's
 person-centered approach suggests that unconditional positive regard in childhood enables
 people to become fully functioning.

- Personality trait theories assume that personality is a collection of traits or behavioral dispositions.
- Five-factor theory maintains that there are five higher-order personality traits: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.
- Research supports five-factor theory in a number of ways. For example, brain imaging
 research has discriminated activity in different brain regions based on traits.
- According to Eysenck's model of personality, there are three biologically based higherorder personality traits: introversion/extraversion, emotional stability, and psychoticism or constraint.
- In Gray's model, the behavioral approach system (BAS) consists of the brain structures that lead organisms to approach stimuli in pursuit of rewards. The behavioral inhibition system (BIS) is related to anxiety and inhibits responding.

Measuring Up

- Indicate which theorists are associated with each of the following four approaches to studying personality: psychodynamic, humanistic, trait, and learning and cognition.
 - a. Abraham Maslow
 - **b.** Albert Bandura
 - **c.** Anna Freud
 - d. Carl Jung
 - e. Carl Rogers
 - f. B. F. Skinner
 - g. George Kelly
 - h. Julian Rotter
 - i. Hans Eysenck
 - j. Karen Horney
 - k. Raymond Cattell
 - I. Sigmund Freud
 - m. Walter Mischel
- 2. Indicate which concepts are associated with each of the four approaches to studying personality (see question 1).
 - a. defense mechanisms
 - **b.** id, ego, superego
 - c. describing how individuals differ from one another
 - d. locus of control
 - people seeking to fulfill their potential for personal growth through greater self-understanding
 - **f.** personal beliefs, expectations, and interpretations of social situations shaping personality
 - g. personality traits
 - h. personality types
 - i. self-efficacy
 - j. sexual instincts
 - **k.** the Big Five
 - I. unconditional positive regard
 - m. unconscious forces influencing behavior

ANSWERS: (1) psychodynamic–c, d, j, l; humanistic–a, e; trait–i, k; learning and cognition–b, f, g, h, m. (2) psychodynamic–a, b, j, m; humanistic–e, l; trait–c, g, h, k; learning and cognition–d, f, i.

Learning Objectives

- Define situationism and interactionism.
- Distinguish between strong situations and weak situations.
- Describe how development and life events alter personality traits.
- Identify cultural influences on personality.



(b)



FIGURE 13.15 The Power of Situation

(a) A person might understandably be shy during a first date with someone he met online. (b) That same person might be far from shy in a different situation.

situationism

The theory that behavior is determined more by situations than by personality traits.

interactionists

Theorists who believe that behavior is determined jointly by situations and underlying dispositions.

13.3 How Stable Is Personality?

If a person is shy as an adolescent, is she doomed to be shy all her life? There can be an unfortunate tendency for people to be fatalistic about personality, as if people are doomed to whatever personalities they currently possess. In this section, we consider several issues related to the stability of personality. Is it stable across situations? What situational factors influence how personality is expressed? How much does personality change over time? For instance, do people always become wiser and more cautious as they get older? Do life experiences alter personality?

People Sometimes Are Inconsistent

Imagine again that you are shy. Are you shy in all situations? Probably not. Shy people tend to be most uncomfortable in new situations in which they are being evaluated (**FIGURE 13.15A**). They are not usually shy around family and close friends (**FIGURE 13.15B**). In 1968, Walter Mischel dropped a bombshell on the field of personality by proposing that behaviors are determined more by situations than by personality traits. This idea has come to be called **situationism**. For evidence, Mischel referred to studies in which people who were dishonest in one situation were completely honest in another. Suppose a student is not totally honest with a professor in explaining why a paper is late. That student probably is no more likely to steal or to cheat on taxes than is a student who admits to oversleeping.

Mischel's critique of personality traits caused considerable rifts between social psychologists, who emphasize situational forces, and personality psychologists, who focus on individual dispositions. After all, the most basic definition of personality holds that it is relatively stable across situations and circumstances. If Mischel was correct and there is relatively little stability, the whole concept of personality seems empty.

As you might expect, there was a vigorous response to Mischel's theory. The discussion has come to be called the person/situation debate. Personality researchers argued that how much a trait predicts behavior depends on three factors: the *centrality* of the trait, the *aggregation* of behaviors over time, and the *type* of trait being evaluated. People tend to be more consistent in their central traits than in their secondary traits, since the former are most relevant to them. In addition, if behaviors are averaged across many situations, personality traits are more predictive of behavior. Shy people may not be shy all the time, but on average they are shy more than people who are not shy. Moreover, people who report being shy in college continue to report being shy many years later, so the trait of shyness seems to be stable. Some traits, such as honesty, are more likely to be consistent across situations. Other traits, such as shyness, might vary depending on the situation. Finally, some people may be more consistent than others. Consider the trait of self-monitoring, which involves being sensitive to cues of situational appropriateness. People high in self-monitoring alter their behavior to match the situation, so they exhibit low levels of consistency. By contrast, people low in self-monitoring are less able to alter their self-presentations to match situational demands, so they tend to be much more consistent across situations.

Behavior Is Influenced by the Interaction of Personality and Situations

People are also highly sensitive to social context, and most people conform to situational norms. Few people would break the law in front of a police officer or drive on the wrong side of the road just because they felt like it. Situations such as these, where there are strong external influences, dictate behavior irrespective of personality. Situational influences can be subtle. Consider your own behavior. You may reveal different aspects of your personality during your interactions with different people. Your goals for social interaction change. The potential consequences of your actions also change. For example, your family may be more tolerant of your bad moods than your friends are. Thus, you may feel freer to express your bad moods around your family.

Situations differ in how much they constrain the expression of personality (Kenrick & Funder, 1991). Suppose one person is highly extraverted, aggressive, and boisterous. A second person is shy, thoughtful, and restrained. At a funeral, these two people might display similar or even nearly identical behavior. At a party, the same two people would most likely act quite differently. Personality psychologists differentiate between *strong situations* and *weak situations*. Strong situations (e.g., elevators, religious services, job interviews) tend to mask differences in personality because of the power of the social environment. Weak situations (e.g., parks, bars, one's house) tend to reveal differences in personality (**FIGURE 13.16**). Most trait theorists are **interactionists**. That is, they believe that behavior is determined jointly by situations and underlying dispositions.

People also affect their social environments, however. First, people choose their situations (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2010). Introverts tend to avoid parties or other situations in which they might feel anxious, whereas extraverts seek out social opportunities. Once people are in situations, their behavior affects those around them. Some extraverts may draw people out and encourage them to have fun, whereas others might act aggressively and turn people off. Some introverts might create an intimate atmosphere that encourages people to open up and reveal personal concerns, whereas others might make people uncomfortable and anxious. A reciprocal interaction occurs between the person and the social environment so that they simultaneously influence each other. The important point is that personality reflects a person's underlying disposition, the activation of the person's goals in a particular situation, and the activation of the person's emotional responses in the pursuit of those goals.

Personality Traits Are Relatively Stable over Time

The Jesuits have a maxim: *Give me a child until he is seven, and I will show you the man.* This proverbial saying is the thesis of Paul Almond and Michael Apted's *Up* series of documentary films. The series follows the development of a group of British people. Each participant has been interviewed at ages 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 42, 49, and 56 (**FIGURE 13.17**). A striking aspect of these films is the apparent stability of personality over time. For example, the boy interested in the stars and science becomes a professor of physics. The boy who finds his childhood troubling and confusing develops an apparent odd and eccentric personality. The reserved, well-mannered, upper-class girl at age 7 grows into the reserved, well-mannered woman in her pastoral retreat at age 35.

Are people really so stable? Childhood temperaments may predict behavioral outcomes in early adulthood, but what about change during adulthood? Clinical psychology is based on the belief that people can and do change important aspects of their lives. They exert considerable energy trying to change. They attend self-help groups, read self-help books, pay for therapy sessions, and struggle to make changes in their lives. But how much can people really change?





FIGURE 13.16 Strong and Weak Situations (a) A strong situation, such as a funeral, tends to discourage displays of personality. (b) A weak situation, such as hanging out with friends, tends to let people behave more freely.



FIGURE 13.17 The Up Series

Since 1964, this series of documentary films has traced the development of 14 British people from various socioeconomic backgrounds. New material has been collected every seven years, starting when the participants were 7 years old. Here, three participants–Jackie, Sue, and Lynn–are pictured from the film 49 Up.

FIGURE 13.18 The Stability of Personality

This graph shows the rank ordering of the study participants' personalities. Participants ranged in age from newborn to 73.



The way we define the essential features of personality has tremendous implications for whether personality is fixed or changeable. Continuity over time and across situations is inherent in the definition of *trait*, and most research finds personality traits to be relatively stable over the adult life span (Heatherton & Weinberger, 1994). For instance, over many years the relative rankings of individuals on each of the Big Five personality traits remain stable (McCrae & Costa, 1990). A meta-analysis of 150 studies—through which a total of nearly 50,000 participants had been followed for at least one year—found strong evidence for stability in personality (Roberts & Friend-DelVecchio, 2000). The rank orderings of individuals on any personality trait were quite stable over long periods across all age ranges (**FIGURE 13.18**).

In their research on potential change in personality, Robert McCrae and Paul Costa (1999) emphasize an important distinction. They separate basic tendencies of personality from characteristic adaptations (**FIGURE 13.19**). *Basic tendencies* are dispositional traits determined largely by biological processes. As such, they are very stable. *Characteristic adaptations* are adjustments to situational demands. Such adaptations tend to be somewhat consistent because they are based on skills, habits, roles, and so on. But changes in behavior produced by characteristic adaptations do not indicate changes in basic tendencies. Consider a highly extraverted woman. In her youth, she may go to parties frequently, be a thrill seeker, and have multiple sexual partners. In her old age, she will be less likely to do these things, but she may have many friends and enjoy traveling. Although the exact behaviors differ, they reflect the core basic tendency of extraversion.



FIGURE 13.19

McCrae and Costa's Model of Personality

As shown on the left side of this model, basic tendencies are biologically based. As represented in the middle and on the right, characteristic adaptations are influenced by basic tendencies and by situations. The arrows indicate some of the ways in which the different components of personality interact.

Development and Life Events Alter Personality Traits

Although traits show relative stability, they also change. According to this emerging perspective, traits reflect developmental constructs that change over the life course in response to life events (Roberts, 2009). When behaviors, thoughts, or emotions change, and do so repeatedly over time, people can come to see themselves in a new light. These stable shifts in behavior, thoughts, or feelings lead people to perceive themselves differently (Roberts, Wood, Caspi, 2008). Traits change at typical points during the life course, but individual differences in the patterns of change reflect unique aspects of personality (Roberts & Mroczek, 2008).

AGING-RELATED CHANGE Individual personalities remain relatively stable over time, as when a person who is more shy than average as a child remains so as an adult. During the life course, however, most people's personalities reliably undergo certain changes. For instance, people generally develop increased self-control and emotional stability as they age (Caspi, Roberts & Shiner, 2005). They become less neurotic, less extraverted, and less open to new experiences as they get older. They also tend to become more agreeable and more conscientious (Srivastava, John, Gosling, & Potter, 2003). Personality changes more in young adulthood (ages 20–40) than in any other part of the life course, including childhood (Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2005). As we will see shortly, this tendency may be due to the large number of life events that occur during young adulthood.

The pattern of personality changes across age holds in different cultures (McCrae et al., 2000; **FIGURE 13.20**). These findings suggest that age-related changes in personality occur independently of environmental influences and therefore that personality change itself may be based in human physiology. Indeed, the extent of personality change is more similar in monozygotic twins than in dizygotic twins, and this finding indicates that personality change has a genetic component (McGue, Bacon, & Lykken, 1993).

SITUATIONAL CAUSES OF PERSONALITY CHANGE Many of the changes observed as people go through adulthood may be due in part to the new duties and obligations that growing older typically involves, such as forming long-term relationships,



FIGURE 13.20 Conscientiousness at Different Ages in Five Cultures

Note that bars are missing from this graph because data were not available for the 14-17 age group in Spain and the 22-29 age group in Turkey. having children, and building a career. Each of these life events typically leads to an altered lifestyle, in which behaviors, thoughts, and emotions change in predictable ways. For instance, a person's first job brings expectations that the person show up on time, work hard, and interact agreeably with coworkers and respectfully with bosses. Acting in these ways can instill new behaviors and help make the person more conscientious. Moreover, the tangible benefits of working, such as having more money and therefore an improved lifestyle, permit people to regularly engage in enjoyable behaviors. These connections may explain why greater job satisfaction can decrease neuroticism over time (Le, Donnellan, & Conger, 2014).

In general, personality changes occur as a consequence of the expectations and experiences associated with age-related roles, such as becoming a spouse, a parent, or an employee (Roberts et al., 2005). Becoming involved in a committed relationship is associated with decreased neuroticism (Lehnart, Neyer, & Eccles, 2010). Recall from the chapter opener that Marc thrives emotionally because of Christine's companion-ship, and in turn she is less prone to feelings of melancholy. Life experiences, such as forming committed relationships, affect personality development (Roberts, Donnellan, & Hill, 2012). Even so, some people change more than others, perhaps because they experience these age-related events differently (Roberts & Mroczek, 2008).

Even apparently trivial life events may have large effects on personality development. Consider that Charles Darwin's uncle generously offered to drive him 30 miles to take a voyage on the *Beagle*. In his autobiography, Darwin described the *Beagle* voyage as the most important event of his life, and it would not have happened except for his uncle's offer (Darwin, 1892). The discoveries he made on the trip profoundly shaped modern science, determined his career, and helped shape him as a person. Many life events are unpredictable, such as accidents and illnesses. These twists of fate can instigate behavioral, emotional, and cognitive patterns in ways that change personality. Indeed, apparently arbitrary events might help explain why even those who possess the same genes do not develop identical personalities (Plomin & Daniels, 1987; 2011).

One recent study examined personality change among people who were caregivers for a spouse with terminal cancer. They assessed personality before and approximately 7 months after the spouse's death. Compared to a control group, the bereaved caregivers became more agreeable, sociable (a component of extraversion), and conscientious (Hoerger et al., 2014; **FIGURE 13.21A**). Another study



FIGURE 13.21

Life Experience and Personality Change

(a) As this graph illustrates, caregivers for spouses with terminal cancer reliably experienced more positive personality changes than a control group did. (b) As this graph illustrates, college students who traveled abroad also reliably experienced more positive personality changes than a control group.

examined college students who traveled abroad compared to a group of control students who did not (Zimmermann & Neyer, 2013). Those who chose to travel were more extraverted and had higher scores on openness to experience at the beginning of the study, as you might imagine. However, one year later they showed reliable increases in openness and agreeableness, along with a decrease in neuroticism (**FIGURE 13.21B**). These changes typically occur as people get older (Roberts & Wood, 2006), suggesting that international travel is a life event that hastens increased maturation.

Researchers have even used experimental methods in an attempt to directly change personality. Jackson and colleagues (2011) had older adults practice cognitive tasks that included a challenging set of Sudoko puzzles and training in problem solving. The participants enjoyed the experimental condition, spending an average of 11 hours per week on the

puzzles for 16 weeks. Compared to a control group, the experimental group showed an increase in openness to experience (**FIGURE 13.22**). This finding is important because of the typical benefits of experimental design—alternative explanations for the change, such as baseline differences between groups, are ruled out. In other words, an experimental manipulation can cause changes in personality.

Culture Influences Personality

How is personality affected by the culture in which one is raised? Cultural norms dictate appropriate behaviors and emotional reactions for males and females of different ages. Do different cultural norms translate into reliable cultural differences in personality?

Studying potential personality differences across cultures presents many challenges. As noted in Chapter 2, cross-cultural research can be difficult when language is a central component of what is being studied. Recall from Chapter 1 that people from Eastern cultures tend to think in terms of relations with other people, whereas those from Western cultures tend to think in terms of independence. People from Eastern cultures might therefore interpret a question about personality traits as referring to their family or group. People from Western cultures might interpret the same question as referring to them alone. Making comparisons across cultures also requires the use of standardized questionnaires that are reliably translated so that the questions clearly refer to the same personality trait in all cultures and all respondents interpret the questions in the same way. Another problem involves sampling: Often researchers use convenience samples, such as the college students who are taking the researchers' classes at the time of the study. In different countries, however, different types of people may go to college or university. Thus, apparent cultural differences may result from examining different types of people in the different cultures.

Recognizing these issues, one research team conducted a careful investigation of personality differences across 56 nations (Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, & Benet-Martinez,2007). Theyfound that the BigFive personality traits are valid across all the countries. This finding supports the argument that the BigFive are universal for humans. The investigators found modest differences in those traits across the 56 nations, however. People from East Asia (e.g., Japan, China, Korea) rated themselves comparatively lower than other respondents on extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, and they rated themselves comparatively higher on



FIGURE 13.22 Experimentally Produced Personality Change

Compared to a control group, the experimental group showed an increase in openness to experience.

FIGURE 13.23 Cross-Cultural Research on Personality Traits

A team of more than 120 scientists investigated the Big Five personality traits around the world, from Argentina to Zimbabwe. This chart presents some of their findings.



SOURCE: Schmitt et al., 2007.

neuroticism (FIGURE 13.23). By contrast, respondents from countries in Africa rated themselves as more agreeable, more conscientious, and less neurotic than people from most other countries rated themselves. These ratings might have reflected differences, however, in cultural norms for saying good and bad things about oneself. People from East Asian countries might simply be the most modest.

Research findings have made clear that self-reports often do not match cultural stereotypes about the respondents. One team of researchers examined typical beliefs about the personality characteristics of people from 49 cultures (Terracciano et al., 2005). The researchers then compared those ratings to selfreports and observer reports of people from those cultures. There was little correspondence. For instance, Canadians were widely believed to be relatively low in neuroticism and high in agreeableness, yet self-reports by Canadians did not support this pattern. Canadians reported themselves to be just as neurotic and disagreeable as people from other cultures. Steven Heine and colleagues (2008) have argued that national reputations may be accurate and that self-reports might be biased by individuals' comparisons of themselves with their national reputations.

To understand this idea, imagine that everyone in Country X works extremely hard and is always on time. People in Country Y work only when the urge strikes them. Therefore, the people in Country X are high in conscientiousness compared with the people in Country Y. Meanwhile, an individual in Country X and an individual in Country Y may be equally conscientious. Compared with their fellow citizens in their respective countries, however, the person in Country X may feel average, whereas the person in Country Y may feel far above average. Thus, people can view the same behavior differently, depending on how they compare themselves with others. In other words, maybe Canadians really are especially agreeable, and it is simply hard to notice one person's agreeableness around all those other agreeable Canadians.

What about differences related to sex? Earlier you learned that boys and girls show differences in temperament during childhood. Do they differ when grown up? Women and men are much more similar than different in terms of personality, but the differences between them largely support common stereotypes. That is, across various studies, women typically report and are rated as being more empathic and agreeable than men, but also as being somewhat more neurotic and concerned about feelings. By contrast, men tend to report and are rated as being more assertive (Costa, Terracciano, & McCrae, 2001; Feingold, 1994; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Of particular interest is how sex differences emerge across cultures. You might guess that the more egalitarian and developed a society, the more similarity between the sexes would be observed. After all, if we treat boys and girls equally, we might expect them to turn out to be more similar than they would if we treated them differently. Thus, it is puzzling to discover that sex differences in personality are largest in societies in North America and Europe, which provide more equal opportunities and treatment than many other societies, and smallest in Asian and African communities (Costa et al., 2001; Guimond et al., 2007; Schmitt, Realo, Voracek, & Allik, 2008). One theory to explain this pattern is that prosperous, developed societies that emphasize women's rights to education and to work allow for greater personal expression of individuality (Schmitt et al., 2008). Still, why might differences between females and males emerge when people can express themselves freely?

According to the social psychologist Serge Guimond (2008), people in individualist cultures—such as within Western Europe and North America—tend to compare themselves against other groups. As a result, women in such cultures describe themselves in ways that differentiate them from men, thereby creating gender differences in personality. From this perspective, the apparent cultural differences in the gender gap result from cultural differences in how people compare themselves rather than from any genuine cultural differences.

Summing Up

How Stable Is Personality?

- According to Mischel's notion of situationism, situations are more important than traits in predicting behavior. The person/situation debate revolves around whether personality traits or situations are more important in predicting behavior. Research suggests that when evaluated over time, personality traits do predict behavior.
- Interactionism maintains that behavior is determined by both situations and dispositions. Most trait theories adopt an interactionist view.
- Strong situations, such as funerals, largely dictate behavior and mask differences in personality. Weak situations, such as hanging out with friends, allow more behavioral flexibility and can reveal differences in personality.

- A variety of studies show that personality traits are stable over the life span. Although traits are stable, they do undergo developmental change.
- Developmental changes are caused by changes in self-perception generated by life experiences. Most changes in personality occur between the ages of 20 and 40, likely due to the large number of life experiences that happen during this period.
- Common developmental changes in the Big Five personality factors include decreased neuroticism, extraversion, and openness and increased agreeableness and conscientiousness.
- Cross-cultural research suggests that the Big Five personality factors are universal among humans. The structure of personality is stable across cultures, although self-reports concerning some traits differ across cultures. These differences may be attributed to biases in self-report.

Measuring Up

- 1. Research suggests which of the following statements are true regarding the stability of personality traits? Choose all that apply.
 - Situations are proven to be more important than personality traits for determining behavior.
 - **b.** The Big Five personality factors are generally stable over the life span.
 - c. Most changes to personality occur during childhood and adolescence.
 - **d.** It is not possible to change personality in adulthood.
 - e. Most changes to personality result from significant life events.
 - f. The aging of the brain causes personality to change drastically over the life span.
 - **g.** Most personality change occurs during early adulthood (ages 20-40).
- 2. Which of the following statements best reflects the interaction between development, situation, and the stability of personality traits?
 - **a.** Personality traits are stable and do not change regardless of age or situation.
 - **b.** Personality traits are stable and do not change with age, although personality may change in strong situations.
 - c. Personality traits are stable but do change with age, likely due to changes in situations and roles as people get older.
 - **d.** Personality traits are stable but will change with age as a result of cognitive decline, not situations.
- 3. Which of the following statements regarding cultural differences in personality traits are true? Choose all that apply.
 - **a.** Cross-cultural research shows that there is no such thing as a "universal" set of personality traits, such as the Big Five. Personality traits differ widely across cultures.
 - **b.** Research on personality traits validates cultural stereotypes. For example, Canadians really are more agreeable than people from other countries.
 - **c.** One major obstacle to conducting cross-cultural research on personality is language.
 - **d.** One major obstacle to conducting cross-cultural research on personality is the reliance on convenience sampling, which may not yield comparable samples across cultures.
 - e. One major obstacle to conducting cross-cultural research on personality is the reliance on individual self-report, which may bias responding as individuals compare themselves to their cultural "standard."

(3) Choices c, d, and e are correct.

situations and roles as people get older.

(2) c. Personality traits are stable but do change with age, likely due to changes in

ANSWERS: (1) Choices b, e, and g are correct.

13.4 How Is Personality Assessed?

What must we know to really understand someone's personality? The specific ways that psychologists try to answer this question vary greatly, often depending on their overall theoretical approaches. Some psychologists emphasize the biological and genetic factors that predispose behaviors. Others emphasize culture, patterns of reinforcement, or mental and unconscious processes.

To really understand people is to understand everything about them, from their biological makeups, to their early childhood experiences, to the way they think, to the cultures in which they were raised. All of these factors work together to shape a person. Thus, personality psychologists approach the study of personality on many levels. Psychologists measure personality by having people report on themselves, by asking people's friends or relatives to describe them, or by watching how people behave. Each method has strengths and limitations. This section considers how psychologists assess personality and how the different methods influence our understanding of individuals.

Personality Refers to Both Unique and Common Characteristics

The assessment of personality follows two approaches: idiographic and nomothetic. **Idiographic approaches** are person-centered. They focus on individual lives and how various characteristics are integrated into unique persons. **Nomothetic approaches** focus on characteristics that are common among all people but that vary from person to person. In other words, idiographic approaches use a different metric for each person. Nomothetic approaches use the same metric to compare all people.

Idiographic approaches assume that each individual is unique. Suppose each person in your psychology class identified 10 personality traits that described himself or herself. If your instructor compiled a list of everyone's traits, some of the traits would overlap. Other traits would probably apply to just one person in the class. After all, people like to be unique, so they tend to choose traits that distinguish themselves from other people. These *central traits* are especially important for how individuals define themselves. In contrast, people consider *secondary traits* less personally descriptive or not applicable. As you can imagine, certain traits are central for some people and secondary for others. You might define yourself in terms of how bold you are, but someone else might not consider boldness a very relevant part of her or his self-definition. In general, central traits are more predictive of behavior than secondary traits are.

Nomothetic approaches focus on common traits rather than individual uniqueness. Researchers in this tradition compare people by measuring traits such as agreeableness or extraversion. For example, they might give participants a questionnaire that lists 100 personality traits and have the participants rate themselves on each trait, using a scale of 1 to 10. From the nomothetic perspective, individuals are unique because of their unique combinations of common traits. The five-factor theory, discussed earlier, is an example of a nomothetic approach. That is, it looks at how all people vary on five basic personality traits.

Researchers Use Multiple Methods to Assess Personality

Various methods have been used to assess personality. Assessment procedures include measures of unconscious processes; life history data; behavioral data; self-reports;

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between idiographic and nomothetic approaches to the study of personality.
- Distinguish between projective and self-report measures of personality.
- Discuss the accuracy of observers' personality judgments.

idiographic approaches

Person-centered approaches to assessing personality; they focus on individual lives and how various characteristics are integrated into unique persons.

nomothetic approaches Approaches to assessing personality that focus on how common characteristics vary from person to person.





and descriptions from people's friends, relatives, or both. The way researchers choose to measure personality depends to a great extent on their theoretical orientations. For instance, trait researchers rely on personality descriptions, whereas humanistic psychologists use more holistic approaches.

PROJECTIVE MEASURES According to psychodynamic theory, personality is influenced by unconscious conflicts. **Projective measures** explore the unconscious by having people describe or tell stories about ambiguous stimulus items. The general



FIGURE 13.24 Projective Measures of Personality

Projective measures are meant to provide insight into a particular person's personality by allowing the person to project unconscious thoughts onto ambiguous images, as shown here in (a) a Rorschach inkblot test and (b) a Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).

projective measures

Personality tests that examine unconscious processes by having people interpret ambiguous stimuli. idea is that people will project their mental contents onto the ambiguous items. Through these projections, according to the theory, people will reveal hidden aspects of personality such as motives, wishes, and unconscious conflicts. Several such procedures are used to assess psychopathology, but many of them have been criticized for being too subjective and insufficiently validated.

One of the best-known projective measures is the *Rorschach inkblot test*. In this procedure, a person looks at an apparently meaningless inkblot and describes what it appears to be (**FIGURE 13.24A**). How a person describes the inkblot is supposed to reveal unconscious conflicts and other problems. The Rorschach does a poor job of diagnosing specific psychological disorders, however, and it finds many normal adults and children to be psychologically disturbed (Wood, Garb, Lilienfeld, & Nezworski, 2002).

A classic projective measure used by personality psychologists is the *Thematic Apperception Test*

(*TAT*). In the 1930s, Henry Murray and Christiana Morgan developed the TAT to study various types of motivation. In this test, a person is shown an ambiguous picture and is asked to tell a story about it (**FIGURE 13.24B**). Scoring of the story is based on the motivational schemes that emerge, because the schemes are assumed to reflect the storyteller's personal motives. Indeed, the TAT has been useful for measuring motivational traits—especially those related to achievement, power, and affiliation—and therefore it continues to be used in contemporary research (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989). If used properly, the TAT reliably predicts how interpersonally dependent people are (Bornstein, 1999). For example, this test predicts how likely people are to seek approval and support from others.

SELF-REPORTS Many assessments of personality involve self-report questionnaires. Measuring only what the person reports, they make no pretense of uncovering hidden conflicts or secret information. A questionnaire might target a specific trait, such as how much excitement a person seeks out of life. More often, questionnaires will include a large inventory of traits. For example, the *NEO Personality Inventory* consists of 240 items, which are designed to assess the Big Five personality factors (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

A widely used questionnaire for personality assessment is the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)*. Developed during the 1930s, the MMPI was updated in the 1990s for language changes (Butcher & Williams, 2009). The latest full version (*MMPI-2*) consists of 567 true/false items that assess emotions, thoughts, and behaviors. The scale was original designed to assess psychopathology (which you will learn more about in Chapter 14) but has also been widely used to assess

personality more generally. The *MMPI* has 10 scales that measure psychological problems (e.g., paranoia, depression, mania, hysteria). Using these scales, the assessor generates a profile that indicates whether a person is likely to have a psychological disorder.

As discussed in Chapter 2, a common problem is shared by all self-report assessments, including the *MMPI*. Namely, to make favorable impressions, respondents sometimes distort the truth or lie outright. To avoid detection of psychological disorders, they may be evasive or defensive. People might also try to present themselves too positively by agreeing with a large number of items, such as "I always make my bed" and "I never tell lies." A high score on this category would indicate an attempt to pres-

ent a perfectly positive image. Fabrications of this kind are known as faking good. By contrast, to look especially troubled, called faking bad, respondents may untruthfully lean toward negative items. To counter such response biases, the *MMPI-2* includes validity scales in addition to the clinical scales. The validity scales measure the probability that respondents are being less than truthful when taking the test.

One technique for assessing traits is the *California Q-Sort*. In this procedure, each participant is given 100 cards that have statements printed on them. The participant is asked to sort the cards into nine piles according to how accurately the statements describe the person. The piles represent categories that range from "not at all descriptive" to "extremely descriptive" (**FIGURE 13.25**). A participant may place only so many cards in each pile. Fewer cards are allowed at the extreme ends of the scale. Because the participant must pile most of the cards in the moderately descriptive categories, the Q-Sort has a built-in procedure for identifying those traits that people view as most central. The Q-Sort, like most objective measures, can also be used by observers. For example, parents, teachers, therapists, and friends can sort the cards to describe the person being evaluated.

LIFE HISTORY DATA Researchers who use idiographic approaches often examine case studies of individuals through interviews or biographical information. The personality psychologist Henry Murray pioneered this approach. For example, Murray was one of many scholars who tried to account for Adolf Hitler's behavior in Nazi Germany by studying Hitler's early childhood experiences, his physical stature, and his personal motivations (**FIGURE 13.26**). This type of study emphasizes the idea that personality unfolds over the life course as people react to their particular circumstances.

Another idiographic approach considers a human life as a narrative. To study personality, narrative psychologists pay attention to the stories people tell about themselves. According to Dan McAdams (1999, 2001), each person weaves a *life story*, which integrates self-knowledge into a coherent whole. In other words, the individual creates *personal myths* that bind together past events and future possibilities into one life story. These myths, whether true or not, help the individual make sense of the world and find meaning in life.

BEHAVIORAL DATA Researchers have also developed a number of objective measures that assess how personality emerges in daily life. For example, Matthias Mehl and James Pennebaker (Mehl, Pennebaker, Crow, Dabbs, & Price, 2001) created the electronically activated record (EAR). This device unobtrusively tracks a person's real-world moment-to-moment interactions. As the wearer goes about her or his daily life, the EAR picks up snippets of conversations and other auditory information. People quickly get used to wearing the EAR and have no idea when it is recording.



FIGURE 13.25 California Q-Sort

These are three of the cards a participant sorts when taking the Q-Sort assessment.



FIGURE 13.26 Adolf Hitler

In his personality analysis of Hitler, Henry Murray (1943) stated that the German leader was impotent in heterosexual relations and had engaged in a homosexual relationship. Murray's report predicted Hitler's suicide. Through a study using the device, researchers found that the stereotype that women talk more than men is false; women and men use an average of 16,000 words per day (Mehl, Vazire, Ramirez-Esparza, Slatcher, & Pennebaker, 2007). According to another study using the device, the happiest people have the most social interactions, and they also have more substantive conversations (as opposed to small talk) in their daily interactions (Mehl, Vazire, Holleran, & Clark, 2010).

The EAR has also been used to show that self-reports on the Big Five traits predict real-world behavior (Mehl, Gosling, & Pennebaker, 2006). According to this study, extraverts talk more and spend less time alone; agreeable people swear less often; conscientious people attend class more often; neurotic people spend more time arguing; and people open to experience spend more time in restaurants, bars, and coffee shops.

Other aspects of the environment can also be used to predict personality. Consider whether you keep your bedroom tidy or messy, warm or cold. In his book *Snoop*, Sam Gosling (2008) notes that each person's personality leaks out in many situations, such as through a Facebook profile (Back et al., 2010), a personal Web page (Vazire & Gosling, 2004), and the condition of a bedroom or office (Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli, & Morris, 2002; **FIGURE 13.27**). In each case, study participants who viewed public information about other people were able to form reasonably accurate impressions of how those people rated themselves on the Big Five personality traits.

Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments

People might be able to judge other people's personalities by looking at their bedrooms and Facebook profiles, but how well do they really know them? Imagine that you often feel shy in new situations, as many people do. Would others know that shyness is part of your personality? Some shy people force themselves to be outgoing to mask their feelings, so their friends might have no idea that they feel shy. Other people react to their own fear of social situations by remaining quiet and aloof, so observers might believe them to be cold, arrogant, and unfriendly. If you invite someone to a party because you expect her to be cheerful and sociable, and you are wrong, then the party might not be as pleasant as you hoped (Funder, 2012). In other words, judgments of personality are important because personality heavily influences behavior. Ultimately, how well do observers' personality judgments predict others' behavior?



FIGURE 13.27 Behavior and Personality How a person maintains a home or office is just one area in which personality is on display.

An important study by David Funder (1995) found that a person's close acquaintances show a surprising degree of accuracy for trait judgments, at least in some circumstances. In other studies, friends predicted assertiveness and other behaviors better than the person's own ratings did (Kolar, Funder, & Colvin, 1996; Vazire & Mehl, 2008). This effect may occur because our friends actually observe how we behave in situations. While we are in those situations, we may be preoccupied with evaluating other people and therefore fail to notice how we behave. Another possibility is that our subjective perceptions may diverge from our objective behaviors. In either case, these studies imply that there is a disconnect between how people view themselves and how they behave. Not surprisingly, evidence indicates that people come to know others better over time, as they witness others' behavior across different circumstances; thus we are more accurate in predicting a close friend's behavior than in predicting the behavior of a mere acquaintance (Biesanz, West, & Millevoi, 2007).

Simine Vazire (2010; Vazire & Carlson, 2011) has compared the accuracy of people's self-judgments with the accuracy of how their friends describe them. The comparative accuracy depends on whether the traits are observable and whether the people being rated are motivated to view themselves positively on the traits. Vazire argues that people have blind spots about aspects of their personalities because they want to feel good about themselves. This tendency is particularly true for highly evaluative traits, such as creativity.

On highly evaluative traits—traits that people care about—people are biased when judging themselves (biases in self-perception are discussed later in this chapter). Thus, people are more accurate in rating themselves for traits that are hard to observe and less prone to bias because they are neutral. For instance, a person might be accurate in knowing whether he or she is anxious or optimistic, because those traits are associated with feelings that can be ambiguous to observers. Friends might be more accurate in knowing whether the person is talkative or charming, because the behaviors associated with those traits are easy to observe. Vazire's key insight is that a trait easy to observe but also highly meaningful to people, such as creativity, is more likely to be judged accurately by friends than by the person with the trait (**FIGURE 13.28**).



FIGURE 13.28

Self-Rating and Friends' Rating for Different Traits

In judgments of personality traits, how accurate are people's self-ratings versus their friends' ratings? This chart, based on the data from the Vazire (2010) study, shows the average accuracy scores for three types of traits. As shown on the left, self-ratings tend to be more accurate than friends' ratings for traits that are low in both observability and evaluativeness. As shown in the middle, friends' ratings tend to be more accurate than selfratings for traits that are high in observability and low in evaluativeness. As shown on the right, friends' ratings tend to be especially accurate for traits that are low in observability and high in evaluativeness.

Using Psychology in Your Life

What Personality Traits Should I Look for in a Roommate? f you live on campus, you may think of your residence hall as your home or at least your home away from home. You probably spend a good deal of time studying, sleeping, relaxing, and socializing in the comfy confines of your 200-square-foot space. And if you are like the majority of residential college students, you share your room with at least one roommate.

Positive roommate relationships can be a highlight of the college experience and can provide a foundation for lifelong friendships. Unfortunately, negative roommate relationships can add significant stress to the college experience and can even disrupt the mental health and academic performance of the students involved. How can you use a psychological understanding of personality to help ensure a positive roommate relationship? There are no guarantees in the realm of interpersonal relating, but the research on this topic points to some useful advice.

Carli and colleagues (1991) examined the association between personality similarity and relationship satisfaction among 30 college roommate pairs. The roommates had been randomly assigned to live together during the fall of their freshman year. After living together for six months, they completed self-report inventories. The researchers found that personality similarity between roommates was positively correlated with both relationship satisfaction and intent to live together the following year. That is, students liked their roommates when they were similar to those roommates.

Does this mean that personality similarity causes relationship satisfaction? Not necessarily. But two factors point to that possibility. First, personality tends to be stable over time. Second, these roommates had been randomly assigned to live together. Therefore, we cannot reject the results of this study as reflecting the possibility that people *choose* to live with people they like (and with whom they are alike).

What do the results of this study mean for you? When it comes time to select a roommate, look for someone who is similar to you, especially on the characteristics that are most important to you. If you really like routine, you might find it grating if your roommate insists on rearranging your furniture once a month or throws impromptu TV-viewing parties in the middle of the week. Likewise, if you are a trusting soul and do not mind sharing your belongings with your roommate, you

Summing Up

How Is Personality Assessed?

- Idiographic approaches to the assessment of personality are person-centered. That is, they
 focus on individual lives and each person's unique characteristics.
- Nomothetic approaches assess individual variation in characteristics that are common among all people.
- People typically define themselves using central traits, which are core traits that can be used to predict behavior.
- Secondary traits are nonessential traits. The same trait can be considered central by one person and secondary by another.
- Personality can be assessed via several measures. Projective measures, such as the Rorschach inkblot test and the Thematic Apperception Test, assess unconscious processes by having people interpret ambiguous stimuli. Self-report measures, such as the MMPI and the California Q-Sort, are relatively direct measures of personality, typically involving questionnaires.
- Life history data and behavioral observations can also reveal personality traits.
- Close acquaintances may better predict a person's behavior than the person can. This effect
 may be due to failure to pay attention to one's own behavior or due to biases in self-perception.
- Acquaintances are particularly accurate when judging traits that are readily observable.

might bristle at a suspicious roommate who runs a strip of masking tape down the center of the room to delineate your respective spaces.

Preference for-and comfort with-a tidy versus a messy living space is not a personality trait in the same way that openness or agreeableness is a personality trait. That said, this preference is certainly an individual difference worth paying attention to. Ogletree and colleagues (2005) found that a third of their college-age participants reported experiencing roommate conflict related to the cleanliness of their living space. Over a guarter of the students were dissatisfied with their roommates' housecleaning habits, and nearly half had talked with their roommates about these habits on multiple occasions. A fifth of the students had changed their living situations because of these sorts of concerns at some point during the preceding three years!

Thus, it is a good idea to ask potential roommates about their cleanliness preferences. You have at least three options for figuring out how a potential roommate compares with you on this and other valued dimensions. You can ask the potential roommate,

Table 13.2 Level of Cleanliness Scale

How do you and your roommate's answers compare on these seven items from Ogletree and colleagues' level of cleanliness scale? Answer each item on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represents "very strongly disagree" and 5 represents "very strongly agree."

1. I don't mind having a messy apartment.

- 2. It is important to me that my house or apartment is nice and neat.
- If my house is cluttered when guests drop by, I apologize for the mess.
- 4. Leaving a stack of dirty dishes in the sink overnight is disgusting.
- 5. An overflowing trashcan does not bother me.
- 6. It is important that anyone I live with share my cleanliness standards.
- 7. Leaving clothes that have been worn on a chair is an acceptable way of dealing with dirty clothes until doing laundry.

SOURCE: Ogletree et al. (2005).

you can ask her or his previous roommates, or you can rely on your own observations. **TABLE 13.2** offers some questions you might wish to ask of roommate candidates. In fact, many colleges and universities ask students to complete personality questionnaires before matching roommates in dorms. You might already have responded to questions like these as part of your application for residence. In that case, if the system has worked, you and your roommate might already be a good fit.

Understandably, you might feel a bit intrusive asking these sorts of questions of a potential roommate. You should, of course, be tactful in your approach. Remember, though, that you are doing yourself and your potential roommate a favor by addressing these issues before you commit to living together. In the long run, doing so can help create the very sort of relationship you tend to value.

Measuring Up

 Match the strengths and limitations listed below to the following assessment methods: California Q-Sort, NEO Personality Inventory, Rorschach inkblot test, Thematic Apperception Test. (Each method may be associated with multiple strengths and multiple limitations.)

Strengths:

- **a.** Can be completed by an individual or by observers who evaluate that individual.
- **b.** Supposed to reveal hidden aspects of personality.
- c. Effectively measures motivational states.
- **d.** Offers a built-in procedure for identifying traits perceived to be most central to the rater.

Limitations:

- e. Can be biased by the rater's desire to avoid looking bad.
- f. Does a poor job of diagnosing psychological disorders.
- g. Many normal individuals who take this test are misdiagnosed as being psychologically disturbed.
- 2. Which of the following people is most likely to accurately judge whether Hayley is creative?
 - **a.** Hayley, because it is easy for people to accurately rate themselves on highly evaluative traits.

- **b.** A stranger, who will not be biased by past observations of Hayley's behavior.
- **c.** A close friend, who has had the opportunity to observe the behavior across different circumstances.
- d. A psychologist, who is trained to judge a highly evaluative trait such as creativity.

to observe the behavior across different circumstances.

Thematic Apperception Test-b, c. (2) c. Evaluative traits such as creativity are best judged by a close friend who has had the opportunity

ANSWERS: (1) California Q-Sort-a, d, e; NEO Personality Inventory-a, e; Rorschach inkblot test-b, f, g;

Learning Objectives

- Differentiate among selfconcept, self-schema, the working self-concept, and self-esteem.
- Review theories of self-esteem.
- Discuss research findings regarding the association between self-esteem and life outcomes.
- Identify strategies people use to maintain positive self-views.
- Discuss cultural differences in the self-concept and the use of self-serving biases.

13.5 How Do We Know Our Own Personalities?

In the previous sections, the subject was people's personalities generally. The central question was *What must we know to know a person well*? In considering our own personalities, we can rephrase that question as *What must we know to know ourselves well*? This section examines how we process information about ourselves and how that processing shapes our personalities.

Each of us has a notion of something we call the "self." Still, the self is difficult to define. We can say that each person's sense of self involves the person's mental representations of personal experiences. Those representations include both memories and perceptions of what is going on at any particular moment during the person's life. The self also encompasses the person's thought processes, physical body, and conscious awareness of being separate from others and unique. This sense of self is an integrated experience, continuous over time and space. For example, when you wake up in the morning, you do not have to figure out who you are (even if you sometimes have to figure out where you are, such as when you are on vacation).

Our Self-Concepts Consist of Self-Knowledge

Write down 20 answers to the question *Who am I*? The information in your answers is part of your *self-concept*, which is everything you know and believe about yourself. For example, answers commonly given by college students include gender, age, student status, interpersonal style (e.g., shy, friendly), personal characteristics (e.g., moody, optimistic), and body image. But how would thinking of yourself as shy or optimistic or overweight affect how you feel and function from day to day? What you believe about yourself guides your behavior, depending on the context. If you think of yourself as shy, you might avoid a raucous party. If you believe yourself to be optimistic, you might easily bounce back from a poor grade in organic chemistry. Look back at the 20 answers you provided earlier. Then think of some concrete examples of how those ideas about yourself have influenced your thoughts or behaviors.

SELF-SCHEMA Picture yourself at a loud, crowded party. You can barely hear yourself speak. When someone across the room mentions your name, however, you hear it clearly above the noise. As discussed in Chapter 7, psychologists refer to this as the cocktail party phenomenon. It occurs because each person processes information about himself or herself deeply, thoroughly, and automatically. The information becomes part of the person's *self-schema*.

According to Hazel Markus (1977), the self-schema consists of an integrated set of memories, beliefs, and generalizations about the self. The set can be viewed as a network of interconnected knowledge about the self (**FIGURE 13.29**).

The self-schema helps each of us quickly perceive, organize, interpret, and use information about the self. It also helps each of us filter information so that we are likely to notice things that are self-relevant, such as our own names. Examples of our behavior, and aspects of our personalities, that are important to us become prominent in our self-schemas. For instance, being a good athlete or a good student may be a major component of your self-schema, whereas having few cavities probably is not. Thus, when asked if you are ambitious, you can answer without sorting through occasions in which you did or did not act ambitiously. Your self-schema summarizes the relevant past information.

Meanwhile, your self-schema may lead you to have enhanced memory for information that you process in reference to yourself. Tim Rogers and colleagues (1977) showed that when a person processes trait adjectives selfreferentially, the person is likely to recall the words better than comparable words processed only for their general meanings. Suppose you are asked, "What does the word *honest* mean?" If you are later asked to recall the word you were asked about, you might or might not recall *honest*. Now suppose the initial question is, "Does the word *honest* describe you?" When asked later, you will be more likely to remember the word.

What brain activity is involved in this effect? Researchers typically find that when people process information about themselves, there is activity in the middle of the frontal lobes (Gillihan & Farah, 2005; Kelley et al., 2002; **FIGURE 13.30**). For example, this brain region is more active when we answer questions about ourselves (e.g., "Are you honest?") than when we answer questions about other people (e.g., "Is your mother honest?"). The greater the activation of this area during the self-referencing, the more likely the person is to remember the item later during a surprise memory task (Macrae, Moran, Heatherton, Banfield, & Kelley, 2004). Damage to the frontal lobes tends to alter how people see themselves. Thus, activation of the frontal lobes clearly seems to be important for processing information about the self (Heatherton, 2011).

WORKING SELF-CONCEPT Psychologists refer to the immediate experience of the self as the *working self-concept*. This experience is limited to the amount of personal information that can be processed cognitively at any given time. Because the working self-concept includes only part of the vast array of self-knowledge, the sense of self varies from situation to situation. Suppose your self-concept includes the traits *funloving* and *intelligent*. At a party, you might think of yourself as fun-loving *rather than* intelligent. In other words, your self-descriptions vary. They depend on which memories you retrieve, which situation you are in, which people you are with, and your role in that situation.

When people consider who they are or think about different features of their personalities, they often emphasize characteristics that make them distinct from others. Think back to your 20 responses to the question *Who am I*? Which answers stressed your similarity to other people or membership in a group? Which ones stressed your differences from other people, or at least from the people immediately around you? A respondent is especially likely to mention features such as ethnicity, gender, or age if the person differs in these respects from others around him or her



FIGURE 13.29 Self-Schema

As this example illustrates, the self-schema consists of interrelated knowledge about the self. Here, the concepts that overlap with the selfstudent, daughter, and sister-are most strongly related to the self. Concepts connected to self with a solid line-Type A, movies, soccer, and brunetteare not quite as strongly related to self-knowledge. Clothing, connected to self with a dotted line, is related more weakly. Concepts with no connecting lines do not relate to the self.



FIGURE 13.30 The Self and Frontal Lobe Activity

This brain scan comes from the 2002 study by Kelley and colleagues. The colored area is the brain region that was active when people made trait judgments about themselves.

FIGURE 13.31 Working Self-Concept

When considering themselves or their personalities, people are especially likely to mention characteristics that distinguish them from other people. For example, when working with a group of women, an African American man might be most aware of his maleness. When working with a group of Caucasians, he might emphasize his being African American.



at the moment (**FIGURE 13.31**). For example, Canadians are more likely to note their nationality if they are in Boston than if they are in Toronto. Because the working self-concept guides behavior, this tendency implies that Canadians are also more likely to feel and act like "Canadians" when in Boston than when in Toronto. Most people have optimal levels of distinctiveness, however, since generally they want to avoid standing out too much from the crowd.

Perceived Social Regard Influences Self-Esteem

North American culture has been obsessed with self-esteem since at least the 1980s. At a basic level, **self-esteem** is the evaluative aspect of the self-concept. In other words, self-esteem indicates a person's emotional response to contemplating personal characteristics: "Am I worthy or unworthy?" "Am I good or bad?" Although self-esteem is related to self-concept, people can objectively believe positive things about themselves without liking themselves very much. Conversely, people can like themselves very much, and therefore have high self-esteem, even when objective indicators do not support such positive self-views.

self-esteem

The evaluative aspect of the selfconcept in which people feel worthy or unworthy. Many theories assume that people's self-esteem is based on how they believe others perceive them. This view is known as *reflected appraisal*. It suggests that when people internalize the values and beliefs expressed by important people in their lives, they adopt those attitudes (and related behaviors) as their own. Consequently, people come to respond to themselves in ways that are consistent with how others respond to them. From this perspective, when an important figure rejects, ignores, demeans, or devalues a person, the person is likely to experience low self-esteem.

SOCIOMETER THEORY In a novel and important account of self-esteem, Mark Leary and colleagues (1995) have proposed that self-esteem is a mechanism for monitoring the likelihood of social exclusion. This theory assumes that, as discussed in Chapter 10, humans have a fundamental, adaptive need to belong. For most of human evolution, those who belonged to social groups have been more likely to survive and reproduce than those who were excluded and left to survive on their own. When people behave in ways that increase the likelihood that they will be rejected, they experience a reduction in self-esteem. Thus, self-esteem is a **sociometer**, an internal monitor of social acceptance or rejection (**FIGURE 13.32**).

When a person's sociometer indicates a low probability of rejection, the person will tend to experience high self-esteem. As long as the probability of rejection remains low, the person will probably not worry about how he or she is perceived by others. When a person's sociometer indicates the imminent possibility of rejection, the person will tend to experience low self-esteem. Therefore, the person will be highly motivated to manage his or her public image. Abundant evidence supports the sociometer theory, including the consistent finding that low self-esteem is highly correlated with social anxiety (Leary, 2004; Leary & MacDonald, 2003). Recall, though, that even high correlation does not prove causation.

SELF-ESTEEM AND DEATH ANXIETY One provocative theory proposes that self-esteem is related to humans' anxiety over their mortality (Greenberg, 2008; Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). According to terror management theory, self-esteem gives meaning to people's lives. In this way, self-esteem protects people from the horror associated with knowing they eventually will die. People counter their fears of mortality by creating a sense of symbolic immortality through contributing to their culture and upholding its values. From this cultural perspective, selfesteem develops from a person's belief that he or she is living up to criteria valued within the culture. Accordingly, people sometimes exaggerate their personal importance in attempts to buffer anxiety about inevitable death. Research has demonstrated that reminding people of their mortality leads them to act in ways that enhance their self-esteem (Goldenberg, McCoy, Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 2000). Likewise, encountering information that threatens people's selfesteem and their cultural values leads people to think about death more (Schimel, Hayes, Williams, & Jahrig, 2007).

SELF-ESTEEM AND LIFE OUTCOMES With such emphasis placed on self-esteem within Western culture, you might expect that having high self-esteem is the key to life success. The evidence from psychological science, however, indicates that self-esteem may be less important than is commonly believed. After reviewing several hundred studies, Roy Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003, 2005) found that although people with high self-esteem report being much happier, self-esteem is weakly related to objective life outcomes. People with high self-esteem who consider themselves smarter, more attractive, and better liked do not necessarily have higher IQs and are not necessarily thought of more highly by others. Many people with high self-esteem are successful in their careers, but so are many people with low



Sociometers

According to sociometer theory, selfesteem is the gauge that measures the extent to which a person believes he or she is being included in or excluded from a social group. (a) If the probability of rejection seems low, the person's self-esteem will tend to be high. (b) If the probability of rejection seems high, the person's self-esteem will tend to be low.

sociometer An internal monitor of social acceptance or rejection. self-esteem. While a small relationship exists between self-esteem and some outcomes, such as academic success, it is possible that success causes high self-esteem. That is, people might have higher self-esteem because they have done well in school.

In fact, there may even be some downsides to having very high self-esteem. Violent criminals commonly have very high self-esteem; indeed, some people become violent when they feel that others are not treating them with an appropriate level of respect (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996). School bullies also often have high self-esteem (Baumeister et al., 2003). When people with high self-esteem believe their abilities have been challenged, they may act in ways that cause other people to dislike them (Heatherton & Vohs, 2000; Vohs & Heatherton, 2004). For example, the sense of needing to prove their worth might lead people to become antagonistic or boastful. Ultimately, having high self-esteem seems to make people happier, but it does not necessarily lead to successful social relationships or life success.

One personality trait associated with inflated self-esteem is *narcissism*. The term comes from Greek mythology, in which Narcissus rejected the love of others and fell in love with his own reflection in a pond. In the psychological sense of narcissism, self-centered people view themselves in grandiose terms, feel entitled to special treatment, and are manipulative (Bosson et al., 2008). Because narcissists' greatest love is for the self, they tend to have poor relations with others (Campbell, Bush, Brunell, & Shelton, 2005). They become angry when challenged (Rhodewalt & Morf, 1998). They abuse people who do not share their lofty opinions of themselves (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Twenge & Campbell, 2003). They are unfaithful (Campbell, Foster, & Finkel, 2002). In a study using the electronically activated record (EAR) to examine daily life, college students high in narcissism were more outgoing but less agreeable, skipped class more often, and used sexual words more often (Holtzman, Vazire, & Mehl, 2010).

You might be interested to learn that a meta-analysis found an increase in narcissism among American college students between 1979 and 2006 (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008). The researchers point to a few possible contributing factors: programs aimed at increasing self-esteem among young schoolchildren (such as having them sing songs about how they are special), grade inflation that makes students feel more capable than they might really be, and a rise in the use of self-promotion Web sites such as Facebook and MySpace. A different team of researchers was unable to replicate the results of this meta-analysis, however, and there is controversy regarding what the findings mean (Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Roberts, 2008).

Even though we might encourage children to have high self-esteem, there is a tendency for self-esteem to fall during adolescence and be at its lowest for people, especially young women, ages 18 to 22 (Robins et al., 2002; **FIGURE 13.33**). Self-esteem then typically increases across adulthood, peaking when people are in their sixties and falling off toward the end of life.

People Use Mental Strategies to Maintain a Positive Sense of Self

When Marc and Christine created their Internet dating profiles, they probably described themselves in positive ways. After all, they wanted to make good impressions on prospective dates. But people do not just portray themselves positively on Internet dating sites. Most show favoritism to anything associated with themselves.



FIGURE 13.33 Self-Esteem Across the Life Span

Self-esteem varies across people's lives. It is very high in early childhood. Low points in selfesteem are seen in the late teens and early twenties, especially for females. Then low self-esteem is also experienced toward the end of people's lives. Self-esteem typically peaks when people are in their late sixties.

For example, people consistently prefer things they own to things they do not own (Beggan, 1992). People even prefer the letters of their own names, especially their initials, to other letters (Koole, Dijksterhuis, & van Knippenberg, 2001; **FIGURE 13.34**).

Sometimes these positive views of the self seem inflated. For instance, 90 percent of adults claim they are better-than-average drivers, even if they have been hospitalized for injuries caused by car accidents in which they were one of the drivers involved (Guerin, 1994; Svenson, 1981). Similarly, when the College Entrance Examination Board surveyed more than 800,000 college-bound seniors, not a single senior rated herself or himself as below average, whereas a whopping 25 percent rated themselves in the top 1 percent (Gilovich, 1991). Most people describe themselves as above



Favoritism

This graph shows the study participants' ratings of letters of the alphabet.

average in nearly every way; psychologists refer to this phenomenon as the *better-than-average effect* (Alicke, Klotz, Breitenbecher, Yurak, & Vredenburg, 1995). People with high self-esteem are especially likely to exhibit this effect.

According to Shelley Taylor and Jonathan Brown (1988), most people have positive illusions—overly favorable and unrealistic beliefs—in at least three domains. First, most people continually experience the better-than-average effect. Second, they unrealistically perceive their personal control over events. For example, some fans believe they help their favorite sports teams win if they attend games or wear their lucky jerseys. Third, most people are unrealistically optimistic about their personal futures. They believe they will probably be successful, marry happily, and live long lives. Positive illusions can be adaptive when they promote optimism in meeting life's challenges. Alternatively, positive illusions can lead to trouble when people overestimate their skills and underestimate their vulnerabilities. Recall from Chapter 1 that people often fail to recognize their incompetencies.

Life is filled with failure, rejection, and disappointment, yet most people feel pretty good about themselves. How do people maintain such positive views? Psychologists have cataloged a number of unconscious strategies that help people maintain a positive sense of self. Among the most common are *social comparisons* and *self-serving biases*. As you read the following discussions, bear in mind that psychologists do not necessarily endorse these strategies.

SOCIAL COMPARISONS *Social comparison* occurs when people evaluate their own actions, abilities, and beliefs by contrasting them with other people's. That is, people compare themselves with others to see where they stand. They are especially likely to perform such comparisons when they have no objective criteria, such as knowing how much money represents a good income. As discussed in Chapter 10, social comparisons are an important means of understanding people's actions and emotions. In general, people with high self-esteem make downward comparisons. That is, they contrast themselves with people inferior to them on relevant dimensions. People with low self-esteem tend to make upward comparisons. They contrast themselves with people also use a form of downward comparison when they recall their own pasts: They often view their current selves as better than their former selves (Wilson & Ross, 2001; **FIGURE 13.35**). These findings suggest that viewing ourselves as better than others or as better than we used to be makes us feel good about ourselves. But people who constantly compare themselves with others who do better may confirm their negative self-feelings.

SELF-SERVING BIASES People with high self-esteem tend to take credit for success but blame failure on external factors. Psychologists refer to this tendency as the **self-serving bias.** For instance, students who do extremely well on exams often explain their performance by referring to their skills or hard work. Those who do poorly might describe the test as an arbitrary examination of trivial details. People with high self-esteem also assume that criticism is motivated by envy or prejudice. Indeed, members of groups prone to discrimination (e.g., the disabled; those from underrepresented groups) tend to have high self-esteem. According to a theory proposed by Jennifer Crocker and Brenda Major (1989), members of these groups maintain positive self-esteem by taking credit for success and blaming negative feedback on prejudice. Thus, if they succeed, the success is due to personal strengths and occurs despite the odds. If they fail, the failure is due to external factors and unfair obstacles.

self-serving bias The tendency for people to take personal credit for success but blame failure on external factors.

Over the last 40 years, psychologists have documented many ways that people show bias in thinking about themselves compared with how they think about others (Campbell & Sedikides, 1999). In thinking about our failures, for example, we



This graph shows the results of Wilson and Ross's 2001 study.

compare ourselves with others who did worse, we diminish the importance of the challenge, we think about the things we are really good at, and we bask in the reflected glory of both family and friends. The overall picture suggests we are extremely well equipped to protect our positive beliefs about ourselves. Some researchers have even argued that self-serving biases reflect healthy psychological functioning (Mezulis, Abramson, Hyde, & Hankin, 2004; Taylor & Brown, 1988). Recall the earlier discussion of narcissism, however. This trait reflects more of a disorder of personality than healthy functioning.

There Are Cultural Differences in the Self

An important way in which people differ in self-concept is whether they view themselves as fundamentally separate from or connected to other people. For example, as noted in Chapter 1, Westerners tend to be independent and autonomous, stressing their individuality. Easterners tend to be more interdependent, stressing their sense of being part of a collective. Harry Triandis (1989) notes that some cultures (e.g., in Japan, Pakistan, China, and some regions of Africa) emphasize the collective self more than the personal self. Collectivist cultures emphasize connections to family, to social groups, and to ethnic groups; conformity to societal norms; and group cohesiveness. Individualist cultures (e.g., in northern and western Europe, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States) emphasize rights and freedoms, self-expression, and diversity. For example, in the United States, people dress differently from one another, cultivate personal interests, and often enjoy standing out from the crowd. In Japan, people tend to dress more similarly and respect situational norms. When an American family goes to a restaurant, each person usually orders what he or she prefers. When a family goes to a restaurant in China, all the people at the table share multiple dishes.

Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama (1991) have noted that people in collectivist cultures have *interdependent self-construals*. In other words, these people's self-concepts are determined to a large extent by their social roles and personal relationships (**FIGURE 13.36**). As children, they are raised to follow group norms and to be obedient to parents, teachers, and other people in authority. They are expected to find their proper place in society and not to challenge or complain about their status. By contrast, people in individualist cultures have *independent self-construals*. Parents and teachers encourage children to be self-reliant and to pursue personal success, even at the expense of interpersonal relationships. Thus, a child's sense of self is based on her or his feelings of being distinct from others. Note, however, that within these broad patterns there is variability. Some people in individualist cultures have interdependent self-construals, and some people in collectivist cultures have independent self-construals.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning — Failing to See Our Own Inadequacies: Are Some Cultures Less Biased?

Psychologists have generally viewed the self-serving bias as a universal human trait (Sedikides & Gregg, 2008). In other words, self-enhancement may be as much a part of human nature as eating. Although people suffering from depression might fail to show the effect, the assumption is that most healthy, functioning individuals show robust self-enhancement. Steven Heine and colleagues (1999) have argued, however, that the self-serving bias may be more common in Western cultures than in Eastern cultures (FIGURE 13.37). After all, Western cultures emphasize individuality. Believing that someone is an especially talented individual presupposes that some people are better than others. Such an attitude is not acceptable in Eastern, collectivistic cultures. There, the group is special, not the individual. Thus, self-serving bias may be culturally determined, not universal.

In one study (Endo & Meijer, 2004), American and Japanese students were asked to list as many of their own successes and failures as they could. The Americans showed a bias for listing successes. The Japanese students listed failures and successes equally. In addition, the Americans used outside forces to explain failure, but the Japanese students used outside forces to explain success. Indeed, Markus and Kitayama (1991) have argued that in Asian cultures, self-criticism is more the social norm than self-promotion is. The overall evidence supports the view that people in individualist cultures are more concerned with self-enhancement than those in collectivist, particularly Asian, cultures (Heine, 2003). For

The universality issue matters, in part, because it relates to how culture shapes the sense of self.

example, in a meta-analysis involving more than 500 studies, people in Western cultures showed a much larger self-serving bias than those in Eastern cultures (Mezulis et al., 2004).

Might these differences reflect cultural rules about publicly admitting positive self-views? Perhaps

people in the East engage in strategic self-enhancement, but they are just more modest in public. In studies using anonymous reporting, howeverwhere presumably there is less call for modesty-Easterners continue to show a low level of self-serving bias (Heine, 2003). At the same time, indirect evidence using an implicit measure indicates that people from China and Japan show a positivity bias-a tendency to see themselves as better than others-equivalent to that of Americans (Yamaguchi et al., 2007). As discussed in Chapter 12, implicit attitude assessment is useful for situations in which people are hesitant to make explicit reports. In this case, the research finding suggests that although Easterners value themselves just as much as Westerners, they are hesitant to admit it.

According to another perspective, self-enhancement is universal, but the traits people focus on to achieve it vary across cultures (Brown & Kobayashi, 2002; Sedikides, Gaertner, & Toguchi, 2003). Thus, when the culture emphasizes personal achievement, people self-enhance as individuals. When the



FIGURE 13.36 Cultural Differences in Self-Construals

Self-construals differ across cultures. (a) In individualist cultures, the most important elements of a person's self-construal tend to reside within the person. (b) In collectivist cultures, the most important elements of a person's self-construal tend to reside in areas where the person's sense of self is connected with others.

(a)



(b)



FIGURE 13.37 Individualist Versus Collectivist Cultures (a) Western cultures tend to highlight individual success. (b) Eastern cultures tend to value those who fall in line with the masses.

culture emphasizes group achievement, people self-enhance as group members. In yet another complication, however, some research reveals a pattern that contradicts these findings. Namely, people in Eastern cultures are more critical of their groups compared with people in Western cultures (Heine & Lehman, 1999). East Asians often are especially self-critical in aspects of life that are important to them (Heine, Kitayama, & Hamamura, 2007).

The debate goes on, but why? The universality issue matters, in part, because it relates to how culture shapes the sense of self (Heine, 2005; Sedikides et al., 2003). Does a particular culture say it is more important to be respected by others or to feel good about oneself no matter what others think? Might people in Eastern cultures feel better about themselves when they demonstrate that they are modest and self-effacing, whereas Westerners feel better when they can show they are successful? Perhaps what really matters is whether a person feels good about her or his behavior. In this way, all people might be self-serving.

Summing Up

How Do We Know Our Own Personalities?

- Everything a person knows about herself or himself constitutes the person's self-concept.
- The self-schema is the cognitive aspect of the self-concept. It helps the individual process self-relevant information efficiently and quickly.
- The working self-concept refers to each person's immediate experience of the self and varies from situation to situation.
- Self-esteem is the evaluative component of the self-concept.
- Several theories have been proposed to explain the basis of self-esteem, including sociometer theory (self-esteem is a mechanism for monitoring the likelihood of social exclusion) and terror management theory (self-esteem gives meaning to our lives and reduces anxiety over our mortality).
- Although self-esteem is associated with happiness, it is only weakly related to objective life outcomes.
- People use numerous unconscious strategies to maintain positive self-views, including social comparisons and self-serving biases.
- Research has found cultural differences in how the self is construed.

Measuring Up

- Imagine that while browsing the shelves of a local bookstore, you discover a series of books about self-esteem. Which of the following three theoretical perspectives is most likely addressed in each book: social comparison theory, sociometer theory, or terror management theory?
 - a. Protecting Your Self-Esteem: It Helps to Feel Superior to Others
 - b. Anxious About Your Inevitable Death? Self-Esteem Can Help
 - c. Feeling Bad About Feeling Left Out: What Your Self-Esteem Is Trying to Tell You
- 2. Sort the following list of attributes into two groups: those more often evidenced in collectivist cultures and those more often evidenced in individualist cultures.
 - a. emphasis on the collective self
 - **b.** emphasis on the personal self
 - **c.** encouragement to pursue personal success, even at the expense of interpersonal relationships
 - **d.** fundamental separation of people
 - e. inherent connection between people
 - f. less variation in how people dress
 - g. particular concern with self-enhancement
 - h. emphasis on obedience to authority
 - i. emphasis on self-reliance
 - j. self-concepts determined largely by social roles and by personal relationships
 - k. self-criticism more normative than self-promotion
 - **I.** greater tendency to respect situational norms

ANSWERS: (1) a. social comparision theory; b. terror management theory; c. sociometer theory.
(2) collectivist cultures-a, e, t, h, i, individualist cultures-b, c, d, g, i.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

13.1 Where Does Personality Come From?

- Personality Is Rooted in Genetics: The results of twin studies and adoption studies suggest that 40–60 percent of personality variation is the product of genetic variation. Parents play an important role in selecting the environments that shape their children's personalities. Personality characteristics are influenced by multiple genes, which interact with the environment to produce general dispositions. It is difficult to identify the influence of specific genes on personality, although some traits, such as novelty seeking, have been linked to a gene associated with dopamine levels, and emotional stability has been linked to a gene associated with serotonin levels.
- Temperaments Are Evident in Infancy: Temperaments are biologically based personality tendencies. They are evident in early childhood and have long-term implications for adult behavior. Researchers have identified activity level, emotionality, and sociability as temperaments. Sex differences exist in temperament: Girls are more able to control attention and impulses, and boys are more active and gain more pleasure from physical activity.
- There Are Long-Term Implications of Temperaments: Childhood temperaments can predict adult personality. Shyness can be predicted as early as 2 months of age and involves the amygdala. Parental support and calm environments can help children overcome shyness.
- Personality Is Adaptive: Personality traits that facilitate survival and reproduction have been favored. Individual differences result in diverse skills within a group and are advantageous to the group's survival. Research has provided evidence of basic personality traits in nonhuman animals, suggesting that some traits are biologically based.

13.2 What Are the Theories of Personality?

- Psychodynamic Theories Emphasize Unconscious and Dynamic Processes: Freud believed that unconscious forces determine behavior. He theorized that personality consists of three structures: the id, the superego, and the ego. The ego mediates between the id and the superego, using defense mechanisms to reduce anxiety due to conflicts between the id and the superego. Freud proposed that people pass through five stages of psychosexual development and that these stages shape their personalities. In contrast to Freud, neo-Freudians have focused on relationships—in particular, children's emotional attachments to their parents.
- Personality Reflects Learning and Cognition: According to learning theories, people learn patterns of responding that are guided by their personal constructs, expectancies, and values. Selfefficacy, the extent to which people believe they can achieve specific

outcomes, is an important determinant of behavior. The cognitiveaffective personality system (CAPS) emphasizes self-regulatory capacities—that is, people's ability to set personal goals, evaluate their progress, and adjust their behavior accordingly.

- Humanistic Approaches Emphasize Integrated Personal Experience: Humanistic theories emphasize experiences, beliefs, and inherent goodness. According to these theories, people strive to realize their full potential. According to Rogers's person-centered approach, unconditional positive regard in childhood enables people to become fully functioning.
- Trait Approaches Describe Behavioral Dispositions: Trait theorists assume that personality is a collection of traits or behavioral dispositions. Five-factor theory maintains that there are five higherorder personality traits: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Research supports five-factor theory in a number of ways. For example, brain imaging research has discriminated activity in different brain regions based on traits. According to Eysenck's model of personality, there are three biologically based higher-order personality traits: introversion/ extraversion, emotional stability, and psychoticism or constraint.

13.3 How Stable Is Personality?

- People Sometimes Are Inconsistent: According to Mischel's notion of situationism, situations are more important than traits in predicting behavior. The person/situation debate revolves around whether personality traits or situations are more important in predicting behavior. Research suggests that when evaluated over time, personality traits do predict behavior.
- Behavior Is Influenced by the Interaction of Personality and Situations: According to interactionism, behavior is determined by both situations and dispositions. Most trait theories adopt an interactionist view. Strong situations mask differences in personality, whereas weak situations reveal differences in personality.
- Personality Traits Are Relatively Stable over Time: A variety of research shows personality traits to be stable over the life span.
- Development and Life Events Alter Personality Traits: Although traits are stable, they do undergo developmental change. Developmental changes in personality traits are caused by changes in self-perception generated by life experiences. Common developmental changes in the Big Five personality factors include decreased neuroticism, extraversion, and openness and increased agreeableness and conscientiousness. Most changes to personality occur between the ages of 20 and 40, likely due to the large number of life experiences that occur during this period.
- Culture Influences Personality: Cross-cultural research suggests that the Big Five personality factors are universal among humans. Sex differences in personality are consistent with common sex

stereotypes, although cultural influences may explain these differences. For example, individualistic societies may highlight individual differences, while collectivist societies may minimize them.

13.4 How Is Personality Assessed?

- Personality Refers to Both Unique and Common Characteristics: Idiographic approaches to the assessment of personality are person-centered. They focus on individual lives and each person's unique characteristics. People typically define themselves using central traits, which are core traits that can be used to predict behavior. Secondary traits are nonessential traits. The same trait can be considered central by one person and secondary by another. Nomothetic approaches assess individual variation in characteristics that are common among all people.
- Researchers Use Multiple Methods to Assess Personality: Personality can be assessed via several measures. Projective measures, such as the Rorschach inkblot test and the Thematic Apperception Test, assess unconscious processes by having people interpret ambiguous stimuli. Self-report measures, such as the MMPI and the California Q-Sort, are relatively direct measures of personality, typically involving the use of questionnaires. Life history data and behavioral observations can also reveal personality traits.
- Observers Show Accuracy in Trait Judgments: Personality traits can be accurately judged by others. Close acquaintances may better predict a person's behavior than the person can. This effect may be due to failure to pay attention to one's own behavior or due to biases in self-perception. Acquaintances are particularly accurate when judging traits that are readily observable.

13.5 How Do We Know Our Own Personalities?

- Our Self-Concepts Consist of Self-Knowledge: The self-concept consists of everything people know or believe about themselves. The self-schema is the integrated set of memories, generalizations, and beliefs about the self. The self-schema allows the individual to remember self-referential information better, and it appears to rely on activation of the frontal lobes. The working self-concept is the immediate experience of the self at any given time. The working self-concept does not include the vast array of self-knowledge and therefore focuses on traits relevant only to the current situation.
- Perceived Social Regard Influences Self-Esteem: Self-esteem is the evaluative component of the self-concept. According to sociometer theory, the need to belong influences self-esteem. According to terror management theory, death anxiety influences self-esteem. Self-esteem is associated with happiness but is only weakly correlated with objective life outcomes. Self-esteem usually decreases in the late teens and early 20s, especially for women, and again late in life. Self-esteem peaks in early childhood and then again in the 60s.
- People Use Mental Strategies to Maintain a Positive Sense of Self: Positive illusions of self are common. People use numerous unconscious strategies to maintain positive views of ourselves, including downward social comparisons and self-serving biases.
- There Are Cultural Differences in the Self: People from collectivist cultures (e.g., Asian and African countries) tend to have interdependent self-concepts. People from individualist cultures (e.g., the United States, Canada) tend to have independent self-concepts.

Key Terms

behavioral approach system (BAS), p. 566 behavioral inhibition system (BIS), p. 566 defense mechanisms, p. 558 ego, p. 558 five-factor theory, p. 563 humanistic approaches, p. 562 id, p. 558 idiographic approaches, p. 577 interactionists, p. 569 nomothetic approaches, p. 577 personality, p. 549 personality trait, p. 549 projective measures, p. 578 psychodynamic theory, p. 557 psychosexual stages, p. 559 self-esteem, p. 586 self-serving bias, p. 590 situationism, p. 568 sociometer, p. 587 superego, p. 558 temperaments, p. 552 trait approach, p. 563

Practice Test

- 1. Your psychology instructor asks the students in your class to form groups of five and then take turns answering the question *What do we need to know about you to truly know you?* The people in your group give the following answers; label each as representative of psychodynamic approaches, humanistic theory, type and trait perspectives, or learning and cognition perspectives.
 - a. "To know me, you would have to ask me questions about myself. I took a survey once that said I am an extremely intuitive introvert."
 - **b.** "To know me, you need to know how I've responded in the past and what I think about the world."
 - c. "To know me, you would have to figure out a way to peer into my unconscious. There's so much I can't even know about myself; I'm not sure you could ever really know me."
 - **d.** "To know me, you would have to know about my hopes and aspirations. I seek to become the best person I can be."
- 2. June asks people to watch a 5-minute recording of a play in which two characters find themselves in a dangerous situation. Then she asks her research participants to write an ending to the story, which she codes to reveal features of each participant's personality. This proposed measure of personality can best be described as ______ and _____.
 - **a.** idiographic; projective
 - $\boldsymbol{b}.$ nomothetic; projective
 - c. idiographic; objective
 - d. nomothetic; objective
- **3.** Which of the following statements might explain why our close acquaintances sometimes are better able to predict our behaviors than we are? Select all that apply.
 - a. Our ego defense mechanisms prevent us from knowing our true personalities and thus undermine our abilities to accurately predict our own behaviors.
 - **b.** Predictions of our own behaviors may be biased in favor of our subjective perceptions (how we *think* we act) rather than our objective behaviors (how we *do* act).

- **c.** We tend to pay more attention to others than to ourselves and thus fail to notice our own behavior; others notice how we behave and are better able to predict our future behaviors.
- **4.** Which of the following statements is suggested by research on the genetic basis of personality?
 - a. Specific genes control specific personality traits.
 - **b.** Only some traits, such as temperament, have a genetic basis.
 - c. Probably thousands of genes are involved in personality, and epigenetic mechanisms can cause environmental events to affect the expression of these genes.
 - d. Personality has no genetic basis.
- 5. Genevieve's therapist suggests that her social anxiety is the result of having traits correlated with introversion and neuroticism. Christopher's therapist suggests that his social anxiety is the result of previous bad experiences in social situations. Genevieve's therapist is taking a ______ approach to personality. Christopher's therapist is taking a ______ approach.
 - a. psychodynamic; humanistic
 - **b.** trait; humanistic
 - **c.** trait; behavioral
 - d. behavioral; humanistic
 - e. humanistic; behavioral
- 6. According to ______ theory, self-esteem is based on the perceived probability of social rejection. According to ______ theory, self-esteem is based on the perceived belief that one is living up to the standards of one's culture.
 - a. sociometer; cultural
 - **b.** cultural; terror management
 - c. sociometer; cultural
 - d. sociometer; terror management
- **7.** Psychological research shows that high self-esteem is critical to life success and has no negative effects.
 - a. True
 - **b.** False

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.



Psychological Disorders

Ask & Answer

14.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Conceptualized and Classified? 600

14.2 Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods? 612

14.3 Which Disorders Emphasize Thought Disturbances? 625

14.4 What Are Personality Disorders? 635

14.5 Which Psychological Disorders Are Prominent in Childhood? 642

MOST PEOPLE EXPERIENCE UPS AND DOWNS. For people with bipolar disorder, mood and energy swings are much more intense, quickly changing from episodes of extreme listlessness and depression to excited states of extraordinary joyfulness known as mania. This condition was previously called *manic-depressive disorder* because of the dramatic shifts between mania and depression. A number of celebrities have been diagnosed with bipolar disorder, including Britney Spears, Demi Lovato, Russell Brand, and Catherine Zeta-Jones.

One of the world's foremost authorities on bipolar disorder has unique insight among psychologists-she has suffered from the disorder since child-hood. Kay Redfield Jamison acknowledged her struggles with bipolar disorder in her award-winning memoir, *An Unquiet Mind* (1995; **FIGURE 14.1**). Her work has helped shape the study of the disorder, and her 1990 textbook, coauthored with Frederick Goodwin, is considered the standard for the field (Goodwin & Jamison, 1990).

In *An Unquiet Mind*, Jamison details how as a child she was intensely emotional and occasionally obsessive. When she was 17, she had her first serious bout of what she describes as profoundly suicidal depression. Jamison experienced deepening swings from wild exuberance to paralyzing depression throughout her undergraduate years. In 1975, after obtaining her Ph.D. in clinical psychology, she joined the UCLA Department of Psychiatry, where she directed the Affective Disorders Clinic.



FIGURE 14.1 Kay Redfield Jamison Jamison was able to overcome her

crippling bipolar disorder to succeed as a teacher, researcher, and author.

Learning Objectives

- Understand what is meant by the term *psychological disorder*.
- Explain how psychological disorders are classified.
- Identify assessment methods for psychological disorders.
- Describe the diathesis-stress model.
- Identify biological, environmental, and cognitivebehavioral causes of psychological disorders.
- Discuss sex differences and cultural differences in psychological disorders.

Within months after she began this job, her condition deteriorated dramatically. She began hallucinating and feared that she was losing her mind. This state so terrified her that she sought out a psychiatrist, who quickly diagnosed her as having manic-depressive disorder (i.e., bipolar disorder) and prescribed a drug called lithium. (You will learn more about lithium and other treatments for bipolar disorder in Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders.")

People with bipolar disorder experience profoundly enjoyable highs during their manic phases. One of the unfortunate side effects of lithium is that it blunts positive feelings. Even though these patients know that lithium helps them, they often resent the drug and refuse to take it. Because people in manic episodes have impaired judgment, they often engage in dangerous behavior or make disastrous decisions. Lithium has helped Jamison, but she also credits the support of her psychiatrist, as well as of her family and friends.

Jamison has made the point that lithium can rob people of creative energy. In her book *Touched with Fire* (1993), she asks whether lithium would have dampened the genius of those major artists and writers who may have had mood disorders, such as Michelangelo, Vincent van Gogh, Georgia O'Keeffe, Emily Dickinson, and Ernest Hemingway. Jamison demonstrates the strong association between bipolar disorder and artistic genius, and she raises the disturbing question of whether eradicating the disorder would rob society of much great art. She embodies this irony: Her early career benefited from the energy and creativity of her manic phases even as her personal life was threatened by devastating depression.

Jamison provides a good example of both the ravages caused by psychological disorders and the effective methods available to help people live with them. In this chapter, you will learn about the various psychological disorders. In the next chapter, you will learn the most effective treatments for each disorder.

14.1How Are PsychologicalDisorders Conceptualizedand Classified?

Those who have psychological disorders display symptoms of **psychopathology**. This term means sickness or disorder of the mind. From the writings of Aristotle to those of Freud, accounts exist of people suffering from various forms of psychopathology. Although considerable progress has been made over the last century, we are still struggling to determine the causes of psychopathology. To understand any disorder, psychologists investigate its **etiology**: the factors that contribute to its development. For example, they investigate commonalities among people such as Kay Redfield Jamison and Demi Lovato to identify factors that might explain why they (and others) developed bipolar disorders.

The earliest views of psychopathology explained apparent "madness" as resulting from possession by demons or evil spirits (**FIGURE 14.2**). The ancient Babylonians believed a demon called Idta caused madness. Similar examples of demonology can be found among the ancient Chinese, Egyptians, and Greeks. This view of psychopathology continued into the Middle Ages. At that time, there was greater emphasis on possession as having resulted from the wrath of God for some sinful moral transgression. During any of these periods, someone like Kay Redfield Jamison might have been persecuted and subjected to an array of methods to cast out her demons. Such "treatments" included exorcism, bloodletting, and the forced ingestion of magical potions.

In the latter half of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, people with psychopathology were removed from society so they would not bother others. In the 1700s, Jamison likely would have been left in an understaffed, overcrowded mental institution called an asylum. Even there, the small staff would have made little attempt to understand Jamison's disorder and even less of an attempt to treat her. Indeed, people housed in asylums were often chained up and lived in incredibly filthy conditions, treated more like nonhuman animals than humans. "Treatments" included starvation, beatings, bloodletting, and isolation.

In 1793, Philippe Pinel, a French physician who believed that medical treatments should be based on empirical observations, became the head physician at Bicêtre Hospital, in Paris. At that time, among the hospital's 4,000 patients were about 200 with psychopathology being cared for by a former patient, Jean-Baptiste Pussin. Pussin treated his patients with kindness and care rather than violence. Impressed by the positive therapeutic results, Pinel removed patients from their chains and banished physical punishment. He instituted what came to be known as *moral treatment*, a therapy that involved close contact with and careful observation of patients. Pinel's benevolent treatment gained a foothold in Europe, and later, through the efforts of a Massachusetts schoolteacher, Dorothea Dix, in America.

As far back as ancient Greece, some people had a sense that there was a physical basis to psychopathology. Hippocrates (c. 460–377 BCE), often credited as the founder of modern medicine, classified psychopathologies into *mania, melancholia,* and *phrenitis,* the latter characterized by mental confusion. Hippocrates believed that such disorders resulted from the relative amount of "humors," or bodily fluids, a person possessed (Maher & Maher, 1994). For instance, having too much black bile led to melancholia, or extreme sadness and depression. From this term, we get the word *melancholy,* which we often use to describe people who are sad. The idea that bodily fluids cause mental illness was abandoned long ago, however. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, psychopathology was viewed more as a medical condition than as a demonic curse caused by sin. The medical model viewed psychopathology as resulting from disease. During the last 200 years, recognition has grown that psychopathology reflects dysfunction of the body, particularly of the brain.

At various points in recent history, researchers and clinicians would have focused solely on environmental factors that contributed to Jamison's psychological disorder. For example, was she abused as a child? Although environmental factors are important, we now understand that biology plays a critical role in many psychological disorders, especially disorders such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia. Indeed, an important lesson in this chapter is that environment and biology interact to produce psychological disorders. As noted throughout the book, it is meaningless to state that a condition is caused by just biology or just environment. Both factors affect all psychological disorders to some extent.



FIGURE 14.2 Historical View of Psychological Disorders

Throughout history, people believed that the gods, witches, or evil spirits caused psychological disorders.

psychopathology Sickness or disorder of the mind.

etiology Factors that contribute to the development of a disorder.
Psychopathology Is Different from Everyday Problems

Psychological disorders are common around the globe, in all countries and all societies. These disorders account for the greatest proportion of disability in developed countries, surpassing even cancer and heart disease (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011a). Indeed, about 1 in 4 Americans over age 18 has a diagnosable psychological disorder in a given year (Kessler, Chiu, Demler, & Walters, 2005a). About 1 in 5 American adults receives treatment over any two-year period (Kessler et al., 2005b). Nearly half of Americans will have some form of psychological disorder at some point in life, most commonly a depressive disorder, an attention-deficit/ hyperactivity disorder, an anxiety disorder, or a substance-related and addictive disorder (Kessler & Wang, 2008). Of course, psychological disorders range in severity. Only about 7 percent of the U.S. population is severely affected, and this group also tend to suffer from multiple disorders (Kessler et al., 2005a).

As you read this chapter, you may realize that you have experienced some of the symptoms of many psychological disorders. Even if particular symptoms seem to describe you (or anyone you know) perfectly, resist the urge to make a diagnosis. Just like medical students who worry they have every disease they learn about, you need to guard against overanalyzing yourself and others. At the same time, what you learn in this chapter and the next one may help you understand the mental health problems you or others might experience.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS AS MALADAPTIVE How do you know if someone has a psychological disorder? It can be challenging to decide if a given behavior is caused by psychopathology. Keep in mind that behavior, especially unusual behavior, must always be reviewed in the context of the situation. A woman running through the streets screaming, sobbing, and grabbing and hugging people might have some form of psychological disorder—or she might be celebrating because she just won the lottery. Many behaviors considered normal in one setting may be considered deviant in other settings. Some Native American and East Asian cultures consider it a great honor to hear the voices of spirits. In urban America, hearing spirits would be seen as evidence of auditory hallucinations.

In determining whether behavior represents psychopathology, it is important to consider certain criteria: (1) Does the person act in a way that deviates from cultural norms for acceptable behavior? (2) Is the behavior maladaptive? That is, does the behavior interfere with the person's ability to respond appropriately in different situations? For example, a person who is afraid to leave the house may avoid feeling anxious by staying inside, and that behavior might prevent the person from working, having a social life, or both. (3) Is the behavior self-destructive, does it cause the individual personal distress, or does it threaten other people in the community? (4) Does the behavior cause discomfort and concern to others, thus impairing a person's social relationships?

It may be hard to draw the line between normal and abnormal. As a result, psychopathology is increasingly defined in terms of *maladaptiveness*. That is, a person with psychopathology exhibits thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are maladaptive rather than deviant. For example, people concerned about germs may wash their hands more than average and therefore be deviant, but that behavior may be beneficial in many ways and therefore adaptive—after all, it is the best way of avoiding contagious disease. The same behavior, however, can be maladaptive when people cannot stop until they have washed their hands raw. Indeed, the diagnostic criteria for all the major disorder categories stipulate that the symptoms of the disorder must interfere

with at least one aspect of the person's life, such as work, social relations, or self-care. This component is critical in determining whether given thoughts, emotions, or behaviors represent psychopathology or are simply unusual.

Psychological Disorders Are Classified into Categories

In the late 1800s, the psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin recognized that not all patients with psychological disorders suffer from the same disorder (**FIGURE 14.3**). Kraepelin separated disorders into categories based on what he could observe: groups of symptoms that occur together. For instance, he separated disorders of mood (emotions) from disorders of cognition. He called the latter disorder *dementia praecox*. It is now better known as *schizophrenia* and is discussed fully in this chapter and the next one.

The idea of categorizing psychological disorders systematically was not officially adopted until 1952, when the American Psychiatric Association published the first edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*. Since then, the *DSM* has undergone several revisions. It remains the standard in psychology and psychiatry. The guiding principle of the *DSM* is that if disorders can be grouped based on similar etiologies and symptoms, then figuring out how to treat those disorders should be easier.

In the current edition, *DSM-5* (released in 2013), disorders are described in terms of observable symptoms. A client must meet specific criteria to receive a particular diagnosis. The *DSM-5* consists of three sections: (1) an introduction with instructions for using the manual; (2) diagnostic criteria for all of the disorders, which are grouped so that similar categories of disorders are located near each other (**TABLE 14.1**); and



FIGURE 14.3 Emil Kraepelin Kraepelin was one of the first researchers to propose a classification system for psychological disorders.

CATEGORY	EXAMPLES
Neurodevelopmental disorders	Autism spectrum disorder
Schizophrenia spectrum and other psychotic disorders	Schizophrenia
Bipolar and related disorders	Bipolar I disorder
Depressive disorders	Major depressive disorder
Anxiety disorders	Panic disorder
Obsessive-compulsive and related disorders	Body dysmorphic disorder
Trauma- and stressor-related disorders	Posttraumatic stress disorder
Dissociative disorders	Dissociative amnesia
Somatic symptom and related disorders	Conversion disorder
Feeding and eating disorders	Anorexia nervosa
Elimination disorders	Enuresis (bed wetting)
Sleep-wake disorders	Narcolepsy
Sexual dysfunctions	Erectile disorder
Gender dysphoria	Gender dysphoria
Disruptive, impulse-control, and conduct disorders	Pyromania
Substance-related and addictive disorders	Alcohol use disorder
Neurocognitive disorders	Delirium
Personality disorders	Borderline personality disorder
Paraphilic disorders	Exhibitionist disorder

Table 14.1DSM-5 Disorders

Anxiety disorder

Severe anxiety

Low anxiety

FIGURE 14.4 Dimensional Nature of Psychopathology

Symptoms of psychological disorders occur along continuums. They are not absolute states. A person who falls below the cut-off level may not meet the diagnostic criteria but may still experience symptoms that interfere with his or her life and will therefore benefit from treatment.



FIGURE 14.5 Comorbidity

Psychological disorders commonly overlap. For instance, substance abuse is common across psychological disorders, and people with depression (or a milder form known as persistent depressive disorder) often also have anxiety disorders (such as panic disorder or generalized anxiety disorder).

Research Domain Criteria (RDoC)

A method that defines basic aspects of functioning and considers them across multiple levels of analysis, from genes to brain systems to behavior. (3) a guide for future psychopathology research, which also includes conditions not yet officially recognized as disorders, such as excessive Internet gaming and misuse of caffeine.

DIMENSIONAL NATURE OF PSYCHOPATHOLOGY One

problem with the *DSM* approach is that it implies that a person either has a psychological disorder or does not, which is known as a *categorical approach* (Bernstein, 2011). That is, the diagnosis is categorical, and a person is either in the category or not. This approach fails to capture differences in the severity of a disorder.

An alternative type of evaluation, called a *dimensional approach*, is to consider psychological disorders along a continuum in which people vary in degree rather than in kind (**FIGURE 14.4**). With categorization, the approach can be compared to a simple switch that turns a light on or off. By contrast, the dimensional approach is like a dimmer switch, which can provide light in varying amounts. A dimensional approach recognizes that many psychological disorders are extreme versions of normal feelings. We are all a little sad at times, and sometimes we feel more sad than usual. But no specific amount of sadness passes a threshold for depressive disorders. In the third section of *DSM-5*, researchers are encouraged to examine whether a dimensional approach might be helpful for understanding many psychological disorders, particularly personality disorders. Indeed, research indicates that personality disorders can be viewed as maladaptive extremes of the Big Five personality traits, which were described in Chapter 13.

COMORBIDITY Another problem with the *DSM-5* is that people seldom fit neatly into the precise categories provided. Indeed, many psychological disorders occur together even though the *DSM-5* treats them as separate disorders—for example, depression and anxiety, or depression and substance abuse. This state is known as *comorbidity*

(FIGURE 14.5). Accordingly, people who are found to be depressed should also be examined for comorbid conditions. Though people may be diagnosed with two or more disorders, a dual diagnosis offers no advantages in terms of treatment because both conditions will usually respond to the same treatment.

It is possible that psychological disorders are comorbid because of common underlying factors. Although the DSM-5 separates disorders involving anxiety from those involving depression, both types involve the trait *neuroticism*, the tendency to experience frequent and intense negative emotions (Barlow, Sauer-Zavala, Carl, Bullis, & Ellard, 2014). In fact, it has recently been proposed that psychopathology reflects a common general factor, analogous to general intelligence (or g, discussed in Chapter 8). Avshalom Caspi and colleagues (2014) examined symptoms of psychopathology in a large sample of individuals who were studied for more than 30 years, from childhood to middle adulthood. They found that one underlying factor, which they called the *p factor*, was involved in all types of psychological disorders. Higher scores on the p factor were associated with more life impairment, such as suicide attempts, psychiatric hospitalizations, and criminal behaviors. High p scores also predicted a worsening of impairments over time. Just as the g dimension of intelligence reflects low to high cognitive abilities, the p dimension reflects low to high psychopathology severity.

RESEARCH DOMAIN CRITERIA (RDOC) The U.S. National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) has proposed an entirely new way of classifying and understanding psychological disorders (Insel et al., 2010). Whereas the *DSM* approach classifies disorders by observable symptoms, the **Research Domain Criteria (RDoC)** method defines basic *domains* of functioning (such as attention, social communication, anxiety) and considers them across multiple levels of analysis, from genes to brain

systems to behavior. For example, researchers might study attention problems for people with anxiety disorders, depression, schizophrenia, and posttraumatic stress disorder.

The RDoC initiative is initially meant to guide research rather than classify disorders for treatment. The goal of the initiative is to understand the processes that give rise to disordered thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. Identifying the cause of these symptoms ultimately may provide insight into treating them.

The RDoC approach capitalizes on recent advances in genetics, neuroscience, and psychology in understanding adaptive behavior, as well as how functioning can be disrupted by various disorders (National Institute of Mental Health, 2011). For example, as you will learn later in this chapter, the same genetic mutation may be involved in a number of apparently different psychological disorders. This mutation may affect how neurotransmitters function and cause similar impairments in thought processes across those disorders. In other instances, people diagnosed with the same *DSM* disorder can show radically different behaviors or responses, which might indicate that two different disorders share the same *DSM* diagnosis. Because of such problems, RDoC examines psychopathology without regard to *DSM* diagnoses. The ultimate aim of the RDoC initiative is for the classification and treatment of psychological disorders to be based on the underlying biological and psychosocial causes (Insel, 2014).

Some critics of RDoC argue that it is moving too quickly and that an abrupt shift in diagnostic criteria is no guarantee of better treatment results (Marder, 2014). Others worry that this initiative is focused on neuroscience at the expense of understanding personal experience (Parnas, 2014). At least within the United States, however, because the NIMH funds the majority of research, RDoC will be a driving force for research on psychopathology.

assessment

In psychology, examination of a person's cognitive, behavioral, or emotional functioning to diagnose possible psychological disorders.

Psychological Disorders Must Be Assessed

Physical disorders can generally be detected by medical tests, such as blood tests or biopsies. Determining whether a person has a mental disorder is not as straightforward. Examining a person's mental functions and psychological condition to diagnose a psychological disorder is known as **assessment**. This process often includes self-reports, psychological testing, observations, and interviews. It may also involve neuropsychological testing.

In the neuropsychological method, the client performs actions such as copying a picture; drawing a design from memory; sorting cards that show various stimuli into categories based on size, shape, or color; placing blocks into slots on a board while blindfolded; and tapping fingers rapidly (**FIGURE 14.6**). Each task requires an ability such as planning, coordinating, or remembering. By highlighting actions that the client performs poorly, the assessment might indicate problems with a particular brain region. For instance, people who have difficulty switching from one rule to another for categorizing objects, as in sorting by shape rather

than by color, may have impairments in the frontal lobes. Subsequent assessment with MRI or PET (brain imaging techniques discussed in Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior") might indicate brain damage caused by a tumor or by an injury. Often a medical evaluation is indicated. For instance, the symptoms of depression or anxiety disorder can be similar to those of hypothyroidism, an endocrine disorder that should be ruled out before the psychological disorder is treated (Giynas Ayhan, Uguz, Askin, & Gonen, 2014).



FIGURE 14.6 Neuropsychological Testing

The assessment depicted here uses a neuropsychological test to examine mental function. In this timed test, a researcher watches a client fit wooden blocks into a corresponding template to test for signs of Alzheimer's disease.



FIGURE 14.7 Assessing a Client

Clinical psychologists examine a person's mental functions and psychological health to diagnose a psychological disorder and determine an appropriate treatment. This flowchart shows the factors that lead to treatment.

diathesis-stress model

A diagnostic model that proposes that a disorder may develop when an underlying vulnerability is coupled with a precipitating event.



FIGURE 14.8

Diathesis-Stress Model

The onset of psychological disorders can be seen as resulting from the interactions of a diathesis and stress. The diathesis may be biological (e.g., genetic predisposition), environmental (e.g., childhood trauma), or both. The primary goal of assessment is to make a diagnosis so that appropriate treatment can be provided. The course and probable outcome, or *prognosis*, will depend on the particular psychological disorder that is diagnosed. Therefore, a correct diagnosis will help the client—and perhaps the client's family—understand what

the future might bring. Assessment does not stop with diagnosis, however. Ongoing assessment helps mental health workers understand whether specific situations might cause a worsening of the disorder, whether progress is being made in treatment, and other factors that might help in understanding unique aspects of a given case (**FIGURE 14.7**).

EVIDENCE-BASED ASSESSMENT A key question is whether psychological assessments provide information that is useful for treating psychological disorders. Many popular methods of assessment, such as projective tests (see Chapter 13), have not been shown to be helpful in predicting the kinds of treatments that are useful. Moreover, individual clinicians often choose assessment procedures based on their subjective beliefs and training rather than on scientific studies. For instance, when making diagnoses, some clinicians use their clinical judgment rather than a formal method—such as a structured interview that consists of standardized questions, derived from *DSM* criteria, in the same order each time.

Evidence-based assessment is an approach to clinical evaluation in which research guides the evaluation of psychopathology, the selection of appropriate psychological tests and neuropsychological methods, and the use of critical thinking in making a diagnosis (Hunsley & Mash, 2007; Joiner, Walker, Pettit, Perez, & Cukrowicz, 2005). For instance, as noted earlier, scientific research indicates that many disorders are comorbid. Research also indicates that people who are depressed often have substance abuse disorders. Therefore, an evidence-based assessment approach would indicate that people found to be depressed should also be assessed for comorbid conditions, such as substance abuse.

Psychological Disorders Have Many Causes

Psychologists do not completely agree about the causes of most psychopathology. Still, some factors are thought to play important developmental roles. As discussed throughout this book, both nature and nurture matter, and it is futile to try to identify biology or environment as solely responsible for a given disorder. The **diathesisstress model** (presented as a flowchart in **FIGURE 14.8**) provides one way of thinking about the onset of psychopathology (Monroe & Simons, 1991).

In this model, an individual can have an underlying vulnerability (known as *diathesis*) to a psychological disorder. This diathesis can be biological, such as a genetic predisposition to a specific disorder, or it can be environmental, such as childhood trauma. The vulnerability may not be sufficient to trigger a disorder, but the addition of stressful circumstances can tip the scales. If the stress level exceeds an individual's ability to cope,

the symptoms of psychological disorder will occur. In this view, a family history of psychopathology suggests vulnerability rather than destiny.

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS The biological perspective focuses on how physiological factors, such as genetics, contribute to psychological disorders (Kandel, 1998).

Chapter 3 describes how comparing the rates of psychological disorders between identical and fraternal twins and studying individuals who have been adopted have revealed the importance of genetic factors (Kendler, Prescott, Myers, & Neale, 2003; Krueger, 1999). Genetic factors can affect the production and levels of neurotransmitters and their receptor sites. Research has provided insights on the role of neurotransmitters in psychopathology. In some cases, based on what is known about the neurochemistry of psychological disorders, medications have been developed. In other cases, the unexpected effects of medications have led to discoveries about the neurotransmitters involved in psychological disorders.

Genetic factors can also affect the size of brain structures and their level of connectivity. Structural imaging and postmortem studies have revealed differences in brain anatomy, perhaps due to genetics, between those with psychological disorders and those without. Functional neuroimaging is currently at the forefront of research into the neurological components of mental disorders: PET and fMRI have revealed brain regions that may function differently in individuals with mental disorders (**FIGURE 14.9**).

Environmental effects on the body also influence the development and course of psychological disorders. The fetus is particularly vulnerable to other biological factors—such as malnutrition, exposure to toxins (such as drugs and alcohol), and maternal illness—that because of their effects on the central nervous system may contribute to psychological disorders (Salum, Polanczyk, Miguel, & Rohde, 2010). Similarly, during childhood and adolescence, environmental toxins and malnutrition can put an individual at risk for psychological disorders. Again, biological factors often reflect the vulnerabilities that occur in individuals. As the diathesis-stress model reminds us, single explanations (nature *or* nurture, rather than nature *and* nurture) are seldom sufficient for understanding psychological disorders.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS The first edition of the *DSM* was influenced heavily by Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Freud believed that psychopathology was mostly due to unconscious conflicts, often sexual in nature, dating back to childhood. Consistently with this perspective, the first edition of the *DSM* described many disorders as reactions to environmental conditions or as involving various defense mechanisms. Although Freud made important historical contributions in shaping psychology, most of his theories—particularly his theories on the causes of psychopathology—have not stood the test of time. Environmental factors clearly play an important role, however, in the expression and treatment of psychological disorders.

Thoughts and emotions shaped by an environment can profoundly influence behavior, including disordered behavior. Not only traumatic events but also less extreme circumstances, such as constantly being belittled by a parent, can have long-lasting effects. The **family systems model** proposes that an individual's behavior must be considered within a social context, particularly within the family (Kazak, Simms, & Rourke, 2002). According to this model, problems that arise within an individual are manifestations of problems within the family (Goodman & Gotlib, 1999). Thus, developing a profile of an individual's family interactions can be important for understanding the factors that may be contributing to the disorder. A profile can also be important for determining whether the family is likely to be helpful or detrimental to the client's progress in therapy.

Similarly, the **sociocultural model** views psychopathology as the result of the interaction between individuals and their cultures. For example, disorders such as schizophrenia appear to be more common among those in lower socioeconomic classes (**FIGURE 14.10**). From the sociocultural perspective, these differences in occurrence are due to differences in lifestyles, in expectations, and in opportunities among classes. There may be biases in people's willingness to ascribe disorders to different social classes, however.



FIGURE 14.9 Biological Factors in Psychopathology

Although these men are twins, the one on the right has schizophrenia and the one on the left does not. In the MRI of the twin with schizophrenia, note the larger ventricles (these fluid-filled cavities appear dark in the image). This same pattern has emerged in the study of other twin pairs in which one has schizophrenia and the other does not. Thus, the brain may be deteriorating over time for those with schizophrenia, and this finding tells us that biological factors may be important for understanding schizophrenia.

family systems model A diagnostic model that considers problems within an individual as indicating problems within the family.

sociocultural model A diagnostic model that views psychopathology as the result of the interaction between individuals and their cultures.



FIGURE 14.10 Sociocultural Model of Psychopathology

According to the sociocultural model, psychopathology results from the interaction between individuals and their cultures. This homeless man with schizophrenia lives on the streets in Notting Hill, a fashionable area of London. cognitive-behavioral approach A diagnostic model that views psychopathology as the result of learned, maladaptive thoughts and beliefs. Eccentric behavior among the wealthy elite might be tolerated or viewed as amusing. The same behaviors observed among those living in poverty might be taken as evidence of psychopathology. Moreover, people who develop schizophrenia may have trouble finding work, and so their lower socioeconomic status may be a result of their disorder.

COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL FACTORS The central principle of the **cognitivebehavioral approach** is that abnormal behavior is learned (Butler, Chapman, Forman, & Beck, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 6, through classical conditioning an unconditioned stimulus produces an unconditioned response. For example, a loud noise produces a startled response. A neutral stimulus paired with this unconditioned stimulus can eventually by itself produce a similar response. As was the case with Little Albert, if a child is playing with a fluffy white rat and is frightened by a loud noise, the white rat alone can later cause fear in the child. In fact, this process is how John B. Watson, the founder of behaviorism, demonstrated that many fears are learned rather than innate.

According to the cognitive-behavioral perspective, thoughts and beliefs are learned and therefore can be unlearned through treatment. The premise of this approach is that thoughts can become distorted and produce maladaptive behaviors and maladaptive emotions. In contrast to the psychologists who subscribe to the psychoanalytic perspective, cognitive-behavioral psychologists believe that thought processes are available to the conscious mind. Individuals are aware of, or easily can be made aware of, the thought processes that give rise to maladaptive emotions and behaviors.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS Some disorders, such as schizophrenia and bipolar disorder, are equally likely in both sexes (**FIGURE 14.11**). Rates of other disorders vary between the sexes. For example, dependence on alcohol is much more likely in males, whereas anorexia nervosa is much more likely in females. The reasons for these differences are both biological and environmental.



FIGURE 14.11 Sex Differences in

Psychological Disorders The bars in this graph represent how common particular psychological disorders are for men and for women.



FIGURE 14.12

Internalizing and Externalizing Model of Psychological Disorders

This diagram divides disorders into two basic categories, internalizing and externalizing. It also divides internalizing disorders into those related to fear and those related to distress.

One way of categorizing psychological disorders is to divide them into two major groups: *Internalizing disorders* are characterized by negative emotions, and they can be grouped into categories that reflect the emotions of distress and fear. These disorders include major depressive disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and panic disorder. *Externalizing disorders* are characterized by disinhibition. These disorders include alcoholism, conduct disorders, and antisocial personality disorder (**FIGURE 14.12**). In general, the disorders associated with internalizing are more prevalent in females, and those associated with externalizing are more prevalent in males (Krueger & Markon, 2006).

CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS Increasingly, psychologists and other mental health professionals are recognizing the importance of culture in many aspects of our lives. Most psychological disorders show both universal and culture-specific symptoms. That is, the disorders may be very similar around the world, but they still reflect cultural differences. A disorder with a strong biological component will tend to be more similar across cultures. A disorder heavily influenced by learning, context, or both is more likely to differ across cultures. For example, depression is a major mental health problem around the world, but the manifestations of depression differ by culture.

Since the 1994 edition, the *DSM* has included a number of disorders that tend to occur within specific cultural settings. The *DSM-5* incorporates a greater consideration of cultural factors for each psychological disorder and updates criteria to reflect cross-cultural variations in how people exhibit symptoms. For example, the fear of "offending others" has been added as a possible symptom of social anxiety disorder to reflect the collectivist cultural concept that not harming others is as important as not harming the self. *DSM-5* also provides more details about cultural concepts of distress, such as encouraging clinicians to consider the specific words and phrases used by different cultural groups to describe their distress, as well as the cultural explanations for the cause of psychopathology. Finally, *DSM-5* provides examples of *cultural syndromes*, disorders that include a cluster of symptoms that are found in specific cultural groups or regions (**TABLE 14.2** presents examples of common cultural syndromes, and **FIGURE 14.13** illustrates one of them).

Clinicians and researchers need to be sensitive to cultural issues to avoid making mistakes in their diagnoses and treatments (Marsella & Yamada, 2007). Cultural factors can be critical in determining how a disorder is expressed and how an individual will respond to different types of therapies.

FIGURE 14.13 Taijin Kyofusho This Japanese woman may be exhibiting symptoms of a psychological syndrome unique to her culture.

Table 14.2 Cultural Syndromes

NAME	DEFINITION AND LOCATION
Ataque de nervios	Uncontrollable shouting and/or crying; verbal and physical aggression; heat in chest rising to head; feeling of losing control; occasional amnesia for experience (Caribbean and South American Latinos).
Dhat syndrome	Anxiety, fatigue, weakness, weight loss, and other bodily complaints; typically observed in young males who believe their symptoms are due to loss of semen (South Asia).
Khyâl cap	Belief that a "windlike" substance may rise in the body and cause serious effects; acute panic, autonomic arousal, anxiety; catastrophic cognitions (Cambodians in the United States and Cambodia).
Kufungisisa	Belief that thinking too much can damage the mind and body; an explanation for anxiety, depression, and somatic problems indicating distress (Zimbabwe).
Maladi moun	A cultural explanation that sickness has been sent by people to harm their enemies; visible success makes one vulnerable to attack; causes various illnesses, including psychosis, depression, and social failure (Haiti).
Nervios	A phrase used to refer to a general state of vulnerability to stressful life experience; common symptoms include headaches and "brain aches" as well as irritability and nervousness (Latinos in the United States and Latin America).
Shenjing shuairuo	A weakness in the nervous system; mental fatigue, negative emotions, excitement, nervous pain, and sleep disturbances; caused by stress, embarrassment, or acute sense of failure (China).
Susto	An illness attributed to a frightening event that causes the soul to leave the body; sadness, somatic complaints, lack of motivation, and difficulty functioning in daily living (Latinos in the United States and Latin America).
Taijin kyofusho	Intense fear of interpersonal relations; belief that parts of the body give off offensive odors or displease others (Japan).

SOURCE: Based on American Psychiatric Association (2013).

Summing Up

How Are Psychological Disorders Conceptualized and Classified?

- Because psychopathology takes many forms, psychological disorders are difficult to define and categorize. The behavioral manifestations vary widely, but people diagnosed with these disorders have two things in common: Their behavior deviates from cultural norms and is maladaptive.
- The DSM-5 is used by clinicians to classify and diagnose psychological disorders.
- Psychological disorders are often comorbid-that is, they occur together.
- Due to comorbidity, it has been proposed that all psychological disorders involve a common underlying factor, p. High scores on the p factor have been found to be associated with more-severe psychopathology.
- Rather than classifying disorders, the Research Domain Criteria (RDoC) method strives to understand the processes that give rise to psychopathology. The RDoC defines basic domains of functioning such as attention and social communication and considers them across multiple levels of analysis, from genes to brain systems to behavior.

- Clinical assessments help with the diagnosis and treatment of psychological disorders. Assessments may include interviews, behavioral assessments, psychological tests, and neuropsychological tests. The diathesis-stress model suggests that psychological disorders result from an underlying vulnerability coupled with a stressful, precipitating event.
- The causes of most psychopathology are unknown and may result from complex interactions between biological, environmental, and cognitive-behavioral factors.
- In general, females are more likely to suffer from internalizing disorders, such as major depressive disorder and generalized anxiety disorder. Males are more likely to suffer from externalizing disorders, such as alcohol use disorder and conduct disorder.
- Most psychological disorders show both universal and culture-specific symptoms. Disorders that are largely biologically determined tend to be more similar across cultures than disorders that are strongly influenced by learning and context. The DSM includes a number of cultural syndromes-that is, disorders that occur in specific cultures or regions.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements are true?
 - **a.** ____ Neuropsychological assessments are useful for determining brain regions that may be impaired.
 - **b.** _____ The primary goal of psychological assessment is diagnosis.
 - c. _____ Psychological disorders are assessed only through client self-report of maladaptive thoughts, maladaptive behaviors, or both.
 - **d.** _____ Neuropsychological testing might involve asking patients to sort cards or draw pictures from memory.
- 2. Mitch has struggled with psychological problems for most of his adult life. In high school and college, he experimented with alcohol and drugs and suffered through periodic bouts of depression and anxiety. As he has gotten older, Mitch's symptoms and subsequent problems have escalated, including his substance abuse. Mitch would most likely score high on which of the following factors?
 - a. g factor
 - **b.** p factor
 - c. unconscious conflicts
 - **d.** the neuropsychological inventory
- 3. While at a conference on psychological disorders, you attend a symposium titled "Understanding the Origins of Mental Health." Excerpts from three of the presentations appear below. Match each excerpt with one of the etiological models discussed in this chapter: diathesis-stress model, biological model, family systems model, sociocultural model, and cognitive-behavioral approach. (Not all the models will have matches.)
 - a. "By understanding the mechanisms by which neurotransmitters affect behavior and cognition and emotion, we gain insight into the underlying causes of psychological disorders."
 - b. "Children are not raised in vacuums; they are raised in families. Therefore, to understand the origins of psychological disorders, we must understand the dynamics of the client's family."
 - c. "Some individuals are predisposed-whether as a function of their biology or of their past experiences-to develop psychological disorders. Stressful circumstances amplify these predispositions, making the individual more likely to evidence symptoms of psychopathology."

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, b, and d are true.
 (2) b. p factor. (3) a. biological; b. family systems model; c. diathesis-stress model.

Learning Objectives

- Differentiate the various anxiety disorders.
- Understand the various causes of obsessive-compulsive disorder.
- Understand the role of trauma in posttraumatic stress disorders.
- Discuss cultural and sex differences in depressive disorders.
- Distinguish between bipolar I and bipolar II disorder.

14.2 Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods?

People often feel emotional—down, anxious, and so on. Such feelings can be useful. They can prepare people for dealing with future events, motivating them to learn new ways of coping with challenges. For example, being anxious about tests reminds people to keep up with their homework and study. Being slightly anxious when meeting strangers helps people avoid doing bizarre things and making bad impressions. For some people, however, feelings such as anxiety can become debilitating and interfere with every aspect of life.

Likewise, moods color every aspect of people's lives. When people are happy, the world seems like a wonderful place, and they feel boundless energy. When people are sad, they view the world in a decidedly less rosy light, feeling hopeless and isolated. Few people, however, experience the same strong moods day after day.

When emotions or moods go from being a normal part of daily living to being extreme enough to disrupt people's ability to work, learn, and play, these states are considered symptoms of psychological disorders. Most forms of psychopathology influence how people feel as well as how they think, but emotional experiences or moods are more central to some disorders and thought disturbances are more central to others. In this section, we consider the most common disorders involving emotions or moods.

Anxiety Disorders Make People Apprehensive and Tense

Imagine that you are about to make your first parachute jump out of an airplane. If you are like most people, your heart will be racing, and you will be sweating. You might feel queasy. While under these circumstances you may find such sensations thrilling, people who have an anxiety disorder experience these feelings all the time and are unhappy about them.

Anxiety disorders are characterized by excessive fear and anxiety in the absence of true danger. Those with anxiety disorders feel tense and apprehensive. They are often irritable because they cannot see any solution to their anxiety. Constant worry can make falling asleep and staying asleep difficult, and attention span and concentration can be impaired. By continually arousing the autonomic nervous system, chronic anxiety also causes bodily symptoms such as sweating, dry mouth, rapid pulse, shallow breathing, increased blood pressure, and increased muscular tension. Chronic arousal can also result in hypertension, headaches, and other health problems. More than 1 in 4 Americans will have some type of anxiety disorder during their lifetimes (Kessler & Wang, 2008).

Because of their high levels of autonomic arousal, people who have anxiety disorders also exhibit restless and pointless motor behaviors. Exaggerated startle response is typical, and behaviors such as toe tapping and excessive fidgeting are common. Problem solving and judgment may suffer as well. Research has shown that chronic stress can produce atrophy in the hippocampus, a brain structure involved in learning and memory (McEwen, 2008). Because chronic stress can damage the body, including the brain, it is very important to identify and effectively treat disorders that involve chronic anxiety. The various anxiety disorders share some emotional, cognitive, somatic, and motor symptoms, even though the behavioral manifestations of these disorders are quite different (Barlow, 2002). These disorders include specific phobia, social anxiety disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and panic disorder.

anxiety disorder

A psychological disorder characterized by excessive fear and anxiety in the absence of true danger.

Table 14.3 Some Unusual Specific Phobias

- Arachibutyrophobia: fear of peanut butter sticking to the roof of one's mouth
- Automatonophobia: fear of ventriloquists' dummies
- Barophobia: fear of gravity
- Dextrophobia: fear of objects at the right side of the body
- Geliophobia: fear of laughter
- Gnomophobia: fear of garden gnomes
- Hippopotomonstrosesquipedaliophobia: fear of long words
- Ochophobia: fear of being in a moving automobile
- Panophobia: fear of everything
- Pentheraphobia: fear of mothers-in-law
- Triskaidekaphobia: fear of the number 13

SPECIFIC PHOBIA As discussed in Chapter 6, a phobia is a fear of a specific object or situation. Of course, some fear can be a good thing. As an adaptive force, fear can help people avoid potential dangers, such as poisonous snakes and rickety bridges. In phobias, however, the fear is exaggerated and out of proportion to the actual danger.

In DSM-5, people are diagnosed with specific phobia based on the object of the fear. Specific phobias, which affect about 1 in 8 people, involve particular objects and situations. Common specific phobias include fear of snakes (ophidiophobia), fear of enclosed spaces (claustrophobia), and fear of heights (acrophobia). (TABLE 14.3 lists some unusual specific phobias.) Another common specific phobia is fear of flying. Even though the odds of dying in a plane crash, compared with a car crash, are extraordinarily small, some people Autism find flying terrifying. For those who need to travel frequently for spectrum disorders their jobs, a fear of flying can cause significant impairment in daily living.

SOCIAL ANXIETY DISORDER Social anxiety disorder, formerly sometimes called *social phobia*, is a fear of being negatively evaluated by others. It includes fears of public speaking, speaking up in class, meeting new people, and eating in front of others. About 1 in 8 people will experience social anxiety disorder at some point in their lifetime, and around 7 percent are experiencing social anxiety disorder at any given time (Ruscio et al., 2008). It is one of the earliest forms of anxiety disorder to develop, often beginning at around age 13. The more social fears a person has, the more likely he or she is to develop other disorders, particularly depression and substance abuse problems. Indeed, assessment must consider the overlap between social anxiety disorder and related disorders to make an informed diagnosis (Stein & Stein, 2008; FIGURE 14.14).

GENERALIZED ANXIETY DISORDER The anxiety in specific phobia has a focus. By contrast, the anxiety in generalized anxiety disorder (GAD) is diffuse and always present. People with this disorder are constantly anxious and worry incessantly about even minor matters (Sanderson & Barlow, 1990). They even worry about being worried! Because the anxiety is not focused, it can occur in response to almost anything, so the sufferer is constantly on the alert for problems. This hypervigilance results in distractibility, fatigue, irritability, and sleep problems, as



FIGURE 14.14 Comorbidity of Social Anxiety Disorder

As this diagram illustrates, social anxiety disorder is comorbid with many other psychological disorders. If a client has social anxiety disorder, all of these disorders need to be considered to make an accurate and complete diagnosis.

generalized anxiety disorder (GAD)

A diffuse state of constant anxiety not associated with any specific object or event.

panic disorder

An anxiety disorder that consists of sudden, overwhelming attacks of terror.

agoraphobia

An anxiety disorder marked by fear of being in situations in which escape may be difficult or impossible. well as headaches, restlessness, light-headedness, and muscle pain. Just under 6 percent of the United States population is affected by this disorder at some point in their lives, though women are diagnosed more often than men (Kessler et al., 1994; Kessler & Wang, 2008).

PANIC DISORDER Panic disorder consists of sudden, overwhelming attacks of terror and worry about having additional panic attacks. The attacks seemingly come out of nowhere, or they are cued by external stimuli or internal thought processes. Panic attacks typically last for several minutes, during which the person may begin to sweat and tremble; feels his or her heart racing; feels short of breath; feels chest pain; and may feel dizzy and light-headed, with numbness and tingling in the hands and feet. People experiencing panic attacks often believe that they are going crazy or that they are dying, and those who suffer from persistent panic attacks attempt suicide much more often than those in the general population (Fawcett, 1992; Korn et al., 1992; Noyes, 1991). People who experience panic attacks during adolescence are especially likely to develop other anxiety disorder—in adulthood (Goodwin et al., 2004). Panic disorder affects an estimated 3 percent of the population in a given year, and women are twice as likely to be diagnosed as men (Kessler & Wang, 2008).

A related disorder is **agoraphobia**. People with this disorder are afraid of being in situations in which escape is difficult or impossible. For example, they may fear being in a crowded shopping mall or using public transportation. Their fear is so strong that being in such situations causes panic attacks. As a result, people who suffer from agoraphobia avoid going into open spaces or to places where there might be crowds. In extreme cases, sufferers may feel unable to leave their homes. In addition to fearing the particular situations, they fear having a panic attack in public:

Ms. Watson began to dread going out of the house alone. She feared that while out she would have an attack and would be stranded and helpless. She stopped riding the subway to work out of fear she might be trapped in a car between stops when an attack struck, preferring instead to walk the 20 blocks between her home and work. She also severely curtailed her social and recreational activities—previously frequent and enjoyed—because an attack might occur, necessitating an abrupt and embarrassing flight from the scene. (Spitzer, Skodol, Gibbon, & Williams, 1983)

This description demonstrates the clear links between panic attacks and agoraphobia. Indeed, agoraphobia without panic is quite rare (Kessler & Wang, 2008).



FIGURE 14.15 Anxiety Disorders

As this example illustrates, anxious individuals tend to perceive ambiguous situations as threatening. **DEVELOPMENT OF ANXIETY DISORDERS** The behavioral manifestations of anxiety disorders can be quite different, but all share some causal factors (Barlow, 2002). The first factor is biased thinking. When presented with ambiguous or neutral situations, anxious individuals tend to perceive them as threatening, whereas nonanxious individuals assume they are nonthreatening (Eysenck, Mogg, May, Richards, & Matthews, 1991; FIGURE **14.15**). Anxious individuals also focus excessive attention on perceived threats (Rinck, Reinecke, Ellwart, Heuer, & Becker, 2005). They thus recall threatening events more easily than nonthreatening ones, exaggerating the events' perceived magnitude and frequency.

A second factor is learning. As discussed in Chapter 6, monkeys develop a fear of snakes if they observe other monkeys responding to snakes fearfully. Similarly, a person could develop a fear of flying by observing another person's fearful reaction to the closing of cabin doors. Such a fear might then generalize to other enclosed spaces, resulting in claustrophobia.

Scientific Thinking – Inhibition and Social Anxiety

HYPOTHESIS: People who had an inhibited temperamental style as children are more likely to show signs of social anxiety later in life.

RESEARCH METHOD:

1 Adults received brain scans while viewing pictures of familiar faces and of novel faces. One group of these adults had been categorized as inhibited before age 2. The other group had been categorized as uninhibited before age 2. 2 Two regions of the brain were more activated by novel faces. These areas were the amygdala (marked "Amy" in the brain scan below) and the occipitotemporal cortex (marked "OTC"). The amygdala is normally active when people are threatened. The occipitotemporal cortex is normally active when people see faces, whether the faces are novel or familiar.



RESULTS: Compared with the uninhibited group, the inhibited group showed greater activation of the amygdala while viewing novel faces. That activation indicated that, when seeing novel faces, the inhibited group showed greater brain activity associated with threat.



CONCLUSION: The results suggest that some aspects of childhood temperament are preserved in the adult brain. In particular, biological factors seem to play an important role in social anxiety.

SOURCE: Schwartz, C. E., Wright, C. I., Shin, L. M., Kagan, J., & Rauch, S. L. (2003, June 20). Inhibited and uninhibited infants "grown up": Adult amygdalar response to novelty. *Science*, *300*, 1952–1953.

There is also a biological factor. As noted in Chapter 13, children who have an inhibited temperamental style are usually shy and tend to avoid unfamiliar people and novel objects. These inhibited children are more likely to develop anxiety disorders later in life (Fox, Henderson, Marshall, Nichols, & Ghera, 2005). They are especially at risk for developing social anxiety disorder (Biederman et al., 2001). In one study, adults received brain scans while viewing pictures of familiar faces and of novel faces (Schwartz, Wright, Shin, Kagan, & Rauch, 2003). One group of these adults had been categorized as inhibited before age 2. The other group had been categorized as uninhibited before age 2. Compared with the uninhibited group, the inhibited group showed greater activation of the amygdala—a brain region involved when people are threatened—while viewing the novel faces. That is, after the passage of so many years, the inhibited group still seemed to show a threat response to novel faces. Although this study did not involve those with diagnosed anxiety disorders, it does show that childhood temperaments are preserved in the adult brain (see "Scientific Thinking: Inhibition and Social Anxiety").

Unwanted Thoughts Create Anxiety in Obsessive-Compulsive Disorders

We have seen that many psychological disorders involve both emotional and cognitive impairments. In some cases, having unwanted thoughts leads to emotional distress and anxiety. *DSM-5* categorizes a number of disorders together that involve obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD)

A disorder characterized by frequent intrusive thoughts and compulsive actions.



"Is the Itsy Bitsy Spider obsessive-compulsive?"

experiencing unwanted thoughts or the desire to engage in maladaptive behaviors (see Table 14.1). The commonality is an obsession with an idea or thought or the compulsion to repeatedly act in a certain way. These compulsive actions temporarily reduce anxiety. Related disorders in this category include people chronically pulling at their hair or picking at their skin, people being obsessed with deficiencies in their physical appearance, and *hoarding disorder*, in which people have persistent difficulty parting with their possessions and end up accumulating clutter and garbage that can make their living conditions seem like disaster zones.

OBSESSIVE-COMPULSIVE DISORDER The most common disorder in this *DSM-5* category is **obsessive-compulsive disorder** (OCD), which involves frequent

intrusive thoughts and compulsive actions (Kessler & Wang, 2008). Affecting 1–2 percent of the population, OCD is more common in women than men, and it generally begins in early adulthood (Robins & Regier, 1991; Weissman et al., 1994). *Obsessions* are recurrent, intrusive, and unwanted thoughts or ideas or mental images. They often include fear of contamination, of accidents, or of one's own aggression. The individual typically attempts to ignore or suppress such thoughts but sometimes engages in particular behaviors to neutralize his or her obsessions (**FIGURE 14.16**).

Compulsions are particular acts that the OCD patient feels driven to perform over and over. The most common



FIGURE 14.16 Howie Mandel

The comedian Howie Mandel has been diagnosed with obsessive-compulsive disorder. Like many people with OCD, Mandel suffers from mysophobia, or the fear of germs. His trademark shaved head helps him with this problem, as it makes him feel cleaner. Mandel even built a second, sterile house, to which he can retreat if he feels he might be contaminated by anyone around him. Here, Mandel promotes his autobiography, *Here's the Deal: Don't Touch Me* (2009), in which he "comes clean" about suffering from OCD and other disorders. compulsive behaviors are cleaning, checking, and counting. For instance, a person might continually check to make sure a door is locked, because of an obsession that his or her home might be invaded, or a person might engage in superstitious counting to protect against accidents, such as counting the number of telephone poles while driving. The compulsive behavior or mental act, such as counting, is aimed at preventing or reducing anxiety or preventing something dreadful from happening.

Those with OCD anticipate catastrophe and loss of control. However, as opposed to those who suffer from anxiety disorders—who fear what might happen to them—those with OCD fear what they might do or might have done. Checking is one way to calm the anxiety:

While in reality no one is on the road, I'm intruded with the heinous thought that I *might* have hit someone . . . a human being! God knows where such a fantasy comes from. . . . I try to make reality chase away this fantasy. I reason, "Well, if I hit someone while driving, I would have *felt* it." This brief trip into reality helps the pain dissipate . . . but only for a second. . . . I start ruminating, "Maybe I did hit someone and didn't realize it. . . Oh my God! I might have killed somebody! I have to go back and check." (Rapoport, 1990, pp. 22–27)

CAUSES OF OBSESSIVE-COMPULSIVE DISORDER A paradoxical aspect of OCD is that people are aware that their obsessions and compulsions are irrational, yet they are unable to stop them. One explanation is that the disorder results from conditioning. In the person with OCD, anxiety is somehow paired to a specific event, probably through classical conditioning. As a result, the person engages in behavior that reduces anxiety and therefore is reinforced through operant conditioning. This reduction of anxiety is reinforcing and increases the person's chance of engaging in that behavior again.

Suppose you are forced to shake hands with a man who has a bad cold. You have just seen him wiping his nose with his right hand. Shaking that hand might cause you to be anxious or uncomfortable because you do not want to get sick. As soon as the pleasantries are over, you run to the bathroom and wash your hands. You feel relieved. You have now paired handwashing with a reduction in anxiety, thus increasing the chances of handwashing in the future (**FIGURE 14.17**). If you develop OCD, however, the compulsive behavior will reduce your anxiety only temporarily, so you will need to perform the behavior over and over.

There is also good evidence that the etiology of OCD is in part genetic (Crowe, 2000). Indeed, various behavioral genetics methods, such as twin studies, have shown that OCD runs in families. The specific mechanism has not been identified, but the OCD-related genes appear to control the neurotransmitter gluta-mate (Pauls, 2008). As noted in Chapter 3, glutamate is the major excitatory transmitter in the brain, causing increased neural firing.

Brain imaging has provided some evidence regarding which brain systems are involved in OCD. The caudate, a brain structure involved in suppressing impulses, is smaller and has structural abnormalities in people with OCD (Baxter, 2000). Moreover, brain imaging studies show abnormal activity in the caudates of people with OCD compared with the caudates of controls (Maia, Cooney, & Peterson, 2008). Because the caudate is involved in impulse suppression, dysfunction in this region may result in the leak of impulses into consciousness. The prefrontal cortex, which is involved in conscious control of behavior, then becomes overactive in an effort to compensate (Whiteside, Port, & Abramowitz, 2004; Yucel et al., 2007). As discussed in Chapter 15, deep brain electrical stimulation of the caudate has been successful in alleviating the symptoms of OCD, providing additional evidence that this brain structure is involved in OCD (Aouizerate et al., 2004).

There is also growing evidence that OCD can be triggered by environmental factors. In particular, a streptococcal infection apparently can cause a severe form of OCD in some young children. Originally identified in 1998 by Susan Swedo and her colleagues at the National Institute of Mental Health, this syndrome strikes virtually overnight. The affected children suddenly display odd symptoms of OCD, such as engaging in repetitive behaviors, developing irrational fears and obsessions, and having facial tics. Researchers have speculated that an autoimmune response damages the caudate, thereby producing the symptoms of OCD (Snider & Swedo, 2004). Treatments that enhance the immune system have been found to diminish the symptoms of OCD in children with this syndrome. Why some children are susceptible to this autoimmune response is unknown.

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Results from Trauma

DSM-5 categorizes a number of disorders together that result from trauma or excessive stress. This category describes *trauma- and stressor-related disorders* (see Table 14.1). For example, a person who cries continually, has difficulty studying, and avoids social settings six months after a romantic breakup may have an *adjustment disorder*. This person is having difficulty adjusting to the stressor. When people experience severe stress or emotional trauma—such as having a serious accident, being raped, fighting in active combat, or surviving a natural disaster—they often have negative reactions long after the danger has passed. In severe cases, people develop **posttraumatic stress disorder** (**PTSD**), a psychological disorder that involves frequent and recurring unwanted thoughts related to the trauma, including nightmares, intrusive thoughts, and flashbacks. People with PTSD often try to avoid situations or stimuli that remind them of their trauma. The lifetime prevalence of PTSD is around 7 percent, with women being more likely to develop the disorder (Kessler et al., 2005b).

An opportunity to study susceptibility to PTSD came about because of a tragedy at Northern Illinois University in 2008. On the campus, in front of many observers, a lone gunman killed 5 people and wounded 21. Among a sample of female students, those with certain genetic markers related to serotonin functioning were much more likely to show PTSD symptoms in the weeks after the shooting (Mercer et al., 2011).



FIGURE 14.17 OCD Cycle

This flowchart illustrates the operations of conditioning for the example given in the text. Classical conditioning (step 1) and operant conditioning (steps 2 and 3) reinforce behavior. Continued reinforcement may contribute to a person's developing OCD (step 4).

posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)

A disorder that involves frequent nightmares, intrusive thoughts, and flashbacks related to an earlier trauma. **major depressive disorder** A disorder characterized by severe negative moods or a lack of interest in normally pleasurable activities. This finding suggests that some individuals may be more at risk than others for developing PTSD after exposure to a stressful event.

Those with PTSD often have chronic tension, anxiety, and health problems, and they may experience memory and attention problems in their daily lives. PTSD involves an unusual problem in memory: the inability to forget. PTSD is associated with an attentional bias, such that people with PTSD are hypervigilant to stimuli associated with their traumatic events. For instance, soldiers with combat-induced PTSD show increased physiological responsiveness to pictures of troops, sounds of gunfire, and even words associated with combat. Exposure to stimuli associated with past trauma leads to activation of the amygdala (Rauch, van der Kolk, Fisler, & Alpert, 1996). It is as if the severe emotional event is "overconsolidated," burned into memory (see Chapter 7 for a discussion of consolidation of memory).

Depressive Disorders Consist of Sad, Empty, or Irritable Mood

When we feel down or sad about something happening in our life, we often say we are depressed. Although this experience is relatively common, it often does not last very long. For some people, however, the negative feelings persist and turn into a psychological disorder. The *DSM-5* categorizes a number of disorders as *depressive disorders*. The common feature of all depressive disorders is the presence of sad, empty, or irritable mood along with bodily symptoms and cognitive problems that interfere with daily life.

MAJOR DEPRESSIVE DISORDER The classic disorder in this category is major depressive disorder. According to *DSM-5* criteria, to be diagnosed with **major depressive disorder**, a person must experience a *major depressive episode*, during which he or she experiences a depressed mood or a loss of interest in pleasurable activities every day for at least two weeks. In addition, the person must have other symptoms, such as appetite and weight changes, sleep disturbances, loss of energy, difficulty concentrating, feelings of self-reproach or guilt, and frequent thoughts of death, perhaps by suicide. The following excerpt is from a case study of a 56-year-old woman diagnosed with depression:

She described herself as overwhelmed with feelings of guilt, worthlessness, and hopelessness. She twisted her hands almost continuously and played nervously with her hair. She stated that her family would be better off without her and that she had considered taking her life by hanging herself. She felt that after death she would go to hell, where she would experience eternal torment, but that this would be a just punishment. (Andreasen, 1984, p. 39)

Feelings of depression are relatively common, but only long-lasting episodes that impair a person's life are diagnosed as depressive disorders. Major depression affects about 6–7 percent of Americans in a given 12-month period, whereas approximately 16 percent of Americans will experience major depression at some point in their lives (Kessler & Wang, 2008). Although major depressive disorder varies in severity, those who receive a diagnosis are highly impaired by the condition, and it tends to persist over several months, often lasting for years (Kessler, Merikangas, & Wang, 2007).

Depression is the leading risk factor for suicide, which claims approximately a million lives annually around the world and is among the top three causes of death for people between ages 15 and 35 (Insel & Charney, 2003). The suicide of the comedian and actor Robin Williams shocked many, but Williams reportedly had long battled depression and substance abouse (**FIGURE 14.18**). You will learn more about suicide in this chapter's "Using Psychology in Your Life" feature (p. 622).



FIGURE 14.18 Robin Williams

In 2014, the actor and comedian Robin Williams hanged himself. Although he built his career on making people laugh, Williams appears to have struggled for years with depression, along with drug and alcohol problems. **PERSISTENT DEPRESSIVE DISORDER** Unlike major depressive disorder, **persistent depressive disorder**, sometimes called *dysthymia*, is of mild to moderate severity. Most individuals with this disorder describe their mood as "down in the dumps." People with persistent depressive disorder have many of the same symptoms as people with major depressive disorder, but those symptoms are less intense. People diagnosed with this disorder—approximately 2–3 percent of the population—must have a depressed mood most of the day, more days than not, for at least 2 years. Periods of depressed mood last from 2 to 20 or more years, although the typical duration is about 5 to 10 years. Because the depressed mood is so long-lasting, some psychologists consider it a personality disorder rather than a mood disorder.

The distinctions between a depressive personality, persistent depressive disorder, and major depressive disorder are unclear. In keeping with a dimensional view of psychological disorders, these states may be points along a continuum rather than distinct disorders (Lewinsohn, Allen, Seeley, & Gotlib, 1999; Lewinsohn, Rodhe, Seeley, & Hops, 1991).

THE ROLES OF CULTURE AND GENDER IN DEPRESSIVE DISORDERS

Depression is so prevalent that it is sometimes called the common cold of psychological disorders. In its most severe form, depression is the leading cause of disability in the United States and worldwide (Worley, 2006). The stigma associated with this disorder has especially dire consequences in developing countries, where people do not take advantage of the treatment options because they do not want to admit to being depressed. One way to combat the stigma of psychological disorders is to focus attention on their high incidence and to educate more people about effective treatments (discussed in Chapter 15, "Treatment of Psychological Disorders"; **FIGURE 14.19**).

Gender also plays a role in the incidence of depression. Across multiple countries and contexts, twice as many women as men suffer from depressive disorders (Kessler et al., 2003; Ustün, Ayuso-Mateos, Chatterji, Mathers, & Murray, 2004). In fact, suicide is the leading cause of death among young women in India and China (Khan, 2005), and the highest rates of depression are found in women in developing countries, with especially high rates reported for women in rural Pakistan (Mumford, Saeed, Ahmad, Latif, & Mubbashar, 1997).

Why are the rates of depressive disorders so much higher for women than for men? Some researchers have theorized that women's multiple roles in most societies—as wage earners and family caregivers—cause stress that results in increased incidence of depression, but other researchers have pointed out the health benefits of having multiple roles, such as wife, mother, and employee (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Thus, it is not multiple roles per se but more likely overwork and lack of support that contribute to the high rate of depression in women. Research in India, Brazil, and Chile shows that low income, lack of education, and difficult family relationships contribute to psychological disorders in women (Blue & Harpham, 1996).

Depressive Disorders Have Biological, Situational, and Cognitive Components

Depression can be devastating. The sadness, hopelessness, and inability to concentrate that characterize major depressive disorder can result in the loss of jobs, of friends, and of family relationships. Because of this disorder's profound effects, particularly the danger of suicide, much research has focused on understanding the causes of depression and treating it. **persistent depressive disorder** A form of depression that is not severe enough to be diagnosed as major depressive disorder.



FIGURE 14.19 Informing the Public

Public-service ads may help "normalize" the treatment of psychological disorders. The more people hear about talking to doctors about problems, the more inclined they may be to visit doctors when problems arise. **BIOLOGICAL COMPONENTS** Studies of twins, families, and adoptions support the notion that depression has a genetic component. Although there is some variability among studies, concordance rates (i.e., the percentage who share the same disorder) for identical twins are generally around two to three times higher than rates for fraternal twins (Levinson, 2006). The genetic contribution to depression is somewhat weaker than the genetic contribution to schizophrenia or to bipolar disorder (Belmaker & Agam, 2008).

The existence of a genetic component implies that biological factors are involved in depression. In fact, there is evidence that major depressive disorder may involve one or more monoamines. (As discussed in Chapter 3, monoamines are neurotransmitters that regulate emotion and arousal and motivate behavior.) For instance, medications that increase the availability of norepinephrine, a monoamine, may help alleviate depression. Medications that decrease levels of this neurotransmitter can cause symptoms of depression. Medications such as Prozac are known as *selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs)*. SSRIs selectively increase another monoamine, serotonin, and are often used to treat depression (Barton et al., 2008; SSRIs and other medications are discussed in Chapter 15). Yet depression is not simply due to a lack of norepinephrine or serotonin. For example, research has found that medications that reduce serotonin can also alleviate depression (Nickel et al., 2003). At this time, there is not a clear understanding of the role of neurotransmitters in the development of depressive disorders.

In addition, studies of brain function have suggested that certain neural structures may be involved in mood disorders. Damage to the left prefrontal cortex can lead to depression, but damage to the right hemisphere does not. The brain waves of people with depression show low activity in the left prefrontal cortex (Allen, Coan, & Nazarian, 2004), irrespective of the person's current mood (Stewart, Coan, Towers, & Allen, 2011). Interestingly, this pattern persists in patients who have been depressed but are currently in remission (Henriques & Davidson, 1990). The pattern may therefore be a biological marker of a predisposition to depression.

Biological rhythms have also been implicated in depression. Depressed patients enter REM sleep more quickly and have more of it. In fact, one symptom of depression is excessive sleeping and tiredness. In addition, many people show a cyclical pattern of depression, depending on the season. This condition, *seasonal affective disorder (SAD)*, results in periods of depression that correspond to the shorter days of winter in northern latitudes.

SITUATIONAL COMPONENTS Situational factors also play a role in depression. A number of studies have implicated life stressors in many cases of depression (Hammen, 2005). Particularly relevant for depression is interpersonal loss, such as the death of a loved one or a divorce (Paykel, 2003). Depression is especially likely in the face of multiple negative events (Brown & Harris, 1978), and patients with depression have often experienced negative life events during the year before the onset of their depression (Dohrenwend, Shrout, Link, Skodol, & Martin, 1986).

How an individual reacts to stress, however, can be influenced by interpersonal relationships, which play an extremely important role in depression (Joiner, Coyne, & Blalock, 1999). Regardless of any other factors, relationships contribute to the development of depression, alter people's experiences when depressed, and ultimately may be damaged by the constant needs of the person with depression. Many people report negative reactions to people with depression, perhaps because of their frequent complaining. Over time, people may avoid interactions with those suffering from depression, thus initiating a downward spiral by making the sufferers even more depressed (Dykman, Horowitz, Abramson, & Usher, 1991). By contrast, a person who has a close friend or group of friends is less likely to become depressed when faced with stress. This protective factor is not related to the number of friends. It is related to the quality of the friendships. One good friend is more protective than a large number of casual acquaintances.

COGNITIVE COMPONENTS Finally, cognitive processes play a role in depressive disorders. The psychologist Aaron Beck has hypothesized that people with depression think negatively about themselves ("I am worthless"; "I am a failure"; "I am ugly"), about their situations ("Everybody hates me"; "the world is unfair"), and about the future ("Things are hopeless"; "I can't change"). Beck refers to these negative thoughts about self, situation, and the future as the *cognitive triad* (Beck, 1967, 1976; Beck, Brown, Seer, Eidelson, & Riskind, 1987; Beck, Rush, Shaw, & Emery, 1979; **FIGURE 14.20**).

People with depression blame misfortunes on personal defects while seeing positive occurrences as the result of luck. People who are not suffering from depression do the opposite. Beck also notes that people with depression make errors in logic. For example, they overgeneralize based on single events, magnify the seriousness of bad events, think in extremes (such as believing they should either be perfect or not try), and take responsibility for bad events that actually have little to do with them.

A second cognitive model of depression is based on **learned helplessness** (Seligman, 1974, 1975). "Learned helplessness" means that people come to see themselves as unable to have any effect on events in their lives. The psychologist Martin Seligman based this model on years of animal research. When animals are placed in aversive situations they cannot escape (such as receiving unescapable shock), the animals eventually become passive and unresponsive. They end up lacking the motivation to try new methods of escape when given the opportunity. Similarly, people suffering from learned helplessness come to expect that bad things will happen to them and believe they are powerless to avoid negative events. The *attributions*, or explanations, they make for negative events refer to personal factors that are stable and global, rather than to situational factors that are temporary and specific. This attributional pattern leads people to feel hopeless about making positive changes in their lives (Abramson, Metalsky,

& Alloy, 1989). According to the scientific evidence, dysfunctional cognitive patterns are a cause rather than a consequence of depression.

Bipolar Disorders Involve Depression and Mania

We all experience variations in mood. Our normal fluctuations from sadness to exuberance seem minuscule, however, compared with the extremes experienced by people with *bipolar disorders*. Recall the discussion, at the opening of this chapter, of Kay Redfield Jamison's extreme depression and episodes of mania. *Mania* refers to an elevated mood that feels like being "on the top of the world." This positive mood can vary in degree and is accompanied by major shifts in energy level and physical activity (**FIGURE 14.21**).

True *manic episodes* last at least one week and are characterized by abnormally and persistently elevated mood, increased activity, diminished need for sleep, grandiose ideas, racing thoughts, and extreme distractibility. During episodes of mania, heightened levels of activity and extreme happiness often result in excessive involvement in pleasurable but foolish activities. People may engage in sexual indiscretions, buying sprees, risky business ventures, and



FIGURE 14.20 Cognitive Triad

According to Beck, people suffering from depression perceive themselves, their situations, and the future negatively. These perceptions influence each other and contribute to the disorder.

learned helplessness A cognitive model of depression in which people feel unable to control events in their lives.



FIGURE 14.21 Bipolar I, Bipolar II, and Major Depressive Disorders

These graphs compare the mood changes over time for three disorders that involve mood states.

Using Psychology in Your Life

I Think My Friend Might Be Suicidal. What Should I Do?

any people contemplate suicide at some point in their lives. Tragically, as of 2007, suicide was the third leading cause of death among Americans ages 10 to 24 (American Association of Suicidology, 2011). As a result, many college students will be or have been touched by suicide. Perhaps you know someone who died by suicide. Perhaps a friend of yours talks about wanting to die. Or maybe you have considered taking your own life. Understanding the risk factors associated with suicide is an important step toward preventing suicide. Knowing where and how to find support can save lives.

In his book Why People Die by Suicide (2005), the clinical psychologist Thomas Joiner considers two key questions about suicide: Who wants to commit suicide? And who can commit suicide? In answering the first question, Joiner argues that "people desire death when two fundamental needs are frustrated to the point of extinction" (p. 47). The first of these fundamental needs is the need to belong, to feel connected with others. We all want to have positive interactions with others who care about us. If we do not perceive those things in our lives, our need to belong is thwarted. The second of these fundamental needs is the need for competence. We all want to be capable agents in the world. If we do not perceive ourselves as able to do the things we think we should be able to do, our need for competence is thwarted. Joiner says that when the need to belong and the need for competence are frustrated, we desire death.

But as Joiner points out, just because a person wants to commit suicide does not mean she or he will be able to do so. Evolution has hardwired us with a tremendously strong self-preservation instinct. What makes a person able to endure the tremendous physical pain or overwhelming psychological fear many of us would experience if we tried to kill ourselves? Joiner presents a straightforward answer: practice. He writes that "those prone to serious suicidal behavior have reached that status through a process of exposure to self-injury and other provocative experiences" (pp. 85-86) and "when people get used to dangerous behavior . . . the groundwork for catastrophe is laid" (p. 48). For example, a person who drives recklessly, engages in self-cutting, and/or experiments with drugs is more practiced at self-harm than someone who does not engage in any of these behaviors. Thus, the person who engages in dangerous behavior is more likely to have the capacity to carry out lethal self-injury.

Take a look at **FIGURE 14.22.** The larger oval represents the people in the world who desire suicide. These individuals perceive themselves to be burdens on others and do not perceive themselves as having frequent and positive interactions with others who care about them.

similar "out of character" behaviors that they regret once the mania has subsided. They might also have severe thought disturbances and hallucinations. This form of the condition is known as **bipolar I disorder**. Bipolar I disorder is based more on the manic episodes than on depression. Although those with bipolar I disorder often have depressive episodes, these episodes are not necessary for a *DSM-5* diagnosis. The manic episodes in bipolar I disorder cause significant impairment in daily living and can often result in hospitalization.

Whereas people with bipolar I disorder experience true manic episodes, those with **bipolar II disorder** may experience less extreme mood elevations called *hypomania* (Phillips & Kupfer, 2013). These episodes are often characterized by heightened creativity and productivity, and they can be extremely pleasurable and rewarding. As mentioned in the chapter opener, the singer Demi Lovato and the actor Catherine Zeta-Jones have both revealed that they have been diagnosed with

bipolar I disorder

A disorder characterized by extremely elevated moods during manic episodes and, frequently, depressive episodes as well.

bipolar II disorder A disorder characterized by alternating periods of extremely depressed and mildly elevated moods. Those who desire suicide: perceived burdensomeness + failed belongingness Serious attempt or death by suicide

FIGURE 14.22 The Risk of Suicide: Desire + Capability = Attempt?

According to Joiner, the individuals who are *most* at risk of dying by suicide both want to do so and are able to do so.

In other words, these are the people who may want to commit suicide. The smaller oval represents the people who, over time, have developed the ability to lethally injure themselves. The overlap between the ovals represents a small fraction of the people who want to commit suicide and are able to do so. It also represents, conversely, the small fraction of the people who are well practiced at endangering themselves and want to die. Again, Joiner posits that the individuals who are *most* at risk of dying by suicide both want to do so and are able to do so.

Of course, like so many other topics you have learned about in this book,

suicide is a very complex psychological phenomenon. Perhaps you have heard that suicide tends to run in families or that everyone who commits suicide has a psychological disorder. Indeed, the data support a genetic risk factor for suicide (Roy, 1992), and the majority of people who commit suicide seem to suffer from psychological disorders (Cavanagh, Carson, Sharpe,

& Lawrie, 2003). How do these factors figure into Joiner's model? He points out: "Genes, neurobiology, impulsivity, childhood adversity, and mental disorders are interconnected strands that converge and influence whether people acquire the ability for lethal self-injury, feel a burden on others, and fail to feel they belong" (Joiner, 2005, p. 202). In other words, many factors might lead someone to want to commit suicide. In addition, many factors might prompt someone to arm himself or herself with the ability to endure self-harm.

With such risk factors in mind, we can now turn to the important question of what to do if you think a friend might be suicidal. First and foremost, take suicidal threats seriously. Second, get help. Someone who is considering suicide should be screened by a trained professional. Contact a counselor at your school, ask a religious leader for help, or speak to someone at the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline: 1-800-273-TALK (8255). These individuals can help you get your friend the support he or she needs. Third, let your friend know you care.

Remember, suicide risk is particularly high when people do not feel a sense of connection with others and when they feel a lack of competence. You can remind the suicidal person that you value your relationship, that you care about her or his well-being, that you would be devastated if that person were no longer in your life. These forms of support can challenge the suicidal person's sense that she or he lacks belongingness. To challenge the person's perceived incompetence, you can remind your friend about the reasons you admire her or him, or you can ask for help on a project or issue you are genuinely struggling with.

And remember, suicide is forever. The problems that prompt a person to feel suicidal, however, are often temporary. If you ever find yourself or a friend feeling that suicide offers the best way out of an overwhelming or hopeless situation, know that other options exist. You or your friend might not be able to see those options right away. Reach out to someone who can help you or your friend see the ways out of current problems and into the future.

bipolar II disorder. Although these less extreme positive moods may be somewhat disruptive to a person's life, they do not cause significant impairment in daily living or require hospitalization. However, the bipolar II diagnosis does require at least one major depressive episode, and therefore the depression might cause significant impairments. Thus, the impairments to daily living for bipolar I disorder are the manic episodes, but the impairments for bipolar II disorder are the major depressive episodes.

Bipolar disorders are much less common than depression. The lifetime prevalence for any type is estimated at around 3–4 percent (Kessler & Wang, 2008). In addition, whereas depression is more common in women, bipolar disorders are equally prevalent in women and men. Bipolar disorders emerge most commonly during late adolescence or early adulthood, with bipolar I disorder typically first diagnosed at a younger age than bipolar II disorder. **CAUSE OF BIPOLAR DISORDERS** A family history of a bipolar disorder is the strongest and most consistent risk factor for bipolar disorders (Craddock & Sklar, 2013). The concordance rate for bipolar disorders in identical twins is more than 70 percent, versus only 20 percent for fraternal, or dizygotic, twins (Nurnberger, Goldin, & Gershon, 1994).

In the 1980s, the Amish community was involved in a genetic research study. The Amish were an ideal population for this sort of research because they keep good genealogical records and few outsiders marry into the community. In addition, substance abuse is virtually nonexistent among Amish adults, so psychological disorders are easier to detect. The research results revealed that bipolar disorders ran in a limited number of families and that all of those afflicted had a similar genetic defect (Egeland et al., 1987).

Genetic research suggests, however, that the hereditary nature of bipolar disorders is complex and not linked to just one gene. Current research focuses on identifying several genes that may be involved (Wray, Byrne, Stinger, & Mowry, 2014). In addition, it appears that in families with bipolar disorders, successive generations have more-severe disorders and earlier ages of onset (Petronis & Kennedy, 1995; Post et al., 2013). Research on this pattern of transmission may help reveal the genetics of the disorder, but the specific nature of the heritability of bipolar disorders remains to be discovered.

Summing Up

Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods?

- Anxiety disorders are characterized by excessive fear and anxiety in the absence of true danger.
- Common anxiety disorders include specific phobia, social anxiety disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and panic disorder.
- Obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) involves frequent intrusive thoughts and compulsive actions. OCD may involve learned behaviors or may be caused by biological factors.
- Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a trauma- or stressor-related disorder that appears after exposure to a traumatic event. PTSD affects women more than men.
- PTSD is characterized by frequent and recurring unwanted thoughts related to the trauma, nightmares, intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, and avoidance of situations related to the event.
- Major depressive disorder is characterized by sad, empty, or irritable mood or a loss of interest in pleasurable activities, among other symptoms. Persistent depressive disorder is less disruptive but leaves a person feeling sad on more days than not for at least two years.
- Depressive disorders have biological components, including dysfunction of the monoamine neurotransmitters norepinephrine and serotonin, low left frontal lobe function, and disrupted biological rhythms.
- Situational factors (such as poor relationships and stress) and cognitive factors (such as the cognitive triad and learned helplessness) also contribute to the occurrence of depression.
- Bipolar disorders include episodes of both mania and depression. The impairments to daily living for bipolar I disorder are the manic episodes, whereas the impairments for bipolar II disorder are the major depressive episodes.
- The best predictor of bipolar disorder is a family history of the disorder, suggesting that genetic factors are an important cause.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether each of the following empirical findings supports a cognitive, situational, or biological underpinning of anxiety disorders.
 - **a.** Adults who were categorized as inhibited versus uninhibited during childhood show differential patterns of amygdala activation when viewing novel faces (Schwartz et al., 2003).
 - **b.** Anxious individuals tend to focus excessive attention on perceived threats (Rinck et al., 2005).
 - c. Monkeys tend to develop a fear of snakes if they observe other monkeys responding to snakes fearfully (Mineka, Davidson, Cook, & Keir, 1984).
 - **d.** When presented with ambiguous or neutral situations, anxious individuals generally perceive them as threatening, whereas nonanxious individuals perceive them as nonthreatening (Eysenck et al., 1991).
- Which of the following statements represent dysfunctional cognitive patterns believed to cause depression? If a statement is an example of dysfunctional cognition, briefly describe why.
 - a. "I didn't make the soccer team. I fail at everything."
 - **b.** "I didn't get a raise because I was late to work a number of times over the past quarter."
 - c. "There's nothing I can do about the fact that my boss is so mean to me."
 - d. "This assignment is really hard. I need to see my instructor during office hours."

(stneve events).

ANSWERS: (1) a. biological; c. situational; d. cognitive. (2) a. (shows evidence of overgeneralizing based on a single event); c. (shows a perceived powerlessness

14.3Which Disorders EmphasizeThought Disturbances?

As we have seen, many psychological disorders include emotional impairments that influence how people think. For example, those with depression can have distorted thoughts about themselves or their futures. By contrast, disorders that revolve around thinking involve disruptions in the connection between thoughts and experiences, such as people losing their sense of identity or feeling that external forces are controlling their thoughts. Many disorders of thought involve *psychosis*, which is a break from reality in which the person has difficulty distinguishing what thoughts or perceptions are real versus what are imagined. People experiencing this disorder have extreme difficulty functioning in everyday life.

Dissociative Disorders Are Disruptions in Memory, Awareness, and Identity

As noted in Chapter 5, we sometimes get lost in our thoughts or daydreams, even to the point of losing track of what is going on around us. Many of us have had the experience of forgetting what we are doing while in the middle of an action ("Why was I headed to the kitchen?"). When we wake up in an unfamiliar location, we may momentarily be disoriented and not know where we are. In other words, our thoughts and experiences can become dissociated, or split, from the external world.

Dissociative disorders are extreme versions of this phenomenon. These disorders involve disruptions of identity, of memory, or of conscious awareness (Kihlstrom,

Learning Objectives

- Describe dissociative amnesia, dissociative fugue, and dissociative identity disorder.
- Discuss the controversy regarding dissociative identity disorder.
- Describe the five symptoms of schizophrenia.
- Distinguish between negative and positive symptoms of schizophrenia.
- Identify biological and environmental factors that contribute to schizophrenia.

dissociative disorders Disorders that involve disruptions of identity, of memory, or of conscious awareness.



FIGURE 14.23 The Two Forms of Amnesia

Jeff Ingram, pictured here, developed retrograde amnesia after leaving his home, in Washington state. When he arrived in Denver, Colorado, four days later, he had no memory of his previous life. He was recognized two months later, when he appeared on the news pleading for help from anyone who knew who he was. Though he did not remember his three-year relationship with his fiancée (here seated next to him), the two eventually married.

dissociative identity disorder (DID)

The occurrence of two or more distinct identities in the same individual.

2005). The commonality among dissociative disorders is the splitting off of some parts of memory from conscious awareness. Dissociative disorders are believed to result from extreme stress. That is, the person with a dissociative disorder has split off a traumatic event in order to protect the self. Some researchers believe that people prone to dissociative disorders are also prone to PTSD (Cardeña & Carlson, 2011).

DISSOCIATIVE AMNESIA In *dissociative amnesia*, a person forgets that an event happened or loses awareness of a substantial block of time. For example, the person with this disorder may suddenly lose memory for personal facts, including his or her identity and place of residence. These memory failures cannot be accounted for by ordinary forgetting (such as momentarily forgetting where you parked your car) or by the effects of drugs or alcohol.

Consider the case of Dorothy Joudrie, from Calgary, Canada. In 1995, after suffering years of physical abuse from her husband, Joudrie shot her husband six times. Her husband survived, and he described her behavior during the shooting as very calm, as if she were detached from what she was doing. When the police arrived, however, Joudrie was extremely distraught. She had no memory of the shooting and told the police that she simply found her husband shot and lying on the garage floor, at which time she called for help. Joudrie was found not criminally responsible for her actions because of her dissociative state (Butcher, Mineka, & Hooley, 2007).

DISSOCIATIVE FUGUE The rarest and most extreme form of dissociative amnesia is *dissociative fugue*. The disorder involves a loss of identity. In addition, it involves travel to another location (the French word *fugue* means "flight") and sometimes the assumption of a new identity. The fugue state often ends suddenly, with the person unsure how she or he ended up in unfamiliar surroundings. Typically, the person does not remember events that occurred during the fugue state.

Consider the case of Jeff Ingram, who developed retrograde amnesia, a form of dissociative amnesia (**FIGURE 14.23**). After Ingram found himself in Denver not knowing who he was, his fiancée brought him home to Washington state. Ingram did not recognize his fiancée's face, but she felt familiar to him, as did his home.

DISSOCIATIVE IDENTITY DISORDER According to *DSM-5*, **dissociative identity disorder (DID)** consists of the occurrence of two or more distinct identities in the same individual, along with memory gaps in which the person does not recall everyday events. It used to be known as *multiple personality disorder*. Consider the strange case of Billy Milligan, who in 1978 was found innocent of robbery and rape charges on the grounds that he had dissociative identity disorder. Milligan clearly committed the robberies and rapes, but his lawyers successfully argued that he had multiple personalities and that different ones committed the crimes. Therefore, Billy could not be held responsible.

In his book *The Minds of Billy Milligan* (1981), Daniel Keyes describes the 24 separate personalities sharing the body of 26-year-old Billy Milligan. One is Arthur, who at age 22 speaks with a British accent and is self-taught in physics and biology. He reads and writes fluent Arabic. Eight-year-old David is the keeper of the pain. Anytime something physically painful happens, David experiences it. Christene is a 3-year-old dyslexic girl who likes to draw flowers and butterflies. Regan is 23 and Yugoslavian, speaks with a marked Slavic accent, and reads, writes, and speaks Serbo-Croatian. He is the protector of the "family" and acknowledges robbing his victims, but he denies raping them. Adalana, a 19-year-old lesbian who writes poetry, cooks, and keeps house for the others, later admitted to committing the rapes.

After his acquittal, Milligan spent close to a decade in various mental hospitals. In 1988, psychiatrists declared that Milligan's 24 personalities had merged into one and that he was no longer a danger to society. Milligan was released and reportedly has lived

quietly since then. Many people respond to reports such as this with astonishment and incredulity, believing that people such as Milligan must be faking. To judge the facts, we need to examine what is known about this condition and how it is diagnosed.

Most people diagnosed with DID are women who report being severely abused as children. According to the most common theory of DID, children cope with abuse by pretending it is happening to someone else. They enter a trancelike state in which they dissociate their mental states from their physical bodies. Over time, this dissociated state takes on its own identity. Different identities develop to deal with different traumas. Often the identities have periods of amnesia, and sometimes only one identity is aware of the others. Indeed, diagnosis often occurs only when a person has difficulty accounting for large chunks of his or her day. The separate identities usually differ substantially, such as in gender identity, sexual orientation, age, language spoken, interests, physiological profiles, and patterns of brain activation (Reinders et al., 2003). Even their handwritings can differ (**FIGURE 14.24**).

Participant 1

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Participant 2

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Also have the letter from the Imca in Rachester, and the Bureau of Vital Statis

FIGURE 14.24

Handwriting Samples of Three People Diagnosed with Dissociative Identity Disorder

When researchers studied 12 murderers diagnosed with DID, writing samples from 10 of the participants revealed markedly different handwriting in each of their identities. Here handwriting samples from three of the participants show different identities expressing themselves.

Participant 3

schizophrenia

A psychological disorder characterized by a split between thought and emotion; it involves alterations in thoughts, perceptions, or consciousness. Despite this evidence, many researchers remain skeptical about whether DID is a genuine psychological disorder or whether it exists at all (Kihlstrom, 2005). Moreover, some people may have ulterior motives for claiming DID. A diagnosis of DID often occurs after someone has been accused of committing a crime. This timing raises the possibility that people are pretending to have multiple identities to avoid conviction. Other skeptics point to the sharp rise in reported cases as evidence that the disorder might not be real or that it is diagnosed far too often. The 1980s and 1990s saw a surge of therapists who believed that childhood trauma frequently was repressed and that it needed to be uncovered during treatment. These therapists tended to use hypnosis, and they might have suggested DID symptoms to the patients they were assessing while the patients were hypnotized.

Ultimately, how can we know whether a diagnosis of DID is valid? As mentioned earlier, most often there is no objective, definitive test for diagnosing a psychological disorder. It can be difficult to tell if a person is faking, has come to believe what a therapist said, or has a genuine psychological disorder. Individuals who fake DID tend to report well-publicized symptoms of the disorder but neglect to mention the more subtle symptoms that are extremely common, such as major depressive episodes or PTSD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Those faking it seem indifferent or even proud of the disorder. Those truly afflicted are ashamed of or overwhelmed by their symptoms.

Schizophrenia Involves a Split Between Thought and Emotion

The term *schizophrenia* literally means "splitting of the mind." The psychological disorder **schizophrenia** is characterized by a split between thought and emotion (**FIGURE 14.25**). In popular culture, schizophrenia is often confused with dissociative identity disorder, or split personality, but the two disorders are unrelated. With DID, the "self" is split. Schizophrenia involves alterations in thought, perceptions, or consciousness. The essence of schizophrenia is a disconnection from reality, or psychosis.

According to current estimates, between 0.5 percent and 1.0 percent of the population has schizophrenia (Tandon, Keshavan, & Nasrallah, 2008). A meta-analysis of 188 studies from 46 countries found similar rates for men and women, roughly 4 to 7 per 1,000 people (Saha, Chant, Welham, & McGrath, 2006). These researchers also found that the rate of schizophrenia was slightly lower in developing nations. Interestingly, the prognosis is better in developing than in developed cultures (Kulhara & Chakrabarti, 2001). Perhaps there is more tolerance for symptoms or greater sympathy for unusual or different people in developing countries (Waxler, 1979). It is also possible that methods of defining and assessing recovery vary across countries, thereby exaggerating recovery in developing nations (Jääskeläinen et al., 2013).

Schizophrenia is arguably the most devastating disorder for the people who have it and the relatives and friends who support them. It is characterized by a combination of motor, cognitive, behavioral, and perceptual abnormalities. These abnormalities result in impaired social, personal, or vocational functioning. According to *DSM-5*, to be diagnosed with schizophrenia a person has to have shown continuous signs of disturbances for at least six months. There are five major *DSM-5* symptoms for schizophrenia, and a diagnosis requires a person to show two or more of the symptoms. At least one of those symptoms has to be among the first three listed in criterion A of **TABLE 14.4** (i.e., delusions, hallucinations, and disorganized speech). By tradition, researchers tend to group symptoms into two categories: positive and negative.



FIGURE 14.25 Schizophrenia

In the 2001 film *A Beautiful Mind*, Russell Crowe plays the real-life Princeton mathematics professor and Nobel laureate John Forbes Nash, who has suffered from schizophrenia.

Table 14.4 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria for Schizophrenia

- A. Two (or more) of the following, present for a significant portion of time during a 1-month period. At least one of these must be (1), (2), or (3).
 - 1. Delusions
 - 2. Hallucinations
 - 3. Disorganized speech (e.g., frequent incoherence)
 - 4. Grossly disorganized or catatonic behavior
 - 5. Negative symptoms (i.e., diminished emotional response or lack of motivation)
- B. For a significant portion of time since the onset of the disturbance, level of functioning in one or more major areas, such as work, interpersonal relations, or self-care, is markedly below the level achieved prior to the onset.
- C. Continuous signs of the disturbance persist for at least 6 months. This 6-month period must include at least 1 month of symptoms that meet criteria A (i.e., active phase symptoms) and may include periods where the symptoms are less extreme.
- D. Other disorders and conditions have been ruled out (e.g., bipolar disorder, reactions to drugs, or other medical condition).

SOURCE: Based on American Psychiatric Association (2013).

Positive symptoms are excesses. They are not positive in the sense of being good or desirable, but in the sense of adding abnormal behaviors. The first four *DSM-5* criteria in Table 14.4 are considered positive symptoms.

As you will see, *negative symptoms* are deficits in functioning, such as apathy, lack of emotion, and slowed speech and movement.

DELUSIONS One of the positive (i.e., excessive) symptoms most commonly associated with schizophrenia is **delusions**. Delusions are false beliefs based on incorrect inferences about reality. (Common types of delusions are listed in **TABLE 14.5.**) Delusional people persist in their beliefs despite evidence that contradicts those beliefs.

Delusions are characteristic of schizophrenia regardless of the culture, but the type of delusion can be influenced by cultural factors (Tateyama et al., 1993). When the delusions of German and Japanese patients with schizophrenia were compared, the two groups had similar rates of grandiose delusions, believing themselves much more powerful and important than they really were. The two groups differed significantly, however, for other types of delusions. The German patients had delusions that involved guilt and sin, particularly as these concepts related to religion. By contrast, the Japanese patients had delusions of harassment, such as the belief that they were being slandered by others. The types of delusions that people with schizophrenia have can also be affected by current events:

delusions False beliefs based on incorrect inferences about reality.

Persecutory	Belief that others are persecuting, spying on, or trying to harm one	
Referential	Belief that objects, events, or other people have particular significance to one	
Grandiose	Belief that one has great power, knowledge, or talent	
Identity	Belief that one is someone else, such as Jesus Christ or the president of the United States	
Guilt	Belief that one has committed a terrible sin	
Control	Belief that one's thoughts and behaviors are being controlled by external forces	

Table 14.5 Delusions and Associated Beliefs

In summer, 1994, mass media in the U.S. reported that North Korea was developing nuclear weapons. At that time, in New York, a middle-age woman with schizophrenia told me that she feared a Korean invasion. In fall, 1995, during a psychiatric interview a young woman with psychotic disorder told me that she had secret connections with the United Nations, the Pope, and O. J. Simpson, and they were helping her. The celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations, the visit of the Pope to the U.S., and the O. J. Simpson criminal trial were the highly publicized events in the United States at that time. (Sher, 2000, p. 507)

HALLUCINATIONS Another positive symptom commonly associated with schizophrenia is hallucinations. Hallucinations are false sensory perceptions that are experienced without an external source. They are vivid and clear, and they seem real to the person experiencing them. Frequently auditory, they can also be visual, olfactory, or somatosensory:

I was afraid to go outside and when I looked out of the window, it seemed that everyone outside was yelling, "Kill her, kill her."... Things continued to get worse. I imagined that I had a foul body odor and I sometimes took up to six showers a day. I recall going to the grocery store one day, and I imagined that the people in the store were saying "Get saved, Jesus is the answer." (O'Neal, 1984, pp. 109-110)

Auditory hallucinations are often accusatory voices. These voices may tell the person with schizophrenia that he or she is evil or inept, or they may command the person to do dangerous things. Sometimes the person hears a cacophony of sounds with voices intermingled.

The cause of hallucinations remains unclear. Neuroimaging studies suggest, however, that hallucinations are associated with activation in areas of the cortex that process external sensory stimuli. For example, auditory hallucinations accompany increased activation in brain areas that are normally activated when people engage in inner speech (Stein & Richardson, 1999). This finding has led to speculation that auditory hallucinations might be caused by a difficulty in distinguishing normal inner speech (i.e., the type we all engage in) from external sounds. People with schizophrenia need to learn to ignore the voices in their heads, but doing so is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible.

DISORGANIZED SPEECH Another key positive symptom of schizophrenia is disorganized speech. It is disorganized in the sense that it is incoherent, failing to follow a normal conversational structure. A person with schizophrenia may respond to questions with tangential or irrelevant information. It is very difficult to follow what those with schizophrenia are talking about because they frequently change topics, which is known as a *loosening of associations*. These shifts make it difficult or impossible for a listener to follow the speaker's train of thought:

They're destroying too many cattle and oil just to make soap. If we need soap when you can jump into a pool of water, and then when you go to buy your gasoline, my folks always thought they could get pop, but the best thing to get is motor oil, and money. May as well go there and trade in some pop caps and, uh, tires, and tractors to car garages, so they can pull cars away from wrecks, is what I believed in. (Andreasen, 1984, p. 115)

In more extreme cases, speech is so disorganized that it is totally incomprehensible, which is described by clinicians as word salad. This jumbling can also involve clang associations: the stringing together of words that rhyme but have no other

hallucinations

False sensory perceptions that are experienced without an external source.

disorganized speech Speaking in an incoherent fashion that involves frequently changing topics and saying strange or inappropriate things.

apparent link. Those with schizophrenia might also display strange and inappropriate emotions while talking. Such strange speaking patterns make it very difficult for people with schizophrenia to communicate (Docherty, 2005).

DISORGANIZED BEHAVIOR Another common symptom of schizophrenia is **disorganized behavior**. People with schizophrenia often act strangely, such as displaying unpredictable agitation or childish silliness. People exhibiting this symptom might wear multiple layers of clothing even on hot summer days, walk along muttering to themselves, alternate between anger and laughter, or pace and wring their hands as if extremely worried. They also have poor hygiene, failing to bathe or change clothes regularly. They have problems performing many activities, which interferes with daily living.

Sometimes those with schizophrenia may display *catatonic behavior*, where they show a decrease in responsiveness to the environment. For example, they might remain immobilized in one position for hours. Some have speculated that catatonic behavior may be an extreme fear response, akin to how animals respond to sudden dangers—the person is literally "scared stiff" (Moskowitz, 2004). Catatonic features can also include a rigid, masklike facial expression with eyes staring into the distance. In addition, people exhibiting catatonic behavior might mindlessly repeat words they hear, which is called *echolalia*.

NEGATIVE SYMPTOMS A number of behavioral deficits, called **negative symptoms**, associated with schizophrenia result in patients' becoming isolated and withdrawn. People with schizophrenia often avoid eye contact and seem apathetic. They do not express emotion even when discussing emotional subjects. Their speech is slowed, they say less than normal, and they use a monotonous tone of voice. Their speech may be characterized by long pauses before answering, failure to respond to a question, or inability to complete an utterance after initiating it. There is often a similar reduction in overt behavior: Patients' movements may be slowed and their overall amount of movement reduced, with little initiation of behavior and no interest in social participation. These symptoms, though less dramatic than delusions and hallucinations, can be equally serious. Negative symptoms are more common in men than in women (Raesaenen, Pakaslahti, Syvaelahti, Jones, & Isohanni, 2000). They are associated with a poorer prognosis.

Although the positive symptoms of schizophrenia (i.e., delusions, hallucinations, and disorganized speech and behavior) can be dramatically reduced or eliminated with antipsychotic medications, the negative symptoms often persist. Because negative symptoms are more resistant to medications, researchers have speculated that positive and negative symptoms have different organic causes. Since positive symptoms respond to a class of medications (known as *antipsychotics*) that act on neurotransmitter systems, these symptoms are thought to result from neurotransmitter dysfunction. In contrast, negative symptoms may be associated with abnormal brain anatomy, since structural brain deficits are not affected by changes in neurochemistry. The apparent differences in biological causality lead some researchers to believe that schizophrenia with negative symptoms is in fact a separate disorder from schizophrenia with positive symptoms (Messias et al., 2004).

BIOLOGICAL CAUSES The etiology of schizophrenia is complex and not well understood. Early theories attributed this disorder to the patients' mothers. According to these theories, the mothers simultaneously accepted and rejected their children. This contradictory behavior caused the children to develop schizophrenia. There is no evidence

disorganized behavior

Acting in strange or unusual ways, including strange movement of limbs, bizarre speech, and inappropriate selfcare, such as failing to dress properly or bathe.

negative symptoms

Symptoms of schizophrenia that are marked by deficits in functioning, such as apathy, lack of emotion, and slowed speech and movement.

FIGURE 14.26 Genetics and Schizophrenia



to support this belief. Schizophrenia runs in families, however, and it is clear that genetics plays a role in the development of the disorder (**FIGURE 14.26**). If one twin develops schizophrenia, the likelihood of the other twin's developing it is almost 50 percent if the twins are identical but only 14 percent if the twins are fraternal. If one parent has schizophrenia, the risk of a child's developing the disease is 13 percent. If, however, both parents have schizophrenia, the risk jumps to almost 50 percent (Gottesman, 1991).

People with schizophrenia have rare mutations of their DNA about three to four times more often than healthy individuals do, especially in genes related to brain development and to neurological function (Fromer et al., 2014; Walsh et al., 2008). These mutations may result in abnormal brain development, which might lead to schizophrenia. No single gene causes schizophrenia. Instead, it is likely that multiple genes or gene mutations contribute in subtle ways to the expression of the disorder (Purcell et al., 2014). More than 100 candidate genes might modestly influence the development of schizophrenia (Schizophrenia Working Group of the Psychiatric Genomics Consortium, 2014).

Schizophrenia is primarily a brain disorder (Walker, Kestler, Bollini, & Hochman, 2004). As seen in imaging that shows the structure of the brain, the ventricles are enlarged in people with schizophrenia (see Figure 14.8). In other words, actual brain tissue is reduced. Moreover, greater reductions in brain tissue are associated with more negative outcomes (Mitelman, Shihabuddin, Brickman, Hazlett, & Buchsbaum, 2005), and longitudinal studies show continued reductions over time (Ho et al., 2003; van Haren et al., 2011). This reduction of tissue occurs in many regions of the brain, especially the frontal lobes and medial temporal lobes. In addition, as seen in imaging that shows the functioning of the brain, activity is typically reduced in the frontal and temporal regions in people with schizophrenia (Barch, Sheline, Csernansky, & Snyder, 2003). Given that abnormalities occur throughout many brain regions in people with schizophrenia, some researchers have speculated that schizophrenia is more likely a problem of connection between brain regions than the result of diminished or changed functions of any particular brain region (Walker et al., 2004).

One possibility is that schizophrenia results from abnormality in neurotransmitters. Since the 1950s, scientists have believed that dopamine may play an important role. Drugs that block dopamine activity decrease symptoms, whereas drugs that increase the activity of dopamine neurons increase symptoms. There is now also evidence that a number of other neurotransmitter systems are involved. More recently, researchers have suggested that schizophrenia might involve abnormalities in the glial cells that make up the myelin sheath (Davis et al., 2003; Moises & Gottesman, 2004). Such abnormalities would impair neurotransmission throughout the brain. If schizophrenia is a brain disorder, when do these brain abnormalities emerge? Because schizophrenia is most often diagnosed when people are in their 20s or 30s, it is hard to assess whether brain impairments occur earlier in life. There is evidence that some neurological signs of schizophrenia can be observed long before the disorder is diagnosed. Elaine Walker and colleagues (2004) have analyzed home movies taken by parents whose children later developed schizophrenia. Compared with their siblings, those who developed the disorder displayed unusual social behaviors, moresevere negative emotions, and motor disturbances. All of these differences often went unnoticed during the children's early years.

One study followed a group of children at risk for developing psychopathology because their parents suffered from a psychological disorder (Amminger et al., 1999). Adults who developed schizophrenia were much more likely to have displayed behavioral problems as children—such as fighting or not getting along with others—than those who developed mood disorders or drug abuse problems or did not develop any disorders in adulthood. Children at risk for schizophrenia display increasingly abnormal motor movements, such as strange facial expressions, as they progress through adolescence (Mittal, Neumann, Saczawa, & Walker, 2008).

In another study, Walker and colleagues followed a group of children, ages 11 to 13, with a high genetic risk of schizophrenia (Schiffman et al., 2004). These children were videotaped eating lunch in 1972. Those who later developed schizophrenia showed greater impairments in social behavior and motor functioning than those who developed other psychological disorders or those who developed no problems. Another team of researchers followed 291 high-risk youths (average age 16) over 2.5 years (Cannon et al., 2008). These psychologists determined that five factors predicted the onset of psychotic disorders: a family history of schizophrenia, greater social impairment, higher levels of suspicion/paranoia, a history of substance abuse, and higher levels of unusual thoughts. When youths had two or three of the first three factors, nearly 80 percent of them developed full-blown psychosis. Studies such as these suggest that schizophrenia develops over the life course but that obvious symptoms often emerge by late adolescence. Hints of future problems may even be evident in young children.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS Since genetics does not account fully for the onset and severity of schizophrenia, other factors must also be at work. In those at risk for schizophrenia, environmental stress seems to contribute to its development (Walker et al., 2004). One study looked at adopted children whose biological mothers were diagnosed with schizophrenia (Tienari et al., 1990, 1994). If the adoptive families were psychologically healthy, none of the children became psychotic. If the adoptive families were severely disturbed, 11 percent of the children became psychotic and 41 percent had severe psychological disorders. More generally, growing up in a dysfunctional family may increase the risk of developing schizophrenia for those who are genetically at risk (Tienari et al., 2004; **FIGURE 14.27**).

Some researchers have theorized that the increased stress of urban environments can trigger the onset of the disorder, since being born or raised in an urban area approximately doubles the risk of developing schizophrenia later in life (Torrey, 1999). Others have speculated that some kind of *schizovirus* exists. If so, the close quarters of a big city increase the likelihood of the virus spreading. In support of the virus hypothesis, some researchers have reported finding antibodies in the blood of people with schizophrenia that are not found in those without the disorder (Waltrip et al., 1997). Moreover, people with schizophrenia are more likely to have been born during late winter and early spring (Mednick, Huttunen, & Machon, 1994; Torrey, Torrey, & Peterson, 1977). Consider that mothers of children born in late winter and early spring were in their second trimester of pregnancy during flu season. Retrospective studies suggest



(a) If a child has a genetic risk for schizophrenia and is raised in a dysfunctional family environment, he or she will have a high risk of developing schizophrenia. (b) By contrast, if a child has no genetic risk for schizophrenia, the child will have a low risk of developing the disorder whether raised in a dysfunctional family environment or a healthy family environment.

> that the mothers of people with schizophrenia are more likely than other mothers to have contracted influenza during this critical period (Limosin, Rouillon, Payan, Cohen, & Strub, 2003; Mednick et al., 1994). During the second trimester, a great deal

of fetal brain development occurs. At that time, trauma or pathogens can interfere with the organization of brain regions.

Summing Up

Which Disorders Emphasize Thought Disturbances?

- Dissociative disorders involve disruptions of identity, memory, or conscious awareness.
- Dissociative amnesia involves forgetting that an event happened or losing awareness of a substantial block of time. Dissociative fugue involves a loss of identity.
- Dissociative identity disorder involves the occurrence of two or more distinct identities in the same individual, along with memory gaps for everyday events.
- Dissociative identity disorder is believed to emerge as a consequence of severe abuse– through repeated dissociation, different identities develop to cope with different traumas. However, dissociative identity disorder remains a controversial diagnosis for two reasons: The condition is often diagnosed after someone has been accused of a crime, and a sharp rise in reported cases has occurred in recent years.

- Schizophrenia is characterized by a split between thought and emotion.
- The positive symptoms associated with schizophrenia reflect excesses and include delusions, hallucinations, disorganized speech, and disorganized behavior. The negative symptoms of schizophrenia reflect deficits and include apathy, lack of emotion, and slowed speech.
- Research suggests that schizophrenia is largely a biological disorder. Twin, adoption, and family studies have highlighted the critical role of genetics in the development of schizophrenia, and recent advances in genetic analysis have indicated that multiple genes may contribute to this disorder. Research has also shown that schizophrenia is associated with abnormalities in brain anatomy and neurotransmitters.
- Most researchers agree that environmental factors play a role in schizophrenia. In particular, environmental stressors such as dysfunctional family dynamics, urban stress, and exposure to pathogens may contribute to the genesis of schizophrenia.

Measuring Up

- 1. Which of the following statements about fugue are true?
 - **a.** It is a form of dissociative amnesia.
 - **b.** It involves a loss of identity.
 - c. It is also referred to as dissociative identity disorder.
 - **d.** It may occur as a result of alcohol or drug abuse.
 - e. It occurs concurrently with posttraumatic stress disorder.
- 2. Indicate whether each of the following phenomena is a negative or a positive symptom of schizophrenia.
 - a. social withdrawal
 - **b.** flat affect
 - c. delusions
 - d. hallucinations
 - e. slowed motor movement
 - f. loosening of associations

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a and b are true. (2) a. negative; b. negative; c. positive; d. positive; e. negative; f. positive.

14.4 What Are Personality Disorders?

As discussed in Chapter 13, personality reflects each person's unique response to his or her environment. Although individuals change somewhat over time, the ways they interact with the world and cope with events are fairly fixed by the end of adolescence. For example, some people interact with the world in maladaptive and inflexible ways. When this style of interaction is long-lasting and causes problems in work and in social situations, it becomes a *personality disorder*.

Most people are likely to exhibit symptoms of personality disorders. At times anyone might be indecisive, self-absorbed, or emotionally unstable. In fact, true personality disorders are relatively common, affecting just under 1 in 10 people (Lenzenweger, Lane, Loranger, & Kessler, 2007). People with personality disorders consistently behave in maladaptive ways, show a more extreme level of maladaptive behavior, and experience more personal distress and more problems as a result of their behavior.

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish between the clusters of personality disorders.
- Understand controversies related to defining personality disorders.
- Identify the symptoms and possible causes of borderline personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder.

Personality Disorders Are Maladaptive Ways of Relating to the World

DSM-5 divides personality disorders into three clusters, as listed in **TABLE 14.6.** Disorders in the Cluster A group are characterized by odd or eccentric behavior. Paranoid, schizoid, and schizotypal personality disorders make up this group. People with these disorders are often reclusive and suspicious, and they have difficulty forming personal relationships because of their strange behavior and aloofness. As you might expect, people with personality disorders in this category show some similarities to people with schizophrenia, but their symptoms are far less severe.

Disorders in the Cluster B group are characterized by dramatic, emotional, or erratic behaviors. *Histrionic, narcissistic, borderline,* and *antisocial* personality disorders make up this group. Borderline and antisocial personality disorders have been the focus of much research, and they are considered in more detail in the following sections.

Disorders in the Cluster C group are characterized by anxious or fearful behavior. *Avoidant, dependent,* and *obsessive-compulsive* personality disorders make up this group. These disorders share some characteristics of anxiety disorders such as social anxiety disorder or generalized anxiety disorder. However, the personality disorders in this group are different from anxiety disorders in that they refer more to general ways of interacting with others and of responding to events. For instance, a person with an obsessive-compulsive personality disorder may be excessively neat and orderly. The person might always eat the same food at precisely the same time or perhaps read a newspaper in a particular order each time. This pattern becomes problematic only when it interferes with the person's life, as in making it impossible to travel or to maintain relationships.

CLUSTER A: ODD OR ECCENTRIC BEHAVIOR		
Paranoid	Tense, guarded, suspicious; holds grudges	
Schizoid	Socially isolated, with restricted emotional expression	
Schizotypal	Peculiarities of thought, appearance, and behavior that are disconcerting to others; emotionally detached and isolated	
CLUSTER B: DRAMATIC, EMOTIONAL, OR ERRATIC BEHAVIOR		
Histrionic	Seductive behavior; needs immediate gratification and constant reassurance; rapidly changing moods; shallow emotions	
Narcissistic	Self-absorbed; expects special treatment and adulation; envious of attention to others	
Borderline	Cannot stand to be alone; intense, unstable moods and personal relationships; chronic anger; drug and alcohol abuse	
Antisocial	Manipulative, exploitative; dishonest; disloyal; lacking in guilt; habitually breaks social rules; childhood history of such behavior; often in trouble with the law	
CLUSTER C: ANXIOUS OR FEARFUL BEHAVIOR		
Avoidant	Easily hurt and embarrassed; few close friends; sticks to routines to avoid new and possibly stressful experiences	
Dependent	Wants others to make decisions; needs constant advice and reassurance; fears being abandoned	
Obsessive-compulsive	Perfectionistic; overconscientious; indecisive; preoccupied with details; stiff; unable to express affection	

Table 14.6 Personality Disorders and Associated Characteristics

SOURCE: Adapted from American Psychiatric Association (2013).

In modern clinical practice, personality disorders are controversial for several reasons. First, personality disorders appear to be extreme versions of normal personality traits, demonstrating the continuum between what is considered normal versus abnormal (Clark & Ro, 2014; Widiger, 2011). For example, indecisiveness is characteristic of obsessive-compulsive personality disorder, but the *DSM* does not define the degree to which someone must be indecisive to be diagnosed as obsessive-compulsive. Second, there is overlap among the traits listed as characteristic of different personality disorders, so the majority of people diagnosed with one personality disorder also meet the criteria for another (Clark, 2007). This overlap suggests that the categories may not be mutually exclusive and that fewer types of personality disorders can be conceptualized and organized as extreme versions of the Big Five personality traits, described in Chapter 13.

Acknowledging this weakness, but wanting to preserve continuity in current clinical practice, *DSM-5* describes an alternative model for personality disorders in Section III that aims to address many of the shortcomings of the traditional *DSM* approach. In this alternative model, personality disorders are viewed as impairments in personality functioning and the existence of pathological personality traits. That is, the person with the disorder shows extreme personality traits that interfere with successful functioning in society.

Personality disorders may not seem to affect daily life as much as do some of the other disorders discussed in this chapter, such as schizophrenia or bipolar disorders. Although people with personality disorders do not hallucinate or experience radical mood swings, their ways of interacting with the world can have serious consequences. The following in-depth considerations of borderline personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder illustrate the devastating effect of these disorders on the individual, family and friends, and society.

Borderline Personality Disorder Is Associated with Poor Self-Control

Borderline personality disorder is characterized by disturbances in identity, in affect, and in impulse control. This disorder was officially recognized as a diagnosis in 1980. The term *borderline* was initially used because these patients were considered on the border between normal and psychotic (Knight, 1953). As presented in **TABLE 14.7**, the wide variety of clinical features of this disorder reflects its complexity. Approximately 1–2 percent of adults meet the criteria for borderline personality disorder, and the disorder is more than twice as common in women as in men (Lenzenweger et al., 2007; Swartz, Blazer, George, & Winfield, 1990; Torgerson, Kringlen, & Cramer, 2001).

People with borderline personality disorder seem to lack a strong sense of self. They cannot tolerate being alone and have an intense fear of abandonment. Because they desperately need an exclusive and dependent relationship with another person, they can be very manipulative in their attempts to control relationships, as shown in the following example:

A borderline patient periodically rented a motel room and, with a stockpile of pills nearby, would call her therapist's home with an urgent message. He would respond by engaging in long conversations in which he "talked her down." Even as he told her that she could not count on his always being available, he became more wary of going out evenings without detailed instructions about how he could be reached. One night the patient couldn't reach him due to a bad phone connection. She fatally overdosed from what was probably a miscalculated manipulation. (Gunderson, 1984, p. 93)

borderline personality disorder A personality disorder characterized by disturbances in identity, in affect, and in impulse control.
Table 14.7 DSM-5 Diagnostic Criteria of Borderline Personality Disorder

A pervasive pattern of instability of interpersonal relations, self-image, and affects, along with marked impulsivity, beginning by early adulthood and present in a variety of contexts, as indicated by five (or more) of the following:

- 1. Frantic efforts to avoid real or imagined abandonment
- 2. A pattern of unstable and intense interpersonal relationships
- 3. Identity disturbance: markedly and persistently unstable self-image or sense of self
- 4. Impulsiveness in at least two areas that are potentially self-damaging (e.g., spending, sex, substance abuse, reckless driving, binge eating)
- 5. Recurrent suicidal behavior, gestures, or threats, or self-mutilating behavior
- 6. Affective instability due to a marked reactivity of mood, with periods of extreme depression, irritability, or anxiety usually lasting a few hours and only rarely more than a few days
- 7. Chronic feelings of emptiness
- 8. Inappropriate intense anger or difficulty controlling anger (e.g., displays of temper, constant anger, recurrent physical fights)
- 9. Transient, stress-related paranoid thoughts or severe dissociative symptoms

SOURCE: Based on American Psychiatric Association (2013).

In addition to problems with identity, borderline individuals have affective disturbances. Emotional instability is paramount. Episodes of depression, anxiety, anger, irritability, or some combination of these states can last from a few hours to a few days. Shifts from one mood to another usually occur with no obvious precipitating cause. Consider the therapist Molly Layton's description of her patient Vicki:

She had chronic and debilitating feelings of emptiness and paralyzing numbness, during which she could only crawl under the covers of her bed and hide. On these days, she was sometimes driven to mutilate her thighs with scissors. Although highly accomplished as a medical student and researcher, who had garnered many grants and fellowships, she would sometimes panic and shut down in the middle of a project, creating unbearable pressures on herself to finish the work. While she longed for intimacy and friendship, she was disablingly shy around men. (Layton, 1995, p. 36)

The third hallmark of borderline personality disorder is impulsivity, which may explain the much higher rate of the disorder in prison populations (Conn et al., 2010). This characteristic can include sexual promiscuity, physical fighting, and binge eating and purging. As was the case with Vicki, however, self-mutilation is also commonly associated with this disorder. Cutting and burning of the skin are typical, as well as a high risk for suicide. Some evidence indicates that those with borderline personality disorder have diminished capacity in the frontal lobes, which normally help control behavior (Silbersweig et al., 2007).

In addition, people with borderline personality disorder often show sleep abnormalities characteristic of depression. One possible reason that borderline personality disorder and affective disorders such as depression may be linked is that both appear to involve the neurotransmitter serotonin. Evidence has linked low serotonin levels to the impulsive behavior seen in borderline personality disorder (Skodol et al., 2002).

Borderline personality disorder may also have an environmental component, as a strong relationship exists between the disorder and trauma or abuse (Lieb, Zanarini, Schmahl, Linehan, & Bohus, 2004). Some studies have reported that 70–80 percent

of those with borderline personality disorder have experienced physical or sexual abuse or observed some kind of extreme violence. Other theories implicate early interactions with caretakers. Clients with borderline personality disorder may have had caretakers who did not accept them or who were unreliable or unavailable. The constant rejection and criticism made it difficult for the individuals to learn to regulate emotions and understand emotional reactions to events (Linehan, 1987). An alternative theory is that caregivers encouraged dependence, preventing the individuals in their charge from adequately developing a sense of self. As a result, the individuals became overly sensitive to others' reactions: If rejected by others, they reject themselves.

Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Associated with a Lack of Empathy

In the 1800s, the term *psychopath* was coined to describe people who seem willing to take advantage of and to hurt others without any evidence of concern or of remorse (Koch, 1891). In his classic book *The Mask of Sanity* (1941), the psychiatrist Hervey Cleckley described characteristics of psychopaths from his clinical experience. For example, such individuals could be superficially charming and rational; be insincere, unsocial, and incapable of love; lack insight; and be shameless. In 1980, the *DSM* dropped the label *psychopath*, which was seen as pejorative, and adopted the term **antisocial personality disorder (APD).** This change has led to confusion because *psychopath* is still widely used to refer to a related but not identical type of personality disorder as defined by *DSM-5*.

APD is the catchall diagnosis for individuals who behave in socially undesirable ways, such as breaking the law, being deceitful and irresponsible, and feeling a lack of remorse for their behavior. People with this disorder tend to be hedonistic, seeking immediate gratification of wants and needs without any thought of others.

True psychopaths display more extreme behaviors than those with APD. They also tend to have other personality characteristics not found in those with APD, such as glibness, a grandiose sense of self-worth, shallow affect, and cunning/manipulativeness. Psychopaths would be classified as APD under *DSM-5*, but they are an extreme version of the disorder. Psychopaths are pathological in their degree of callousness and are particularly dangerous. For instance, one study of murderers found that those with psychopathic tendencies nearly always kill intentionally. They want to gain something, such as money, sex, or drugs. People without psychopathic tendencies are much more likely to commit murder impulsively, when provoked or angry (Woodworth & Porter, 2002). Psychopaths fit the stereotype of cold-blooded killers. Infamous examples include Dennis Rader—the BTK strangler, who bound, tortured, and killed 10 victims—and Gary Gilmore (**FIGURE 14.28**). In 1977, Gilmore was executed for the murder he describes here:

I went in and told the guy to give me the money. I told him to lay on the floor and then I shot him. I then walked out and was carrying the cash drawer with me. I took the money and threw the cash drawer in a bush and I tried to push the gun in the bush, too. But as I was pushing it in the bush, it went off and that's how come I was shot in the arm. It seems like things have always gone bad for me. It seems like I've always done dumb things that just caused trouble for me. I remember when I was a boy I would feel like I had to do things like sit on a railroad track until just before the train came and then I would dash off. Or I would put my finger over the end of a BB gun and pull the trigger to see if a BB was really in it. Sometimes I would stick my finger in water and then put my finger in a light socket to see if it would really shock me. (Spitzer et al., 1983, pp. 66–68) antisocial personality disorder (APD)

A personality disorder in which people engage in socially undesirable behavior, are hedonistic and impulsive, and lack empathy.



FIGURE 14.28 Gary Gilmore After His Arrest Under *DSM-5*, Gilmore would have been given a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder. He also showed psychopathic traits. **ASSESSMENT AND CONSEQUENCES** It is estimated that 1–4 percent of the population have antisocial personality disorder (Compton, Conway, Stinson, Colliver, & Grant, 2005). People with this condition who also show more-extreme psychopathic traits are less common (Lenzenwegger et al., 2007). Both APD and psychopathy are much more common in men than in women (Robins & Regier, 1991).

Much of what psychologists know about the traits associated with antisocial personality disorder was discovered by the psychologist Robert Hare (1993). Hare also developed many of the assessment tools to identify people with psychopathic tendencies. He and colleagues have shown that the disorder (including its extreme version) is most apparent in late adolescence and early adulthood, and it generally improves around age 40 (Hare, McPherson, & Forth, 1988), at least for those without psychopathic traits. According to the *DSM-5* diagnostic criteria, APD cannot be diagnosed before age 18, but the person must have displayed antisocial conduct before age 15. This stipulation ensures that only those with a lifetime history of antisocial behaviors can be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. They also must meet other criteria, such as repeatedly performing illegal acts, repeatedly lying or using aliases, and showing reckless disregard for their own safety or the safety of others. Because many such individuals are quite bright and highly verbal, they can talk their way out of bad situations. In any event, punishment seems to have very little effect on them (Lykken, 1957, 1995), and they often repeat the problem behaviors a short time later.

Perhaps as many as 50 percent of prison inmates meet the criteria for antisocial personality disorder (Hare, 1993; Widiger & Corbitt, 1995). Because of the prevalence of the disorder in the prison population, much of the research on APD has been conducted in this setting. One researcher, however, came up with an ingenious way of finding research participants outside of prison. She put the following advertisement in a counterculture newspaper: "Wanted: charming, aggressive, carefree people who are impulsively irresponsible but are good at handling people and at looking after number one. Send name, address, phone, and short biography proving how interesting you are to . . ." (Widom, 1978, p. 72). Seventy-three people responded, and about onethird of them met the criteria for antisocial personality disorder. These individuals were then interviewed and given a battery of psychological tests. Their characteristics proved very similar to those of prisoners diagnosed with APD, except that the group responding to the ad had avoided imprisonment. Indeed, these findings fit Cleckley's view of people with psychopathic traits as often being charming and intelligent. Lacking remorse, willing to lie or cheat, and lacking empathy, some psychopaths manage to be successful professionals and to elude detection for crimes they may commit. Their psychopathic traits may even provide advantages in some occupations, such as business and politics (FIGURE 14.29).

THE ETIOLOGY OF ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY DISORDER Various physiological abnormalities may play a role in antisocial personality disorder. In 1957, David Lykken reported that true psychopaths do not become anxious when they are subjected to aversive stimuli. He and other investigators have continued this line of work, showing that such individuals do not seem to feel fear or anxiety (Lykken, 1995).

Electroencephalogram (EEG) examinations have demonstrated that criminals who meet the criteria for antisocial personality disorder have slower alpha-wave activity (Raine, 1989). This finding indicates a lower overall level of arousal. It is possible that low arousal prompts people with APD to engage in sensation-seeking behavior. In addition, because of low arousal, these individuals do not learn from punishment because they do not experience punishment as particularly aversive. This pattern of reduced psychophysiological response in the face of punishment also occurs in adolescents at risk for developing psychopathy (Fung et al., 2005).



FIGURE 14.29 American Psychopath

In the 2000 movie American Psycho, Christian Bale plays Patrick Bateman, who appears to be a suave man-about-town, a successful professional, and a serial killer. The movie, like the Bret Easton Ellis novel it is based on, raises questions about the connections between a slick presentation of self, a knack for making and spending money, and psychopathy. There is also evidence of amygdala abnormalities in those with antisocial tendencies, such as having a smaller amygdala and being less responsive to negative stimuli (Blair, 2003; Marsh et al., 2011). Deficits in frontal lobe functioning have also been found and may account for the lack of forethought and the inability to consider the implications of actions, both characteristic of antisocial personality disorder (Seguin, 2004).

Genetic and environmental factors appear to play roles in antisocial personality disorder. Genetics may be more important for the extreme psychopathic version, however. Identical twins have a higher concordance rate for criminal behavior than fraternal twins do (Lykken, 1995), although the research just cited did not rule out the role of a shared environment. A study of 14,000 adoptions found that adopted male children have a higher rate of crime if their biological fathers have criminal records (Mednick, Gabrielli, & Hutchings, 1987). In addition, the greater the criminal record of the biological father, the more likely it is that the adopted son will engage in criminal behavior.

Although genes may be at the root of antisocial behaviors and psychopathy, factors such as low socioeconomic status, dysfunctional families, and childhood abuse may also be important. Indeed, malnutrition at age 3 has been found to predict antisocial behavior at age 17 (Liu, Raine, Venables, & Mednick, 2004). An enrichment program for children that included a structured nutrition component was associated with less criminal and antisocial behavior 20 years later (Raine, Mellingen, Liu, Venables, & Mednick, 2003). This finding raises the possibility that malnutrition or other, similar environmental factors might contribute to the development of antisocial personality disorder.

Summing Up

What Are Personality Disorders?

- Ten personality disorders, clustered in three groups, are identified in the DSM: paranoid, schizoid, schizotypal (odd or eccentric cluster), histrionic, narcissistic, borderline, antisocial (dramatic, emotional, or erratic cluster), and avoidant, dependent, obsessive-compulsive (anxious or fearful cluster).
- Borderline personality disorder is characterized by disturbances in identity, in affect, and in impulse control.
- Research has shown that people with borderline personality disorder often have diminished frontal lobe capacity, low levels of serotonin, and a history of abuse or rejection by caregivers.
- Those with antisocial personality disorder engage in socially undesirable behavior, are hedonistic and impulsive, and lack empathy. Psychopaths have an extreme version of APD.
- Antisocial personality disorder is associated with lower levels of arousal, a smaller amygdala, and deficits in frontal lobe functioning.
- Twin and adoption studies suggest that genes play a role in antisocial personality disorder.
 However, environmental factors (such as low socioeconomic status, dysfunctional families, abuse, and malnutrition) also contribute to the development of this disorder.

Measuring Up

- Which of the following characteristics are DSM-5 diagnostic criteria of borderline personality disorder?
 - a. frantic efforts to avoid real or imagined abandonment
 - **b.** a pattern of unstable and intense relationships
 - c. a lack of guilt or remorse

- d. a lack of empathy
- e. an unstable self-image or sense of self
- f. self-mutilating behavior
- g. chronic feelings of emptiness
- 2. Why would punishment be an ineffective means of treating those with antisocial personality disorder?
 - a. The disorder is genetically based, and you cannot change genes.
 - **b.** Most people with the disorder have already been effectively punished by imprisonment.
 - c. People with the disorder do not find punishment aversive.
 - **d.** The best treatment is to provide a nutritionally balanced diet.

ANSWERS: (1) Choices a, b, e, f, and g apply. (2) c. People with the disorder do not find punishment aversive.

Learning Objectives

- Understand the childhood context of neurodevelopmental disorders.
- Identify the symptoms and possible causes of autism spectrum disorder.
- Identify the symptoms and possible causes of attentiondeficit/hyperactivity disorder.

14.5Which PsychologicalDisorders Are Prominentin Childhood?

In his classic text on the classification of psychological disorders, published in 1883, Emil Kraepelin did not mention childhood disorders. The first edition of the *DSM*, published 70 years later, essentially considered children small versions of adults. Consequently, the manual did not consider childhood disorders separately from adulthood disorders. The current version of the manual includes a wide range of childhood disorders (**TABLE 14.8**). Some of these conditions—such as specific learning disorders—affect only limited and particular areas of a child's world. Other

DISORDER	DESCRIPTION
Intellectual disabilities	Deficits in general mental abilities (e.g., reasoning, problem solving, planning, academic learning, learning from experience) and in adaptive functioning (e.g., independent living, working, social participation); begins during childhood or adolescence
Communication disorders	Deficits in language, speech, or communications, such as difficulty learning a language, stuttering, or failure to follow social rules for communication; begins in childhood
Autism spectrum disorder	Persistent impairment in social interaction; characterized by unresponsiveness; impaired language, social, and cognitive development; and restricted and repetitive behavior; begins during early childhood
Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder	A pattern of hyperactive, inattentive, and impulsive behavior that causes social or academic impairment; begins before age 12
Specific learning disorders	Difficulty learning and using academic skills; much lower performance in reading, mathematics, or written expression with regard to what is expected for age, amount of education, and intelligence; begins during school-age years
Motor disorders	Recurrent motor and vocal tics that cause marked distress or deficits in developing or being able to show coordinated motor skills; begins in childhood

Table 14.8 DSM-5 Neurodevelopmental Disorders

SOURCE: Based on American Psychiatric Association (2013).

conditions—such as autism spectrum disorder, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, and others listed in Table 14.8—affect every aspect of a child's life. Some of these disorders, such as autism spectrum disorder, usually do not get better over time. Others, such as attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, usually do improve over time.

All of the disorders in this category should be considered within the context of normal childhood development. Some symptoms of childhood psychological disorders are extreme manifestations of normal behavior or are actually normal behaviors for children at an earlier developmental stage. For example, bedwetting is normal for 2-year-olds but not for 10-year-olds. Other behaviors, however, deviate significantly from normal development. Two disorders of childhood, autism spectrum disorder and attention-deficit/hyperactivity, are explored here as illustrations.

Autism Spectrum Disorder Involves Social Deficits and Restricted Interests

Prior to *DSM-5*, a number of similar disorders were considered variants of *autistic disorder*, commonly known as *autism*, which is characterized by deficits in social interaction, by impaired communication, and by restricted interests (Volkmar, Chawarska, & Klin, 2005). The disorder was first described in 1943, by the psychiatrist and physician Leo Kanner. Struck by the profound isolation of some children, Kanner coined the term *early infantile autism*. Researchers and clinicians recognized that autism varied considerably in severity, from mild social impairments to severe social and intellectual impairments. For example, those with high-functioning autism were considered to have *Asperger's syndrome*, named after the pediatrician who first described it. A child with Asperger's has normal intelligence but deficits in social interaction. These deficits reflect an underdeveloped theory of mind. As discussed in Chapter 9, theory of mind is both the understanding that other people have mental states and the ability to predict their behavior accordingly.

Based on the *DSM-IV* diagnosis of autistic disorder, approximately 3 to 6 children out of 1,000 showed signs of autism, and males with the disorder outnumbered females 3 to 1 (Muhle, Trentacoste, & Rapin, 2004). From 1991 to 1997, a dramatic escalation—of 556 percent—occurred in the number of children diagnosed with autism (Stokstad, 2001). This increase was likely due to a greater awareness of symptoms by parents and physicians and a willingness to apply the diagnosis to a wider spectrum of behaviors (Rutter, 2005). For example, a study of all children born between 1983 and 1999 in Western Australia found that the apparent growth in the diagnosis of autistic disorder was due to changes in how it was diagnosed as well as expanded funding for psychological services for children showing signs of autism (Nassar et al., 2009). In other words, the notion that autism was epidemic was somewhat misleading because what changed was how it was defined, not how many new cases developed (Gernsbacher, Dawson, & Goldsmith, 2005).

Autism spectrum disorder is a new DSM-5 disorder that groups together all the variants in symptoms of autism, including Asperger's syndrome. This diagnosis classification is an excellent example of the dimensional approach to psychopathology, in that there is clear recognition that the disorder varies along a single continuum from mild to severe impairment. In DSM-5, the two essential features of autism spectrum disorder are impairments in social interactions along with restrictive or repetitive behaviors, interests, or activities. These symptoms are present in early childhood and limit or impair everyday functioning. In the following sections, we use the terms *autism spectrum disorder* and *autism* interchangeably because most of the research to date has not used the DSM-5 criteria for diagnosis. Most of our discussion focuses on the classic severe end of the autism spectrum, which definitely meets the DSM-5 criteria.

autism spectrum disorder A developmental disorder characterized by deficits in social interaction, by impaired communication, and by restricted interests.



(b)



FIGURE 14.30 Scenes from Videotapes of Children's Birthday Parties

(a) This child focused more on objects than on people. The child was later diagnosed with autism. (b) This child focused appropriately on objects and on people. The child developed normally. **CORE SYMPTOMS OF AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER** Children on the more extreme end of the autism spectrum are seemingly unaware of others. As babies, they do not smile at their caregivers, do not respond to vocalizations, and may actively reject physical contact with others. Children with autism do not establish eye contact and do not use their gazes to gain or direct the attention of those around them. Although they show attention to the eyes before 2 months of age, they stop making eye contact by 6 months of age (Jones & Klin, 2013). One group of researchers had participants view video footage of the first birthdays of children with autistic disorder to see if characteristics of autism could be detected before the children were diagnosed (Osterling & Dawson, 1994). By considering only the number of times a child looked at another person's face, the participants correctly classified the children as having or not having autism 77 percent of the time (**FIGURE 14.30**).

Deficits in communication are the second major cluster of behaviors characteristic of autism spectrum disorders. Such deficits are evident by 14 months of age among children who are subsequently diagnosed with autism (Landa, Holman, & Garrett-Mayer, 2007). Children with autism show severe impairments in verbal and nonverbal communication. Even if they vocalize, it is often not with any intent to communicate. Children with autism who develop language usually exhibit odd speech patterns, such as echolalia (the mindless repeating of words or phrases that someone else has spoken that is also observed in those with schizophrenia). The repeater may imitate the first speaker's intonation or may use a high-pitched monotone. Those who develop functional language also often interpret words literally, use language inappropriately, and lack verbal spontaneity.

A third category of deficits includes restricted activities and interests. Children with autism spectrum disorder appear oblivious to people around them, but they are acutely aware of their surroundings. Although most children automatically pay attention to the social aspects of a situation, those with autism may focus on seemingly inconsequential details (Klin, Jones, Schultz, & Volkmar, 2003; **FIGURE 14.31**).

Any changes in daily routine or in the placement of furniture or of toys are very upsetting for children with autism. Once they are upset, the children can become extremely agitated or throw tantrums. In addition, the play of children with autism tends to be repetitive and obsessive, with a focus on objects' sensory aspects. They may smell and taste objects, or they may spin and flick them for visual stimulation. Similarly, their own behavior tends to be repetitive, with strange hand movements, body rocking, and hand flapping. Self-injury is common, and some children must be forcibly restrained to keep them from hurting themselves.

BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER Kanner, one of the first scientists to study autism, believed the disorder was innate in some children but exacerbated by cold and unresponsive mothers, whom he called "ice box mothers" or "refrigerator mothers." He described the parents of children with autism as insensitive, meticulous, introverted, and highly intellectual. This view is given little credence today, as it is now well established that autism spectrum disorder is the result of biological factors. For example, there is evidence for a genetic component to autism. A number of studies have found concordance rates to be as high as 70–90 percent for identical twins (Holmboe et al., 2013; Hyman, 2008; Ronald & Hoekstra, 2011; Steffenburg et al., 1989).

In addition to autism being heritable, it also appears that gene mutations may play a role (Ronemus, Iossifov, Levy, & Wigler, 2014). An international study that compared 996 children with autism to 1,287 control children found a number of rare gene abnormalities (Pinto et al., 2010). These rare mutations involve cells having an abnormal number of copies of DNA segments. An independent study of over 1,000 individuals with autism spectrum disorders who had an unaffected sibling found that these mutations were much more common in the children with autism (Levy et al., 2011). The mutations may affect the way neural networks are formed during childhood development (Gilman et al., 2011). There is growing evidence that autism and schizophrenia share the same gene mutations (Fromer et al., 2014; McCarthy et al., 2014). There are also some similarities in the symptoms for the two disorders, including social impairment and avoiding eye contact. Recall the RDoC initiative, discussed earlier in the chapter,



that integrates findings across multiple disorders rather than classifying by *DSM* diagnostic categories. The RDoC approach suggests that schizophrenia and ASD may be related disorders or involve similar deficits in core psychological domains.

Research into the causes of autism also points to prenatal and/or early childhood events that may result in brain dysfunction. The brains of children with autism grow unusually large during the first two years of life, and then growth slows until age 5 (Courchesne et al., 2007; Courchesne, Redcay, & Kennedy, 2004). The brains of children with autism also do not develop normally during adolescence (Amaral, Schumann, & Nordahl, 2008). Researchers are investigating genetic factors, such as mutations, and nongenetic factors that might explain this overgrowth/undergrowth pattern.

Some recent work suggests that exposure to antibodies in the womb may affect brain development. Investigators found abnormal antibodies in the blood of the mothers of 11 percent of children with autism but not in a large sample of mothers with healthy children or mothers of children with other developmental disorders (Braunschweig et al., 2008). Following up on this study, researchers injected four pregnant rhesus monkeys with the antibodies from the mothers of children with autism. All the offspring of these monkeys demonstrated unusual behaviors characteristic of autism, such as repetitive movements and hyperactive limb movements (Martin et al., 2008). None of the offspring of monkeys injected with normal antibodies from mothers of healthy children showed this unusual behavior.

In addition, there is evidence that the brains of people with autism have faulty wiring in a large number of areas (Minshew & Williams, 2007). Some of those brain areas are associated with social thinking, and others might support attention to social aspects of the environment (Minshew & Keller, 2010).

One line of research examined the possibility that those with autism have impairments in the mirror neuron system. (Recall from Chapter 6 that mirror neurons are involved in observational learning and are activated when someone watches other people performing actions.) This connection between mirror neurons and autism was suggested by an imaging study that found weaker activation in the mirror neuron system for those with autism than for those without (Dapretto et al., 2006). Other researchers, however, have not found impairments in mirror neuron activity for gestures and movements (Dinstein et al., 2010; Southgate & Hamilton, 2008). What might these apparently contradictory findings mean?

It is possible that impairments in the mirror neuron system prevent the person with autism from understanding the *why* of actions, not the *what* of actions (Rizzo-latti & Fabbri-Destro, 2010). For example, suppose that the person with autism knows that another person is lifting a pair of scissors. The person with autism may have little insight into what the person intends to do with the scissors.

FIGURE 14.31 Toddler Viewer with Autism

As shown in these combined video images from a 1994 study of autism, a 2-year-old with autism will focus on the unimportant details in the scene rather than on the social interaction.

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Seeing Relationships That Do Not Exist: Do Vaccinations Cause Autism Spectrum Disorder?

What if you heard about a study in which researchers found that moving to Florida or Arizona is a leading cause of death? Or that wearing dentures is another leading cause of death, along with retiring, wearing bifocals, or moving to a nursing home? As a critical thinker, you probably noticed that these things are all associated with aging. It is getting older, rather than moving to Florida or buying bifocals, that is associated with dying. As you have been reminded throughout this book, correlation does not equal causation. We need to be especially vigilant for lurking third variables that might explain apparent correlations between unrelated variables.

Recognizing the third variable problem is especially important when trying to understand claims about causes of psychological disorders. In 1998, the British physician Andrew Wakefield published a study in the prestigious journal Lancet claiming to find a connection, in 12 children, between receiving vaccinations to prevent measles, mumps, and rubella (MMR) and developing autism (Wakefield et al., 1998). This finding was widely reported in the media even though most scientists were skeptical and urged people to be patient until the result could be replicated with larger samples. But many people panicked. In 2007, the celebrity Jenny McCarthy publicly blamed the MMR vaccine for her son's autism. She became a prominent spokesperson for the anti-vaccine movement, appearing on television shows such as Oprah to warn people about "the autism shot" (FIGURE 14.32). Deirdre Imus, the wife of the outspoken radio host Don Imus, joined the publicity war against vaccinations, claiming that the chemical thimerosal in the solutions used to administer vaccines is responsible for autism. Thimerosal is a preservative that contains small amounts of mercury and was widely used before 2000. Since then, it has been removed in all childhood vaccines except for one type of flu shot.

Unfortunately, the Wakefield study was fraudulent. Wakefield altered medical records and lied about several aspects of his study, including a financial conflict of interest (Godlee, Smith, & Marcovitch, 2011). His coauthors had earlier retracted the paper when they had developed doubts about the data and conclusions (Murch et al., 2004). Wakefield has subsequently been banished by the British medical community, and his license to practice medicine has been taken away.

The original *Lancet* report prompted several large international studies to examine the possibility of a link between autism spectrum disorders and the MMR vaccine. A thorough review of these studies by the Institute of Medicine found no evidence of any link between MMR vaccinations and autism (Immunization Safety Review Committee, 2004). Recent studies have continued to find no evidence of any link between childhood vaccinations and ASD (e.g., DeStefano, Price, &



FIGURE 14.32 Anti-Vaccination Statements Jenny McCarthy speaks to the audience at a Green Our Vaccines press conference outside the U.S. Capitol in 2008.

Weintraub, 2013). The results of dozens upon dozens of carefully designed studies have provided a firm conclusion: Vaccines do not cause ASD.

But the fear of ASD led many parents around the globe to forgo vaccinating their children. As one researcher noted, "Unfortunately, the media has given celebrities who comment on an autism-MMR link far more attention than they deserve, and the public, unfamiliar with the background science, has confused celebrity status with authority" (Poland, 2011, p. 870). Even today, with overwhelming scientific evidence that vaccines do not cause ASD, many parents refuse to vaccinate their children because of worries that it might do so (Opel et al., 2014).

As a consequence of the decline in childhood immunizations, there has been an increase in outbreaks of diseases that had become quite rare because of successful vaccine programs. In 2011, France had 14,000 cases of measles, 6 of them fatal. In 2012, the Centers for Disease Control reported the largest number of cases of whooping cough in 60 years. In the first four months of 2013, rubella cases in Japan jumped from a few a year to more than 5,000. The reemergence of these diseases is occurring in many European nations (Eisenstein, 2014). Meanwhile, researchers at the CDC estimate that for children born between 1994 and 2013, vaccinations prevented an estimated 322 million illnesses, 21 million hospitalizations, and 732,000 deaths over their lifetimes (Whitney, Zhou, Singleton, & Schuchat, 2014).

Wakefield originally conducted his study because the parents of the 12 children with autism told him that they remembered the autism starting right after their children were immunized. Jenny McCarthy told Oprah that immediately after her son received the vaccine, "Boom-the soul's gone from his eyes" (September 18, 2007). Many have disputed her account, but the bottom line is that vaccines are given to children at about the same developmental period that symptoms of ASD become apparent. Think about the other characteristics that emerge at the same time in development. For example, lower molars emerge in children's mouths during early childhood. However, few people would suggest that being vaccinated causes molars to grow. Children start speaking at about this age, but no one thinks vaccines cause this abil-

The results of dozens upon dozens of carefully designed studies have provided a firm conclusion: Vaccines do not cause ASD. ity. People see an apparent connection between vaccines and ASD, but the lurking third variable is age.

Since Wakefield's 1998 publication, cases of ASD have increased even though thimerosal is no longer used in vaccines and the number of children being immunized has dropped. These facts would indicate that vaccination and ASD are negatively correlated! As noted in the text, however, definitional changes in the diagnostic criteria are likely a better explanation for the increase in ASD.

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder Is a Disruptive Impulse Control Disorder

Suppose you are a child who exhibits hyperactivity. At home, you might have difficulty remembering not to trail your dirty hand along the clean wall as you run from the front door to the kitchen. While playing games with your peers, you might spontaneously change the rules. At school, you might ask what you are supposed to do immediately after the teacher has presented detailed instructions to the entire class. You might make warbling noises or other strange sounds that inadvertently disturb anyone nearby. You might seem to have more than your share of accidents—for example, knocking over the tower your classmates are erecting, spilling your juice, or tripping over the television cord while retrieving the family cat, thereby disconnecting the set in the middle of the Super Bowl (Whalen, 1989).

Symptoms such as these can seem humorous in the retelling, but the reality is a different story. Children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) are restless, inattentive, and impulsive. They need to have directions repeated and rules explained over and over. Although these children are often friendly and talkative, they can have trouble making and keeping friends because they miss subtle social cues and make unintentional social mistakes. Many of these symptoms are exaggerations of typical toddler behavior, and thus the line between normal and abnormal behavior is hard to draw. The DSM-5 requires at least six or more symptoms of inattention (e.g., careless mistakes, not listening, losing things, easily distracted) and six or more symptoms of hyperactivity or impulsiveness (e.g., fidgeting, running about when inappropriate, talking excessively, difficulty waiting) that last for at least six months and interfere with functioning or development. Several of these symptoms must be prior to age 12 and occur in multiple settings. Estimates of the prevalence of ADHD vary widely. The best available evidence for children in the United States is that 11 percent of boys and 4 percent of girls have the disorder (Bloom & Cohen, 2007).

THE ETIOLOGY OF ADHD The causes of this disorder are unknown. One of the difficulties in pinpointing the etiology is that ADHD is most likely a heterogeneous disorder. In other words, the behavioral profiles of children with ADHD vary, so the causes of the disorder most likely vary as well. Children with ADHD may be more likely than other children to come from disturbed families. Factors such as poor parenting and social disadvantage may contribute to the onset of symptoms,

attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) A disorder characterized by restlessness, inattentiveness, and impulsivity.



White indicates the highest level of activation.

FIGURE 14.33 ADHD and the Brain

The brain image of a person with a history of ADHD shows less overall activation (at the red and white levels), especially in the frontal and limbic regions. as is true for all psychological disorders. Still, ADHD clearly has a genetic component: Concordance is estimated at 55 percent in identical twins and 32 percent in dizygotic twins (Goodman & Stevenson, 1989; Sherman, McGue, & Iacono, 1997).

In an early imaging study, Alan Zametkin and colleagues (1990) found that adults who had been diagnosed with ADHD in childhood had reduced metabolism in brain regions involved in the self-regulation of motor functions and of attentional systems (**FIGURE 14.33**). These researchers theorized that the connection between the frontal lobes and the limbic system is impaired in ADHD patients. In fact, the symptoms of ADHD are similar to those seen in patients with frontal lobe damage: problems with planning, sustaining concentration, using feedback, and thinking flexibly. Other imaging studies have found that when adolescents with ADHD perform tasks that require them to inhibit

motor responses, greater impairments in performance on the tasks are associated with abnormal activation of prefrontal regions (Schulz et al., 2004).

Researchers have also demonstrated differences in the basal ganglia in the brains of some ADHD patients (Aylward, Reiss, Reader, & Singer, 1996; Castellanos, Giedd, Eckberg, & Marsh, 1998; Fillipek et al., 1997). Because this structure is involved in regulating motor behavior and impulse control, dysfunction in the basal ganglia could contribute to the hyperactivity characteristic of ADHD.

ADHD ACROSS THE LIFE SPAN Children generally are not given diagnoses of ADHD until they enter structured settings in which they must conform to rules, get along with peers, and sit in their seats for long periods. In the past, these things happened when children entered school, between ages 5 and 7. Now, with the increasing prevalence of structured day care settings, the demands on children to conform are occurring much earlier.

According to longitudinal studies, children do not outgrow ADHD by the time they enter adulthood (McGough & Barkley, 2004). Adults with ADHD symptoms, about 4 percent of the population (Kessler et al., 2006), may struggle academically and vocationally. They generally reach a lower-than-expected socioeconomic level and change jobs more often than other adults (Bellak & Black, 1992; Mannuzza et al., 1991). At the same time, many adults with ADHD learn how to adapt to their condition, such as by reducing distractions while they work (**FIGURE 14.34**).



FIGURE 14.34 Living with ADHD

Paula Luper, of North Carolina, was diagnosed with ADHD in elementary school. Here, as a senior in high school, she is taking a quiz in the teachers lounge to avoid distraction.

Summing Up

Which Psychological Disorders Are Prominent in Childhood?

- Disorders in children are considered within the context of normal development.
- In some cases, psychological disorders identified in childhood have lasting impacts on the individual, and the problems apparent early in life continue throughout maturation.
- Autism spectrum disorder is characterized by impaired social interaction, deficits in communication, and restricted interests.
- Research suggests that autism is heritable.
- Causes of autism include gene mutations, unusual patterns of brain growth, exposure to unusual antibodies in the womb, faulty brain wiring, and impairments in mirror neuron activity.
- ADHD is characterized by inattentiveness, restlessness, and impulsivity.
- Environmental and genetic factors contribute to the development of ADHD.
- Abnormalities associated with the frontal lobes, limbic system, and basal ganglia have been identified in individuals with ADHD.

Measuring Up

- 1. Identify whether each of the following characteristics is observed in children with autism spectrum disorder or observed in children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder.
 - $\boldsymbol{a}.$ impulsivity and restlessness
 - b. restricted activities and interests
 - c. focus on objects rather than on people
 - d. easily distracted
 - e. failure to make and maintain eye contact
- 2. Compared with people without ADHD, people with ADHD show $____$ activation in the
 - _____ of the brain.
 - **a.** less; frontal lobes and limbic regions
 - **b.** less; temporal lobes and Broca's area
 - c. more; frontal lobes and limbic regions
 - **d.** more; temporal lobes and Broca's area

ANSWERS: (1) a. ADHD; b. autism; c. autism; d. ADHD; e. autism. (2) a. less; frontal lobes and limbic regions.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

14.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Conceptualized and Classified?

- Psychopathology Is Different from Everyday Problems: Psychological disorders are common in all societies. Individuals with psychological disorders behave in ways that deviate from cultural norms and that are maladaptive.
- Psychological Disorders Are Classified into Categories: The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders is a system for diagnosing psychological disorders. The current version is DSM-5. Psychological disorders are often comorbid—that is, they occur together. Due to comorbidity, it has been proposed that all psychological disorders reflect a common factor, p. High scores on the p factor have been found to be associated with moresevere psychopathology. Rather than classifying disorders, the Research Domain Criteria (RDoC) method strives to understand the processes that give rise to disordered thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. The RDoC defines basic domains of functioning, such as attention and social communication, and considers them across multiple levels of analysis, from genes to brain systems to behavior.
- Psychological Disorders Must Be Assessed: Assessment is the process of examining a person's mental functions and psychological health to make a diagnosis. Assessment is accomplished through interviews, behavioral observations, psychological testing, and neuropsychological testing.
- Psychological Disorders Have Many Causes: According to the diathesis-stress model, mental health problems arise from a vulnerability coupled with a stressful precipitating event. Psychological disorders may arise from biological factors, psychological factors, or cognitive-behavioral factors. Females are more likely than males to exhibit internalizing disorders (such as major depressive disorder and generalized anxiety disorder). Males are more likely than females to exhibit externalizing disorders (such as alcohol use disorder and conduct disorders). Most psychological disorders show some universal symptoms, but the *DSM* recognizes a number of cultural syndromes related to mental health problems.

14.2 Which Disorders Emphasize Emotions or Moods?

- Anxiety Disorders Make People Apprehensive and Tense: Specific phobias are exaggerated fears of specific stimuli. Generalized anxiety disorder is diffuse and omnipresent. Social anxiety disorder is a fear of being negatively evaluated by others. Panic attacks cause sudden overwhelming terror and may lead to agoraphobia. Cognitive, situational, and biological factors contribute to the onset of anxiety disorders.
- Unwanted Thoughts Create Anxiety in Obsessive-Compulsive Disorders: Obsessive-compulsive disorder involves frequent intrusive thoughts and compulsive behaviors. OCD occurs in approximately

1–2 percent of the population and affects women more than men. OCD may involve learned behaviors or be caused by biological factors.

- **Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Results from Trauma:** Posttraumatic stress disorder involves frequent and recurring nightmares, intrusive thoughts, and flashbacks related to an earlier trauma. PTSD occurs in approximately 7 percent of the population and affects women more than men.
- Depressive Disorders Consist of Sad, Empty, or Irritable Mood: Major depressive disorder is characterized by a number of symptoms, including depressed mood and a loss of interest in pleasurable activities. Persistent depressive disorder is less severe, with people being sad on more days than not for at least two years.
- Depressive Disorders Have Biological, Situational, and Cognitive Components: Depressive disorders have biological components, including possible dysfunction of the monoamine neurotransmitters norepinephrine and serotonin, low left frontal lobe function, and disrupted biological rhythms. Situational factors (such as poor relationships and stress) and cognitive factors (such as the cognitive triad and learned helplessness) also contribute to the occurrence of depression.
- Bipolar Disorders Involve Depression and Mania: Bipolar disorder is characterized by depression and manic episodes—that is, episodes of increased activity and euphoria. The impairment in bipolar I disorder is due to manic episodes, whereas the impairment in bipolar II disorder is due to depressive episodes. Genes may play a role in bipolar disorders.

14.3 Which Disorders Emphasize Thought Disturbances?

- Dissociative Disorders Are Disruptions in Memory, Awareness, and Identity: Dissociative disorders involve disruptions of identity, memory, or conscious awareness. Dissociative amnesia involves forgetting that an event happened or losing awareness of a substantial block of time. Dissociative fugue involves a loss of identity. Dissociative identity disorder involves the occurrence of two or more distinct identities in the same individual, along with memory gaps for everyday events. Dissociative identity disorder is believed to emerge as a consequence of severe abuse—through repeated dissociation, different identities develop to cope with different traumas. Dissociative identity disorder remains a controversial diagnosis for two reasons: The condition is often diagnosed after someone has been accused of a crime, and a sharp rise in reported cases has occurred in recent years.
- Schizophrenia Involves a Split Between Thought and Emotion: Schizophrenia is characterized by a split between thought and emotion. The positive symptoms associated with schizophrenia reflect excesses and include delusions, hallucinations, disorganized speech, and disorganized behavior. The negative symptoms of schizophrenia reflect deficits and include apathy, lack of emotion, and slowed speech. Research suggests that schizophrenia is largely a biological disorder. Environmental factors also play a

role in the development of schizophrenia, including dysfunctional family dynamics, urban stress, and exposure to pathogens.

14.4 What Are Personality Disorders?

- Personality Disorders Are Maladaptive Ways of Relating to the World: The *DSM* identifies 10 personality disorders clustered in three groups. Paranoid, schizoid, and schizotypal make up the odd and eccentric cluster. Histrionic, narcissistic, borderline, and antisocial make up the dramatic, emotional, and erratic cluster. Avoidant, dependent, and obsessive-compulsive make up the anxious and fearful cluster.
- Borderline Personality Disorder Is Associated with Poor Self-Control: Borderline personality disorder involves disturbances in identity, affect, and impulse control. Borderline personality disorder is associated with reduced frontal lobe capacity, low levels of serotonin, and a history of trauma and abuse.
- Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Associated with a Lack of Empathy: Antisocial personality disorder is characterized by socially undesirable behavior, hedonism, sensation seeking, and a lack of remorse. Antisocial personality disorder is associated with lower levels of arousal, a smaller amygdala, and deficits in frontal

lobe functioning. Both genetics and environment seem to contribute to the development of antisocial personality disorder.

14.5 Which Psychological Disorders Are Prominent in Childhood?

- Autism Spectrum Disorder Involves Social Deficits and Restricted Interests: Autism spectrum disorder emerges in infancy and is marked by impaired social functioning and communication and restricted interests. Autism is heritable and may result from genetic mutations. Autism has been linked to abnormal brain growth, exposure to antibodies in the womb, faulty brain wiring, and mirror neuron impairment.
- Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder Is a Disruptive Impulse Control Disorder: Children with ADHD are restless, inattentive, and impulsive. The causes of ADHD may include environmental factors such as poor parenting and social disadvantages; genetic factors; and brain abnormalities, particularly with regard to activation of the frontal lobes, limbic system, and basal ganglia. ADHD continues into adulthood, presenting challenges to academic work and to career pursuits.

Key Terms

agoraphobia, p. 614 antisocial personality disorder (APD), p. 639 anxiety disorder, p. 612 assessment, p. 605 attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), p. 647 autism spectrum disorder, p. 643 bipolar I disorder, p. 622 bipolar II disorder, p. 622 borderline personality disorder, p. 637 cognitive-behavioral approach, p. 608 delusions, p. 629 diathesis-stress model, p. 606 disorganized behavior, p. 631 disorganized speech, p. 630 dissociative disorders, p. 625 dissociative identity disorder (DID), p. 626 etiology, p. 600 family systems model, p. 607 generalized anxiety disorder (GAD), p. 613 hallucinations, p. 630 learned helplessness, p. 621 major depressive disorder, p. 618 negative symptoms, p. 631 obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), p. 616 panic disorder, p. 614 persistent depressive disorder, p. 619 posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), p. 617 psychopathology, p. 600 Research Domain Criteria (RDoC), p. 604 schizophrenia, p. 628 sociocultural model, p. 607

Practice Test

- Which of the following questions would a clinician consider in order to determine whether a behavior represents psychopathology? Select all that apply.
 - a. Does the behavior deviate from cultural norms?
 - **b.** Is the behavior causing the individual personal distress?
 - **c.** Is the behavior maladaptive?
 - **d.** Is the behavior unusual?
 - **e.** Is the behavior upsetting to members of the client's social network?
- 2. Two students visit the campus health center. Student A describes feeling constantly fearful and anxious. Student B describes feeling persistently agitated and often exhibiting violent outbursts. Student A's symptoms are consistent with an ______ disorder, which is more common in ______; student B's symptoms are consistent with an ______.

 - a. externalizing, females; internalizing, males

- b. externalizing, males; internalizing, females
- c. internalizing, females; externalizing, males
- d. internalizing, males; externalizing, females
- **3.** True or false: The *DSM-5* is proven to offer definitive and accurate diagnoses coupled with the best recommended treatment options for all accepted psychological disorders.
- 4. Which of the following are examples of neuropsychologial assessments?
 - $\boldsymbol{a}.$ the patient's self-report of symptoms
 - **b.** reports from interviews with people who know the patient well
 - ${\bf c.}\ {\rm blood}\ {\rm tests}$
 - **d.** card-sorting tasks
 - e. having the person copy a picture by hand
 - f. having the person place blocks on a mat while blindfolded
 - g. having the person draw designs from memory

The answer key for the Practice Tests can be found at the back of the book.



Treatment of Psychological Disorders

Ask & Answer

15.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Treated? 655

15.2 What Are the Most Effective Treatments? 672

15.3 Can Personality Disorders Be Treated? 689

15.4 How Should Childhood Disorders and Adolescent Disorders Be Treated? 693 **JOHN O'NEIL, A DEPUTY EDITOR AT THE NEW YORK TIMES**, has described what it is like to be the parent of a child with autism spectrum disorder (O'Neil, 2004). O'Neil's son James had been an easy baby. As a toddler, he began to show signs of being "different." He seemed to have difficulty looking his parents in the eye and did not display a strong sense of connection. James indicated little interest in objects, even toys, that were given or shown to him. Instead, he repeated behaviors to the point of harming himself. For example, he pulled his cowboy boots on and off until his feet were raw. He responded to loud noises by crying.

James's behavior really started to deteriorate when he was $2^{1}/_{2}$, following the arrival of a baby brother and a move to a new house. His parents assumed he was overwhelmed, but the director of James's new preschool noticed the telltale signs of autism spectrum disorder. On her recommendation, a professional assessed James and determined that he had autism spectrum disorder. During the first visit to a speech therapist, James's mother learned just how much her son needed treatment: He had forgotten his name.

The discovery of James's autism follows a familiar pattern. Most diagnoses of autism spectrum disorder are made by age 3, but the disorder can be detected earlier if parents or pediatricians know what to look for. Many children who will develop autism show abnormal social behavior in infancy. Other signs include staring at objects for long periods and not reaching developmental milestones, such as speaking. Sometimes autism spectrum disorder appears to strike suddenly in an otherwise normally developing child. The child simply withdraws from social contact, stops babbling, and may become self-abusive. Parents and pediatricians who notice such symptoms of autism may write them off as quirks or feel that the child is just a little slow to develop. Luckily for James, the preschool staff recommended a professional evaluation because of his unusual behavior. The earlier treatment begins, the better the prognosis.

On finding out that treatments for autism exist, the O'Neils were relieved. But then they heard the bad news: Treatment is expensive, difficult, and time consuming-the recommended amount of treatment is over 40 hours per week. The recommended program requires parents and teachers to spend hours helping the child learn basic skills, such as saying his or her name. Using operant conditioning to reward even small behaviors, parents and teachers show the child each task as a series of simple steps. They watch the child repeat the same behaviors over and over for hours on end. They attempt to actively engage the child's attention in highly structured activities.

As is the case in many school districts, resources were insufficient for James to receive full treatment in school. His mother, a physician, gave up her full-time position to set up a home-based program for James. He spent up to 8 hours every day performing tasks that most children would find extremely boring, such as repeatedly imitating the therapist's placing two blocks next to each other or touching her nose. James's day might begin with physical activities to strengthen coordination and build body awareness. After this exercise period, he would take a snack break, during which appropriate social behaviors were reinforced and language skills were stressed. Each part of the day was designed to work on James's problem areas. Along the way, progress was charted to guide subsequent sessions. At one point, James's language skills clearly had to improve if he was going to be able to attend mainstream school. Encouraged by being given any treat he asked for, James learned to talk.

He started school with the assistance of one of his full-time instructors, who attended class with him. Despite some rocky moments, James made tremendous progress. He still had problems in some areas, such as reading comprehension, math, attention, and social skills. He did not understand why he suffered from a disorder but other kids did not. But James triumphed. Perhaps his biggest accomplishment was making friends with a classmate named Larry (FIGURE 15.1).

James's father wonders why Larry was attracted to James as a friend. Perhaps they shared a love of potty humor, or perhaps they were similarly warm and enthusiastic. One day, he overheard the two friends engaged in silly conversation, telling stupid jokes and gossiping about their "girlfriends." In that moment, O'Neil realized just how many of his dreams for James had been realized through treatment.

Chapter 14 discussed various psychological disorders, including ones like James's. This chapter explores the basic principles of therapy and describes the various treatment approaches to specific disorders. An intensive treatment



FIGURE 15.1 James O'Neil

At the time of this photo, James (center) was 8 years old. At left is his friend Larry, also 8. At right is James's brother Miles, age 6. program focusing on behavior was effective for James. An important lesson you will learn is that even though biological factors are present in most psychological disorders, such as autism, the most effective treatments usually involve changing behavior or cognition.

15.1How Are PsychologicalDisorders Treated?

At this time, there are no instant cures for psychological disorders. They need to be managed over time through treatment that helps alleviate symptoms so people can function in their daily lives until treatment is no longer necessary. Scientific research has produced tremendous advances in ways of treating many psychological disorders. The choice of treatment depends on the type and severity of symptoms, the diagnosis, and the motivational state of the person needing treatment. Most disorders can be treated in more than one way. However, some disorders are most successfully treated using a particular method or combination of methods.

Psychologists use two basic categories of techniques to treat psychological disorders: psychological and biological. Either may be used alone or in combination. The generic name given to formal psychological treatment is **psychotherapy**. The particular techniques used may depend on the practitioner's training, but all forms of psychotherapy involve interactions between practitioner and client. These interactions are aimed at helping the person understand his or her symptoms and problems and providing solutions for them. One limitation of any form of psychotherapy is that some psychological disorders are characterized by apathy or indifference and individuals may not be interested in being treated.

Biological therapies reflect medical approaches to disease (what is wrong with the body) and to illness (what a person feels as a result). In other words, these therapies are based on the notion that psychological disorders (often referred to as mental disorders in medical settings) result from abnormalities in neural and bodily processes. For example, the client (often referred to as the patient in medical settings) might be experiencing an imbalance in a specific neurotransmitter or a malfunction in a particular brain region.

Biological treatments range from drugs to electrical stimulation of brain regions to surgical intervention. *Psychopharmacology* is the use of medications that affect

brain or body functions. These forms of treatment can be particularly effective for some disorders, at least on a short-term basis. One limitation of biological therapies, however, is that long-term success may require the person to continue treatment. Sometimes, treatment continues indefinitely. Moreover, nonbiological treatments may prove more effective for some disorders over the long term. For many disorders, the recent focus has been on combining biological therapies with other approaches to find the best treatment for each client.

As outlined in Chapter 14, psychologists have proposed a number of theories to account for psychopathology. Some of these theories are about general issues, such as the role of learning or cognition in all psychological disorders. Other theories are specific to a particular disorder, such as the theory that certain types of thought

Learning Objectives

- Distinguish among the various forms of psychotherapy.
- Describe the major categories of psychotropic drugs.
- Identify alternative biological treatments for psychological disorders.
- Understand the role of empirical studies in determining treatment effectiveness.
- Distinguish among the types of specialized mental health practitioners.

psychotherapy

The generic name given to formal psychological treatment.

biological therapies

Treatment of psychological disorders based on medical approaches to disease (what is wrong with the body) and to illness (what a person feels as a result).



patterns underlie depression. Each theory includes treatment strategies that are based on the theory's assumptions about the causes of psychological disorders.

Although researchers are continually gaining better understandings of the causes of particular disorders, these understandings do not always lead to further insights into how best to treat the disorders. For example, autism spectrum disorder is clearly caused by biological factors, but this knowledge has not led to any significant advances in therapies for the disorder. In fact, as discussed in the chapter opener case of James, the best available treatment for autism spectrum disorder is based on behavioral, not biological, principles. Likewise, in a situation where the person's loss of a parent has led to clinical depression, drugs might be useful for treatment, at least in the short term. The therapist might favor this biological treatment for this particular person even though the depression was caused by the situation.

Regardless of the treatment provider's theoretical perspective, psychotherapy is generally aimed at changing patterns of thought, emotion, or behavior. The ways in which such changes are brought about can differ dramatically, however. It has been estimated that there are more than 400 approaches to treatment (Kazdin, 1994). Many therapists follow an *eclectic* approach, using a variety of techniques that seem appropriate for a given client. The following discussion highlights the major components of the most common approaches, and it describes how therapists use these methods to treat specific psychological disorders.

Psychotherapy Is Based on Psychological Principles

One factor known to affect the outcome of therapy is the relationship between the therapist and the client. This connection is true partly because a good relationship can foster an expectation of receiving help (Miller, 2000; Talley, Strupp, & Morey, 1990). Most people in the mental health field use the curative power of client expectation to help their clients achieve success in therapy. This approach is not limited to psychological disorders, however. A good relationship with a service provider is important for any aspect of physical or mental health.

PSYCHODYNAMIC THERAPY FOCUSES ON INSIGHT One of the first people to develop psychological treatments for psychological disorders was Sigmund Freud. Freud believed that such disorders were caused by prior experiences, particularly early traumatic experiences. Along with Josef Breuer, he pioneered the method of psychoanalysis.

In early forms of psychoanalysis, the client would lie on a couch while the therapist sat out of view (**FIGURE 15.2**). This method was meant to reduce the client's inhibitions and allow freer access to unconscious thought processes. Treatment involved uncovering unconscious feelings and drives that, Freud believed, gave rise to maladaptive thoughts and behaviors. Techniques included *free association* and *dream analysis*. In free association, the client would say whatever came to mind and the therapist would look for signs of unconscious conflicts, especially where the client appeared resistant to discussing certain topics. In dream analysis, the therapist would interpret the hidden meaning of the client's dreams (see the discussion in Chapter 5, "Consciousness").

The general goal of psychoanalysis is to increase the client's awareness of his or her own unconscious psychological processes and how these processes affect daily functioning. By gaining **insight** of this kind, the client is freed from these unconscious influences. According to psychoanalysis, the client's symptoms diminish as a result of reducing unconscious conflicts. (Note that this use of the term *insight*—to mean



FIGURE 15.2 Psychoanalysis in Freud's Office

As part of the treatment process, Freud sat behind his desk (partly visible in the lower left corner). His clients reclined on the couch, facing away from him.

insight

The goal of psychoanalysis; a client's awareness of his or her own unconscious psychological processes and how these processes affect daily functioning.

an understanding of one's own psychological processes—is different from its use in Chapter 8. There, *insight* means the sudden solution of a problem.)

Psychotherapists later reformulated some of Freud's ideas, and these adaptations are known collectively as **psychodynamic therapy**. In using this approach, a therapist aims to help a client examine his or her needs, defenses, and motives as a way of understanding why the client is distressed. Most proponents of the psychodynamic perspective today continue to embrace Freud's "talking therapy." They have replaced the couch with a chair, however, and the talking tends to be more conversational.

Some features of contemporary psychodynamic therapy include exploring the client's avoidance of distressing thoughts, looking for recurring themes and patterns in thoughts and feelings, discussing early traumatic experiences, focusing on interpersonal relations and childhood attachments, emphasizing the relationship with the therapist, and exploring fantasies, dreams, and daydreams (Shedler, 2010). Some of these features, such as focusing on patterns in thoughts and feelings and addressing interpersonal relationships, are common to most forms of psychotherapy, and thus they do not distinguish psychodynamic therapy from other types of treatment (Tryon & Tryon, 2011).

During the past few decades, the use of psychodynamic therapy has become increasingly controversial. Traditional psychodynamic therapy is expensive and time consuming, sometimes continuing for many years. This therapy may have promise for certain disorders, such as borderline personality disorder (Gibbons, Crits-Chistoph, & Hearon, 2008). The evidence is weak, however, for its effectiveness in treating most psychological disorders. As mentioned throughout this textbook, minimal empirical evidence exists for much of Freudian theorizing, and therefore it is not surprising that treatments based on those theories are largely ineffective.

A new approach to psychodynamic therapy consists of offering fewer sessions and focusing more on current relationships than on early-childhood experiences. Therapists who use this approach do not necessarily accept all of Freud's ideas, but they do believe that people have underlying conflicts that need to be resolved, such as their relations with other people. Proponents argue that this short-term psychodynamic therapy has been shown in research as potentially useful for treating certain disorders, including depression, eating disorders, and substance abuse (Leichsenring, Rabung, & Leibing, 2004). But the dropout rates in these studies are extremely high (Winfried & Hofmann, 2008). In addition, it is not clear whether the psychodynamic aspects are superior to other brief forms of therapy, such as simply talking about personal problems to a caring therapist. The opportunity to talk about one's problems to someone who will listen plays a role in all therapeutic relationships.

HUMANISTIC THERAPIES FOCUS ON THE WHOLE PERSON As noted in Chapter 13, the humanistic approach to personality emphasizes personal experience and the individual's belief systems. The goal of humanistic therapy is to treat the person as a whole, not as a collection of behaviors or a repository of repressed thoughts.

One of the best-known humanistic therapies is **client-centered therapy**. Developed by the psychologist Carl Rogers (1951), this approach encourages people to fulfill their individual potentials for personal growth through greater self-understanding. A key ingredient of client-centered therapy is to create a safe and comforting setting for clients to access their true feelings (**FIGURE 15.3**). Therapists strive to be empathic, to take the client's perspective, and to accept the client through unconditional positive regard (see Chapter 13). Instead of directing the client's behavior or passing judgment on the client's actions or thoughts, the therapist helps the client focus on his or her subjective experience. Often, a client-centered therapist will use *reflective listening*, in which the therapist repeats the client's concerns to help the person clarify his or

psychodynamic therapy

A form of therapy based on Freudian theory; it aims to help clients examine needs, defenses, and motives as a way of understanding distress.

client-centered therapy

An empathic approach to therapy; it encourages people to fulfill their individual potentials for personal growth through greater selfunderstanding.



FIGURE 15.3 Humanistic Therapy

Carl Rogers founded the form of humanistic therapy called clientcentered therapy. Here, Rogers (far right, facing camera) leads a group therapy session, demonstrating the importance of a safe and comforting environment in the pursuit of greater self-understanding.

behavior therapy

Treatment based on the premise that behavior is learned and therefore can be unlearned through the use of classical and operant conditioning.

exposure

A behavioral therapy technique that involves repeated exposure to an anxiety-producing stimulus or situation.



1 The little girl in the white shirt (on the left) has a phobia about dogs.



2 She is encouraged to approach a dog that scares her.



3 From this mild form of exposure she learns that the dog is not dangerous, and she overcomes her fear.

FIGURE 15.4 Exposure

Exposure is a common feature of many cognitive-behavioral therapies. In this sequence, a little girl gradually overcomes her fear of dogs by slowly increasing her level of exposure to a dog. her feelings. Although relatively few practitioners follow the tenets of humanistic theory strictly, many techniques advocated by Rogers are used currently to establish a good therapeutic relationship between practitioner and client.

One modern form of humanistic treatment, *motivational interviewing*, uses a client-centered approach over a very short period (such as one or two interviews). This treatment addresses the client's ambivalence about problematic behaviors, as when a drug addict enjoys using drugs but recognizes the problems created by drug use. The treatment helps clients identify discrepancies between their current state and "where they would like to be" in their lives. By doing so, the therapist can spark the client's motivation for change. Motivational interviewing has proved a valuable treatment for drug and alcohol abuse, as well as for increasing both healthy eating habits and exercise (Burke, Arkowitz, & Menchola, 2003). William Miller (2000), the psychologist who developed the technique, attributes the outstanding success of this brief form of empathic therapy to the warmth expressed by the therapist toward the client.

COGNITIVE AND BEHAVIORAL THERAPIES TARGET THOUGHTS AND

BEHAVIORS Many of the most successful therapies involve trying to change people's cognition and behavior directly. Whereas insight-based therapies consider maladaptive behavior the result of an underlying problem, behavioral and cognitive therapies treat the thoughts and behaviors as the problem. For example, the therapist will not be particularly interested in why a person has come to fear elevators, such as if childhood traumas produced the fear. Instead, the therapist is interested in helping the client overcome the fear. In therapy, thoughts and behaviors are targeted directly.

The premise of **behavior therapy** is that behavior is learned and therefore can be unlearned through the use of classical and operant conditioning. As discussed in Chapter 6, behavior modification is based on operant conditioning. It is a method of helping people to learn desired behaviors and unlearn unwanted behaviors. Desired behaviors are rewarded (rewards might include small treats or praise). Unwanted behaviors are ignored or punished (punishments might include groundings, timeouts, or the administration of unpleasant tastes). Many treatment centers use token economies, in which people earn tokens for good behavior and can trade the tokens for rewards or privileges.

For a desired behavior to be rewarded, however, the client first must exhibit the behavior. A therapist can use *social skills training* to elicit desired behavior. When a client has particular interpersonal difficulties, such as with initiating a conversation, she or he learns appropriate ways to act in specific social situations. The first step is often *modeling*, in which the therapist acts out an appropriate behavior. Recall from Chapter 6 that people learn many behaviors by observing others perform them. In modeling, the client is encouraged to imitate the displayed behavior, rehearse it in therapy, and later apply the learned behavior to real-world situations. The successful use of newly acquired social skills is itself rewarding and encourages the continued use of those skills.

Many behavioral therapies for psychological disorders include an **exposure** component. Through this technique, the person is exposed repeatedly to the anxiety-producing stimulus or situation (**FIGURE 15.4**). The theory behind exposure is based on classical conditioning. By confronting feared stimuli in the absence of negative consequences, the person learns new, nonthreatening associations. Exposure therapy is the most effective treatment for any psychological disorder that involves anxiety or fear (Abramowitz, 2013). An intensive form of exposure therapy, called *prolonged exposure*, is effective for PTSD (McLean & Foa, 2014). This treatment involves those with PTSD repeatedly revisiting and recounting their traumatic experience and

gradually approaching situations that they have been avoiding because of reminders of their traumatic experience.

When an individual avoids either stimuli or situations out of fear, the person experiences reductions in anxiety that reinforce the avoidance behavior. Repeated exposure to a feared stimulus increases the person's anxiety. If the person is not permitted to avoid the stimulus, however, the person's avoidance response is eventually extinguished. In this case, the treatment is known as *exposure and response* prevention. This form of treatment is highly effective for obsessive-compulsive disorder (Knopp, Knowles, Bee, Lovell, & Bower, 2013).

A gradual form of exposure therapy is systematic desensitization. In this method, the therapist exposes the client to increasingly anxiety-producing situations by having the client imagine them and then teaching the client to relax at the same time. You will learn later that exposure and systematic desensitization are reliable treatments for many types of phobias or forms of anxiety. For example, these approaches work well for test anxiety (von der Embse, Barterian, & Segool, 2013). They can even be tried at home for mild cases, as long as the person can control how quickly and how close she or he comes to the feared object.

Cognitive therapy is based on the theory that distorted thoughts can produce maladaptive behaviors and emotions. Treatment strategies that modify these thought patterns should eliminate the maladaptive behaviors and emotions. A number of approaches to cognitive therapy have been proposed. For example, Aaron T. Beck (1964) has advocated **cognitive restructuring** (**FIGURE 15.5**). Through this approach, a clinician seeks to help a person recognize maladaptive thought patterns and replace them with ways of viewing the world that are more in tune with reality (FIGURE 15.6). Albert Ellis (1962), another major thinker in this area, introduced rational-emotive therapy. Through this approach, the therapist acts as a teacher, explaining the client's errors in thinking and demonstrating more-adaptive ways to think and behave.

In cognitive therapy and rational-emotive therapy, maladaptive behavior is assumed to result from individual belief systems and ways of thinking rather than from objective conditions. By contrast, interpersonal therapy focuses on circumstances—namely, relationships the client attempts to avoid. This approach integrates cognitive therapy with psychodynamic insight therapy (Markowitz & Weissman, 1995). Interpersonal therapy developed out of psychodynamic ideas on how people relate to one another, but it uses cognitive techniques that help people gain more-accurate insight into their social relationships. Because interpersonal functioning is seen as critical to psychological adjustment, treatment focuses on helping clients explore their interpersonal experiences

and express their emotions (Blagys & Hilsenroth, 2000).

To help prevent relapse of psychological disorders following treatment, John Teasdale and colleagues (2000) developed mindfulness-based cognitive therapy. The principle behind this method is that people who recover from depression continue to be vulnerable to faulty thinking when they experience negative moods. For instance, they may be prone to negative, ruminative thinking. Mindfulness-based cognitive theory is based on principles derived from mindfulness meditation, which originated from

Eastern meditation and yoga practices. This therapy has two goals: to help clients become more aware of their negative thoughts and feelings at times when they are vulnerable and to help them learn to disengage from ruminative thinking through meditation. A recent review of studies using this method to prevent recurrence of major depression found that it is quite effective (Piet & Hougaard, 2011).

cognitive therapy

Treatment based on the idea that distorted thoughts produce maladaptive behaviors and emotions: treatment strategies attempt to modify these thought patterns.

cognitive restructuring

A therapy that strives to help clients recognize maladaptive thought patterns and replace them with ways of viewing the world that are more in tune with reality.



FIGURE 15.5 Aaron T. Beck Beck is one of the pioneers of cognitive therapy for psychological disorders, especially depression.



Cognitive Restructuring

Through this technique, a therapist helps a client learn to replace maladaptive thought patterns with more-realistic, positive ones.

cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) A therapy that incorporates techniques from cognitive therapy and behavior therapy to correct faulty thinking and change maladaptive behaviors. **Cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT)** incorporates techniques from cognitive therapy and behavior therapy. CBT tries to correct the client's faulty cognitions and to train the client to engage in new behaviors. Suppose the client has social anxiety disorder a fear of being viewed negatively by others. The therapist will encourage the client to examine other people's reactions to the client. The aim is to help the client understand how his or her appraisals of other people's reactions might be inaccurate. At the same time, the therapist will teach the client social skills. CBT is perhaps the most widely used version of psychotherapy, and it is one of the most effective forms of psychotherapy for many types of psychological disorders, especially anxiety disorders and mood disorders (Deacon & Abramowitz, 2004; Hollon, Thase, & Markowitz, 2002).

GROUP THERAPY BUILDS SOCIAL SUPPORT Group therapy rose in popularity after World War II. Because of the many stresses related to the war, more people needed therapy than there were therapists available to treat them. Therapists came to realize that in some instances group therapy offers advantages over individual therapy. The most obvious benefit is cost: Group therapy is often significantly less expensive than individual treatment. In addition, the group setting provides an opportunity for members to improve their social skills and learn from one another's experiences.

Group therapies vary widely in the types of people enrolled, the duration of treatment, the theoretical perspective of the therapist running the group, and the group size-although some practitioners believe around eight people is the ideal number. Many groups are organized around a particular type of problem (e.g., sexual abuse) or around a particular type of person (e.g., adolescents). Many groups continue over long periods, with some members leaving and others joining the group at various intervals. Depending on the approach favored by the therapist, the group may be highly structured, or it may be a more loosely organized forum for discussion. Behavioral and cognitive-behavioral groups are usually highly structured, with specific goals and techniques designed to modify the thought and behavior patterns of group members. This type of group has been effective for disorders such as bulimia and obsessive-compulsive disorder. In contrast, less structured groups usually focus on increasing insight and providing social support. In fact, the social support that group members can provide each other is one of the most beneficial aspects of this type of therapy. As a result, group therapy is often used to augment individual psychotherapy.

FAMILY THERAPY FOCUSES ON THE FAMILY CONTEXT The therapy a person receives is, of course, an important element in treating a psychological disorder. The person's family often plays an almost equally important role.

According to a *systems approach*, an individual is part of a larger context. Any change in individual behavior will affect the whole system. This effect is often clearest within the family. Each person in a family plays a particular role and interacts with the other members in specific ways. Over the course of therapy, the way the individual thinks, behaves, and interacts with others may change. Such changes can profoundly affect the family dynamics. For instance, an alcoholic who gives up drinking may start to criticize other members of the family when they drink. In turn, the family members might provide less support for the person's continuing abstinence. After all, if the family members do not have drinking problems, they might resent the comments. If they do have drinking problems, they might resist the comments because they do not want to give up drinking.

Family attitudes are often critical to long-term prognoses. For this reason, some therapists insist that family members be involved in therapy when practical, except when including them is impossible or would be counterproductive. All the family members involved in therapy are together considered the client. For instance, suppose a child's defiant behavior has led to conflict between the parents, who disagree about how to respond to the child (**FIGURE 15.7**). In this case, the treatment will involve not only working on the child's behavior but also helping the parents learn to resolve their parenting disagreements.

There is also evidence that helping families provide appropriate social support leads to better therapy outcomes and reduces relapses for individuals in treatment. The key is the type of family involvement. For instance, studies have documented the importance of attitudes expressed by family members toward people with schizophrenia. In this context, **expressed emotion** is a pattern of negative actions by a client's family members. The pattern includes making critical comments about the person, being hostile toward the person, and being emotionally overinvolved (e.g., being overprotective, pitying, or having an exaggerated response to the person's disorder). The level of expressed emotion from family members corresponds to the relapse rate for those with schizophrenia (Hooley & Gotlib, 2000), and relapse rates are highest if the person has a great deal of contact with the family.

Jill Hooley (2007) notes that expressed emotion predicts relapse in many countries, ranging from Australia to Denmark to China to Iran. The patterns of expressed emotion that affect relapse differ across those countries and their cultures, however, in part because behaviors such as emotional overinvolvement are more acceptable in some cultures. In turn, culture affects the relationship between expressed emotion and relapse. For example, those with schizophrenia are more likely to relapse when they belong to hostile families in India than when they belong to hostile families in Japan. By contrast, those with schizophrenia are more likely to relapse when they belong to emotionally overinvolved families in Japan than when they belong to emotionally overinvolved families in India.

CULTURAL BELIEFS AFFECT TREATMENT Societal definitions of both psychological health and psychological disorders are central to the treatments used in psychotherapy. Culture has multiple influences on the way psychological disorders are expressed, on which people with psychological disorders are likely to recover, and on people's willingness to seek help.

Psychotherapy is accepted to different extents in different countries. Some countries, such as China and India, have relatively few psychotherapists. Many of these countries are seeing a growing demand, as the last two decades or so of economic expansion have brought increasingly stressful lifestyles and an awareness of the mental health problems that come with them. The people in some of these countries are resistant to even discussing psychological problems, much less treating them. Because of traditional cultural beliefs, many Chinese distrust emotional expression and avoid seeking help for depression, anger, or grief (Magnier, 2008). Likewise, in India, because of the stigma of psychological disorders, terms such as *mental illness, depression*, and *anxiety* are avoided; instead, terms such as *tension* and *strain* are used to communicate psychological health problems (Kohn, 2008). Thus, providers need to be sensitive both to the cultural meanings of disorders as well as to how psychological treatments are regarded within those cultures (**FIGURE 15.8**).

Another study explored the way Muslim religious beliefs can influence the outcomes of psychotherapy (Ali, Liu, & Humedian, 2004). Religious minorities in any society need to find healthy ways to reaffirm their faith and deal with discrimination. Psychotherapy can be helpful in this regard if therapists have a fundamental understanding of their clients' culture and can modify their own style and type of therapy to be more culturally appropriate. At the same time, some Western psychotherapists are adopting practices from other cultures to enhance treatment. For example, as



FIGURE 15.7 Family Therapy The actions, reactions, and

interactions of family members can become important topics during therapy.

expressed emotion

A pattern of negative actions by a client's family members; the pattern includes critical comments, hostility directed toward the person by family members, and emotional overinvolvement.



FIGURE 15.8 Cultural Effects on Therapy A psychologist counsels a young victim of the massive earthquake in the Sichuan province of China, 2008. **psychotropic medications** Drugs that affect mental processes.

anti-anxiety drugs

A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of anxiety.

antidepressants

A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of depression.

antipsychotics

A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of schizophrenia and other disorders that involve psychosis. described earlier, an Eastern form of mindfulness meditation is used to help people avoid relapsing after their major depression is treated.

Medication Is Effective for Certain Disorders

Drugs have proved effective for treating some psychological disorders. Their use is based on the assumption that psychological disorders result from imbalances in specific neurotransmitters or because receptors for those neurotransmitters are not functioning properly. Drugs that affect mental processes are called **psychotropic medications.** They act by changing brain neurochemistry. For example, they inhibit action potentials, or they alter synaptic transmission to increase or decrease the action of particular neurotransmitters (see Chapter 3, "Biology and Behavior").

Most psychotropic medications fall into three categories: *anti-anxiety drugs, antidepressants,* and *antipsychotics.* Note, however, that sometimes drugs from one category are used to treat a disorder from another category, such as using an anti-anxiety drug to treat depression. One reason for this is comorbidity. For example, as discussed in Chapter 14, a substantial number of people suffering from depression also meet diagnostic criteria for an anxiety disorder. Another reason is that in most cases there is insufficient evidence about why a particular drug is effective in reducing symptoms of a psychological disorder. That is, many questions remain about how brain chemistry is related to psychological disorders, and many drug treatments have been based on trial-and-error clinical studies in which different drugs have been used to see if they reduce symptoms.

Anti-anxiety drugs, commonly called *tranquilizers*, are used for the short-term treatment of anxiety. One class of anti-anxiety drugs is the benzodiazepines (such as Xanax and Ativan). These drugs increase the activity of GABA, the most pervasive inhibitory neurotransmitter. Although benzodiazepines reduce anxiety and promote relaxation, they also induce drowsiness and are highly addictive. They should therefore be used sparingly.

The second class of psychotropic medications is the **antidepressants**. These drugs are primarily used to treat depression. However, they are often used for other disorders, particularly anxiety disorders. *Monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors* were the first antidepressants to be discovered. Monoamine oxidase is an enzyme that breaks down serotonin in the synapse. MAO inhibitors therefore stop this process and result in more serotonin being available in the synapse. These drugs also raise levels of norepinephrine and dopamine. A second category of antidepressant medications is the *tricyclic antidepressants*, named after their core molecular structure of three rings. These drugs inhibit the reuptake of certain neurotransmitters, resulting in more of each neurotransmitter being available in the synapse. More recently, *selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs)* have been introduced; the best-known is Prozac. These drugs inhibit the reuptake of serotonin, but they act on other neurotransmitters to a significantly lesser extent. (**FIGURE 15.9** depicts the way SSRIs work.)

Some critics have charged that SSRIs are too often used to treat people who are sad and have low self-esteem but who are not clinically depressed. Such widespread prescribing of SSRIs is a problem because, like all drugs, SSRIs have side effects. For example, SSRIs can lead to sexual dysfunction. At the same time, SSRIs have been valuable for a variety of disorders. Therefore, when the use of SSRIs is being considered, the potential side effects should be weighed against the potential benefits.

The third class of psychotropic medications is the **antipsychotics**, also known as *neuroleptics*. Antipsychotics are used to treat schizophrenia and other disorders



FIGURE 15.9 Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors

SSRIs, such as Prozac, block reuptake of serotonin into the presynaptic neuron. In this way, they allow serotonin to remain in the synapse, where its effects on postsynaptic receptors are prolonged. The greater amount of serotonin in the synapse is presumed to alleviate depression.

that involve psychosis. These drugs reduce symptoms such as delusions and hallucinations. Traditional antipsychotics bind to dopamine receptors, thus blocking the effects of dopamine. Antipsychotics are not always effective, however, and they have significant side effects that can be irreversible. One such side effect is *tardive dyskinesia*, the involuntary twitching of muscles, especially in the neck and face. Moreover, these drugs are not useful for treating the negative symptoms of schizophrenia, such as apathy and social withdrawal (see Chapter 14, "Psychological Disorders").

Clozapine, one of the newer antipsychotics, is significantly different. Clozapine acts on dopamine receptors, but it also acts on serotonin, norepinephrine, acetylcholine, and histamine receptors. To distinguish it from earlier antipsychotic medications, clozapine is known as an *atypical antipsychotic* medication. Many who do not respond to the other antipsychotics improve on clozapine. This drug can cause serious problems with white blood cells, however, as will be discussed later. Even newer atypical antipsychotics, such as Risperdal and Zyprexa, are used widely because they are safer than clozapine. Still, as discussed later, these drugs may not be as effective as clozapine.

Other drugs used to treat psychological disorders do not fall into traditional categories. Many of them are used as mood stabilizers. *Lithium* was long considered the most effective treatment for bipolar disorder, although the neural mechanisms of how it works are unknown. Drugs that prevent seizures, called *anticonvulsants*, can also stabilize moods in bipolar disorder. As you will learn, antipsychotic medications are also effective for treatment of bipolar disorders.



FIGURE 15.10 Prehistoric Skull with Holes

A skull at the Archaeological Museum in Cusco, Peru, bears the marks of a cranial surgical operation performed by the Incas.

electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) A procedure that involves administering a strong electrical current to the person's brain to produce a seizure; it is effective for some cases of severe depression.



FIGURE 15.11 Electroconvulsive Therapy

A woman being prepared for ECT has a soft object placed between her teeth to prevent her from swallowing her tongue. ECT is most commonly used to treat severe depression that has not been responsive to medication or psychotherapy.

Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in Extreme Cases

Not all people are treated successfully with psychotherapy or medication or both combined. These people are called treatment resistant. To alleviate disorders, treatment providers may attempt alternative biological methods. Such alternatives include brain surgery, the use of magnetic fields, and electrical stimulation. All of these methods are used to alter brain function. These treatments are often used as last resorts because they are more likely to have serious side effects than psychotherapy or medication will. Many early efforts reflected crude attempts to control disruptive behavior. More-recent approaches reflect a growing understanding of the brain mechanisms that underlie various psychological disorders.

As discussed in Chapter 1, for many centuries people have recognized that the brain is involved with the mind, including the mind's abnormalities. From locations as varied as France and Peru, scientists have found numerous prehistoric skulls in which holes were made (**FIGURE 15.10**). Many of the holes were healed over to some extent, indicating that the recipients survived for years after their procedures. Such surgery, called *trepanning*, may have been used to let out evil spirits believed to be causing unusual behavior. In parts of Africa and the Pacific, various groups still practice trepanning as a treatment for epilepsy, headaches, and symptoms of mental disturbance.

Early in the twentieth century, medical researchers went beyond cutting holes in the skull to manipulating the brain. One of the earliest formal procedures used on people with severe disorders was *psychosurgery*, in which areas of the frontal cortex were selectively damaged. These prefrontal lobotomies were used to treat severe disorders, including schizophrenia, major depression, and anxiety disorders. To understand such drastic measures, we need to appreciate that treatment for psychological disorders had made almost no progress before the 1950s. Those with disorders were simply restrained and warehoused in institutions for their entire lives. In this climate of medical desperation, various risky procedures were explored.

Although some brain surgeries were performed as early as the 1880s, Egas Moniz is credited with bringing the practice to the attention of the medical world in the 1930s. His surgical procedure, later known as prefrontal lobotomy, involved severing nerve-fiber pathways in the prefrontal cortex (see Figure 3.30). After patients received lobotomies, they were often listless and had flat affect. Moreover, the procedure often impaired many important mental functions, such as abstract thought, planning, motivation, and social interaction. With the development of effective pharmacological treatments in the 1950s, the use of lobotomy was discontinued. Nowadays some brain surgery is used for disorders, but it involves small regions of the brain and is typically performed only as a last resort.

ELECTROCONVULSIVE THERAPY Electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) involves placing electrodes on a person's head and administering an electrical current strong enough to produce a seizure (**FIGURE 15.11**). This procedure was developed in Europe in the 1930s and tried on the first human in 1938. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was commonly used to treat some psychological disorders, including schizophrenia and depression.

The general public has a very negative view of ECT. Ken Kesey's 1962 novel *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, as well as the award-winning 1975 film version, did a great deal to expose the abuses in mental health care and graphically depicted ECT as well as the tragic effects of lobotomy. Although care for the disordered is

still far from perfect, many reforms have been implemented. ECT now generally occurs under anesthesia, with powerful muscle relaxants to eliminate motor convulsions and confine the seizure to the brain. As you will learn later in the chapter, ECT is particularly effective for some cases of severe depression, but there are some risks to its use.

TRANSCRANIAL MAGNETIC STIMULATION During transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), as discussed in Chapter 3, a powerful electrical current produces a magnetic field (about 40,000 times Earth's magnetic field). When rapidly switched on and off, this magnetic field induces an electrical current in the brain region directly below the wire coil, thereby interrupting neural function in that region (**FIGURE 15.12**).

In *single-pulse TMS*, the disruption of brain activity occurs only during the brief period of stimulation. For instance, a pulse given over a motor region might interfere with a person's ability to reach smoothly toward a target object. A pulse given over the speech region may disrupt speaking momentarily. If multiple pulses of TMS occur over an extended time, the procedure is known as *repeated TMS*. Here, the disruption can last beyond the period of direct stimulation. Researchers are investigating the therapeutic potential of this procedure in treating various disorders; as noted later in this chapter, TMS may be useful for treating depression (Loo & Mitchell, 2005; Padberg & George, 2009).

DEEP BRAIN STIMULATION One of the most dramatic new techniques for treating severe disorders is *deep brain stimulation (DBS)*. This technique involves surgically implanting electrodes deep within the brain. The location of the electrodes depends on which disorder is being treated. Mild electricity is then used to stimulate the brain at an optimal frequency and intensity, much the way a pacemaker stimulates the heart (**FIGURE 15.13**).

This procedure was first widely used to treat the symptoms of Parkinson's disease. As discussed in Chapter 3, Parkinson's is a disorder of the dopamine system and causes problems with movement. Electrodes implanted into motor regions of the brains of Parkinson's patients reverse many of the movement problems associated with the disease (DeLong & Wichmann, 2008). The success of DBS for Parkinson's is so great that it is now the treatment of choice for many patients. This is true, in part, because the drugs used to treat Parkinson's often cause undesirable side effects, such as increased involuntary movements. By contrast, DBS has few side effects and a low complication rate, as is typical of any minor surgical procedure. Given DBS's tremendous success in treating Parkinson's-with more than 75,000 people worldwide receiving this treatment (Shah et al., 2010)-DBS is being tested for treating other disorders, including psychological disorders. As you will learn, DBS might be especially valuable for treating severe OCD and depression.



FIGURE 15.12

Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation

In TMS, current flows through a wire coil placed over the scalp where a brain area is to be stimulated. The stimulation interrupts neural function in that region. TMS is used mainly to treat severe depression.



FIGURE 15.13 Deep Brain Stimulation

In DBS, an electrical generator placed just under the skin below the collarbone sends out continuous stimulation to the implanted electrodes. DBS is used for a variety of medical conditions (such as Parkinson's disease), OCD, and major depression.

Effectiveness of Treatment Is Determined by Empirical Evidence

The only way to know whether a treatment is valid is to conduct empirical research that compares the treatment with a control condition, such as receiving helpful information or having supportive listeners (Kazdin, 2008). In keeping with scientific principles, client-participants should be randomly assigned to conditions. The use of *randomized clinical trials* is one of the hallmarks of good research to establish whether a particular treatment is effective.

PLACEBO EFFECT Recall from Chapter 11 that a *placebo* is an inert substance. That is, it does not contain any active ingredients. Scientists often study a drug or treatment technique by comparing it with a control condition that consists of a placebo. As described in Chapter 2, research participants are typically assigned at random to either an experimental group or a control group. Randomization helps ensure that groups are comparable and also controls for many potential confounds. In studies of treatments for psychological disorders, the experimental group receives the drug or form of psychotherapy, and the control group receives a comparable placebo treatment. Ideally, everything about the two groups is as similar as possible. If the treatment consists of a large blue pill or weekly meetings with a therapist, the placebo group would take a large blue pill or meet weekly with a therapist. For the placebo group, however, the pill is inert (e.g., a "sugar pill"), or the therapist simply talks with rather than teaches the client specific cognitive or behavioral techniques being examined in the experimental condition. This improvement in mental health, attributed to the inert drug or minimal contact, is called the placebo effect.

For a placebo to reduce symptoms of psychopathology, the participant must believe it will. The person who receives the placebo must not know that, for example, the pills are chemically inert. Indeed, placebos that also produce minor physical reactions that people associate with drug effects—such as having a dry mouth—produce the strongest placebo effects. The placebo effect is "all in the head," but the effect is real—all of our thoughts and feelings are in our heads. Brain imaging shows that when patients have positive expectations about a placebo, the neural processes involved in responding to it are similar to the ones activated in response to a biologically active treatment (Benedetti, Mayberg, Wager, Stohler, & Zubieta, 2005). Consider drugs that interfere with the body's natural method of reducing pain. These drugs also make pain relievers or placebos equally ineffective (Amanzio & Benedetti, 1999). This result indicates that the body has responded in the same way to the pain relievers and to the placebos. Thus, for studies to show that a particular treatment is effective, the results of those studies must illustrate that the treatment's effects are stronger than placebo effects.

The use of placebos for psychotherapy is more complicated than for drug research (Herbert & Gaudiano, 2005), in part because a therapist likely knows if he or she was providing the treatment or control procedure. Moreover, what if just meeting and talking to a therapist is sufficient to treat psychological disorders? One of the longstanding debates in clinical research is whether all therapies are pretty much equally effective because of *common factors* involved in all therapist-client interactions or whether *specific factors* make some treatments better than others (Baskin, Tierney, Minami, & Wampold, 2003; Bjornsson, 2011). Although the opportunity to talk about one's problems to someone who is caring and empathic is important in all therapies, compelling evidence indicates that particular treatments are most effective for specific disorders and are less effective for others (Barlow, Bullis, Comer, & Ametaj, 2013).

placebo effect

An improvement in physical or mental health following treatment with a placebo-that is, with a drug or treatment that has no active component on the disorder being treated. **PSYCHOLOGICAL TREATMENTS** David Barlow (2004), a leading researcher on anxiety disorders, points out that findings from medical studies often lead to dramatic changes in treatment practice. Barlow provides the example of the sharp downturn in the use of hormone replacement therapy in postmenopausal women following evidence that this treatment causes cardiovascular and neurological problems. Similarly, within a year after evidence emerged that arthroscopic knee surgery did not produce better outcomes than sham surgery (in which there was no actual procedure), use of the knee surgery declined dramatically. Such developments reflect the increasing importance of *evidence-based treatments* in medicine. Barlow argues that psychological disorders should always be treated in ways that scientific research has shown to be effective. He prefers the term *psychological treatments* to distinguish evidence-based treatment from the more generic term *psychotherapy*, which refers to any form of therapy.

There is some debate regarding the most appropriate methods and criteria used to assess clinical research (e.g., Benjamin, 2005; Westen, Novotny, & Thompson-Brenner, 2004). As Barlow notes, however, three features characterize psychological treatments. First, treatments vary according to the particular psychological disorder and the person's specific psychological symptoms. Just as treatment for asthma differs from that for psoriasis, treatments for panic disorder are likely to differ from those for bulimia nervosa. Second, the techniques used in these treatments have been developed in the laboratory by psychologists, especially behavioral, cognitive, and social psychologists. Third, no overall grand theory guides treatment. Instead, treatment is based on evidence of its effectiveness.

Therapies Not Supported by Scientific Evidence Can Be Dangerous

Just as we need to use critical thinking to recognize and avoid flawed science, we also need to recognize and avoid therapies with no scientific basis to confirm their effectiveness. Unfortunately, many available therapies have no scientific basis. Such therapies include ones in which people reenact their own births, scream, or have their body parts manipulated (**FIGURE 15.14**).

Some treatments widely believed to be effective are actually counterproductive. These programs include encouraging people to describe their experiences following major trauma, such as an earthquake; scaring adolescents away from committing crimes by exposing them to prisoners or tough treatments; having police officers run drug education programs such as DARE; and using hypnosis to recover painful memories. These methods not only lack adequate evidence but also may produce results opposite to those intended (Hines, 2003; Lilienfeld, 2007). That is, people debriefed after natural disasters are slightly more likely to develop posttraumatic stress disorder than those who are not debriefed, teens in "scared straight" programs show an increase in conduct problems, children in DARE programs are more likely to drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes than children who do not attend such programs, and hypnosis can produce false memories (as discussed in Chapter 7, "Attention and Memory").

In addition, many self-help books make questionable claims. Consider *Make Anyone Fall in Love with You in 5 Minutes* or *Three Easy Steps for Having High Self-Esteem*. It is important to recognize the difference between evidence-based psychotherapies and "alternative," or "fringe," therapies because the latter can prevent people from getting effective treatment and may even be dangerous. In one tragic case, a 10-year-old girl died from suffocation after being wrapped in a blanket for 70 minutes during a supposed therapy session to simulate her own birth, an untested



FIGURE 15.14 John Lennon, Yoko Ono, and Primal Scream Therapy

The late Beatle John Lennon and his wife, the artist Yoko Ono, are probably the most famous people to have undergone scream therapy. They undertook this treatment for about four months in 1970. After ending the treatment early, Lennon said that he found it helpful but unnecessary– that he knew himself better than the therapist could. Lennon and Ono both used screams in their music. Regardless of possible artistic inspiration, there is no scientific evidence that scream therapy has any beneficial effect. and unscientific method being used to correct the child's unruly behavior (Lowe, 2001). The people conducting the session were unlicensed, not having passed the tests that certify knowledge about psychotherapy.

A Variety of Providers Can Assist in Treatment for Psychological Disorders

As noted in Chapter 14, nearly half of all Americans meet *DSM* criteria for a psychological disorder at some point in their lives, with 25 percent of the population meeting criteria within any given year (Kessler & Wang, 2008). A dizzying array of providers offer treatment. The providers range from those with limited training (e.g., former addicts who provide peer counseling) to those with advanced degrees in psychopathology and its treatment. In addition to mental health specialists, regular health care providers (e.g., internists, pediatricians), human-services workers (e.g., school counselors), and volunteers (e.g., self-help groups) also assist people with psychological disorders. No matter who administers the therapy, however, most of the techniques used have emerged from psychological laboratories.

As summarized in **TABLE 15.1**, types of specialized mental health practitioners include the following:

• *Clinical psychologists* typically have a doctoral degree. The graduate training for a Ph.D. takes four to six years, and it emphasizes the design and analysis of research and the use of treatments that have empirical support. Many clinical psychologists work in academic or hospital settings, where many of them conduct research in addition to providing treatment.

A relatively new training program in clinical psychology leads to the Psy.D. This program emphasizes clinical skills over research and is meant for those who intend to provide direct mental health services. Clinical psychologists typically are not able to prescribe medications, although efforts are under way to give them such privileges. In New Mexico and Louisiana, clinical psychologists with specialized training in psychoactive drugs can prescribe medications; similar legislation is being proposed elsewhere in the United States (McGrath, 2010).

- Psychiatrists have a medical degree (M.D.) and three to four additional years of specialized training in residency programs. They often work in hospitals or in private practice. Psychiatrists are the only mental health practitioners legally authorized to prescribe drugs in most of the United States.
- *Counseling psychologists* often have a Ph.D. in counseling psychology. They typically deal with problems of adjustment and life stress that do not involve psychological disorders, such as stress related to scholastic, marital, and occupational problems. Most colleges have staff members who specialize in problems common to students, such as test anxiety, learning disorders, sleep problems, and family issues.
- Psychiatric social workers most often have a master's degree in social work (MSW) and specialized training in mental health care. In addition to working with patients in psychiatric hospitals, they may visit people in their homes and address problems arising from the home environments. Their work might include helping people receive appropriate resources from social and community agencies.
- *Psychiatric nurses* typically have a bachelor's degree in nursing (BSN) and special training in the care of those with disorders. They often work in hospitals or in residential treatment programs that specialize in serious psychological disorders.

 Paraprofessionals have limited advanced training, do not need a degree, and usually work under supervision. They assist those with mental health problems in the challenges of daily living. For example, they may work in crisis intervention, pastoral counseling, or community outreach programs, or they may supervise clients of residential treatment programs.

SPECIALTY	DEGREE	PLACEMENT
Clinical psychologists	Ph.D. or Psy.D.	Academic or hospital settings
Psychiatrists	Medical degree (M.D.)	Hospitals or private practice
Counseling psychologists	Ph.D.	Schools/colleges (counselors, academic settings) or private practice
Psychiatric social workers	Master's in social work (MSW)	Psychiatric hospitals, house calls
Psychiatric nurses	Bachelor's in nursing (BSN)	Hospitals or residential treatment programs
Paraprofessionals	Limited advanced training	Outreach programs, residential treatment programs

Table 15.1 Types of Specialized Mental Health Practitioners

One of the central problems with treating psychological disorders is that there simply are not enough trained people available to provide traditional one-on-one psychotherapy to all who need it. After all, there are only around 700,000 mental health service providers in the United States (Hoge et al., 2007), and if one-quarter of the population has a disorder, then approximately 75 million people could benefit from treatment. Accordingly, a number of programs have been developed to broaden the reach of treatment (Kazdin & Blase, 2011). For instance, telephone hotlines, where trained volunteers help people in crisis, can serve a useful role in helping people deal with psychological issues.

Advances in technology have produced methods for providing treatment to those who are not physically present. Technology-based treatments use minimal contact with therapists and rely on smartphones, computer programs, or the Internet to offer some form of psychological treatment. For instance, smartphones can use applications that allow people to keep track of their moods and mental states, and they can recommend specific exercises that people can use to deal with what they are thinking and feeling. These methods appear to be especially useful for treating problems with addiction, including drug abuse, pathological gambling, and smoking (Newman, Szkodny, Llera, & Przeworski, 2011). For example, the Web site ModeratedDrinking.com assists people who are dealing with alcohol problems. A study that randomly assigned problem drinkers to a control group or a Web-based treatment at ModeratedDrinking.com found that the program led to improved long-term outcomes in days abstaining from alcohol, although it was mainly effective for those who were not heavy drinkers (Hester, Delaney, & Campbell, 2011). Internet-based and computer-based cognitive-behavioral therapy are also successful for the treatment of anxiety disorders, including panic disorder (Schmidt & Keough, 2011).

Using Psychology in Your Life



Therapist Who Can Help Me?

 ollege students are sometimes apprehensive about seeking therapeutic support for dealing with life stressors or psychological problems. That apprehension is understandable. After all, stepping into a stranger's office and disclosing your personal thoughts and feelings is not easy (FIGURE 15.15). Nor is it easy to admit-to yourself or others-that you need extra support. If you decide the time has come, knowing how to find a therapist can quell some of the apprehension you might be feeling. The following questions and answers address issues commonly on the minds of therapy-seeking college students.

How do I know if I need therapy? Many times family members, friends, professors, or physicians encourage college students to seek help for psychological problems. For example, if a student complains about feeling tired all the time, a doctor might ask if the student has been under stress or feeling sad. These conditions might indicate that the person is suffering from depression and could be helped by a therapist. Of course, sometimes a student knows he or she has a psychological problem and does not need encouragement to



FIGURE 15.15 Meeting with a Therapist

The relationship between client and therapist is necessarily intimate. A person with some sort of problem meets with a professional who seeks to offer help. If the relationship succeeds, the trust that develops between the client and the therapist will be a major component of that success.

seek out a therapist. For example, a student who struggles night after night to fall asleep because of constant worry about academic performance might seek help for dealing with anxiety.

You do not have to be 100 percent certain that you need therapy before

Summing Up

How Are Psychological Disorders Treated?

- Psychotherapy is formal psychological treatment aimed at changing thought and behavior.
- Psychodynamic therapy provides people with insight.
- Humanistic therapies foster growth through self-understanding.
- Behavior therapies change maladaptive behaviors.
- Cognitive therapies change maladaptive thought patterns.
- Group therapies vary widely, but generally they are inexpensive, develop participants' social skills, and provide social support to participants.
- Family therapy focuses on family dynamics, adopting a systems approach to psychotherapy.
- An individual's cultural background can be an important determinant of whether she or he will seek therapy and what type of therapy is most likely to be effective.
- Psychopharmacology is based on the idea that maladaptive behavior results from neurological dysfunction, and psychotropic medications are therefore aimed at correcting imbalances of neurotransmitters in the brain.
- Categories of psychotropic medications include anti-anxiety drugs, antidepressants, and antipsychotics. When traditional treatments fail, alternative biological methods may be used, including ECT, TMS, and DBS.
- Evidence-based treatments should be used for psychological disorders.

seeking it out. You can think of the first couple of sessions as a trial period to help you figure out if therapy might be a valuable tool in your situation.

What kinds of issues can therapists help with? Therapists can help students deal with various issues, ranging from acute stressors (e.g., preparing to move across the country for graduate school) to chronic concerns (e.g., managing generalized anxiety disorder). They can help students make lifestyle or behavior changes or provide treatments if the students have a psychological disorder.

How do I find a therapist who is a good fit with me and my needs? Most college campuses have counselors who can direct students to appropriate treatment providers. In addition, you can ask friends, teachers, and clergy members if they can recommend someone in your area. And organizations such as the American Psychological Association host referral services, many of which are free and Web-based.

But just because you have the name and phone number of a therapist does not mean she or he will be a good fit

for you. To make that determination, you will want to do some information gathering up front. First, what are your preferences? Do you think you would be more comfortable working with someone who is the same gender as you? Or with someone from a similar cultural background? Second, it is a good idea to ask the therapist about her or his level of experience helping people with your particular problem (e.g., depression, procrastination, coming out to your parents). Third, pay attention to your comfort level as you interact with the therapist during the first session or two. It is critical that you find a therapist who is trustworthy and caring. The initial consultation should make you feel at ease and hopeful that your issue can be resolved.

If you do not feel a connection with one therapist, seek another. In other words, it might take more than one try for you to find someone you want to work with. This effort will be well spent. Ultimately, the rapport you feel with your therapist will be a key indicator of therapeutic success. Choosing the right therapist can be difficult, but it is extremely important for ensuring successful treatment.

Will my therapist prescribe medication? Typically, only psychiatrists (medical doctors with special training in treating psychological disorders; see "A Variety of Providers Can Assist in Treatment for Psychological Disorders") are legally permitted to prescribe medication (though the laws vary by state). That said, almost all therapists have arrangements with physicians who can prescribe medications, including psychotropic drugs, if necessary. The question of the ability to prescribe medication should play only a minor role in the choice of therapist. It is more important to find someone who strikes you as empathic and who is experienced in the effective treatments for your problem.

Remember, therapy involves a kind of relationship. Just as you would not expect every first date to be a love connection, do not expect every therapist to be a good fit for you. As in dating, you might have to shop around to find someone you connect with.

- Psychological treatments differ from psychotherapy in that they vary according to the particular disorder being treated, are developed in labs by psychologists, and are not guided by an overall grand theory.
- Therapies not supported by empirical research can be ineffective and sometimes dangerous.
- The many types of specialized practitioners who assist people with psychological disorders include clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, counseling psychologists, psychiatric social workers, psychiatric nurses, and paraprofessionals.

Measuring Up

- Identify the psychotherapeutic orientation that each of the following scenarios typifies. Response options include client-centered therapy, cognitive-behavioral therapy, group therapy, and psychodynamic therapy.
 - a. Allen seeks therapy to help him cope with social anxiety and panic attacks. During a review of Allen's thought records from the previous week, Allen's therapist says, "Allen, I see you had one panic attack last week during one of your attempts to socialize. On a scale of 0 to 10 in severity, you rated the panic attack an 8. Tell me about the thoughts you had just before and during the attack. This will help us understand what triggered your panic attack."
 - b. During a therapy session, Carlos's therapist says, "Carlos, you've described feeling angry toward your wife when she asks how you're dealing with your father's death. I sensed frustration and anger toward me when I asked you about his death just

a moment ago. Usually anger covers more uncomfortable feelings, like hurt, pain, and anguish. If you put your anger aside for a moment, what emotion comes to the surface?"

- c. Following Parin's expression of despair that his girlfriend broke up with him, his therapist responds empathically by saying, "Parin, you feel devastated knowing your love for her was not enough to keep the two of you together. I am sorry you are experiencing so much pain."
- 2. Identify the disorder most commonly treated with each medication. Response options are anxiety, depression, and schizophrenia or impaired thought.
 - a. antipsychotics
 - **b.** MAO inhibitors
 - c. tranquilizers
- 3. Which of the following procedures is critical for determining whether a psychological treatment is valid?
 - a. comparing the treatment with a nontreated control group
 - b. comparing the treatment with a placebo-treated control group
 - ensuring that participants in the treatment and control groups are randomly assigned to conditions
 - **d.** none of the above
 - e. only b and c

ANSWERS: (1) a. cognifive-behavioral therapy; b. psychodynamic therapy; c. client-centered therapy.
(2) a. schizophrenia or impaired thought; b. depression; c. anxiety.
(3) e. Only b and c.

Learning Objectives

- Understand why cognitive and behavioral treatments are preferred to drug treatments for anxiety disorders.
- Recognize when combined therapies or alternative therapies are used to treat depressive disorders.
- Understand why atypical antipsychotics are used to treat bipolar disorder.
- Describe the advantages of atypical antipsychotics in the treatment of schizophrenia.

15.2 What Are the Most Effective Treatments?

Research over the past three decades has shown that certain types of treatments are particularly effective for specific types of psychological disorders (Barlow et al., 2013). Other treatments do not have empirical support. Moreover, the scientific study of treatment indicates that although some psychological disorders are quite easily treated, others are not. For instance, highly effective treatments exist for anxiety disorders, mood disorders, and sexual dysfunction, but few treatments for alcoholism are superior to the natural course of recovery that many people undergo without psychological treatment (Seligman, Walker, & Rosenhan, 2001). People who experience depression following the death of a loved one usually feel better with the passage of time. That is, people often resolve personal problems on their own without psychological treatment. Because people tend to enter therapy when they experience crises, they often show improvements no matter what therapy they receive. The following sections examine the evidence used to find the treatments of choice for some of the most common psychological disorders.

Treatments That Focus on Behavior and on Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders

Treatment approaches to anxiety disorders have had mixed success. In the era when Freudian psychoanalytic theory governed the classification of psychological disorders, anxiety disorders were thought to result from repressed sexual and aggressive impulses. This underlying cause, rather than specific symptoms, was of interest to the therapist. Ultimately, psychoanalytic theory did not prove useful for treating anxiety disorders. The accumulated evidence suggests that cognitive-behavioral therapy works best to treat most adult anxiety disorders (Hofmann & Smits, 2008).

Anxiety-reducing drugs are also beneficial in some cases. With drugs, however, there are risks of side effects and, after drug treatment is terminated, the risk of relapse. For instance, tranquilizers work in the short term for generalized anxiety disorder, but they do little to alleviate the source of anxiety and are addictive. Therefore, they are not used much today. Antidepressant drugs that block the reuptake of both serotonin and norepinephrine have been effective for treating generalized anxiety disorder (Hartford et al., 2007; Nicolini et al., 2008). As with all drugs, the effects may be limited to the period during which the drug is taken. By contrast, the effects of cognitive-behavioral therapy persist long after treatment (Hollon, Stewart, & Strunk, 2006).

SPECIFIC PHOBIAS As discussed in Chapter 14, specific phobias are characterized by the fear and avoidance of particular stimuli, such as heights, blood, and spiders. Learning theory suggests these fears are acquired either through experiencing a trauma or by observing similar fear in others. Most phobias, however, apparently develop in the absence of any particular precipitating event. Although learning theory cannot completely explain the development of phobias, behavioral techniques are the treatment of choice. As noted earlier, exposure therapy is the most effective treatment for overcoming fear (Abramowitz, 2013).

One of the classic methods used to treat phobias is a form of behavior therapy known as systematic desensitization, mentioned earlier. The client first makes a *fear hierarchy:* a list of situations in which fear is aroused, in ascending order. The example in **TABLE 15.2** is from a client's therapy to conquer a fear of heights in order to go mountain climbing. The next step is exposure, in which the client is asked to imagine or enact scenarios that become progressively more upsetting. The theory behind this technique is that exposure to the threatening stimulus will extinguish as the client learns new, nonthreatening associations.

To expose clients without putting them in danger, practitioners may use *virtual environments*, sometimes called *virtual reality*. Computers can simulate the environments and the feared objects (**FIGURE 15.16**). There is substantial evidence that exposure to these virtual environments can reduce fear responses (Rothbaum et al., 1999).

Used along with the behavioral methods, some cognitive strategies have also proved useful for the treatment of phobia. If the person is not aware that the particular fear is irrational, therapy is likely to begin by increasing his or her awareness of the thought processes that maintain the fear of the stimulus.

Brain imaging data indicate that successful treatment with cognitive-behavioral therapy alters the way the brain processes the fear stimulus. In one study, research participants suffering from severe spider phobia received brain scans while looking at pictures of spiders (Paquette et al., 2003). The participants whose treatment had been successful showed decreased activation in a frontal brain region involved in the regulation of emotion. These findings suggest that psychotherapy effectively "rewires" the brain and, therefore, that both psychotherapy and medication affect the underlying biology of psychological disorders.

Pharmacological treatments for phobias sometimes include tranquilizers. These drugs can help people handle immediate fears. As soon as the drugs wear off, however, the fears return. Studies have suggested that SSRIs might be useful for social anxiety disorder (social phobia). Indeed, in one comprehensive study, researchers found



FIGURE 15.16 Using Virtual Environments to Conquer Fear

Computer-generated images can simulate feared environments or social interactions. For example, the client can virtually stand on the edge of a very tall building or virtually fly in an aircraft. The client can conquer the virtual environment before taking on the feared situation in real life.
Table 15.2 Anxiety Hierarchy

DEGREE OF FEAR	SITUATION		
5	I'm standing on the balcony of the ton floor of an apartment tower		
10			
10	I'm standing on a stepladder in the kitchen to change a lightbulb.		
15	I'm walking on a ridge. The edge is hidden by shrubs and treetops.		
20	I'm sitting on the slope of a mountain, looking out over the horizon.		
25	I'm crossing a bridge 6 feet above a creek. The bridge consists of an 18-inch-wide board with a handrail on one side.		
30	I'm riding a ski lift 8 feet above the ground.		
35	I'm crossing a shallow, wide creek on an 18-inch-wide board, 3 feet above water level.		
40	I'm climbing a ladder outside the house to reach a second-story window.		
45	I'm pulling myself up a 30-degree wet, slippery slope on a steel cable.		
50	I'm scrambling up a rock, 8 feet high.		
55	I'm walking 10 feet on a resilient, 18-inch-wide board, which spans an 8-foot-deep gulch.		
60	I'm walking on a wide plateau, 2 feet from the edge of a cliff.		
65	I'm skiing an intermediate hill. The snow is packed.		
70	I'm walking over a railway trestle.		
75	I'm walking on the side of an embankment. The path slopes to the outside.		
80	I'm riding a chair lift 15 feet above the ground.		
85	I'm walking up a long, steep slope.		
90	I'm walking up (or down) a 15-degree slope on a 3-foot-wide trail. On one side of the trail the terrain drops down sharply; on the other side is a steep upward slope.		
95	I'm walking on a 3-foot-wide ridge. The trail slopes on one side are more than 25 degrees steep.		
100	I'm walking on a 2-foot-wide ridge. The trail slopes on either side are more than 25 degrees.		

that both Prozac and cognitive-behavioral therapy were equally effective in treating social anxiety disorder (Davidson et al., 2004). After 14 weeks, symptoms exhibited by participants in the study did not differ. Those taking Prozac, however, had more physical side effects, such as lack of sexual interest. Thus cognitive-behavioral therapies are the treatments of choice for phobia.

PANIC DISORDER Many people sometimes experience symptoms of a panic attack (**FIGURE 15.17**). They react to these symptoms in different ways. Some shrug off the symptoms. Others interpret heart palpitations as the beginnings of a heart attack or hyperventilation as a sign of suffocation. Panic disorder has multiple components, and each symptom may require a different treatment. This clinical observation is supported by the finding that imipramine, a tricyclic antidepressant, prevents panic

attacks but does not reduce the anticipatory anxiety that occurs when people fear they might have an attack. To break the learned association between the physical symptoms and the feeling of impending doom, cognitive-behavioral therapy can be effective.

An important psychotherapeutic method for treating panic disorder is based on cognitive therapy. When people feel anxious, they tend to overestimate the probability of danger. Thus, they potentially contribute to their rising feelings of panic. Cognitive restructuring addresses ways of reacting to the symptoms of a panic attack. First, the client identifies his or her specific fears, such as having a heart attack or fainting. The client then estimates how many panic attacks he or she has experienced. The

therapist helps the client assign percentages to specific fears and then compare these numbers with the actual number of times the fears have been realized. For example, a client might estimate that she fears having a heart attack during 90 percent of her panic attacks and fainting during 85 percent of her attacks. The therapist can then point out that the actual rate of occurrence was zero. In fact, people do not faint during panic attacks. The physical symptoms of a panic attack, such as having a racing heart, are the opposite of fainting.

Even if people recognize the irrationality of their fears, they often still suffer panic attacks. From a cognitive-behavioral perspective, the attacks continue because of a conditioned response to the trigger (e.g., shortness of breath). The goal of therapy is to break the connection between the trigger symptom and the resulting panic. This break can be made by exposure treatment. For example, the therapist might induce feelings of panic—perhaps by having the client breathe in and out through a straw to bring about hyperventilation or by spinning the client rapidly in a chair. Whatever the method, it is done repeatedly to induce habituation and then extinction.

In the treatment of panic attacks, cognitive-behavioral therapy appears to be as effective as or more effective than medication (Schmidt & Keough, 2011). For example, David Barlow and colleagues (2000) found that in the short term, cognitive-behavioral therapy alone and an antidepressant alone were more effective than a placebo for treating panic disorder. Moreover, cognitive-behavioral therapy and an antidepressant did not differ in results. Six months after treatment had ended, however, those who received psychotherapy were less likely to relapse than those who had taken medication. These results support the conclusion that cognitive-behavioral therapy is the treatment of choice for panic disorder, as it is for the other anxiety disorders.

Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder

As discussed in Chapter 14, obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) is a combination of recurrent intrusive thoughts (obsessions) and behaviors that an individual feels compelled to perform over and over (compulsions). Because these obsessions and compulsions make people anxious, many practitioners believed that people with OCD would respond to drug treatment. Traditional antianxiety drugs are completely ineffective for OCD, however. This ineffectiveness is one of the reasons that *DSM-5* separates OCD from anxiety disorders.

When SSRIs were introduced to treat depression, they were particularly effective in reducing the obsessive components of some depressive disorders. For example, they helped reduce the constant feelings of worthlessness experienced by people when they suffer from depression. We do not know the reasons for these effects.



FIGURE 15.17 Panic Attacks The stress of being in a crowd can bring on a panic attack, especially in someone who has an anxiety disorder.



FIGURE 15.18 Obsessive Ritual Handwashing is one OCD ritual.

As a result of the initial success, however, SSRIs were tried with people suffering from OCD and were found to be effective (Rapoport, 1989, 1991). The drug of choice for OCD is clomipramine, a potent serotonin reuptake inhibitor. It is not a true SSRI, since it blocks reuptake of other neurotransmitters as well, but its strong enhancement of the effects of serotonin appears to make it effective for OCD.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy is also effective for OCD (Franklin & Foa, 2011). The two most important components of behavioral therapy for OCD are exposure and response prevention. The person is directly exposed to the stimuli that trigger compulsive behavior but is prevented from engaging in the behavior. This treatment derives from the theory that a particular stimulus triggers anxiety and that performing the compulsive behavior reduces the anxiety. For example, a person might compulsively wash his or her hands after touching a doorknob, using a public telephone, or shaking hands with someone (**FIGURE 15.18**). In exposure and response-prevention therapy, the person would be required to touch a doorknob and then would be instructed not to wash his or her hands afterward. The goal is to break the conditioned link between a particular stimulus and a compulsive behavior. Some cognitive therapies are also useful for OCD, such as helping the client recognize that most people occasionally experience unwanted thoughts and compulsions. In fact, unwanted thoughts and compulsions are a normal part of human experience.

In the 1990s, researchers imaged the brains of people with OCD who were being treated either with Prozac or with cognitive-behavioral therapy. Those in both treatment groups showed the same changes in neural activity (Baxter et al., 1992; Schwartz,



Stoessel, Baxter, Martin, & Phelps, 1996). Recall the findings, discussed earlier, that the treatment for a spider phobia led to changes in brain activity. These studies provide further evidence that psychotherapies in which people reinterpret their fears and change their behaviors can in fact change the way their brains function.

How does drug treatment compare with cognitive-behavioral therapy for OCD? In one study, the use of exposure and response prevention proved superior to the use of clomipramine, the drug of choice for OCD, although both were better than a placebo (Foa et al., 2005; **FIGURE 15.19**). Cognitivebehavioral therapy may thus be a more effective way of treating OCD than medication, especially over the long term (Foa et al., 2005). There is

FIGURE 15.19

Treatments for Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder

Treatments for OCD include the drug clomipramine, exposure, and response prevention. This graph shows how, in the 2005 study by Foa and colleagues, the numbers of symptoms changed over a period of 12 weeks. With each type of treatment, rates of success are different. evidence that, at a minimum, adding CBT to SSRI treatment may improve outcomes (Simpson et al., 2008). Therefore, many practitioners recommend the combination of these treatments (Franklin & Foa, 2011).

One exciting possibility is that deep brain stimulation (DBS) may be an effective treatment for those with OCD who have not found relief from CBT or medications. Early studies used psychosurgery to remove brain regions thought to contribute to OCD. There were promising outcomes, and these surgical interventions involved much less damage than earlier methods, such as lobotomy. Still, brain surgery is inherently a risky therapy because it is irreversible. Deep brain stimulation offers new hope.

Consider the case of Mr. A., a 56-year-old man suffering from a severely debilitating case of OCD that had lasted for more than four decades. Mr. A. had a number of obsessions about body parts and about gastrointestinal functioning. His compulsions included repetitive movements and dietary restrictions. Researchers implanted DBS electrodes into the caudate, an area of the brain that is abnormal among people with OCD. DBS was very effective for Mr. A., who showed significant remission from symptoms after six months of treatment. After more than two years, Mr. A. continued to have stunning improvements in psychological functioning and the quality of his daily living (Aouizerate et al., 2004).

DBS leads to a clinically significant reduction of symptoms and increased daily functioning in about two-thirds of those receiving treatment (Greenberg et al., 2008). Although this method remains exploratory, it holds great promise for improving quality of life for those who have not benefited from other forms of treatment (Ooms et al., 2014).

Many Effective Treatments Are Available for Depressive Disorders

As discussed in Chapter 14, depressive disorders characterized by low mood or loss of interest in pleasurable activities. This condition is one of the most widespread psychological disorders, and it has become more common over the past few decades (Hollon et al., 2002). Fortunately, scientific research has validated a number of effective treatments. There is no "best" way to treat depressive disorders. Many approaches are available, and ongoing research is determining which type of therapy works best for which types of individuals.

ANTIDEPRESSANT TREATMENT In the 1950s, tuberculosis was a major health problem in the United States, particularly in urban areas. A common treatment was iproniazid. This drug reduced bacteria associated with tuberculosis in patients' saliva. It also stimulated patients' appetites, increased their energy levels, and gave them an overall sense of well-being. In 1957, researchers who had noted iproniazid's effect on mood reported preliminary success in using it to treat depression. In the following year, nearly half a million patients suffering from depression were given the drug.

Iproniazid is an MAO inhibitor. MAO inhibitors can be toxic because of their effects on various physiological systems. Patients taking these drugs must avoid ingesting any substances containing tyramine, an amino acid found in various foods, including red wine, cured meats, and aged cheeses. The interaction of an MAO inhibitor and tyramine can result in severe, sometimes lethal elevations in blood pressure. In addition, the interaction of an MAO inhibitor with particular prescription and over-thecounter medications can be fatal. As a result of these complications, MAO inhibitors are generally reserved for people who do not respond to other antidepressants.

Tricyclics, another type of antidepressant, were also identified in the 1950s. One of these—imipramine, developed as an antihistamine—was found effective in relieving clinical depression. This drug and others like it act on neurotransmitters as well as on the histamine system. Tricyclics are extremely effective antidepressants. Because of their broad-based action, however, they have a number of unpleasant side effects. For example, their use can result in drowsiness, weight gain, sweating, constipation, heart palpitations, dry mouth, or any combination of such problems.

The discovery of these early antidepressants was largely serendipitous. Subsequently, researchers began to search for antidepressants that did not affect multiple physiological and neurological systems and so would not have such troublesome

What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning

Failing to Accurately Judge Source Credibility: Should You Trust Studies Sponsored by Drug Companies?

The arrival of Prozac on the market, in 1987, led to a dramatic shift in the treatment of depression (FIGURE 15.20). Today, most people who experience depression are first treated by a medical doctor. The doctor is likely to prescribe an antidepressant rather than refer the person to a psychotherapist. An estimated 1 in 10 Americans over age 6 takes antidepressant medication (Angell, 2011).

Concern is growing that the increased use of antidepressants (and other pharmacological treatments for psychological disorders) may be due in part to the marketing pressures of the drug industry. Critics charge that promotions by drug companies have given doctors an inflated sense of the evidence for the effectiveness of pharmacological treatment. Doctors may be relying on evidence funded by producers of the drugs.

Though the research may be sourced to scientists, it is paid for by the pharmaceutical industry. Such payments can represent a conflict of interest because the researcher may be motivated, even unconsciously, to obtain findings that please the company. After all, the researcher probably wants future funding from the company. Recall from Chapter 2 that experimenter bias can affect research outcomes. For this reason, many scientific journals require investigators to disclose any financial interests they have in the research.

There are also biases in the literature on the effectiveness of drug therCritics charge that promotions by drug companies have given doctors an inflated sense of the evidence for the effectiveness of pharmacological treatment.

apy (Turner, Matthews, Linardatos, Tell, & Rosenthal, 2008). In science, it is much easier to publish positive results-those that indicate treatment success-than negative results. Moreover, drug companies are much more likely to publicize studies that show their drugs are effective than those that do not. They might even attempt to suppress publication of research that questions their drugs' effectiveness. If they paid for the study, part of the agreement may give the drug company control over which aspects of the study can be published. How can researchers tell whether published studies present a different story than unpublished studies? The psychologist Irving Kirsch found a way to answer that question.

In approving a new drug, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) requires drug companies to submit all

clinical studies they have conducted regardless of whether those findings were ever published. Kirsch and colleagues (2008) used a Freedom of Information Act request to obtain all placebo-controlled studies of the most widely used antidepressants. Of the 42 studies they obtained, most had negative results. Overall, placebos were 80 percent as effective as antidepressants, and the change in self-reported depressive symptoms showed that improvement on drugs compared with placebos was modest at best. To be clear: People felt less depressed after taking antidepressants, but they also felt better after taking placebos, and thus it is possible that placebo effects play a prominent role in the success of antidepressant drug treatments. Of course, it would be unethical to prescribe a placebo treatment, so that is not a treatment option. Moreover, taking antidepressants is helpful to many people. If you are on such a medication and have any concerns, you should discuss your situation with your physician.

Thus, a look at all the data raises questions about whether drug company claims about the highly effective nature of drug treatments for depression are supported by empirical research. The drug companies focus on the studies that show their drugs work. This fact may lead those who prescribe or take the medications to overestimate how much the drugs will help alleviate psychological disorders, such as depression.



Depression is a serious medical condition, which can lead to suicidal thoughts and behavior. A combined analysis of 9 antidepressants showed an increased risk from 2% to 4% in people under 18. This risk must be balanced with the medical need. Those starting medication should be watched closely for suicidal thoughts, worsening of depression, or unusual changes in behavior. In children and teens, ZOLOFT is only approved for use in those with obsessive-compulsive disorder.

ZOLOFT is not for everyone. People taking MAOIs or pimozide shouldn't take ZOLOFT. Side effects may include dry mouth, insomnia, sexual side effects, diarrhea, nausea and sleepiness. In studies, few people were bothered enough by side effects to stop taking ZOLOFT.

ZOLOFT is not habit forming and is not associated with weight gain. So talk to your doctor about how ZOLOFT might help you. ZOLOFT comes in 25mg, 50mg, and 100mg tablets. You and your doctor can discuss the right dose for you. For more information, please see the following page, call 1-800-6-ZOLOFT (696-5638) or visit ZOLOFT.com.

FIGURE 15.20 Antidepressants on the Market

This advertisement is a sample of the claims made for the antidepressant Zoloft.



"Before Prozac, she loathed company."

side effects. In the 1980s, researchers developed Prozac. This SSRI does not affect histamine or acetylcholine. Therefore, it has none of the side effects associated with the tricyclic antidepressants, although it occasionally causes insomnia, headache, weight loss, and sexual dysfunction. Because they have fewer serious side effects than MAO inhibitors, Prozac and other SSRIs began to be prescribed more frequently. A number of other drug treatments for depressive disorders have also been validated. For example, bupropion (brand name Wellbutrin) affects many neurotransmitter systems, but it has fewer side effects for most people than other drugs. Unlike most antidepressants, bupropion does not cause sexual dysfunction. Unlike SSRIs, bupropion is not an effective treatment for panic disorder and OCD.

Researchers have attempted to determine how particular types of people will respond to antidepressants. Still, physicians often must resort to a trial-and-error approach in treating people who are experiencing depression. No single drug stands out as being most effective. There is some evidence that tricyclics might be beneficial for the most serious depressive disorders, especially

for hospitalized patients (Anderson, 2000). SSRIs are generally considered first-line medications because they have the fewest serious side effects (Olfson et al., 2002). This is why they are often used for persistent depressive disorder, which—as noted in Chapter 14—is less severe than major depressive disorder (Craighead & Dunlop, 2014). Often the decision of which drug to use depends on the person's overall medical health and the possible side effects of each medication.

The use of antidepressants is based on the belief that depression (like other psychological disorders) is caused by an imbalance in neurotransmitters or problems with neural receptors. Recently, a number of critics have challenged this view, arguing that there is no evidence to suggest that people with depression had abnormal brain functioning before drug treatment (Angell, 2011). Indeed, faulty logical reasoning may be at play.

Yes, drugs such as SSRIs seem to help symptoms of depression. This success has been viewed as evidence that depression is caused by an abnormality in serotonin function. As a critical thinker, you probably recognize that this connection is not good proof. After all, when you have a cold, you might take a medication that treats your runny nose. Doing so does not prove that your cold was caused by your runny nose. Thus, antidepressants may help treat the symptoms of depression without having any influence on the underlying cause. Moreover, as discussed in this chapter's "What to Believe?" feature, some of the success of SSRIs might be due to placebo effects.

COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL TREATMENT Not all depressed people benefit from antidepressant medications. In addition, some people cannot or will not tolerate the side effects. Fortunately, cognitive-behavioral therapy is just as effective as antidepressants in treating depressive disorders (Hollon et al., 2002). From a cognitive perspective, people who become depressed do so because of automatic, irrational thoughts. According to the cognitive distortion model developed by Aaron Beck, depression is the result of a cognitive triad of negative thoughts about oneself, the situation, and the future (see Figure 14.20). The thought patterns of people with depressive disorders differ from the thought patterns of people with anxiety disorders. That is, people with anxiety disorders worry about the future. People with depressive disorders think

Date	Event	Emotion	Automatic thoughts
April 4	Boss seemed annoyed.	Sad, anxions, worried	Oh, what have I done now? If I keep making him angry, I'm going to get fired.
April 5	Husband didn't want to make love.	Sad	I'm so fat and ngly.
April 7	Boss yelled at another employee.	Anxions	l'm next.
April 9	Husband said he's taking a long business trip next month.	Sad, defeated	He's probably got a mistress somewhere. My marriage is falling apart.
April 10	Neighbor bronght over some cookies.	A little happy, mostly sad	She probably thinks I can't cook. I look like such a mess all the time. And my house was a disaster when she came in!

FIGURE 15.21 Recording Thoughts

Patients in cognitive-behavioral therapy may be asked to keep a record of events and their reactions to those events, including their automatic thoughts. Such a log can help identify patterns in thought and behavior. This example comes from a person suffering from depression.

about how they have failed in the past, how poorly they are dealing with the present situation, and how terrible the future will be.

The goal of the cognitive-behavioral treatment of depression is to help the person think more adaptively. This change is intended to improve mood and behavior. The specific treatment is adapted to the individual, but some general principles apply to this type of therapy. People may be asked to recognize and record their negative thoughts (**FIGURE 15.21**). Thinking about situations in a negative way can become automatic, and recognizing these thought patterns can be difficult. Once the patterns are identified and monitored, the clinician can help the client recognize other ways of viewing the same situation that are not so dysfunctional.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy can be effective on its own, but combining it with antidepressant medication can be more effective than either one of these approaches alone (Cuijpers et al., 2014). In addition, the response rates and remission rates of the combined-treatment approach are extremely good (Keller et al., 2000; Kocsis et al., 2003). The issue is not drugs versus psychotherapy. The issue is which treatment provides—or which treatments provide—relief for each individual. For instance, drug treatment may be the most effective option for those who are suicidal, in acute distress, or unable to commit to regular sessions with a therapist. For most people, especially those who have physical problems such as liver impairment or cardiac problems, psychotherapy may be the treatment of choice because it is long-lasting and does not have the side effects associated with medications (Hollon et al., 2006). Treatment selection also depends on the severity of the depressive disorder. In general, people who have chronic major depressive disorder receive the most benefit from combined drug and psychotherapies (Craighead & Dunlop, 2014).

As with other psychological disorders, treatment of depression with psychotherapy leads to changes in brain activation similar to those observed for drug treatments (Brody et al., 2001). One study found that although psychotherapy and drugs involved the same brain regions, activity in those regions was quite different during the two treatments (Goldapple et al., 2004). This finding suggests that psychotherapy and drugs operate through different mechanisms. Indeed, a meta-analysis of combined studies found that the effects of the drugs and psychotherapy are largely independent of one another, supporting other evidence that the combination of the two provides greater effectiveness than either one alone (Cuijpers et al., 2014).



FIGURE 15.22 Incidence of Seasonal Affective Disorder

As shown by this map, incidence of SAD varies by latitude.

ALTERNATIVE TREATMENTS In people with seasonal affective disorder (SAD), episodes of depression are most likely to occur during winter. A milder form of SAD has been called the winter blues. The rate of these disorders increases with latitude (**FIGURE 15.22**). Many people respond favorably to *phototherapy*, which involves exposure to a high-intensity light source for part of each day (**FIGURE 15.23**).

For some people with depressive disorders, regular aerobic exercise can reduce the symptoms and prevent recurrence (Pollock, 2004). Aerobic exercise may reduce depression because it releases endorphins. These neurotransmitters are chemically related to norepinephrine, a neurotransmitter implicated in depression. As discussed in Chapter 5, the release of endorphins can cause an overall feeling of well-being (a feeling runners sometimes experience as "runner's high"). Aerobic exercise may also regularize bodily rhythms, improve self-esteem, and provide social support if people exercise with others. However, people with depression may have difficulty finding the energy and motivation to begin an exercise regimen.

Electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) is a very effective treatment for those who are severely depressed and do not respond to conventional treatments (Hollon et al., 2002). For a number of reasons, ECT might be preferable to other treatments for depression. Antidepressants can take weeks to be effective, whereas ECT works quickly. For a suicidal person, waiting several weeks for relief can literally be deadly. In addition, ECT may be the treatment of choice for depression in pregnant women, since there is no evidence that the seizures harm the developing fetus. In contrast, many psychotropic medications can cause birth defects. Most important, ECT has proved effective in people for whom other treatments have failed.

ECT does, however, have some serious limitations, including a high relapse rate (often necessitating repeated treatments) and memory impairments (Fink, 2001). In most cases, memory loss is limited to the day of ECT treatment, but some people experience substantial permanent memory loss (Donahue, 2000). Some centers perform unilateral ECT over only the hemisphere not dominant for language, a treatment that seems to reduce memory disruption (Papadimitriou, Zervas, & Papakostas, 2001).



FIGURE 15.23 Phototherapy

One treatment for SAD is phototherapy. In this method, the person sits in front of strong lighting for several hours each day to reduce symptoms.

Scientific Thinking — Mayberg's Study of DBS and Depression

HYPOTHESIS: Deep brain stimulation of an area of the prefrontal cortex may alleviate depression.

RESEARCH METHOD:



2 A pulse generator was attached under the collarbone, connecting to electrodes that passed through the holes in the skull to a specific area of the prefrontal cortex.



RESULTS: Some participants reported relief as soon as the electrodes were switched on, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the participants felt significantly better within months.

CONCLUSION: DBS may be an especially effective method for patients resistant to other treatments.

SOURCE: Mayberg, H. S., Lozano, A. M., Voon, V., McNeely, H. E., Seminowicz, D., Hamani, C., et al. (2005). Deep brain stimulation for treatment-resistant depression. *Neuron*, *45*, 651–660.

A series of studies have demonstrated that transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) over the left frontal regions results in a significant reduction in depression (Chistyakov et al., 2004; George, Lisanby, & Sackheim, 1999; George et al., 1995; Pascual-Leone, Catala, & Pascual-Leone, 1996). Because TMS does not involve anesthesia or have any major side effects (other than headache), it can be administered outside hospital settings. It is not likely, however, that TMS will ever completely replace ECT. The two methods may act via different mechanisms and may therefore be appropriate for different types of patients. The long-term value of TMS is that it is effective even for those who have not responded to treatment with antidepressants (Fitzgerald et al., 2003). In October 2008, TMS was approved by the FDA for the treatment of major depressive disorder in people who are not helped by traditional therapies.

DEEP BRAIN STIMULATION As with obsessive-compulsive disorder, DBS might be valuable for treating severe depressive disorders when all other treatments have failed. In 2003, Helen Mayberg and colleagues became the first to try out this novel treatment. Mayberg's earlier research had pointed to an area of the prefrontal cortex as abnormal in depression. Following the logic of using DBS for Parkinson's, neurosurgeons inserted electrodes into this brain region in six patients suffering from severe depression (Mayberg et al., 2005; McNeely, Mayberg, Lozano, & Kennedy, 2008). The results were stunning for four of the patients. In fact, some of them felt relief as soon as the switch was turned on. For all four, it was as if a horrible noise had stopped and a weight had been lifted, as if they had emerged

(a)



(b)



FIGURE 15.24 Men Who Have Broken the Conspiracy of Silence

Men are much less likely than women to admit that they have suffered from depression. Two famous men who were willing to break this conspiracy of silence are **(a)** Mike Wallace, a news correspondent best known for his work on the television show 60 *Minutes*, whose depression began after accusations of libel and a related lawsuit; and **(b)** William Styron, best known as the author of the novels *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) and *Sophie's Choice* (1979) and the memoir *Darkness Visible* (1990), which chronicled his bouts of depression. into a more beautiful world (Dobbs, 2006; Ressler & Mayberg, 2007; see "Scientific Thinking: Mayberg's Study of DBS and Depression," on p. 683).

Several studies have been conducted examining DBS for treatment-resistant depression, and each time at least half of the people benefited from this treatment (Bewernick et al., 2010; Malone et al., 2009). One study followed 20 patients for three to six years and found that about two-thirds showed long-lasting benefits from DBS (Kennedy et al., 2011). These studies demonstrate that DBS is useful for helping people lead more productive lives. For instance, in the study just mentioned, only 10 percent of the people were able to work or engage in meaningful activities outside the house (e.g., volunteering) before DBS, whereas two-thirds were able to do so after DBS.

DBS differs from other treatments in that researchers can easily alter the electrical current, without the person knowing, to demonstrate that the DBS is responsible for improvements in psychological functioning. Research using DBS to treat severe depressive disorders is now under way at a number of sites around the globe.

GENDER ISSUES IN TREATING DEPRESSIVE DISORDERS As noted in Chapter

14, women are twice as likely to be diagnosed with depressive disorders as men are. Some portion of this difference relates to high rates of domestic and other violence against women, reduced economic resources, and inequities at work (American Psychological Association, 2007). Women are also the primary consumers of psychotherapy. The American Psychological Association therefore has published *Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Girls and Women* (2007). These guidelines remind therapists to be aware of gender-specific stressors, such as the way work and family interact to place additional burdens on women and the biological realities of reproduction and menopause. The guidelines also point out that women of color, lesbians, and women with disabilities are often stereotyped in ways that signal disregard for the choices they have made and the challenges they face. All of these factors can interfere with the therapeutic process.

Problems also exist in the treatment of depression in men. Men's reluctance to admit to depression and even greater reluctance to seek appropriate therapy have been described as "a conspiracy of silence that has long surrounded depression in men" (Brody, 1997). Two prominent men—the late Mike Wallace, a journalist and television news anchor, and the late William Styron, a Pulitzer Prize–winning author—talked eloquently about their battles with depression (**FIGURE 15.24**). Wallace described it this way: "The sunshine means nothing to you at all. The seasons, friends, good food mean nothing. All you focus on is yourself and how bad you feel." Styron writes: "In severe depression, the entire body and spirit of a person is in a state of shipwreck, of desolate lostness. Nothing animates the body or spirit. It's a total wipeout" (both quoted in Brody, 1997).

Public statements from such well-respected men may help break the silence surrounding depression in men and increase the number of men who seek psychotherapy. One goal is to help men stop masking their depression with alcohol, isolation, and irritability. Any of these retreats from the social world may be a symptom of unacknowledged depression.

Lithium and Atypical Antipsychotics Are Most Effective for Bipolar Disorder

In *DSM-5*, the new category Bipolar and Related Disorders has been placed between disorders related to schizophrenia and those related to depression. In bipolar disorder, as discussed in Chapter 14, moods cycle between manic (or less intense hypomanic) episodes and depressive episodes. The manic phase includes alterations in thought

that link it to the psychotic states found in schizophrenia. The negative moods associated with the depressive episodes link bipolar disorder to depression. This distinction will be useful as you learn about the treatment options for this disorder. It is one of the few psychological disorders for which there is a clear optimal treatment: psychotropic medications, especially the mood stabilizer lithium (Geddes, Burgess, Hawton, Jamison, & Goodwin, 2004; Geddes & Miklowitz, 2013).

As with the uses of other psychotropic drugs, the discovery of lithium for the treatment of bipolar disorder was serendipitous. In 1949, the researcher John Cade found that the urine of manic patients was toxic to guinea pigs. He believed that a toxin specifically, uric acid—might be causing the symptoms of mania. If so, once the uric acid was removed from the body through the urine, the symptoms would diminish (a solution that would explain why the patients were not always manic). When he gave lithium urate, a salt in uric acid, to the guinea pigs, however, it proved nontoxic. To his surprise, it protected them against the toxic effects of the manic patients' urine and also sedated them. He next tried lithium salts on himself. When he was assured of their safety, he gave the salts to 10 hospitalized manic patients. All the patients recovered rapidly.

The mechanisms by which lithium stabilizes mood are not well understood, but the drug seems to modulate neurotransmitter levels, balancing excitatory and inhibitory activities (Jope, 1999). Lithium has unpleasant side effects, however, including thirst, hand tremors, excessive urination, and memory problems. The side effects often diminish after several weeks on the drug. Anticonvulsive medications, more commonly used to reduce seizures, can also stabilize mood and may be effective for intense bipolar episodes.

More recently, antipsychotic medications have been found to be effective in stabilizing moods and reducing episodes of mania. The drug quetiapine (better known as Seroquel) is an atypical antipsychotic that has grown in popularity and is now the most commonly prescribed drug for bipolar disorders (Hooshmand et al., 2014). Some evidence indicates that combining mood stabilizers, such as lithium, with atypical antipsychotics improves treatment outcomes (Buoli, Serati, & Altamura, 2014; Vieta, Suppes, Ekholm, Udd, & Gustafsson, 2012).

The lesson here, mentioned earlier in this chapter, is that there is not a one-to-one mapping of drug treatment to psychological disorder. As discussed in Chapter 14, traditional *DSM* diagnoses might mask similarities between disorders. For instance, within families there is considerable overlap in susceptibility to bipolar disorder and schizophrenia (Craddock & Sklar, 2013). Family members of those with either of these disorders are at greater risk of developing either bipolar disorder or schizophrenia. Likewise, similar gene mutations are observed for both disorders (Malhotra et al., 2011). Recall that the RDoC system classifies disorders according to similar genetic and neurophysiological findings. From the RDoC perspective, the use of drugs from one category to treat symptoms of another category may reflect similar underlying disturbances across diagnostic categories. Drugs treat symptoms, not disorders. Practically, the use of antipsychotics may be valuable for any disorder that involves impaired thought, regardless of *DSM* diagnosis.

Because lithium and atypical antipsychotics work better on mania than on depression, people are sometimes given an antidepressant as well. The risk of triggering a manic episode makes the use of antidepressants controversial, and they are generally not recommended (Pacchiarotti et al., 2013). When necessary, SSRIs are preferable to other antidepressants because they are less likely to trigger episodes of mania (Gijsman, Geddes, Rendell, Nolen, & Goodwin, 2004). However, the available evidence suggests that antidepressants may have limited usefulness in treatment of bipolar disorder (Nivoli et al., 2011). As with all psychological disorders, compliance with drug therapy can be a problem for various reasons. For example, people may skip doses or stop taking the medications completely in an effort to reduce the side effects. In these situations, cognitive-behavioral therapy can help increase compliance with medication regimens (Miller, Norman, & Keitner, 1989). Those with bipolar disorder also may stop taking their medications because they miss the "highs" of their hypomanic and manic phases. Psychotherapy can help these individuals accept their need for medication and understand the impact their disorder has on them and on those around them.

Antipsychotics Are Superior for Schizophrenia

In the early 1900s, Freud's psychoanalytic theory and treatments based on it were widely touted as the answer to many psychological disorders. Freud, however, admitted that his techniques were effective only for what he termed "neuroses" and were unlikely to benefit patients with more-severe "psychotic" disorders, such as schizophrenia. Because psychotic patients were difficult to handle and even more difficult to treat, they were generally institutionalized in large mental hospitals. By 1934, according to estimates, the physician-to-patient ratio in such institutions in New York State was less than 1 to 200.

In this undesirable situation, the staff and administration of mental hospitals were willing to try any inexpensive treatment that had a chance of decreasing the patient population or that at least might make the inmates more manageable. Brain surgery, such as prefrontal lobotomy, was considered a viable option for patients with severe disorders. Egas Moniz initially reported that the operation was frequently successful (see "Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in Extreme Cases," earlier in this chapter). It soon became evident to him that patients suffering from anxiety or depression benefited most from the surgery. Patients with schizophrenia did not seem to improve following the operation. Fortunately, as noted earlier, the introduction of psychotropic medications in the 1950s eliminated the use of lobotomy.

PHARMACOLOGICAL TREATMENTS Since the sixteenth century, extracts from dogbane, a toxic herb, had been used to calm highly agitated people. The critical ingredient was isolated in the 1950s and named *reserpine*. When given to those with schizophrenia, reserpine not only had a sedative effect but also was effective in reducing the positive symptoms of schizophrenia, such as delusions and hallucinations. Shortly afterward, a synthetic version of reserpine was created that had fewer side effects. This drug, *chlorpromazine*, acts as a major tranquilizer. It reduces anxiety, sedates without inducing sleep, and decreases the severity and frequency of the positive symptoms of schizophrenia. Later, another antipsychotic, *haloperidol*, was developed that was chemically different and had less of a sedating effect than chlorpromazine.

Haloperidol and chlorpromazine revolutionized the treatment of schizophrenia and became the most frequently used treatment for this disorder. People with schizophrenia who had been hospitalized for years were able to walk out of mental institutions and live independently. These antipsychotic drugs have drawbacks, however. For example, they have little or no impact on the negative symptoms of schizophrenia. In addition, they have significant side effects. Chlorpromazine sedates people, can cause constipation and weight gain, and causes cardiovascular damage. Haloperidol does not cause these symptoms, but both drugs have significant motor side effects that resemble symptoms of Parkinson's disease: immobility of facial muscles, trembling of extremities, muscle spasms, uncontrollable salivation, and a shuffling walk. Tardive dyskinesia—as discussed earlier, involuntary movements of the lips, tongue,



FIGURE 15.25

The Effectiveness of Clozapine These graphs compare the effects, in representative cases, of using either clozapine or chlorpromazine to treat people with schizophrenia.

face, legs, or other parts of the body—is another devastating side effect of these medications and is irreversible once it appears. Despite these side effects, haloperidol and chlorpromazine were the only available options.

The late 1980s saw the introduction of *clozapine*. This drug is significantly different from previous antipsychotic medications in a number of ways, which is why it is known as an atypical antipsychotic. First, it acts on receptors for dopamine, serotonin, norepinephrine, acetylcholine, and histamine. Second, it is beneficial in treating the negative as well as the positive symptoms of schizophrenia (**FIGURE 15.25**). Many people with schizophrenia who had not responded to the previously available antipsychotics improved on clozapine. Third, no signs of Parkinson's symptoms or of tardive dyskinesia appeared in any of the people taking the drug. Clozapine has fewer side effects than chlorpromazine or haloperidol, but its side effects are serious: seizures, heart arrhythmias, and substantial weight gain. Of even greater concern is that clozapine can cause a fatal reduction in white blood cells. Although the risk of this problem is low, those taking the drug must have frequent blood tests. The cost of the blood tests, in addition to the high cost of the medication, has made this drug treatment prohibitively expensive for many who might benefit from it.

Other medications similar to clozapine in structure, pharmacology, and effectiveness have been introduced that do not reduce white blood cell counts. These are Risperdal and Zyprexa, which like clozapine are atypical antipsychotics. These drugs are now the first line of defense in the treatment of schizophrenia (Walker, Kestler, Bollini, & Hochman, 2004), and clozapine is typically reserved for more-severe cases because of its more-serious side effects. An analysis of 11 studies of a total of 2,769 people found that these atypical antipsychotics have about one-fifth the risk of producing tardive dyskinesia as first-generation drugs (Correll, Leucht, & Kane, 2004).

PSYCHOSOCIAL TREATMENTS Medication is essential in the treatment of schizophrenia. Without it, people may deteriorate, experiencing more-frequent and more-severe psychotic episodes. When antipsychotic drugs became available, other types of therapies for schizophrenia were virtually dismissed. It became clear over time, however, that although medication effectively reduces delusions and hallucinations, it does not substantially affect the person's social functioning. Thus, antipsychotic drugs fall short of being a cure. The drugs must be combined with other treatments to help people lead productive lives.

For example, social skills training is an effective way to address some deficits in those with schizophrenia (**FIGURE 15.26**). These people can benefit from intensive training in regulating affect, recognizing social cues, and predicting the effects of their behavior in social situations. With intensive long-term training, people with schizophrenia can generalize the skills learned in therapy to other social environments. Also, when self-care skills are deficient, behavioral interventions can focus on areas such as grooming and bathing, management of medications, and financial planning. Training in specific cognitive skills, such as in modifying thinking patterns and in coping with auditory hallucinations, has been less effective.

PROGNOSIS IN SCHIZOPHRENIA Most people diagnosed with schizophrenia experience multiple psychotic episodes over the course of the disorder. In some people, the disorder progresses. Each schizophrenic episode lays the groundwork for increasingly severe symptoms in the future. Thus, it is in the best interest of the person to treat the disorder early and aggressively.

Most people with schizophrenia improve over time. One long-term study that followed participants for an average of 32 years showed that between half and twothirds were recovered or had experienced considerable improvement in functioning on follow-up (Harding, Zubin, & Strauss, 1987). No one knows why most people with schizophrenia apparently improve as they grow older. Perhaps they find a treatment regimen most effective for them, or perhaps changes in the brain that occur with aging somehow result in fewer psychotic episodes. Dopamine levels may decrease with age, and this decrease may be related to the improvement in symptoms.

The prognosis for people with schizophrenia depends on factors that include age of onset, gender, and culture. People diagnosed later in life tend to have a more favorable prognosis than people who experience their first symptoms during childhood or adolescence (McGlashan, 1988). Women tend to have better prognoses than men do (Hambrecht, Maurer, Hafner, & Sartorius, 1992), perhaps because schizophrenia in women tends to appear later than in men. Culture also plays a role in prognosis. In developing countries, schizophrenia often is not so severe as in developed countries (Jablensky, 1989; Leff, Sartorius, Jablensky, Korten, & Ernberg, 1992). This difference may arise because more-extensive family networks in developing countries provide more support for patients with schizophrenia.



Summing Up

What Are the Most Effective Treatments?

- Cognitive and behavioral therapies-including cognitive restructuring, systematic desensitization, exposure, and response prevention-are particularly effective in the treatment of anxiety disorders.
- Drug treatments and CBT are both effective in the treatment of OCD.
- Among the treatment strategies for depression are antidepressants, cognitive-behavioral therapy, exercise, electroconvulsive therapy, transcranial magnetic stimulation, and deep brain stimulation.
- Sex differences in the incidence of depression have led to the development of specific guidelines for psychotherapy that remind therapists of gender-specific factors associated with the experience, recognition, and treatment of psychological disorders.
- Lithium is a mood stabilizer that is effective in the treatment of bipolar disorder, but it has a number of unpleasant side effects.
- Atypical antipsychotics such as quetiapine can also alleviate symptoms of bipolar disorder.
- Antipsychotic drugs are recommended for the treatment of schizophrenia.

Measuring Up

- 1. Indicate whether cognitive-behavioral therapy, drug therapy, or a combination of the two is the recommended treatment for each disorder listed.
 - a. bipolar disorder
 - **b.** depression
 - c. generalized anxiety disorder
 - d. obsessive-compulsive disorder
 - e. panic disorder
 - f. phobias
 - g. schizophrenia
- 2. Which statements correctly summarize research findings on treating psychological disorders?
 - **a.** Effective psychological therapies and drug treatments for a particular disorder always operate via the same mechanisms.
 - **b.** Effects of CBT last only as long as therapy continues, but effects of drug treatments persist even after the drug is stopped.
 - **c.** A treatment determined to be effective for one disorder is likely to be effective for other disorders.
 - d. Some disorders are easily treated, whereas others are much more difficult to treat.

ANSWERS: (1) Drug therapy is most effective for choices a and g; cognitive-behavioral therapy is most effective for c, e, and f; a combination of drug therapy and cognitive-behavioral therapy is most effective for c, a, and f; a combination of drug therapy and cognitive-behavioral therapy is most effective for b and d. (2) d. Some disorders are easily treated, whereas others are much more difficult to treat.

15.3 Can Personality Disorders Be Treated?

As discussed in Chapter 14, not much is known about the causes of personality disorders, such as borderline personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder. Likewise, little is known about how best to treat personality disorders. There is a growing literature of case studies that describe treatment approaches for these disorders, but few large, well-controlled studies have been undertaken.

Learning Objective

 Discuss therapeutic approaches for borderline personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder.



FIGURE 15.27 Marsha Linehan

The psychologist Marsha Linehan pioneered the therapeutic technique DBT. Linehan experienced the kind of psychological disorder this technique is used to treat. The one thing about personality disorders that most therapists agree on is that they are notoriously difficult to treat. Individuals with personality disorders who are in therapy are usually also being treated for another disorder, such as OCD or depression. The other disorder is typically the problem for which the patient sought therapy in the first place. People rarely seek therapy for personality disorders, because one hallmark of these disorders is that patients see the environment rather than their own behavior as the cause of their problems. This outlook often makes individuals with personality disorders very difficult to engage in therapy.

Dialectical Behavior Therapy Is Most Successful for Borderline Personality Disorder

The impulsivity, emotional disturbances, and identity disturbances characteristic of borderline personality disorder make it very challenging to provide therapy for the people affected. Traditional psychotherapy approaches have been largely unsuccessful, so therapists have attempted to develop approaches specific to borderline personality disorder.

The most successful treatment approach to date for borderline personality disorder was developed by the psychologist Marsha Linehan in the 1980s (**FIGURE 15.27**). Two decades earlier, as a young woman, Linehan had suffered from extreme social withdrawal, physical self-destructiveness, and recurrent suicidality (Carey, 2011). Institutionalized and diagnosed with schizophrenia, she was locked in a seclusion room, treated with various medications, given Freudian analysis, and treated with electroshock.

Eventually, after being released from the hospital with little hope of surviving, Linehan learned to accept herself rather than striving for some impossible ideal. This "radical acceptance," as she puts it, enabled her to function. She earned her Ph.D. in psychology with the goal of helping people who are chronically self-destructive or even suicidal. Linehan's **dialectical behavior therapy (DBT)** combines elements of the behavioral and cognitive treatments with a mindfulness approach based on Eastern meditative practices (Lieb, Zanarini, Schmahl, Linehan, & Bohus, 2004). All patients are seen in both group and individual sessions, and the responsibilities of the client and the therapist are made explicit.

Therapy proceeds in three stages. In the first stage, the therapist targets the person's most extreme and dysfunctional behaviors. Such behaviors often include self-cutting and threats of suicide or suicide attempts. The focus is on replacing these behaviors with more-appropriate ones. The person learns problem-solving techniques and more-effective ways of coping with his or her emotions. In this stage, the person is taught to control attention so that the person focuses on the present. Strategies for controlling attention are based on mindfulness meditation. In the second stage, the therapist helps the person explore past traumatic experiences that may be at the root of emotional problems. In the third stage, the therapist helps the person develop self-respect and independent problem solving. This stage is crucial because those with borderline personality disorder depend heavily on others for support and validation. These individuals must be able to generate the appropriate attitudes and necessary skills themselves, or they are likely to revert to their previous behavior patterns.

The symptoms experienced by individuals with borderline personality disorder can seem close to psychosis or resemble depression. As a result, researchers previously believed these patients would develop a disorder such as schizophrenia or depression. Studies that have followed individuals with borderline personality disorder over time, however, have demonstrated that their symptoms remain relatively unchanged (Plakun, Burkhardt, & Muller, 1985).

dialectical behavior therapy (DBT)

A form of therapy used to treat borderline personality disorder that combines elements of the behavioral and cognitive treatments with a mindfulness approach based on Eastern meditative practices. Therapeutic approaches targeted at borderline personality disorder, such as DBT, improve the prognosis for those with the disorder. Studies have demonstrated that people with borderline personality disorder undergoing DBT are more likely to remain in treatment and less likely to be suicidal than are those in other types of therapy (Linehan, Armstrong, Suarez, Allmon, & Heard, 1991; Linehan, Heard, & Armstrong, 1993). SSRIs are often prescribed along with DBT to treat feelings of depression.

Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Extremely Difficult to Treat

Treating people with borderline personality disorder can be very difficult. Treating those with antisocial personality disorder is often impossible. These individuals lie without thinking twice about it, care little for other people's feelings, and live for the present without consideration of the future. In addition, they are narcissistic and like themselves the way they are. All these factors make development of a therapeutic relationship and motivation for change remote possibilities at best. Individuals with this disorder are often more interested in manipulating their therapists than in changing their own behavior. Therapists working with these people must be constantly on guard.

THERAPEUTIC APPROACHES FOR ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY DISORDER

Numerous treatment approaches have been tried for antisocial personality disorder (and the related but not identical disorder *psychopathy*). Because individuals with antisocial personality disorder apparently have diminished cortical arousal, stimulants have been prescribed to normalize arousal levels. There is evidence that these drugs are beneficial in the short term but not the long term. Anti-anxiety drugs may lower hostility levels somewhat, and lithium has shown promise in treating the aggressive, impulsive behavior of violent criminals who are psychopathic. Overall, however, psychotropic medications have not been effective in treating this disorder.

Similarly, traditional psychotherapeutic approaches seem of little use in treating antisocial personality disorder. Behavioral and cognitive approaches have had somewhat more success. Behavioral approaches reinforce appropriate behavior. They ignore inappropriate behavior in an attempt to replace maladaptive behavior patterns with behavior patterns that are more socially appropriate. This approach seems to work best when the therapist controls reinforcement, the person cannot leave treatment, and the person is part of a group. Individual therapy sessions rarely produce any change in antisocial behavior. Clearly, the behavioral approach cannot be implemented on an outpatient basis, since the person will receive reinforcement for his or her antisocial behavior outside of therapy and can leave treatment at any time. For these reasons, therapy for this disorder is most effective in a residential treatment center or a correctional facility.

Cognitive approaches have been tried for antisocial personality disorder. Therapists try to demonstrate that the person can meet his or her goals more easily by following the rules of society rather than by trying to get around them, as in the following example (Beck, Freeman, et al., 1990):

Therapist: How well has the "beat-the-system" approach actually worked out for you over time?

Brett: It works great . . . until someone catches on or starts to catch on. Then you have to scrap that plan and come up with a new one.

Therapist: How difficult was it, you know, to cover up one scheme and come up with a new one?

Brett: Sometimes it was really easy. There are some real pigeons out there. Therapist: Was it always easy?

Brett: Well, no. Sometimes it was a real bitch.... Seems like I'm always needing a good plan to beat the system.

Therapist: Do you think it's ever easier to go with the system instead of trying to beat it in some way?

Brett: Well, after all that I have been through, I would have to say yes, there have been times that going with the system would have been easier in the long run....But...it's such a challenge to beat the system. It feels exciting when I come up with a new plan and think I can make it work.

This dialogue illustrates both the cognitive approach and why such clients are so difficult to work with. Even if they know what they are doing is wrong, they do not care. They live for the thrill of getting away with something.

PROGNOSIS FOR ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY DISORDER The prognosis that people with antisocial personality disorder will change their behaviors as a result of therapy is poor. This conclusion is especially true for those with psychopathic traits. Some of the more recently developed cognitive techniques show promise, but no good evidence indicates that they produce long-lasting or even real changes. Fortunately for society, individuals with antisocial personality disorder but without psychopathy typically improve after age 40 (**FIGURE 15.28**).



FIGURE 15.28

Antisocial Personality Disorder

For this longitudinal study, the percentage of participants in prison during each five-year period is shown. The reasons for this improvement are unknown, but it may be due to a reduction in biological drives. Alternative theories suggest those with this disorder may gain insight into their selfdefeating behaviors or may just get worn out and be unable to continue their manipulative ways. The improvement, however, is mainly in the realm of antisocial behavior. The underlying egocentricity, callousness, and manipulativeness can remain unchanged (Harpur & Hare, 1994), especially for those who are psychopathic. In fact, although criminal acts decrease among those with antisocial personality disorder after age 40, more than half of the individuals with psychopathic traits continue to be arrested after age 40 (Hare, McPherson, & Forth, 1988). Thus, although some aspects of their behavior mellow with age, psychopaths remain rather indifferent to traditional societal norms.

Because of the limited effectiveness of therapy for this disorder, time and effort may be better spent in prevention. *Conduct disorder* is a childhood condition known to be a precursor to antisocial personality disorder. It involves a persistent pattern of inappropriate behavior, such as bullying, cruelty to animals, theft, lying, and violating rules and social norms. Some of the environmental and developmental risk factors for conduct disorder have been identified. Focusing on these factors may reduce the likelihood that a child with conduct disorder will grow up to have antisocial personality disorder.

Summing Up

Can Personality Disorders Be Treated?

- Personality disorders are characterized by long-standing maladaptive ways of interacting with the world.
- Personality disorders are notoriously difficult to treat.
- Efforts have been made to develop treatment programs for borderline personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder.
- Dialectical behavior therapy-which combines behavioral, cognitive, and psychodynamic approaches to foster self-acceptance-is the most effective method for treating borderline personality disorder.
- Behavioral and cognitive approaches are sometimes used to treat antisocial personality disorder. At this point, however, no treatment approach appears to be particularly effective for this disorder.

Measuring Up

- 1. Why are personality disorders so difficult to treat? Select all that apply.
 - **a.** People with personality disorders are difficult to engage in therapy because they do not believe their actions cause their problems.
 - **b.** People with personality disorders believe their problems are caused by their environments.
 - **c.** People with personality disorders believe they are fundamentally flawed individuals unworthy of help.
- 2. Which of the following treatments might be most beneficial for borderline personality disorder?
 - a. treatment with lithium
 - **b.** dialectic behavioral therapy (DBT)
 - c. cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT)
 - **d.** systematic desensitization

are caused by their environments.
(DBT).

ANSWERS: (1) a. People with personality disorders are difficult to engage in therapy because they do not believe their actions cause their problem. b. People with personality disorders believe their problems

15.4How Should ChildhoodDisorders and AdolescentDisorders Be Treated?

It is estimated that in the United States at least 12–20 percent of children and adolescents suffer from psychological disorders (Leckman et al., 1995; Merikangas et al., 2010). Each person's experiences and development during early life are critically important to his or her mental health in adulthood. Problems not addressed during childhood or adolescence may persist into adulthood. Most theories of human development regard children and adolescents as more malleable than adults and therefore more amenable to treatment.

Learning Objectives

- Identify drugs and behavioral treatments for ADHD.
- Describe applied behavioral analysis.
- Discuss the use of oxytocin in the treatment of autism.
- Discuss the current controversy regarding the use of drugs to treat depressive disorders among adolescents.



Medication is often used to treat emotional and behavioral problems in children. A recent study found that just over 7 percent of children (ages 6–17) were prescribed medications for psychological problems during the preceding six months in 2012 (Howie, Pastor, & Lukacs, 2014). Boys were more likely to receive medications than girls, and minorities were less likely to receive medications than non-Hispanic white children (**FIGURE 15.29**). To illustrate the issues involved in treating disorders

FIGURE 15.29

Children Given Medication

This chart shows the percentage of children in the United States aged 6-17 years prescribed medication over a six-month period for emotional or behavioral difficulties. of early life, this section considers treatment approaches for ADHD, autism, and adolescent depression.

Children with ADHD Can Benefit from Various Approaches

There is some dispute about whether attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder is a psychological disorder or simply a troublesome behavior pattern that children eventually outgrow. Some people diagnosed with ADHD as children grow out of it. Many more, however, suffer from the disorder throughout adolescence and adulthood. These individuals are more likely to drop out of school and to reach a lower socioeconomic level than expected. They show continued patterns of inattention, of impulsivity, and of hyperactivity, and they are at increased risk for other psychiatric disorders (Wilens, Faraone, & Biederman, 2004). Because of this somewhat bleak long-term prognosis, effective treatment early in life may be of great importance.

PHARMACOLOGICAL TREATMENT OF ADHD The most common treatment for ADHD is a central nervous system stimulant, such as *methylphenidate*. This drug is most commonly known by the brand name Ritalin. (A time-release version of this methylphenidate is called Concerta.) Ritalin's actions are not fully understood, but the drug may affect multiple neurotransmitters, particularly dopamine. Another drug used to treat ADHD is Adderall, which combines two other stimulants. The behavior of children with ADHD might suggest that their brains are overactive, and it may seem surprising that a stimulant would improve their symptoms. In fact, functional brain imaging shows that children with ADHD have underactive brains. Their hyperactivity may raise their arousal levels.

At appropriate doses, central nervous system stimulants such as Ritalin and Adderall decrease overactivity and distractibility. They increase attention and the ability to concentrate. Children on these drugs experience an increase in positive behaviors and a decrease in negative behaviors (**FIGURE 15.30**). They are able to work more effectively on a task without interruption and are less impulsive. It is likely that these improvements in behavior have contributed to the large number of children who take this medication. Parents often feel pressured by school systems to medicate children who have ongoing behavior problems, and parents often pressure physicians to prescribe Ritalin because its effects can make home life much more manageable. Studies have shown that children taking Ritalin are happier, more adept socially, and somewhat more successful academically, although the effects on academic performance are modest (Chronis, Jones, & Raggi, 2006; Van der Oord, Prins, Oosterlaan, &







The Effects of Ritalin

These graphs compare the effects of Ritalin on the positive and negative symptoms of ADHD.

Emmelkamp, 2008). These children also interact more positively with their parents, perhaps because they are more likely to comply with requests.

One study measured Ritalin's effects on the behavior of children playing baseball (Pelham et al., 1990). Children with ADHD who were taking the medication would assume the ready position in the outfield and could keep track of the game. Children with ADHD who were not taking the drug would often throw or kick their mitts even while the pitch was in progress.

The medication has its drawbacks, however. Side effects include sleep problems, reduced appetite, body twitches, and the temporary suppression of growth (Rapport & Moffitt, 2002; Schachter, Pham, King, Langford, & Moher, 2001). There is evidence that the short-term benefits of stimulants may not be maintained over the long term. In addition, because stimulants affect everyone who takes them, there is a very real risk of abuse, with numerous cases of children and adolescents buying and selling drugs such as Ritalin and Adderall. One study found that nearly 8 percent of college students had taken a nonprescribed stimulants (Weyandt et al., 2009). Indeed, a controversial issue is whether using stimulants to treat children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder may increase the risk that they will develop substance abuse problems are common among those who have had ADHD in childhood, but having taken Ritalin does not seem to have increased or decreased adult rates of substance abuse (Biederman et al., 2008; Mannuzza et al., 2008).

Perhaps most important, some children on medication may see their problems as beyond their control. They may not feel responsible for their behaviors and may not learn the coping strategies they will need if they discontinue their medication or if it ceases to be effective. Most therapists believe medication should be supplemented by psychological therapies, such as behavior modification. Some therapists even urge that medication be replaced by other treatment approaches when possible.

BEHAVIORAL TREATMENT OF ADHD Behavioral treatment of ADHD aims to reinforce positive behaviors and ignore or punish problem behaviors. The difficulties with this treatment approach are similar to those discussed in the following section, on autism. Treatment is very intensive and time consuming. A recent meta-analysis of 174 studies consisting of over 2,000 research participants found clear support for the effectiveness of behavioral therapy for ADHD (Fabiano et al., 2009). Many therapists advocate combining behavioral approaches with medication. The medication is used to gain control over the behaviors, and then behavioral modification techniques can be taught and the medication slowly phased out. Others argue that medication should be used only if behavioral techniques do not reduce inappropriate behaviors.

The National Institute of Mental Health, in collaboration with teams of investigators, began the Multimodal Treatment of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (MTA) in 1992. The study involved 579 children, who were assigned randomly to a control group or to one of three treatment groups. The treatment groups lasted 14 months. One group received medical management (usually treatment with a stimulant such as Ritalin), the second group received intensive behavioral treatment, and the third group received a combination of the two. Follow-up studies a year later revealed that the children receiving medication and those receiving a combination of medication and behavioral treatment group (Jensen et al., 2001, 2005). Children who received medication and behavioral therapy showed a slight advantage in areas such as social skills, academics, and parent/child relations over those who received only medication.

After three years, however, the advantage of the medication therapy was no longer significant. The children who received behavioral therapy improved over the three years, whereas those who received medication improved quickly but then tended to regress over the three years (Jensen et al., 2007). These findings reinforce the key point here: Medications may be important in the short term, but psychological treatments may produce superior outcomes that last.

Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit from Structured Behavioral Treatment

The treatment of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) presents unique challenges to mental health professionals. The core symptoms of ASD—impaired communication, restricted interests, and deficits in social interaction—make these children particularly difficult to work with. They often exhibit extreme behaviors as well as forms of self-stimulation, such as hand waving, rocking, humming, and jump-ing up and down. Although these behaviors must be reduced or eliminated before progress can occur in other areas, doing so is difficult because effective reinforcers are hard to find. Normal children respond positively to social praise and small prizes, but children with ASD are often oblivious to these rewards. In some cases, food is the only effective reinforcement in the initial stages of treatment.

Another characteristic of children with ASD is an overselectivity of attention. This tendency to focus on specific details while ignoring others interferes with generalizing learned behavior to other stimuli and situations. For example, a child who learns to set the table with plates may not know what to do when presented with bowls



FIGURE 15.31 Applied Behavioral Analysis

This form of treatment involves intensive interaction between children with autism and their teachers and parents. instead. Generalization of skills must be explicitly taught. For this reason, structured therapies are more effective for these children than are unstructured interventions, such as play therapy (in which the therapist tries to engage the child in conversation while the child plays with toys).

applied behavioral analysis (ABA)

An intensive treatment for autism, based on operant conditioning.

BEHAVIORAL TREATMENT FOR AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER As noted earlier, ASD clearly is caused by biological factors, but this knowledge has not led to

any significant advances in therapies for the disorder. Indeed, one of the best-known and perhaps most effective treatments for children with autism was developed by Ivar Lovaas and his colleagues. The program, **applied behavioral analysis (ABA)**, is based on principles of operant conditioning: Behaviors that are reinforced should increase in frequency. Behaviors that are not reinforced should diminish (**FIGURE 15.31**). There is evidence that this method can be used successfully to treat autism (Warren et al., 2011), particularly if treatment is started early in life (Vismara & Rogers, 2010). James, the boy with ASD you read about in the chapter opener, received a form of ABA.

This very intensive approach requires a minimum of 40 hours of treatment per week. In Lovaas's study, preschoolage children with autism were treated by teachers and by their parents, who received specific training. After more than two years of ABA treatment, the children had gained about 20 IQ points on average and most of them were able to enter a normal kindergarten program (Lovaas, 1987). In contrast, IQ did not change in a comparable control group of children who did not receive any treatment. A group of children who received 10 hours of treatment per week fared no better than the control group. Initiating treatment at a younger age also yielded better results, as did involving the parents and having at least a portion of the therapy take place in the home. Children with better language skills before entering treatment had better outcomes than those who were mute or echolalic (repeating whatever they heard).

Recent studies have shown that other tasks can improve ABA treatment. One study found that teaching children to engage in joint attention during ABA treatment, such as

by having the parent or teacher imitate the child's actions and work to maintain eye contact, improved language skills significantly over ABA treatment alone (Kasari, Paparella, Freeman, & Jahromi, 2008). In another condition, children received instruction in symbolic play. Examples of symbolic play include imagining something, such as a doll driving a car, or pretending that one object represents another. Instruction in symbolic play also led to increased language use, greater parent/child play, and greater creativity in play (**FIGURE 15.32**).

Lovaas's ABA program has some drawbacks. The most obvious is the time commitment, because the therapy is very intensive and lasts for years. Like James's mother, parents essentially become full-time teachers for their child with ASD. The financial and emotional drains on the family can be substantial. If the family includes other children, they may feel neglected or jealous because of the amount of time and energy expended on the child with autism. Indeed, the other children might actually be neglected, as parents have only so much time and energy to devote to their children.



FIGURE 15.32 ABA Treatment, Joint Attention, and Symbolic Play

At the start of this study, the children were 3 or 4 years old. All the children received ABA treatment. Children receiving only ABA treatment were the control condition. In addition, some children received training in maintaining joint attention, and some children received training in symbolic play. Both of these combinations led to better language skills, greater parent/child play interaction, and greater creativity in play than did ABA alone. **BIOLOGICAL TREATMENT FOR AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER** There is good evidence that ASD is caused by brain dysfunction. Many attempts have been made to use this knowledge to treat the disorder. It is easy to find compelling case studies of children who have benefited from alternative treatment approaches. When the treatments are assessed in controlled studies, however, there is little or no evidence that most are effective.

One approach involves selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors. SSRIs have been tried as a treatment for ASD for two reasons. First, SSRIs such as Prozac reduce compulsions in patients with obsessive-compulsive disorder, and autism involves compulsive and repetitive behavior. Second, there is evidence that children with ASD have abnormal serotonin functioning. A review of pharmacological studies found that SSRIs are not helpful for treating the symptoms of ASD and actually may increase agitation (McPheeters et al., 2011). However, the review also found that antipsychotics, such as Risperdal, appear to reduce repetitive behaviors associated with self-stimulation. Unfortunately, antipsychotics have side effects, such as weight gain.

The important role of oxytocin in social behavior has been discussed throughout this textbook (see, for example, the discussion in Chapter 11, "Health and Well-Being," of the relationship between oxytocin and affiliation). Given oxytocin's role in social relations, some researchers have speculated that oxytocin plays a role in ASD. The first finding is that a deficit in oxytocin may be related to some of the behavioral manifestations of autism. Mice lacking oxytocin behave normally, except that they cannot recognize other mice or their mother's scent; a single dose of oxytocin cures them (Ferguson et al., 2000). In human studies, researchers have found that administering a nasal spray containing oxytocin leads people to make more eye contact, feel increased trust in others, and better infer emotions from other people's facial expressions (Ross & Young, 2009).

The question is whether oxytocin can improve social functioning in people with ASD. In one study, adults with ASD who received injections of oxytocin showed a dramatic improvement in their symptoms (Novotny et al., 2000). In another study, high-functioning adults with ASD were injected with oxytocin. Then they performed a social cognition task in which they listened to spoken sentences (e.g., "The boy went to the store") and had to identify the speaker's emotional tone. The participants who received oxytocin were better able to tell if the sentence was read in an angry, sad, happy, or indifferent tone than were the participants who received the placebo (Hollander et al., 2007). Oxytocin injections seem particularly useful for reducing repetitive behaviors (e.g., repeating the same phrase), questioning, inappropriate touching, and self-injury (Green & Hollander, 2010; Hollander et al., 2003). These findings are promising, but researchers need to do much more work before we can conclude that oxytocin is an empirically validated treatment for autism.

At this point, the neurobiology of ASD is not well understood. Attempts to use psychopharmacology to treat the disorder have led to some improvements in behavior, but much remains to be learned.

PROGNOSIS FOR CHILDREN WITH AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER Despite a few reports of remarkable recovery from ASD, such as was the case with James, the long-term prognosis remains poor. A follow-up study of men in their early 20s revealed that they continued to show the ritualistic self-stimulating behavior typical of ASD. In addition, nearly three-quarters had severe social difficulties and were unable to live and work independently (Howlin, Mawhood, & Rutter, 2000). Several factors affect the prognosis. Although therapists once believed the prognosis was particularly poor for children whose symptoms were apparent before age 2 (Hoshino et al., 1980), possibly only the most severe cases of ASD were diagnosed that early before public recognition of the disorder increased. Early diagnosis clearly allows for more effective treatments (National Research Council, 2001). Still, severe cases—especially those involving notable cognitive deficiencies—are less likely to improve with treatment. Early language ability is associated with better outcome (Howlin et al., 2000), as is higher IQ. Children with ASD have difficulty generalizing from the therapeutic setting to the real world, and this limitation severely restricts their social functioning (Handleman, Gill, & Alessandri, 1988). A higher IQ may mean a better ability to generalize learning and therefore a better overall prognosis.

The Use of Medication to Treat Adolescent Depressive Disorders Is Controversial

Adolescent depression is a serious problem. Recently, approximately 8 percent of the U.S. population ages 12–17 reported experiencing within the last year a major depressive episode that met *DSM* criteria (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2011; **FIGURE 15.33**). Untreated adolescent depressive disorders are associated with drug abuse, dropping out of school, and suicide. In the United States, approximately 5,000 teenagers kill themselves each year, making suicide the third leading cause of death for that age group (Arias, MacDorman, Strobino, & Guyer, 2003). For many years, depression in children and adolescents was ignored or viewed as a typical part of growing up. Only about one-third of adolescents with psychological disorders receive any form of treatment (Merikangas et al., 2011). The percentage is even lower for adolescents from racial and ethnic minorities (Cummings & Druss, 2010). Understandably, then, many mental health professionals reacted favorably to the initial use of SSRIs, such as Prozac, to treat adolescent depressive disorders. Studies had found tricyclic antidepressants ineffective and the side effects potentially dangerous for adolescents, but the first studies using SSRIs found them effective and safe (e.g., Emslie et al., 1997).

Shortly after SSRIs were introduced as treatments for adolescent depression, some mental health researchers raised concerns that the drugs might cause some adolescents to become suicidal (Jureidini et al., 2004). These concerns arose partly from findings that SSRIs cause some adults to feel restless, impulsive, and suicidal. Following a report by one drug company of an increase in suicidal thoughts among adolescents taking its product, the FDA asked all drug companies to analyze their records for similar reports. An analysis of reports on more than 4,400 children and adolescents found that about twice as many of those taking SSRIs reported having suicidal thoughts (4 percent) as those taking a placebo (2 percent). None of the children or adolescents committed suicide. Given evidence of increased thoughts of suicide, the FDA decided in 2004 to require manufacturers to add to their product labels a warning that antidepressants increase the risk of suicidal thinking and suicidal behavior in children and adolescents and that physicians prescribing these drugs to young people suffering from depression need to balance risk with clinical need. Physicians were also advised to watch their young patients closely, especially in the first few weeks of treatment. Suddenly many parents were wondering whether SSRIs were safe for their children.

Many questions about SSRIs and young people needed to be answered. First, were SSRIs effective for young people? If so, were they more effective than other treatments? Second, did these drugs cause suicidal feelings, or were young people with depressive



FIGURE 15.33 Rates of Depression in Teenagers

This graph shows results from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health undertaken by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), a branch of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The lines chart the rates of major depressive episodes and treatments among adolescents in 2009. disorders likely to feel suicidal whether or not they took medication? Finally, how many children and adolescents would be suicidal if their depression was left untreated?

TADS The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study (2004) was an ambitious research program supported by the U.S. National Institutes of Health to answer these questions. TADS provided clear evidence that the SSRI Prozac is effective in treating adolescent depression.

The study examined 439 adolescents ages 12 to 17 who had suffered from depression for an average of 40 weeks before the study began. Participants were assigned randomly to a type of treatment and were followed for 12 weeks. The results indicated that 61 percent of participants taking Prozac showed improvement in symptoms, compared with 43 percent receiving cognitive-behavioral therapy and 35 percent taking a placebo. The group receiving Prozac and CBT did best (71 percent improved). This latter finding is consistent with the findings of studies using adult participants. In short, combining drugs and psychotherapy often produces the strongest results for treating depression. At the end of 12 weeks, those in the placebo group were given treatment.

Three years after the initial TADS study, a 36-week follow-up study was conducted of the TADS treatment sample (March et al., 2007). The combined group had the best outcomes (86 percent improvement). Improvement with CBT alone (81 percent) was similar to that with Prozac alone (81 percent; see "Scientific Thinking: The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study [TADS]"). The original placebo group was not included in the follow-up study.

In terms of suicidality, the results were more mixed. All treatment groups experienced a reduction in thoughts of suicide compared with the baseline. Participants in the Prozac group, however, were twice as likely to have serious suicidal thoughts or intentions compared with those undergoing other treatments. Of the seven adolescents who attempted suicide during the study, six were taking Prozac. The greater risk of suicidal thoughts or events continued through 36 weeks. Critics of adolescents receiving drugs point out that these findings are consistent with other studies showing a risk from SSRIs (Antonuccio & Burns, 2004).

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON TREATMENT APPROACHES A few things should





the TADS study, suicide attempts were quite uncommon (7 of 439 patients). This result is consistent with the FDA finding that about 4 percent of adolescents taking Prozac will become suicidal. Moreover, only a small number of the 5,000 adolescents who kill themselves each year are taking antidepressants of any kind. The question is whether the millions of children who take antidepressants experience more benefits than risks.

1980 '81 '82 '83 '84 '85 '86 '87 '88 '89 '90 '91 '92 '93 '94 '95 '96 '97 '98 '99 '00 '01

Note that the suicide rates have dropped since the use of SSRIs

FIGURE 15.34

Declining Suicide Rates

This graph depicts the declining suicide rates among people ages 15-24 during a 20-year period. became widespread (**FIGURE 15.34**). The greater the increase in the number of SSRI prescriptions for adolescents within a region, the greater the reduction in teenage suicides (Olfson, Shaffer, Marcus, & Greenberg, 2003). Thus, not providing SSRIs to adolescents may raise the suicide rate (Brent, 2004).

Scientific Thinking

The Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study (TADS)

HYPOTHESIS: Prozac is the most effective method for treating adolescent depression.

RESEARCH METHOD:

Patients aged 12 to 17 were randomly assigned to a type of treatment and followed it for 12 weeks.

2 Some of the patients were given Prozac, some cognitive-behavioral therapy, some a placebo, and some Prozac and cognitive-behavioral therapy together.



RESULTS: The group that received Prozac and CBT did best. In a follow-up study of the TADS treatment sample, the combined group continued to have the best outcomes. Improvement with CBT alone was similar to that with Prozac alone. (%)



CONCLUSION: Both CBT and Prozac are effective in treating adolescent depression.

SOURCES:

Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study (TADS) Team. (2004). Fluoxetine, cognitive-behavioral therapy, and their combination for adolescents with depression: Treatment for adolescents with depression study (TADS) randomized controlled trial. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 292,* 807–820.

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According to some researchers, the relative success of psychotherapy for teenage depressive disorders makes it a better treatment choice. Indeed, considerable evidence shows that psychotherapy is effective on its own (Mufson et al., 2004) and also enhances drug treatment. Psychological treatments such as interpersonal psychotherapy are successful as well (Hollon et al., 2002). But getting adolescents to comply with psychotherapy can be challenging. Psychotherapy is also time consuming and expensive, and many health insurance companies provide only minimal support (Rifkin & Rifkin, 2004). In addition, it is unrealistic to expect there to be sufficient resources to provide psychotherapy to all adolescents who need it in the near future.

By contrast, it is relatively easy for pediatricians and family physicians to prescribe drugs. Unfortunately, the prescribing of such medications by general practitioners can be problematic because not all of these individuals have training in treating psychological disorders. Thus, although prescribing drugs without CBT might be cost-effective (Domino et al., 2008), it may not be in the best interests of adolescents with depressive disorders. According to recent research, higher doses of SSRIs are especially likely to trigger suicidal attempts among adolescents (Miller, Swanson, Azrael, Pate, & Stürmer, 2014). The best advice to practitioners when using SSRIs to treat adolescents is *start low, go slow* (Brent & Gibbons, 2014).

Summing Up

How Should Childhood Disorders and Adolescent Disorders Be Treated?

- Medications such as Ritalin can be quite effective in treating children with ADHD. However, side effects (such as sleep problems, reduced appetite, and body twitches) are associated with the use of this type of medication.
- Recent research suggests that, in the long term, behavioral therapy may be more effective for the treatment of ADHD than the use of psychotropic drugs.
- Applied behavioral analysis is an intensive treatment for autism spectrum disorders that is based on the principles of operant conditioning. It is the most successful treatment for autism spectrum disorders.
- A biological treatment for ASD has not been identified, but oxytocin may prove helpful.
- Using SSRIs such as Prozac to treat depressive disorders in adolescents is controversial. Although effective for managing symptoms, SSRIs pose a risk of increasing suicidal thoughts, especially in high doses.
- Research suggests that combining drugs and psychotherapy is most effective in treating depressive disorders in teens.

Measuring Up

- 1. Label each point below as an argument either for or against the practice of prescribing SSRI medications to adolescents with depression.
 - **a.** Depressed adolescents taking SSRIs report having suicidal thoughts twice as often as depressed adolescents not taking SSRIs.
 - b. Many depressed adolescents improve when taking SSRIs.
 - c. Psychotherapy alone is an effective treatment option.
 - d. SSRIs are widely available.
 - e. SSRIs offer a relatively inexpensive treatment.
 - f. Suicide rates have dropped since the use of SSRIs became widespread.
- 2. Which of the following statements may be an argument against the use of Ritalin or other stimulants in the treatment of ADHD?
 - a. There is high abuse potential for Ritalin and other stimulants.
 - **b.** Behavior therapy may be more effective than stimulants for long-term treatment of ADHD symptoms.
 - **c.** both a and b
 - d. neither a nor b
- 3. Which of the following treatments might be most effective for autism spectrum disorder (ASD)?
 - a. lithium

CHAPTER 15 TREATMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS

- b. clozapine
- **c.** applied behavior analysis
- **d.** cognitive restructuring

(3) c. Applied behavior analysis.

.d bns s dtoa (S)

ANSWERS: (1) Choices b, d, e, and f support the use of SSRIs in treating adolescent depression. Choices a and c argue against the use of SSRIs in this population.

Your Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

15.1 How Are Psychological Disorders Treated?

- Psychotherapy Is Based on Psychological Principles: Psychotherapy is the generic name for formal psychological treatment. Psychodynamic treatment focuses on insight and uncovering unconscious conflicts. Humanistic approaches focus on the person as a whole, encouraging personal growth through self-understanding. Behavioral approaches focus on modifying maladaptive behaviors. Cognitive approaches restructure thinking. Group therapy is cost-effective, improves social skills, and provides support. Family therapy adopts a systems approach, seeing the individual as part of a larger context. Culture influences the expression of psychological disorders, recovery from psychological disorders, and willingness to seek psychotherapy.
- Medication Is Effective for Certain Disorders: Psychotropic medications change neurochemistry. Anti-anxiety drugs increase GABA activity. Antidepressants affect serotonin or norepinephrine availability. Antipsychotics block the effects of dopamine, reducing positive symptoms. Mood stabilizers such as lithium and some antipsychotics can help with the treatment of bipolar disorder.
- Alternative Biological Treatments Are Used in Extreme Cases: When traditional treatments are not successful, alternative treatments are used. These treatments include psychosurgery, electroconvulsive therapy, transcranial magnetic stimulation, and deep brain stimulation.
- Effectiveness of Treatment Is Determined by Empirical Evidence: Randomized clinical trials should be used to assess the effectiveness of treatments for psychological disorders. Psychological treatments vary according to the particular disorder being addressed; are based on techniques developed in the lab by psychologists; and are not guided by a single, overall grand theory.
- Therapies Not Supported by Scientific Evidence Can Be Dangerous: Some treatment approaches that have no credible evidence to support their use have proved detrimental, and they may prevent or delay a patient from receiving effective evidencebased therapy.
- A Variety of Providers Can Assist in Treatment for Psychological Disorders: A variety of specialized mental health practitioners exist. These specialists include clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, counseling psychologists, psychiatric social workers, psychiatric nurses, and paraprofessionals. The providers differ in their training and work in diverse settings.

15.2 What Are the Most Effective Treatments?

- Treatments That Focus on Behavior and on Cognition Are Superior for Anxiety Disorders: Behavioral methods—in particular, systematic desensitization and exposure—alleviate specific phobias. Cognitive restructuring, coupled with exposure, is effective in treating panic disorder.
- Both Antidepressants and CBT Are Effective for Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder: Obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) responds to medications that block serotonin reuptake and to exposure and response prevention. Deep brain stimulation holds promise for the treatment of severe cases of OCD.
- Many Effective Treatments Are Available for Depressive Disorder: Pharmacological treatments include MAO inhibitors, tricyclics, and SSRIs. Cognitive behavioral treatments target distorted cognitions—in particular, the cognitive triad. Alternative therapies include exercise, electroconvulsive therapy, transcranial magnetic stimulation, and deep brain stimulation. Sex differences in rates of depression have resulted in the development of specific guidelines for treatment.
- Lithium and Atypical Antipsychotics Are Most Effective for Bipolar Disorder: Lithium has been found to be most effective in stabilizing mood among bipolar patients. This drug has considerable side effects, however. The drug quetiapine (better known as Seroquel) is an atypical antipsychotic that is currently the most commonly prescribed drug for bipolar disorder. Lithium prescribed with antipsychotics may improve treatment outcomes. Psychological therapy can help support compliance with drug treatment.
- Antipsychotics Are Superior for Schizophrenia: Firstgeneration antipsychotic medications are most effective for reducing the positive symptoms of schizophrenia. Tardive dyskinesia and other side effects are common with these older antipsychotic drugs. Clozapine acts specifically on several neurotransmitter receptors and reduces positive and negative symptoms, with fewer side effects. Drug therapy is most effective when combined with psychosocial treatment. The prognosis for patients depends on factors such as age of onset, gender, and culture.

15.3 Can Personality Disorders Be Treated?

 Dialectical Behavior Therapy Is Most Successful for Borderline Personality Disorder: DBT combines elements of behavioral, cognitive, and psychodynamic therapy. DBT proceeds in three stages. First, the most extreme behaviors are targeted and replaced with more-appropriate behaviors. Next, the therapist explores past traumatic events. Finally, the therapist helps the patient develop self-respect and independence.

Antisocial Personality Disorder Is Extremely Difficult to Treat: Psychotherapeutic approaches have not proved effective for treating antisocial personality disorder. Behavioral and cognitive approaches have been more effective, primarily in a controlled residential treatment environment. Generally, the prognosis is poor. Focusing on prevention by addressing conduct disorder in childhood may be the best strategy.

15.4 How Should Childhood Disorders and Adolescent Disorders Be Treated?

 Children with ADHD Can Benefit from Various Approaches: Ritalin, despite its side effects, is an effective pharmacological treatment for ADHD. Research has provided support for the effectiveness of behavioral therapy in the treatment of ADHD, with behavioral therapy resulting in better long-term outcomes than medication therapy.

- Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder Benefit from Structured Behavioral Treatment: Structured behavioral treatment has proved effective in improving the symptoms of autism. Applied behavioral analysis—an intensive treatment based on the principles of operant conditioning—has been used successfully in the treatment of autism. A biological treatment for autism has not been identified, but treatment with oxytocin holds promise.
- The Use of Medication to Treat Adolescent Depressive Disorder Is Controversial: The use of SSRIs, such as Prozac, in the treatment of depressive disorders in adolescents is increasingly common. High doses of SSRIs may lead to increased suicidal thoughts in adolescents, but the available evidence indicates that such medications may have more benefits than costs. Cognitivebehavioral treatment is also effective in the treatment of depressive disorders, particularly when combined with drug treatment.

Key Terms

anti-anxiety drugs, p. 662 antidepressants, p. 662 antipsychotics, p. 662 applied behavioral analysis (ABA), p. 697 behavior therapy, p. 658 biological therapies, p. 655 client-centered therapy, p. 657 cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), p. 660 cognitive restructuring, p. 659 cognitive therapy, p. 659 dialectical behavior therapy (DBT), p. 690 electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), p. 664 exposure, p. 658 expressed emotion, p. 661 insight, p. 656 placebo effect, p. 666 psychodynamic therapy, p. 657 psychotherapy, p. 655 psychotropic medications, p. 662

Practice Test

- 1. Which of the following statements are true regarding how culture can affect the therapeutic process?
 - a. Culture can influence people's willingness to seek help.b. Culture can influence the expression of psychological
 - disorders.
 - ${\bf c.}\ {\rm Definitions}\ {\rm of}\ {\rm mental}\ {\rm health}\ {\rm are}\ {\rm consistent}\ {\rm across}\ {\rm cultures}.$
 - **d.** Strategies for assessing psychological illness are consistent across cultures.
 - e. The extent to which mental disorders is stigmatized varies by culture.
- **2.** Barlow advocates distinguishing between psychological treatments and general talk therapy. Which of the following attributes characterize psychological treatments?
 - a. Treatments should be based on evidence of their effectiveness.
 - **b.** Treatments should be appropriate for the particular disorders.
 - **c.** Specific techniques for treatment should be developed in the laboratory by psychologists.
 - ${\ensuremath{\mathsf{d}}}.$ Treatments should be guided by grand theories.

- **3.** Dialectical behavior therapy takes place in three stages. Place the descriptions of the three stages below in the correct order.
 - a. The therapist helps the client explore past traumatic experiences that may be at the root of emotional problems.
 - **b.** The therapist helps the patient develop self-respect and independent problem solving.
 - **c.** The therapist works with the client to replace the most dysfunctional behaviors with more-appropriate behaviors.
- **4.** During his early adult years, Joshua was diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. Joshua is now 40. Over the coming years, his friends and family will likely see a decrease in which of the following behaviors? Select all that apply.
 - a. Joshua's lack of remorse for hurting others' feelings.
 - **b.** Joshua's tendency to feel entitled to special treatment.
 - c. Joshua's tendency to get into fistfights.

- **5.** Three-year-old Marley recently received a diagnosis of autism. Which of the following are true about her likely treatment?
 - a. Many individuals will need to be involved in Marley's treatment, including parents, teachers, and mental health practitioners.
 - **b.** Marley's treatment is likely to strain family dynamics and family finances.
 - **c.** Marley's treatment will focus largely on using social praise and small gifts to reinforce desired behavior.
 - $\textbf{d.}\ \ Marley's \ treatment \ will \ need \ to \ be \ highly \ structured.$
 - **e.** Marley's treatment will require a minimum of 20 hours per week and will likely last for two to three months.

- **6.** Selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) are useful in the treatment of which of the two following psychological disorders?
 - a. depression and bipolar disorder
 - **b.** depression and borderline personality disorder
 - $\boldsymbol{\mathsf{c.}}\xspace$ obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and schizophrenia
 - $\textbf{d.} \ \text{depression and schizophrenia}$
 - $\boldsymbol{e}.$ obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and depression
- 7. Which controversial therapy has been found to be quite effective in the treatment of depression in patients who fail to respond to other treatments?
 - **a.** tricyclics
 - **b.** phototherapy
 - $\textbf{c.} \ \text{electroconvulsive therapy} \left(\text{ECT} \right)$
 - $\textbf{d.} \ lobotomy$

Glossary

- **absentmindedness** The inattentive or shallow encoding of events.
- **absolute threshold** The minimum intensity of stimulation that must occur before you experience a sensation.
- **accommodation** The process by which a new scheme is created or an existing scheme is drastically altered to include new information that otherwise would not fit into the scheme.
- **accuracy** The degree to which an experimental measure is free from error.
- acetylcholine (ACh) The neurotransmitter responsible for motor control at the junction between nerves and muscles; it is also involved in mental processes such as learning, memory, sleeping, and dreaming.
- **acquisition** The gradual formation of an association between the conditioned and unconditioned stimuli.
- **action potential** The electrical signal that passes along the axon and subsequently causes the release of chemicals from the terminal buttons.
- **activation-synthesis theory** A theory of dreaming; this theory proposes that the brain tries to make sense of random brain activity that occurs during sleep by synthesizing the activity with stored memories.
- **adaptations** In evolutionary theory, the physical characteristics, skills, or abilities that increase the chances of reproduction or survival and are therefore likely to be passed along to future generations.
- **affective forecasting** The tendency for people to overestimate how events will make them feel in the future.
- **aggression** Any behavior that involves the intention to harm another.
- **agoraphobia** An anxiety disorder marked by fear of being in situations in which escape may be difficult or impossible.
- **all-or-none principle** The principle that when a neuron fires, it fires with the same potency each time; a neuron either fires or not—it cannot partially fire, although the frequency of firing can vary.
- **altruism** Providing help when it is needed, without any apparent reward for doing so.
- **amnesia** A deficit in long-term memory resulting from disease, brain injury, or psychological trauma—in which the individual loses the ability to retrieve vast quantities of information.
- **amygdala** A brain structure that serves a vital role in learning to associate things with emotional responses and in processing emotional information.

- **analogical representations** Mental representations that have some of the physical characteristics of objects; they are analogous to the objects.
- **anchoring** The tendency, in making judgments, to rely on the first piece of information encountered or information that comes most quickly to mind.
- **anorexia nervosa** An eating disorder characterized by excessive fear of becoming fat and therefore restricting energy intake to obtain a significantly low body weight.
- **anterograde amnesia** A condition in which people lose the ability to form new memories.
- **anti-anxiety drugs** A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of anxiety.
- **antidepressants** A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of depression.
- **antipsychotics** A class of psychotropic medications used for the treatment of schizophrenia and other disorders that involve psychosis.
- antisocial personality disorder (APD) A personality disorder in which people engage in socially undesirable behavior, are hedonistic and impulsive, and lack empathy.
- **anxiety disorder** A psychological disorder characterized by excessive fear and anxiety in the absence of true danger.
- **aphasia** A language disorder that results in deficits in language comprehension and production.
- **applied behavioral analysis (ABA)** An intensive treatment for autism, based on operant conditioning.
- **assessment** In psychology, examination of a person's cognitive, behavioral, or emotional functioning to diagnose possible psychological disorders.
- **assimilation** The process by which new information is placed into an existing scheme.
- **associative learning** Linking two stimuli, or events, that occur together.
- **attachment** A strong emotional connection that persists over time and across circumstances.
- attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) A disorder characterized by restlessness, inattentiveness, and impulsivity.
- **attitudes** People's evaluations of objects, of events, or of ideas.
- attributions People's explanations for why events or actions occur.

- audition Hearing; the sense of sound perception.
- **autism spectrum disorder** A developmental disorder characterized by deficits in social interaction, by impaired communication, and by restricted interests.

autonomic nervous system (ANS) A

- component of the peripheral nervous system; it transmits sensory signals and motor signals between the central nervous system and the body's glands and internal organs.
- availability heuristic Making a decision based on the answer that most easily comes to mind.
- **axon** A long narrow outgrowth of a neuron by which information is transmitted to other neurons.
- **basal ganglia** A system of subcortical structures that are important for the planning and production of movement.
- **behavior modification** The use of operantconditioning techniques to eliminate unwanted behaviors and replace them with desirable ones.
- **behavior therapy** Treatment based on the premise that behavior is learned and therefore can be unlearned through the use of classical and operant conditioning.
- **behavioral approach system (BAS)** The brain system involved in the pursuit of incentives or rewards.
- **behavioral inhibition system (BIS)** The brain system that is sensitive to punishment and therefore inhibits behavior that might lead to danger or pain.
- **behaviorism** A psychological approach that emphasizes the role of environmental forces in producing observable behavior.
- **binge-eating disorder** An eating disorder characterized by binge eating that causes significant distress.
- **binocular depth cues** Cues of depth perception that arise from the fact that people have two eyes.
- **binocular disparity** A depth cue; because of the distance between the two eyes, each eye receives a slightly different retinal image.
- **biological therapies** Treatment of psychological disorders based on medical approaches to disease (what is wrong with the body) and to illness (what a person feels as a result).
- **biopsychosocial model** A model of health that integrates the effects of biological, behavioral, and social factors on health and illness.

- **bipolar I disorder** A disorder characterized by extremely elevated moods during manic episodes and, frequently, depressive episodes as well.
- **bipolar II disorder** A disorder characterized by alternating periods of extremely depressed and mildly elevated moods.
- **blocking** The temporary inability to remember something.
- **body mass index (BMI)** A ratio of body weight to height, used to measure obesity.
- **borderline personality disorder** A personality disorder characterized by disturbances in identity, in affect, and in impulse control.
- **bottom-up processing** Perception based on the physical features of the stimulus.
- **brain stem** An extension of the spinal cord; it houses structures that control functions associated with survival, such as heart rate, breathing, swallowing, vomiting, urination, and orgasm.
- **Broca's area** A small portion of the left frontal region of the brain, crucial for the production of language.
- **buffering hypothesis** The idea that other people can provide direct emotional support in helping individuals cope with stressful events.
- **bulimia nervosa** An eating disorder characterized by binge eating and inappropriate compensatory behaviors such as purging.
- **bystander intervention effect** The failure to offer help by those who observe someone in need when other people are present.
- **case study** A descriptive research method that involves the intensive examination of an unusual person or organization.
- **cell body** The site in the neuron where information from thousands of other neurons is collected and integrated.
- central nervous system (CNS) The brain and the spinal cord.
- **central tendency** A measure that represents the typical response or the behavior of a group as a whole.
- **cerebellum** A large, convoluted protuberance at the back of the brain stem; it is essential for coordinated movement and balance.
- **cerebral cortex** The outer layer of brain tissue, which forms the convoluted surface of the brain; the site of all thoughts, perceptions, and complex behaviors.
- **change blindness** A failure to notice large changes in one's environment.
- **chromosomes** Structures within the cell body that are made up of DNA, segments of which comprise individual genes.
- **chunking** Organizing information into meaningful units to make it easier to remember.
- **circadian rhythms** Biological patterns that occur at regular intervals as a function of time of day.

classical conditioning (Pavlovian

conditioning) A type of associative learning in which a neutral stimulus comes to elicit a response when it is associated with a stimulus that already produces that response.

client-centered therapy An empathic approach to therapy; it encourages people to fulfill their individual potentials for personal growth through greater selfunderstanding.

cognitive dissonance An uncomfortable mental state resulting from a contradiction between two attitudes or between an attitude and a behavior.

cognitive map A visual/spatial mental representation of an environment.

cognitive neuroscience The study of the neural mechanisms underlying thought, learning, perception, language, and memory.

cognitive psychology The study of mental functions such as intelligence, thinking, language, memory, and decision making.

cognitive restructuring A therapy that strives to help clients recognize maladaptive thought patterns and replace them with ways of viewing the world that are more in tune with reality.

cognitive therapy Treatment based on the idea that distorted thoughts produce maladaptive behaviors and emotions; treatment strategies attempt to modify these thought patterns.

cognitive-behavioral approach A diagnostic model that views psychopathology as the result of learned, maladaptive thoughts and beliefs.

- **cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT)** A therapy that incorporates techniques from cognitive therapy and behavior therapy to correct faulty thinking and change maladaptive behaviors.
- **compliance** The tendency to agree to do things requested by others.
- **concept** A category, or class, of related items; it consists of mental representations of those items.

concrete operational stage The third stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, children begin to think about and understand logical operations, and they are no longer fooled by appearances.

- **conditioned response (CR)** A response to a conditioned stimulus; a response that has been learned.
- **conditioned stimulus (CS)** A stimulus that elicits a response only after learning has taken place.

cones Retinal cells that respond to higher levels of light and result in color perception.

conformity The altering of one's behaviors and opinions to match those of other people or to match other people's expectations.

confound Anything that affects a dependent variable and that may unintentionally vary between the experimental conditions of a study.

- **consciousness** One's subjective experience of the world, resulting from brain activity.
- **consolidation** The neural process by which encoded information becomes stored in memory.
- **construct validity** The extent to which variables measure what they are supposed to measure.
- **continuous reinforcement** A type of learning in which behavior is reinforced each time it occurs.
- **control group** The participants in an experiment who receive no intervention or who receive an intervention that is unrelated to the independent variable being investigated.
- **conventional level** Middle stage of moral development; at this level, strict adherence to societal rules and the approval of others determine what is moral.
- **convergence** A cue of binocular depth perception; when a person views a nearby object, the eye muscles turn the eyes inward.
- **coping response** Any attempt made to avoid, escape from, or minimize a stressor.
- **corpus callosum** A massive bridge of millions of axons that connects the hemispheres and allows information to flow between them.
- **correlation coefficient** A descriptive statistic that indicates the strength of the relationship between two variables.
- **correlational studies** A research method that describes and predicts how variables are naturally related in the real world, without any attempt by the researcher to alter them or assign causation between them.
- **critical thinking** Systematically questioning and evaluating information using well-supported evidence.
- **cryptomnesia** A type of misattribution that occurs when a person thinks he or she has come up with a new idea, yet has only retrieved a stored idea and failed to attribute the idea to its proper source.
- **crystallized intelligence** Intelligence that reflects both the knowledge acquired through experience and the ability to use that knowledge.
- **culturally sensitive research** Studies that take into account the role that culture plays in determining thoughts, feelings, and actions.
- **culture** The beliefs, values, rules, and customs that exist within a group of people who share a common language and environment.
- **data** Measurable outcomes of research studies.
- **decision making** Attempting to select the best alternative from among several options.
- **declarative memory** The cognitive information retrieved from explicit memory; knowledge that can be declared.
- **deep structure** In language, the implicit meanings of sentences.

- **defense mechanisms** Unconscious mental strategies that the mind uses to protect itself from anxiety.
- **deindividuation** A state of reduced individuality, reduced self-awareness, and reduced attention to personal standards; this phenomenon may occur when people are part of a group.
- **delusions** False beliefs based on incorrect inferences about reality.
- **dendrites** Branchlike extensions of the neuron that detect information from other neurons.
- **dependent variable** The variable that gets measured in a research study.
- **descriptive decision theories** Attempts to predict how people actually make choices, not to define ideal choices.
- **descriptive research** Research methods that involve observing behavior to describe that behavior objectively and systematically.
- **descriptive statistics** Statistics that summarize the data collected in a study.
- **developmental psychology** The study of changes, over the life span, in physiology, cognition, emotion, and social behavior.
- **dialectical behavior therapy (DBT)** A form of therapy used to treat borderline personality disorder that combines elements of the behavioral and cognitive treatments with a mindfulness approach based on Eastern meditative practices.
- **diathesis-stress model** A diagnostic model that proposes that a disorder may develop when an underlying vulnerability is coupled with a precipitating event.
- **difference threshold** The minimum amount of change required for a person to detect a difference between two stimuli.
- **directionality problem** A problem encountered in correlational studies; the researchers find a relationship between two variables, but they cannot determine which variable may have caused changes in the other variable.
- **discrimination** The inappropriate and unjustified treatment of people as a result of prejudice.
- **disorganized behavior** Acting in strange or unusual ways, including strange movement of limbs, bizarre speech, and inappropriate self-care, such as failing to dress properly or bathe.
- **disorganized speech** Speaking in an incoherent fashion that involves frequently changing topics and saying strange or inappropriate things.
- **display rules** Rules learned through socialization that dictate which emotions are suitable in given situations.
- **dissociative disorders** Disorders that involve disruptions of identity, of memory, or of conscious awareness.
- **dissociative identity disorder (DID)** The occurrence of two or more distinct identities in the same individual.
- **dizygotic twins** Also called *fraternal twins;* twin siblings that result from two

separately fertilized eggs and therefore are no more similar genetically than nontwin siblings.

- **dominant gene** A gene that is expressed in the offspring whenever it is present.
- **dopamine** A monoamine neurotransmitter involved in motivation, reward, and motor control over voluntary movement.
- **dreams** Products of an altered state of consciousness in which images and fantasies are confused with reality.
- **drive** A psychological state that, by creating arousal, motivates an organism to satisfy a need.
- **dynamic systems theory** The view that development is a self-organizing process, in which new forms of behavior emerge through consistent interactions between a biological being and cultural and environmental contexts.
- **eardrum** A thin membrane that marks the beginning of the middle ear; sound waves cause it to vibrate.
- **ego** In psychodynamic theory, the component of personality that tries to satisfy the wishes of the id while being responsive to the dictates of the superego.
- **elaboration likelihood model** The idea that persuasive messages lead to attitude changes in two ways: via the central route or via the peripheral route.
- electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) A procedure that involves administering a strong electrical current to the person's brain to produce a seizure; it is effective for some cases of severe depression.
- electroencephalograph (EEG) A device that measures electrical activity in the brain.
- **emotion** An immediate, specific negative or positive response to environmental events or internal thoughts.
- emotion-focused coping A type of coping in which people try to prevent having an emotional response to a stressor.
- **emotional intelligence (EI)** A form of social intelligence that emphasizes the abilities to manage, recognize, and understand emotions and use emotions to guide appropriate thought and action.
- **encoding** The processing of information so that it can be stored.
- **encoding specificity principle** The idea that any stimulus that is encoded along with an experience can later trigger a memory for the experience.
- **endocrine system** A communication system that uses hormones to influence thoughts, behaviors, and actions.
- **endorphins** Neurotransmitters involved in natural pain reduction and reward.
- epinephrine A monoamine neurotransmitter responsible for bursts of energy after an event that is exciting or threatening.
- episodic memory Memory for one's personal past experiences.

- **etiology** Factors that contribute to the development of a disorder.
- evolutionary theory A theory presented by the naturalist Charles Darwin; it views the history of a species in terms of the inherited, adaptive value of physical characteristics, of mental activity, and of behavior.
- **exemplar model** A way of thinking about concepts: All members of a category are examples (exemplars); together they form the concept and determine category membership.
- **experiment** A research method that tests causal hypotheses by manipulating and measuring variables.
- **experimental group** The participants in an experiment who receive the treatment.
- **experimenter expectancy effect** Actual change in the behavior of the people or nonhuman animals being observed that is due to the expectations of the observer.
- **explicit attitudes** Attitudes that a person can report.
- **explicit memory** The system underlying conscious memories.
- **exposure** A behavioral therapy technique that involves repeated exposure to an anxiety-producing stimulus or situation.
- expressed emotion A pattern of negative actions by a client's family members; the pattern includes critical comments, hostility directed toward the person by family members, and emotional overinvolvement.
- **external validity** The degree to which the findings of a study can be generalized to other people, settings, or situations.
- **extinction** A process in which the conditioned response is weakened when the conditioned stimulus is repeated without the unconditioned stimulus.
- **extrinsic motivation** Motivation to perform an activity because of the external goals toward which that activity is directed.
- **family systems model** A diagnostic model that considers problems within an individual as indicating problems within the family.
- **fight-or-flight response** The physiological preparedness of animals to deal with danger by either fighting or fleeing.
- five-factor theory The idea that personality can be described using five factors: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.
- **flashbulb memories** Vivid episodic memories for the circumstances in which people first learned of a surprising, consequential, or emotionally arousing event.
- fluid intelligence Intelligence that reflects the ability to process information, understand relationships, and think logically, particularly in novel or complex circumstances.
- **foot-in-the-door effect** The idea that if people agree to a small request, they become more likely to comply with a large and undesirable request.
- **formal operational stage** The final stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; in this stage, people can think abstractly, and they can formulate and test hypotheses through deductive logic.
- **fovea** The center of the retina, where cones are densely packed.
- **framing** In decision making, the tendency to emphasize the potential losses or potential gains from at least one alternative.
- **frontal lobes** Regions of the cerebral cortex at the front of the brain—important for movement and higher-level psychological processes associated with the prefrontal cortex.
- **functional fixedness** In problem solving, having fixed ideas about the typical functions of objects.
- functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) An imaging technique used to examine changes in the activity of the working human brain by measuring changes in the blood's oxygen levels.
- **fundamental attribution error** In explaining other people's behavior, the tendency to overemphasize personality traits and underestimate situational factors.
- **GABA** Gamma-aminobutyric acid; the primary inhibitory transmitter in the nervous system.
- **gender identity** Personal beliefs about whether one is male or female.
- **gender roles** The characteristics associated with males and females because of cultural influence or learning.
- **gene expression** Whether a particular gene is turned on or off.
- **general adaptation syndrome** A consistent pattern of responses to stress that consists of three stages: alarm, resistance, and exhaustion.
- **general intelligence (g)** The idea that one general factor underlies intelligence.
- **generalized anxiety disorder (GAD)** A diffuse state of constant anxiety not associated with any specific object or event.
- **genes** The units of heredity that help determine the characteristics of an organism.
- **genotype** The genetic constitution of an organism, determined at the moment of conception.
- **Gestalt theory** A theory based on the idea that the whole of personal experience is different from the sum of its constituent elements.
- **glutamate** The primary excitatory transmitter in the nervous system.
- **gonads** The main endocrine glands involved in sexual behavior: in males, the testes; in females, the ovaries.
- **group polarization** The process by which initial attitudes of groups become more extreme over time.
- **groupthink** The tendency of groups to make bad decisions when the group is under pressure, facing external threats, and is biased.

- gustation The sense of taste.
- **habituation** A decrease in behavioral response after repeated exposure to a stimulus.
- **hallucinations** False sensory perceptions that are experienced without an external source.
- haptic sense The sense of touch.
- **health psychology** A field that integrates research on health and on psychology; it involves the application of psychological principles to promote health and well-being.
- **heritability** A statistical estimate of the extent to which variation in a trait within a population is due to genetics.
- **heuristics** Shortcuts (rules of thumb or informal guidelines) used to reduce the amount of thinking that is needed to make decisions.
- **hippocampus** A brain structure that is associated with the formation of memories.
- **homeostasis** The tendency for bodily functions to maintain equilibrium.
- **hormones** Chemical substances, released from endocrine glands, that travel through the bloodstream to targeted tissues; the tissues are subsequently influenced by the hormones.
- **humanistic approaches** Approaches to studying personality that emphasize how people seek to fulfill their potential through greater self-understanding.
- **hypnosis** A social interaction during which a person, responding to suggestions, experiences changes in memory, perception, and/or voluntary action.
- hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis A body system involved in stress responses.
- **hypothalamus** A brain structure that is involved in the regulation of bodily functions, including body temperature, body rhythms, blood pressure, and blood glucose levels; it also influences our basic motivated behaviors.
- **hypothesis** A specific, testable prediction, narrower than the theory it is based on.
- id In psychodynamic theory, the component of personality that is completely submerged in the unconscious and operates according to the pleasure principle.
- idiographic approaches Person-centered approaches to assessing personality; they focus on individual lives and how various characteristics are integrated into unique persons.
- **immune system** The body's mechanism for dealing with invading microorganisms, such as allergens, bacteria, and viruses.
- **implicit attitudes** Attitudes that influence a person's feelings and behavior at an unconscious level.
- **implicit memory** The system underlying unconscious memories.
- **incentives** External objects or external goals, rather than internal drives, that motivate behaviors.

- **inclusive fitness** An explanation for altruism that focuses on the adaptive benefit of transmitting genes, such as through kin selection, rather than focusing on individual survival.
- **independent variable** The variable that gets manipulated in a research study.

infantile amnesia The inability to remember events from early childhood.

- **inferential statistics** A set of assumptions and procedures used to evaluate the likelihood that an observed effect is present in the population from which the sample was drawn.
- **informational influence** The tendency for people to conform when they assume that the behavior of others represents the correct way to respond.
- **ingroup favoritism** The tendency for people to evaluate favorably and privilege members of the ingroup more than members of the outgroup.
- **insecure attachment** The attachment style for a minority of infants; the infant may exhibit insecure attachment through various behaviors, such as avoiding contact with the caregiver, or by alternating between approach and avoidance behaviors.
- **insight** (1) The sudden realization of a solution to a problem. (2) The goal of psychoanalysis; a client's awareness of his or her own unconscious psychological processes and how these processes affect daily functioning.
- **insomnia** A disorder characterized by an inability to sleep.
- **institutional review boards (IRBs)** Groups of people responsible for reviewing proposed research to ensure that it meets the accepted standards of science and provides for the physical and emotional well-being of research participants.
- **intelligence** The ability to use knowledge to reason, make decisions, make sense of events, solve problems, understand complex ideas, learn quickly, and adapt to environmental challenges.
- **intelligence quotient (IQ)** An index of intelligence computed by dividing a child's estimated mental age by the child's chronological age, then multiplying this number by 100.
- **interactionists** Theorists who believe that behavior is determined jointly by situations and underlying dispositions.
- **internal validity** The degree to which the effects observed in an experiment are due to the independent variable and not confounds.
- **interneurons** One of the three types of neurons; these neurons communicate within local or short-distance circuits.
- **intrinsic motivation** Motivation to perform an activity because of the value or pleasure associated with that activity, rather than for an apparent external goal or purpose.
- **introspection** A systematic examination of subjective mental experiences that requires people to inspect and report on the content of their thoughts.

- **kinesthetic sense** Perception of the positions in space and movements of our bodies and our limbs.
- **latent learning** Learning that takes place in the absence of reinforcement.
- **law of effect** Thorndike's general theory of learning: Any behavior that leads to a "satisfying state of affairs" is likely to occur again, and any behavior that leads to an "annoying state of affairs" is less likely to occur again.
- **learned helplessness** A cognitive model of depression in which people feel unable to control events in their lives.
- **learning** A relatively enduring change in behavior, resulting from experience.
- **linguistic relativity theory** The claim that language determines thought.
- **long-term memory** The relatively permanent storage of information.

long-term potentiation

(LTP) Strengthening of a synaptic connection, making the postsynaptic neurons more easily activated by presynaptic neurons.

lymphocytes Specialized white blood cells that make up the immune system; the three types are B cells, T cells, and natural killer cells.

- magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) A method of brain imaging that uses a powerful magnetic field to produce highquality images of the brain.
- **major depressive disorder** A disorder characterized by severe negative moods or a lack of interest in normally pleasurable activities.
- **mean** A measure of central tendency that is the arithmetic average of a set of numbers.
- **median** A measure of central tendency that is the value in a set of numbers that falls exactly halfway between the lowest and highest values.
- **meditation** A mental procedure that focuses attention on an external object or on a sense of awareness.
- **memory** The nervous system's capacity to retain and retrieve skills and knowledge.
- **memory bias** The changing of memories over time so that they become consistent with current beliefs or attitudes.
- **mental sets** Problem-solving strategies that have worked in the past.
- **mere exposure effect** The idea that greater exposure to a stimulus leads to greater liking for it.
- **meta-analysis** A "study of studies" that combines the findings of multiple studies to arrive at a conclusion.
- **mind/body problem** A fundamental psychological issue: Are mind and body separate and distinct, or is the mind simply the physical brain's subjective experience?
- **mirror neurons** Neurons in the brain that are activated when one observes another

individual engage in an action and when one performs a similar action.

- **mnemonics** Learning aids, strategies, and devices that improve recall through the use of retrieval cues.
- **mode** A measure of central tendency that is the most frequent score or value in a set of numbers.
- **modeling** The imitation of observed behavior.
- **modern racism** Subtle forms of prejudice that coexist with the rejection of racist beliefs.
- **monocular depth cues** Cues of depth perception that are available to each eye alone.
- **monozygotic twins** Also called *identical twins*; twin siblings that result from one zygote splitting in two and therefore share the same genes.
- **morphemes** The smallest language units that have meaning, including suffixes and prefixes.
- **motivation** A process that energizes, guides, and maintains behavior toward a goal.
- **motor neurons** One of the three types of neurons; these neurons direct muscles to contract or relax, thereby producing movement.
- **myelin sheath** A fatty material, made up of glial cells, that insulates some axons to allow for faster movement of electrical impulses along the axon.
- **narcolepsy** A sleep disorder in which people experience excessive sleepiness during normal waking hours, sometimes going limp and collapsing.
- **natural selection** In evolutionary theory, the idea that those who inherit characteristics that help them adapt to their particular environments have a selective advantage over those who do not.
- **naturalistic observation** A type of descriptive study in which the researcher is a passive observer, separated from the situation and making no attempt to change or alter ongoing behavior.

need A state of biological or social deficiency.

- **need hierarchy** Maslow's arrangement of needs, in which basic survival needs must be met before people can satisfy higher needs.
- **need to belong theory** The theory that the need for interpersonal attachments is a fundamental motive that has evolved for adaptive purposes.
- **negative correlation** A relationship between two variables in which one variable increases when the other decreases.
- **negative punishment** The removal of a stimulus to decrease the probability of a behavior's recurring.
- **negative reinforcement** The removal of an unpleasant stimulus to increase the probability of a behavior's being repeated.
- **negative symptoms** Symptoms of schizophrenia that are marked by deficits in functioning, such as apathy, lack of emotion, and slowed speech and movement.

- **neurons** The basic units of the nervous system; cells that receive, integrate, and transmit information in the nervous system. They operate through electrical impulses, communicate with other neurons through chemical signals, and form neural networks.
- **neurotransmitters** Chemical substances that transmit signals from one neuron to another.
- **nodes of Ranvier** Small gaps of exposed axon, between the segments of myelin sheath, where action potentials take place.
- **nomothetic approaches** Approaches to assessing personality that focus on how common characteristics vary from person to person.
- **nonassociative learning** Responding after repeated exposure to a single stimulus, or event.
- **nonverbal behavior** The facial expressions, gestures, mannerisms, and movements by which one communicates with others.
- **norepinephrine** A monoamine neurotransmitter involved in states of arousal and attention.
- **normative decision theories** Attempts to define how people should make decisions.
- **normative influence** The tendency for people to conform in order to fit in with the group.
- **obedience** When a person follows the orders of a person of authority.
- **object constancy** Correctly perceiving objects as constant in their shape, size, color, and lightness, despite raw sensory data that could mislead perception.
- **observational learning** Acquiring or changing a behavior after exposure to another individual performing that behavior.
- **observer bias** Systematic errors in observation that occur because of an observer's expectations.
- **obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD)** A disorder characterized by frequent intrusive thoughts and compulsive actions.
- **obstructive sleep apnea** A disorder in which a person, while asleep, stops breathing because his or her throat closes; the condition results in frequent awakenings during the night.
- **occipital lobes** Regions of the cerebral cortex—at the back of the brain—important for vision.
- olfaction The sense of smell.
- **olfactory bulb** The brain center for smell, located below the frontal lobes.
- **olfactory epithelium** A thin layer of tissue, within the nasal cavity, that contains the receptors for smell.
- operant conditioning (instrumental conditioning) A learning process in which the consequences of an action determine the likelihood that it will be performed in the future.

- **operational definition** A definition that *qualifies* (describes) and *quantifies* (measures) a variable so the variable can be understood objectively.
- **outgroup homogeneity effect** The tendency to view outgroup members as less varied than ingroup members.
- **oxytocin** A hormone that is important for mothers in bonding to newborns and may encourage affiliation during social stress.
- **panic disorder** An anxiety disorder that consists of sudden, overwhelming attacks of terror.
- **parasympathetic division** A division of the autonomic nervous system; it returns the body to its resting state.
- **parietal lobes** Regions of the cerebral cortex—in front of the occipital lobes and behind the frontal lobes—important for the sense of touch and for attention to the environment.
- partial reinforcement A type of learning in which behavior is reinforced intermittently.
- partial-reinforcement extinction effect The greater persistence of behavior under partial reinforcement than under continuous reinforcement.
- **participant observation** A type of descriptive study in which the researcher is involved in the situation.
- **perception** The processing, organization, and interpretation of sensory signals.
- peripheral nervous system (PNS) All nerve cells in the body that are not part of the central nervous system. The peripheral nervous system includes the somatic and autonomic nervous systems.
- **persistence** The continual recurrence of unwanted memories.
- **persistent depressive disorder** A form of depression that is not severe enough to be diagnosed as major depressive disorder.
- **personal attributions** Explanations of people's behavior that refer to their internal characteristics, such as abilities, traits, moods, or efforts.
- **personality** A person's characteristic thoughts, emotional responses, and behaviors.
- **personality psychology** The study of characteristic thoughts, emotions, and behaviors in people and how they vary across social situations.
- **personality trait** A pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that is relatively consistent over time and across situations.
- **persuasion** The active and conscious effort to change an attitude through the transmission of a message.
- **phenotype** Observable physical characteristics, which result from both genetic and environmental influences.
- phobia An acquired fear that is out of proportion to the real threat of an object or of a situation.

- **phonemes** The basic sounds of speech, the building blocks of language.
- **phonics** A method of teaching reading in English that focuses on the association between letters and their phonemes.
- **pituitary gland** A gland located at the base of the hypothalamus; it sends hormonal signals to other endocrine glands, controlling their release of hormones.
- **place coding** A mechanism for encoding high-frequency auditory stimuli in which the frequency of the sound wave is encoded by the location of the hair cells along the basilar membrane.
- **placebo effect** An improvement in physical or mental health following treatment with a placebo—that is, with a drug or treatment that has no active component on the disorder being treated.
- **plasticity** A property of the brain that allows it to change as a result of experience or injury.
- **population** Everyone in the group the experimenter is interested in.
- **positive correlation** A relationship between two variables in which both variables either increase or decrease together.
- **positive punishment** The administration of a stimulus to decrease the probability of a behavior's recurring.
- **positive reinforcement** The administration of a stimulus to increase the probability of a behavior's being repeated.
- **positron emission tomography (PET)** A method of brain imaging that assesses metabolic activity by using a radioactive substance injected into the bloodstream.
- **postconventional level** Highest stage of moral development; at this level, decisions about morality depend on abstract principles and the value of all life.
- **posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)** A disorder that involves frequent nightmares, intrusive thoughts, and flashbacks related to an earlier trauma.
- **preconventional level** Earliest level of moral development; at this level, self-interest and event outcomes determine what is moral.
- **prefrontal cortex** The frontmost portion of the frontal lobes, especially prominent in humans; important for attention, working memory, decision making, appropriate social behavior, and personality.
- **prejudice** Negative feelings, opinions, and beliefs associated with a stereotype.
- **preoperational stage** The second stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, children think symbolically about objects, but they reason based on intuition and superficial appearance rather than logic.
- **primary appraisals** Part of the coping process that involves making decisions about whether a stimulus is stressful, benign, or irrelevant.
- **primary emotions** Emotions that are innate, evolutionarily adaptive, and universal (shared across cultures).

- **proactive interference** Interference that occurs when prior information inhibits the ability to remember new information.
- **problem-focused coping** A type of coping in which people take direct steps to confront or minimize a stressor.
- **problem solving** Finding a way around an obstacle to reach a goal.
- **procedural memory** A type of implicit memory that involves motor skills and behavioral habits.
- **projective measures** Personality tests that examine unconscious processes by having people interpret ambiguous stimuli.
- **prosocial behaviors** Actions that tend to benefit others, such as doing favors or helping.
- **prospective memory** Remembering to do something at some future time.
- **prototype model** A way of thinking about concepts: Within each category, there is a best example—a prototype—for that category.
- **psychoanalysis** A method developed by Sigmund Freud that attempts to bring the contents of the unconscious into conscious awareness so that conflicts can be revealed.
- **psychodynamic theory** The Freudian theory that unconscious forces determine behavior.
- psychodynamic therapy A form of therapy based on Freudian theory; it aims to help clients examine needs, defenses, and motives as a way of understanding distress.
- **psychological science** The study, through research, of mind, brain, and behavior.
- **psychopathology** Sickness or disorder of the mind.
- **psychosexual stages** According to Freud, developmental stages that correspond to distinct libidinal urges; progression through these stages profoundly affects personality.
- **psychotherapy** The generic name given to formal psychological treatment.
- **psychotropic medications** Drugs that affect mental processes.
- **puberty** The onset of sexual maturity that marks the beginning of adolescence.
- **random assignment** Placing research participants into the conditions of an experiment in such a way that each participant has an equal chance of being assigned to any level of the independent variable.
- **reactivity** The phenomenon that occurs when knowledge that one is being observed alters the behavior being observed.
- **receptors** In neurons, specialized protein molecules on the postsynaptic membrane; neurotransmitters bind to these molecules after passing across the synapse.
- **recessive gene** A gene that is expressed only when it is matched with a similar gene from the other parent.

- **reconsolidation** Neural processes involved when memories are recalled and then stored again for retrieval.
- **reinforcer** A stimulus that follows a response and increases the likelihood that the response will be repeated.
- **reliability** The degree to which a measure is stable and consistent over time.
- **REM sleep** The stage of sleep marked by rapid eye movements, dreaming, and paralysis of motor systems.
- **replication** Repetition of a research study to confirm the results.
- **representativeness heuristic** Placing a person or object in a category if that person or object is similar to one's prototype for that category.
- **Rescorla-Wagner model** A cognitive model of classical conditioning; it holds that the strength of the CS-US association is determined by the extent to which the unconditioned stimulus is unexpected.
- **research** A scientific process that involves the careful collection of data.
- **Research Domain Criteria (RDoC)** A method that defines basic aspects of functioning and considers them across multiple levels of analysis, from genes to brain systems to behavior.
- resting membrane potential The electrical charge of a neuron when it is not active.
- **restructuring** A new way of thinking about a problem that aids its solution.
- **retina** The thin inner surface of the back of the eyeball; it contains the sensory receptors that transduce light into neural signals.
- **retrieval** The act of recalling or remembering stored information when it is needed.
- **retrieval cue** Anything that helps a person (or a nonhuman animal) recall information stored in long-term memory.
- **retroactive interference** Interference that occurs when new information inhibits the ability to remember old information.
- **retrograde amnesia** A condition in which people lose past memories, such as memories for events, facts, people, or even personal information.
- **reuptake** The process whereby a neurotransmitter is taken back into the presynaptic terminal buttons, thereby stopping its activity.
- **rods** Retinal cells that respond to low levels of light and result in black-and-white perception.
- sample A subset of a population.
- **scatterplot** A graphical depiction of the relationship between two variables.
- **schemas** Cognitive structures that help us perceive, organize, process, and use information.
- schizophrenia A psychological disorder characterized by a split between thought and emotion; it involves alterations in thoughts, perceptions, or consciousness.

- **scientific method** A systematic and dynamic procedure of observing and measuring phenomena, used to achieve the goals of description, prediction, control, and explanation; it involves an interaction among research, theories, and hypotheses.
- **secondary appraisals** Part of the coping process during which people evaluate their response options and choose coping behaviors.
- **secondary emotions** Blends of primary emotions.
- **secure attachment** The attachment style for a majority of infants; the infant is confident enough to play in an unfamiliar environment as long as the caregiver is present and is readily comforted by the caregiver during times of distress.
- selection bias In an experiment, unintended differences between the participants in different groups; it could be caused by nonrandom assignment to groups.
- **self-actualization** A state that is achieved when one's personal dreams and aspirations have been attained.
- **self-esteem** The evaluative aspect of the self-concept in which people feel worthy or unworthy.
- **self-report methods** Methods of data collection in which people are asked to provide information about themselves, such as in surveys or questionnaires.
- **self-serving bias** The tendency for people to take personal credit for success but blame failure on external factors.
- **semantic memory** Memory for knowledge about the world.
- **sensation** The detection of external stimuli and the transmission of this information to the brain.
- **sensitization** An increase in behavioral response after exposure to a stimulus.
- **sensorimotor stage** The first stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development; during this stage, infants acquire information about the world through their senses and motor skills. Reflexive responses develop into more deliberate actions through the development and refinement of schemes.
- **sensory adaptation** A decrease in sensitivity to a constant level of stimulation.
- **sensory memory** A memory system that very briefly stores sensory information in close to its original sensory form.
- **serial position effect** The idea that the ability to recall items from a list depends on the order of presentation, with items presented early or late in the list remembered better than those in the middle.
- **serotonin** A monoamine neurotransmitter important for a wide range of psychological activity, including emotional states, impulse control, and dreaming.
- **sensory neurons** One of the three types of neurons; these neurons detect information from the physical world and pass that information to the brain.

- **sexual response cycle** A four-stage pattern of physiological and psychological responses during sexual activity.
- sexual strategies theory A theory that maintains that women and men have evolved distinct mating strategies because they faced different adaptive problems over the course of human history. The strategies used by each sex maximize the probability of passing along their genes to future generations.
- **shaping** A process of operant conditioning; it involves reinforcing behaviors that are increasingly similar to the desired behavior.
- **short-term memory** A memory storage system that briefly holds a limited amount of information in awareness.
- **signal detection theory (SDT)** A theory of perception based on the idea that the detection of a stimulus requires a judgment—it is not an all-or-nothing process.
- situational attributions Explanations of people's behavior that refer to external events, such as the weather, luck, accidents, or other people's actions.
- **situationism** The theory that behavior is determined more by situations than by personality traits.
- **social facilitation** The idea that the presence of others generally enhances performance.
- **social identity theory** The idea that ingroups consist of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category and experience pride through their group membership.
- **social intuitionist model** The idea that moral judgments reflect people's initial and automatic emotional responses.
- **social loafing** The tendency for people to not work as hard in a group than when working alone.
- social norms Expected standards of conduct, which influence behavior.
- social psychology The study of how people influence other people's thoughts, feelings, and actions.
- **sociocultural model** A diagnostic model that views psychopathology as the result of the interaction between individuals and their cultures.
- **sociometer** An internal monitor of social acceptance or rejection.
- **somatic markers** Bodily reactions that arise from the emotional evaluation of an action's consequences.
- somatic nervous system (SNS) A

component of the peripheral nervous system; it transmits sensory signals and motor signals between the central nervous system and the skin, muscles, and joints.

- **sound wave** A pattern of changes in air pressure during a period of time; it produces the percept of a sound.
- **source amnesia** A type of misattribution that occurs when a person shows memory for an event but cannot remember where he or she encountered the information.

- **source misattribution** Memory distortion that occurs when people misremember the time, place, person, or circumstances involved with a memory.
- **split brain** A condition that occurs when the corpus callosum is surgically cut and the two hemispheres of the brain do not receive information directly from each other.
- **spontaneous recovery** A process in which a previously extinguished conditioned response reemerges after the presentation of the conditioned stimulus.
- **standard deviation** A statistical measure of how far away each value is, on average, from the mean.
- **stereotype threat** Apprehension about confirming negative stereotypes related to one's own group.
- **stereotypes** Cognitive schemas that allow for easy, fast processing of information about people based on their membership in certain groups.
- **stimulus discrimination** A differentiation between two similar stimuli when only one of them is consistently associated with the unconditioned stimulus.
- **stimulus generalization** Learning that occurs when stimuli that are similar but not identical to the conditioned stimulus produce the conditioned response.
- **storage** The retention of encoded representations over time.
- stream of consciousness A phrase coined by William James to describe each person's continuous series of ever-changing thoughts.
- **stress** A type of response that typically involves an unpleasant state, such as anxiety or tension.
- **stressor** Something in the environment that is perceived as threatening or demanding and therefore produces stress.
- **structuralism** An approach to psychology based on the idea that conscious experience can be broken down into its basic underlying components.
- **subliminal perception** The processing of information by sensory systems without conscious awareness.
- suggestibility The development of biased memories from misleading information.
- **superego** In psychodynamic theory, the internalization of societal and parental standards of conduct.
- surface structure In language, the sound and order of words.
- **sympathetic division** A division of the autonomic nervous system; it prepares the body for action.
- **synapse** The gap between the axon of a "sending" neuron and the dendrites of a "receiving" neuron; the site at which

 $chemical \ communication \ occurs \ between \ neurons.$

- **synaptic pruning** A process whereby the synaptic connections in the brain that are used are preserved, and those that are not used are lost.
- **taste buds** Sensory organs in the mouth that contain the receptors for taste.
- **telegraphic speech** The tendency for toddlers to speak using rudimentary sentences that are missing words and grammatical markings but follow a logical syntax and convey a wealth of meaning.
- temperaments Biologically based tendencies to feel or act in certain ways.
- **temporal coding** A mechanism for encoding low-frequency auditory stimuli in which the firing rates of cochlear hair cells match the frequency of the sound wave.
- **temporal lobes** Regions of the cerebral cortex—below the parietal lobes and in front of the occipital lobes—important for processing auditory information, for memory, and for object and face perception.
- **tend-and-befriend response** Females' tendency to protect and care for their offspring and form social alliances rather than fight or flee in response to threat.
- **teratogens** Agents that harm the embryo or fetus.
- **terminal buttons** At the ends of axons, small nodules that release chemical signals from the neuron into the synapse.
- **thalamus** The gateway to the brain; it receives almost all incoming sensory information before that information reaches the cortex.
- **theory** A model of interconnected ideas or concepts that explains what is observed and makes predictions about future events. Theories are based on empirical evidence.
- **theory of mind** The ability to understand that other people have mental states that influence their behavior.
- **thinking** The mental manipulation of representations of knowledge about the world.
- **third variable problem** A problem that occurs when the researcher cannot directly manipulate variables; as a result, the researcher cannot be confident that another, unmeasured variable is not the actual cause of differences in the variables of interest.
- **top-down processing** How knowledge, expectations, or past experiences shape the interpretation of sensory information.
- **trait approach** An approach to studying personality that focuses on how individuals differ in personality dispositions.
- transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) The use of strong magnets to briefly interrupt normal brain activity as a way to study brain regions.

- **transduction** The process by which sensory stimuli are converted to signals the brain can interpret.
- **transience** Forgetting over time.
- **Type A behavior pattern** A pattern of behavior characterized by competitiveness, achievement orientation, aggressiveness, hostility, restlessness, impatience with others, and inability to relax.
- **Type B behavior pattern** A pattern of behavior characterized by noncompetitive, relaxed, easygoing, and accommodating behavior.
- **unconditioned response (UR)** A response that does not have to be learned, such as a reflex.
- **unconditioned stimulus (US)** A stimulus that elicits a response, such as a reflex, without any prior learning.
- **unconscious** The place where mental processes operate below the level of conscious awareness.
- **variability** In a set of numbers, how widely dispersed the values are from each other and from the mean.
- variable Something in the world that can vary and that a researcher can manipulate (change), measure (evaluate), or both.
- **vestibular sense** Perception of balance determined by receptors in the inner ear.
- vicarious learning Learning the consequences of an action by watching others being rewarded or punished for performing the action.
- **well-being** A positive state that includes striving for optimal health and life satisfaction.
- **Wernicke's area** An area of the left hemisphere where the temporal and parietal lobes meet, involved in speech comprehension.
- "what is beautiful is good" stereotype The belief that attractive people are superior in most ways.
- whole language A method of teaching reading in English that emphasizes learning the meanings of words and understanding how words are connected in sentences.
- **working memory** An active processing system that keeps different types of information available for current use.
- Yerkes-Dodson law The psychological principle that performance on challenging tasks increases with arousal up to a moderate level. After that, additional arousal impairs performance.
- **zero correlation** A relationship between two variables in which one variable is not predictably related to the other.

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R-9

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Answer Key for Practice Tests

Chapter 1

PRACTICE TEST, P. 31

- c. "I think you'll be surprised by the range of questions psychologists ask about the mind, the brain, and behavior, not to mention the scientific methods they use to answer these questions."
- 2. a. adaptations; b. survival of the fittest; c. natural selection.
- 3. a. social; b. biological; c. cultural; d. individual.
- 4. a. Titchener, Wundt; b. James; c. Köhler, Wertheimer; d. Skinner, Watson; e. Miller, Neisser; f. Lewin.
- 5. a. introspection; b. dualism; c. localization; d. stream of consciousness.
- **6.** c. "That's great! Psychologists do research to figure out which interventions are most helpful for people with different concerns."

Chapter 2

PRACTICE TEST, P. 73

- 1. c. replication.
- 2. b, because it offers a specific prediction.
- 3. a, because it is random.
- 4. c, because it includes experimental and control groups.
- 5. a, because it uses random assignment.

Chapter 3

PRACTICE TEST, P. 129

- **1.** b. sensory neurons.
- 2. c. dopamine.
- 3. a. agonist; b. agonist; c. antagonist; d. antagonist.
- 4. a. Heritability refers to traits passed from parent to offspring.
- 5. soma, 2; terminal buttons, 4; dendrites, 1; axon, 3.
- **6.** Statement b, "The cell membrane allows more sodium than potassium ions to cross easily," is false.
- 7. d. transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS).
- 8. c. The left hemisphere can verbally report its perception. The right hemisphere cannot articulate what it saw but can act on its perception.

Chapter 4

PRACTICE TEST, P. 171

1. b. The person in the minimally conscious state is more likely to regain full consciousness at some point in the future.

- 2. b. Participants in Condition A will be more friendly toward the stranger than will participants in Condition B.
- 3. a. narcolepsy; b. somnambulism; c. insomnia; d. apnea.
- **4.** b. All animals sleep; c. It is impossible to resist indefinitely the urge to sleep; e. Animals die when deprived of sleep for extended periods.
- 5. b. "Lying on your back, rest your hands gently on your abdomen. As you breathe in and out, focus attention on your breath. Notice the rhythmic rise and fall of your abdomen and the slow, deep movement of your chest."
- 6. b. cocaine.
- 7. a. false; b. true; c. false; d. true; e. false; f. false.

Chapter 5

PRACTICE TEST, P. 219

- 1. d. specialized receptors, thalamus, cortex.
- 2. c. ventral, dorsal.
- 3. e. skin, due to the large surface area.
- 4. b. amplitude, frequency.
- 5. a. shape constancy; b. color constancy; c. size constancy; d. shape constancy; e. lightness constancy.
- 6. Choices a, e, and f are correct.

Chapter 6

PRACTICE TEST, P. 262

- 1. The US is heat, the UR is sweating, the CS is the history room, and the CR is sweating.
- 2. The US is lemon, the UR is a pucker, the CS is a blue dot, and the CR is a pucker at the sight of the blue dot.
- **3.** c. The students will experience puckering responses because of stimulus generalization.
- 4. b. The door reliably opens shortly before the food is delivered.
- 5. a. positive reinforcement; b. positive punishment; c. negative reinforcement; d. negative punishment (removal of affection).

Chapter 7

PRACTICE TEST, P. 307

- a. memory phase; b. memory system; c. memory system; d. memory phase; e. memory system; f. memory phase; g. memory system; h. memory system.
- 2. Choices a, c, d, and e can all lead to forgetting.
- 3. False.

- 4. Choices a, c, e, f, h, and i can all distort memory.
- 5. d. choices a and b.
- 6. c. chunking.

Chapter 8

PRACTICE TEST, P. 355

- 1. a. symbolic; b. analogical; c. both; d. symbolic.
- 2. b. functional fixedness.
- 3. c. phonics.
- 4. d. Chomsky's universal grammar theory.
- 5. d. both a and b.
- 6. False.

Chapter 9

PRACTICE TEST, P. 401

- 1. a. differentiate between sweet and nonsweet tastes; c. grasp a caregiver's finger; e. orient toward loud sounds; i. turn his or her head toward the smell of the mother's breast milk; j. turn toward a nipple near his or her mouth.
- 2. d. Children younger than 3 can understand the concepts of "more than" and "less than" when using M&M's.
- **3.** d. The infant will stare at the three remaining cubes for a relatively long time.
- $\textbf{4.} \hspace{0.1 cm} a-preconventional; b-postconventional; c-conventional. \\$

Chapter 10

PRACTICE TEST, P. 448

- 1. b. Sonya is somewhat anxious about this presentation. She knows her stuff but recognizes how much is riding on the quality of this presentation. This anxious energy motivates her to polish her slides and practice her talk.
- 2. b. GABA.
- **3.** a. primary; b. primary; c. secondary; d. secondary; e. primary; f. secondary; g. primary; h. secondary.
- **4.** a. True.
- 5. a. need; b. drive; c. drive; d. need; e. need; f. need; g. drive; h. need.
- 6. d. a person high in self-efficacy and high in achievement motivation.
- 7. b. ghrelin; leptin.

Chapter 11

PRACTICE TEST, P. 493

- 1. d. Genetic predispositions to some diseases exist. But living healthily can help reduce the chance of developing a disease.
- 2. b. biopsychosocial.
- 3. Choices a and d are true.
- 4. d. exercise.

5. a. True. When female rats were exposed to stress 2 weeks before pregnancy, their offspring exhibited abnormalities in fear learning and heightened physiological response to stress as adults.

Chapter 12

PRACTICE TEST, P. 545

- 1. a. ingroup favoritism; b. illusory correlation; c. outgroup homogeneity.
- 2. d. "We can hold an all-campus competition, where teams of dorms would compete for prizes. Dorm A and Dorm B could be on one team; Dorm C and Dorm D could be on the other team."
- **3.** e. All of the above may be reasons why people form groups.
- **4.** b. Outgroup members could be "foes," and so supporting them could be to the detriment of the ingroup.
- 5. Choices b, d, f, and g are all reasons for the bystander intervention effect.
- 6. d. the elaboration likelihood model.
- 7. d. All of the above strategies should be effective.

Chapter 13

PRACTICE TEST, P. 597

- a. type and trait; b. learning and cognition; c. psychodynamic; d. humanistic.
- 2. a. idiographic; projective.
- **3.** b. Predictions of our own behaviors may be biased in favor of our subjective perceptions (how we *think* we act) rather than our objective behaviors (how we *do* act); c. We tend to pay more attention to others than to ourselves and thus fail to notice our own behavior; others notice how we behave and are better able to predict our future behaviors.
- **4.** c. Probably thousands of genes are involved in personality, and epigenetic mechanisms can cause environmental events to affect the expression of these genes.
- 5. c. trait; behavioral.
- 6. d. sociometer; terror management.
- 7. b. False. Research shows there is little relationship between self-esteem and objective measures of success. Violent criminals, bullies, and narcissists all have high self-esteem, with very negative effects.

Chapter 14

PRACTICE TEST, P. 651

- 1. Choices a, b, and c apply.
- 2. c. internalizing, females; externalizing, males.
- 3. False.
- 4. All but choice c apply.

Chapter 15

PRACTICE TEST, P. 704

- **1.** Choices a, b, and e are true.
- 2. a. Treatments should be based on evidence of their effectiveness; b. Treatments should be appropriate for the particular disorders; c. Specific techniques for treatment should be developed in the laboratory by psychologists.
- 3. The correct order is c, a, b.
- 4. c. Joshua's tendency to get into fistfights.
- 5. Choices a, b, and d are likely true.
- 6. e. obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and depression.
- 7. c. electroconvulsive therapy (ECT).

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Chapter 5

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Chapter 6

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Chapter 7

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Chapter 8

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Chapter 9

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Chapter 10

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Chapter 11

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Chapter 12

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Chapter 13

Page 546: Gallery Stock; p. 549: Fig. 13.2: Bettmann/Corbis; p. 550: cartoon: © New Yorker Collection 1996 J. B. Handelsman from cartoonbank.com; p. 551: top photo: George Shelley/AgeFotostock; bottom photo: Brand New Images/Getty Images; p. 552: cartoon: © The New Yorker Collection 1999 Barbara smaller from cartoonbank.com. All rights reserved; p. 553: Fig. 13.4a: Photodisc/Getty Images; Fig. 13.4b: Agnieszka Kirinicjanow/ Getty Images; Fig. 13.4c: Randy Faris/Corbis; p. 555: photo: Courtesy Dr. Christine Drea; p. 558: Fig. 13.7: Imagno/Getty Images; p. 561: Fig. 13.8: AgeFotostock/SuperStock; p. 562: Fig. 13.10: Courtesy Carl Rogers Memorial Library; p. 568: Fig. 13.15a: Beau Lark/Corbis; Fig. 13.15b: Massive/Getty Images; p. 569: Fig. 13.16a: Sally and Richard Greenhill/ Alamy; Fig. 13.16b: Martin Thomas Photography/Alamy; Fig. 13.17: Granada Television Production, First Run Features; p. 578: Fig. 13.24a: Wikimedia; p. 578: Fig. 13.24b: Collection of Todd Heatherton. Photo by Sarah Heatherton; p. 579: Fig. 13.25: Courtesy David Funder, University of California, Riverside; Fig. 13.26: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; p. 580: left photo: David Papazian/Getty Images; right photo: Chris Parker/ AgeFotostock; p. 585: Fig. 13.30: Courtesy of Todd Heatherton; p. 593: Fig. 13.37a: Walter Hodges/Getty Images; Fig. 13.37b: Kyodo via AP Images.

Chapter 14

Page 598: Ronald van Erkel/Getty Images; p. 600: Fig. 14.1: Thomas Traill; p. 601: Fig. 14.2: Museo Lazaro Galdiano/Giraudon/ The Bridgeman Art Library p 603 Fig. 14.3: Granger Collection; p. 605: Fig. 14.6: Southern Illinois University/Science Source; p. 607: Fig. 14.9: Joe McNally/Hulton Archive/ Getty Images; Fig. 14.10: David Hoffman Photo Library/Alamy; p. 609: Fig. 14.13: Atsushi Yamada/Getty Images; p. 615: left photo: Ryan McVay/Getty Images; right photo: Schwartz et al. (2003). Inhibited and Uninhibited Infants "Grown Up." Science. Copyright © 2003, AAAS; p. 616: cartoon: © New Yorker Collection 2003 Michael Shaw from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved; Fig. 14.16: Charles Eshelman/ FilmMagic/Getty Images; p. 618: Fig. 14.18:

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Chapter 15

Page 652: Steve Coleman/Getty Images; p. 654: Fig. 15.1: Richard Perry/The New York Times/ Redux; p. 655: cartoon: © The New Yorker Collection 1989 Danny Shanahan from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved; p. 656: Fig. 15.2: Peter Aprahamian/Corbis; p. 657: Fig. 15.3: Michael Rougier/Time Life Pictures/ Getty Images; p. 659: Fig. 15.5: Courtesy Barbara A Marinelli; p. 661: Fig. 15.7: David Grossman/Alamy; Fig. 15.8: Barbara Davidson/ Los Angeles Times; p. 664: Fig. 15.10: Daniele Pellegrini/Science Source; Fig. 15.11: Will McIntyre/Science Source; p. 667: Fig. 15.14: Harry Goodwin/Rex Features USA; p. 670: Fig. 15.15: Lisa F. Young/Alamy; p. 673: Fig. 15.16: Alain Jocard/AFP/Getty Images; p. 675: Fig. 15.17: Israel images/Alamy; p. 676: Fig. 15.18: Stockbyte Photography/Veer; p. 679: Fig. 15.20: The Advertising Archives; p. 680: cartoon: © The New Yorker Collection 1993 Lee Lorenz from cartoonbank.com. All rights reserved; p. 682: Fig. 15.23: Pascal Goetheluck/ Science Photo Library/Science Source; p. 683: photo: Courtesy of Helen Mayberg, M.D.; p. 684: Fig. 15.24a: AP Photo; Fig. 15.24b: Ulf Andersen/Getty Images; p. 690: Fig. 15.27: Peter Yates/The New York Times/Redux; p. 695: left photo: imac/Alamy; right photo: Lemoine/AgeFotostock; p. 696: Fig. 15.31: The Lovaas Institute for Early Intervention; p. 701: left photo: Najlah Feanny/Corbis; right photo: Wavebreak Media Ltd/Alamy.

Name Index

Page numbers in *italics* refer to figures and illustrations.

Aarts, H., 138, 426 Abad-Merino, S., 532 Abdelaal, E., 479 Abdel-Azim, E., 252 Abdel-Khalek, A. M., 574 Abdi, H., 138 Abe, Y., 470 Abel, T., 269 Abelson, R., 313 Abikoff, H. B., 696 Abizaid, A., 435 Aboud, F., 347 Abou-Saleh, M. T., 360 Abramowitz, J. S., 617, 658, 660, 673 Abramson, L. Y., 591, 592, 620, 621 Abrevaya, J., 510 Ackerman, P. L., 344 Ackerman, S., 476 Ackl. N., 620 Adachi-Mejia, A. M., 256, 314, 314 Adair, J., 56 Ádám, N., 574 Adamovová, L., 574 Adams, C. M., 253 Adams, H. E., 558 Adams N 669 Addalli, K. A., 648 Addington, A. M., 632 Addington, J., 633 Adelman, A., 478 Adolfsson, R., 552 Adolphs, R., 95, 408 Agam, G., 620 Agarwal, S. K., 477 Agawu, K., 26 Agnello, C., 440 Agras, W. S., 464 Ahima B S 458 Ahmed, N., 360 Ahn, C. K., 574 Ahn, H. N., 574 Aichhorn, M., 381 Ainsworth, M. D. S., 371, 372 Akahane-Yamada, R., 332 Alampay, L. P., 248 Alamuddin, R., 56 Alarcon, R., 673 Alborn, A. M., 112 Alcalay, L., 441 Aldridge, J. D., 235 Aldridge, J. W., 162 Alessandri, M., 699 Alexander, A. L., 408 Alexis, K., 351

Alferink, L. A., 102 Algoe, S. B., 482 Al-Hassan, S., 248 Ali, K., 360 Ali, M. K., 457 Ali, S. R., 661 Alicke, M. D., 590 Al-Khatib, T., 51 Alkire, M. T., 342, 345 Allen, A., 698 Allen, C. R., 624 Allen, J. B., 620 Allen, J. P., 248 Allen, N. B., 619 Allik, J., 41, 573, 575 Allison, T., 190 Allman, J. M., 98 Allmon, D., 691 Alloy, L., 621 Allport, G., 549, 549, 563 Allred, K. D., 481 Almeida, D. M., 470 Alper, C. M., 484 Alpert, N. M., 618 Altamura, A., 685 Altshuler, L., 624 Alvergne, A., 107 Amano, S., 369 Amanzio, M., 666 Amaral, D. G., 45, 645 Amato, P. R., 394 Ambady, N., 350, 420, 526 Ambler, A., 166 American Academy of Pediatrics, 360 American Asociation of Suicidology, 622 American Psychiatric Association, 463, 629 American Psychological Association, 684 Ametaj, A. A., 666, 672 Amieva, H., 677 Amminger, G. P., 633 Amoroso, A. J., 163 An, X., 138 Ancoli-Israel, S., 146 Anderson, A., 418 Anderson, A. K., 95, 158, 209, 407, 680 Anderson, C., 422 Anderson, C. A., 257, 258, 510 Anderson, J. S., 102 Anderson, L., 644 Anderson, N., 535 Anderson, S. W., 382 Andersson, G., 681 Andersson, R., 120 Anderton, C. H., 155

Ando, J., 550, 552 Andreasen, D., 132 Andreasen, N. C., 618, 630, 632 Andreiuolo, P. A., 383 Angell, M., 678, 680 Angleitner, A., 552, 571 Anney, R., 644 Anthony, A., 646 Antonishak, J., 248 Antonuccio, D., 700 Antoun, N., 407 Aouizerate, B., 617, 677 Apfel, N., 351 Arias, E., 699 Ariely, D., 535 Arkowitz, H., 658 Armstrong, H. E., 691 Arndt, J., 587 Arndt, S., 632 Arnold, L. E., 696 Arnow, B., 681 Aron, A., 538, 541 Aron, A. P., 414 Aron, E. N., 541 Aronne, L. J., 461 Aronowitz, B. R., 698 Aronson, E., 518, 522, 536 Aronson, J., 350 Arps, K., 514 Arseneault, L., 430 Asai, M., 629 Asch, S. E., 318, 503, 503, 505 Ashburn-Nardo, L., 533 Ashe, K. H., 396 Ashton, M. C., 563 Ashwin, E., 110 Ashwood, P., 645 Askin B 605 Attner, M. A., 269 Aubisson, S., 360 Auerbach, S. M., 481 Ault, L., 441 Austers, I., 441 Autsin, E. J., 343 Auveung, B., 110 Avants, B. B., 348, 360 Avenevoli, S., 693, 699 Averill, J. R., 421 Avia, M. D., 571 Aviezer H 418 Avinun, R., 551 Avugos, S., 69 Aylwar, E. H., 648 Azrael, D., 702

Baars, B., 139 Bacchini, D., 248 Bachman, J. G., 164, 465 Back, K., 535 Back, M. D., 580 Bacon, S., 571 Bacskai, B. J., 149 Baddeley, A. D., 273, 282, 283 Bailey, J. M., 443, 444 Baillargeon, R., 378, 380 Baird, J. A., 380 Baker, C., 157, 632 Baker, T. B., 465, 466, 467 Bakersman-Kranenburg, M. J., 372 Bakish D 673 Baldessarini, R. J., 685 Baldwin, D. A., 332, 380 Baler, R. D., 161, 167 Ballantyne, J. C., 162 Balmas, G., 166 Balota D A 275 Balthazard, C. G., 156 Baltimore D., 116 Bamberg, E., 125 Banaji, M. R., 232, 420, 521, 526, 529, 592 Bandura, A., 255, 255, 256, 429, 561 Banfield J F 585 Bangerter, A., 368 Banks, C., 500 Banks, W. A., 478 Bao, W. N., 392 Baptista, M. A. S., 238 Barbee, A. P., 442, 536 Barbini, B., 149 Barch, D. M., 632 Bard, Philip, 411 Barefoot, J. C., 478 Bar-Eli. M., 69 Barfield, R. T., 617 Bargh, J. A., 138, 426 Bar-Hillel, M., 409 Barkley, R., 648 Barkley, R. A., 648 Barlow, D. H., 604, 612, 613, 614, 666, 672, 675 Barnes, G. M., 155, 164 Barnett, R. C., 619 Barnier, A., 157 Baron-Cohen, S., 110, 381, 418 Barrett, F. S., 25 Barrett, L. F., 405, 406 Barsalou, L. W., 406 Bartels, A., 439 Bartels, J., 132 Bartels, M., 629 Barterian, J., 659 Bartholow, B. D., 257 Barton, D. A., 620 Bartoshuk, L. M., 205, 206 Bartz. J., 698 Baskin, T. W., 666 Basser, P., 683 Bastian, B., 497 Bates, T. C., 552 Batson, C. D., 513, 515 Batson, J. G., 513 Batty, G. D., 342, 344 Bauer, M., 484

Bauknecht, H. C., 460 Baumeister, R. F., 421, 441, 475, 519, 558, 587, 588 Bäuml, K. T., 282 Baumrind, D., 248 Baxter, L. R., 617, 676 Baxter, M. G., 464 Bavdala, L. T., 351 Bayer, L., 148 Bazana, P. G., 345 Beach, M. L., 256, 314, 314 Beaman, A. L., 514 Bean, J., 158 Beauchamp, G. K., 206, 207 Beaudoin G 673 Bechara, A., 167, 382, 418 Beck, A. T., 608, 621, 691 Beck, H. P., 236 Becker, D. V., 190 Becker, E. S., 614 Bedell, B. T., 319 Bee, P., 659 Beekman, A. T., 681 Beer, J., 511 Beesdo, K., 614 Beggan, J. K., 589 Behne, T., 380 Behrmann, M., 645 Beier, M. E., 344 Bell, K., 396 Bellak, L., 648 Belmaker, R. H., 620 Belsky, D., 430 Belsky, D. W., 604 Belsky, J., 385, 395 Bem, D., 428 Bem, S. L., 388 Benavides, J. A., 150 Benazzouz, A., 677 Benbow, C. P., 341, 349 Bench, S. W., 406 Bender, H. L., 248 Benedetti, F., 149, 666 Benet-Martinez, V., 573 Benjamin, E. J., 478 Benjamin, L. T., 667 Benjet, C., 248, 693 Bennett, E. L., 110 Bennett, R., 95 Benovoy, M., 252 Ben-Shakhar, G., 409, 410 Bentler, P. M., 535 Benveniste, H., 88 Berelowitz, M., 646 Berger, S. L., 123 Berglund, H., 445 Bergman, K. S., 676 Berkman, L. F., 485 Berkowitz, L., 257, 510 Bermond, B., 471 Berndt, A., 125 Bernhardt, A. M., 314, 314 Bernhardt, P. C., 511 Berns, G. S., 505 Bernstein, C. A., 604 Berntson, G. G., 410 Berridge, K. C., 161, 162, 235, 252

Berrington de Gonzalez, A., 457 Berscheid, E., 441, 534, 537, 538, 539 Berstein, Y., 645 Betancourt, H., 56 Betancourt, L., 360 Bever, T., 379, 379 Bewernick, B. H., 684 Bhandari A 632 Bianchi-Demicheli, F., 538 Bickerton, D., 335 Bidell, T. R., 378 Biederman, J., 615, 648, 694, 695 Biegon, A., 88 Bieling, P., 681 Biesanz, J., 581 Bishop, M., 464 Bittner, A., 614 Bjork, R. A., 282 Bjork-Eriksson, T., 112 Bjorklund, D. F., 374, 376 Bjornsson, A.S., 666 Black, R. B., 648 Blackwell, K. C., 190 Blagys, M. D., 659 Blaha, C., 665 Blair. I. V., 533 Blair. R. J. R., 641 Blake, A., 414 Blakemore, C., 13 Blakemore, S. J., 211, 385 Blalock, J., 620 Blanchard, R., 444 Bland, R. C., 616 Blanton, H., 521 Blase, S. I., 669 Blasi, A., 364 Blass, T., 507 Blazer, D., 637 Blehar, M. C., 371, 372 Bless, H., 159 Bloch. H. M., 145 Block, J., 482 Bloom, B., 647 Bloom, D. A., 382 Bloom, P., 332, 334 Blumberg, S. J., 321 Blumenstein, S., 51 Blumenthal, T. D., 237 Blunt, J. R., 277 Boden, J. M., 588 Bodenhausen, G. V., 529, 533 Bogaert, A. F., 444 Bogen, J. E., 103 Bohacek, J., 472 Bohlin, G., 372 Bohner, G., 460 Bohus, M., 638, 690 Boivin, J. R., 235 Boller, C. C., 25 Bolles, R., 250 Bollini, A., 632, 633, 687 Bolv. M., 132 Bombi, A. S., 248 Bonagura, N., 648 Bonanno, G. A., 415, 482 Bond, Charles, 165 Bond, D. J., 685

Bonnet, M., 146 Boodoo, G., 338, 341, 346, 348, 350 Bookheimer, S. Y., 645 Booth, A., 394, 511 Bootzin, R. R., 147 Borian, F. E., 681 Born, J., 150 Bornick, P., 360 Bornstein M H 248 Bornstein, R. F., 578 Borton, R., 364 Bosmans, E., 477 Boss, S. M., 136 Bosson, J. K., 588 Botsis A J 614 Botvinick, M. M., 499 Bouchard, C., 460 Bouchard, T. J., Jr., 121, 121, 338, 341, 346, 348, 350, 550, 552 Bouchery, E. E., 164 Bourgouin, P., 673 Bourke, J., 643 Bouton, M. E., 230 Bowdle, B. F., 513 Bowen, J. D., 397 Bower, C., 643 Bower P 659 Bowlby, J., 366, 368 Boyd, C. J., 163 Boyden, E. S., 125 Boykin, A. W., 338, 346, 348, 350 Boyle, M. O., 344 Braadbaart, L., 260 Brackett, M. A., 343 Bradbury, T. N., 540 Bradley, L. A., 215 Bradlow, A. R., 332 Brakefield, P. M., 116 Bramati, I. E., 383 Brand, R. J., 478 Brandon, T. H., 466 Brandt, J. R., 513 Brandt, M., 26 Branscombe, N. R., 575 Bransford, J. K., 281 Bratslavsky, E., 519 Braunschweig, D., 645 Breakefield, X. O., 511 Breedlove, S. M., 107 Brehmer, Y., 398 Breitenbecher, D. L., 590 Breland, K., 250 Breland, M., 250 Bremberg, S., 342 Brenchley, C., 620 Brent, D. A., 700, 702 Brewer, M. B., 431 Brewer, R. D., 164 Brick, P. D., 466 Brickman, A. M., 348, 632 Brickman, P., 321 Brigham, J. C., 190 Brimacombe, C. A. E., 299 Broadley, A. J., 479 Brody, C. L., 466 Brody, J., 394 Brody, J. E., 684

Brody, N., 338, 341, 346, 348, 349, 350 Bromet. E., 631 Bromet, E. J., 693 Bromley, S. M., 209 Brook, R., 145 Brookmeyer, R., 396 Brower, M. C., 511 Brown, A., 95 Brown A M 613 Brown, A. S., 291 Brown, B. B., 391 Brown, D. E., 22 Brown, E., 390 Brown, G. W., 620, 621 Brown, J., 287, 590 Brown, J. D., 591, 592 Brown, L. L., 538 Brown, R., 295, 333, 334 Brown, R. A., 467 Brown, S., 514 Brown, T. L., 683 Brownell, C. A., 390 Brownell, K. D., 426, 462 Brozek, J., 461 Bruce, A., 394 Bruce V V 190 Bruder, C. E., 120 Brumberg, J.S., 132 Brummett, B. H., 478 Bruneau, E. G., 533 Brunell, A. B., 588 Brunelle, T. J., 258 Brunner, H. G., 511 Brunot, S., 575 Brunotte, J., 583 Bruzek, J., 698 Bryson, S. E., 275 Buchanan, R. W., 631, 633 Buchanan, T. W., 95 Buchsbaum, M. S., 632, 648 Buchtel, E., 574 Buckholtz, J. W., 511 Buckner, R. L., 296, 398 Budson, A. E., 296 Buehlman, K. T., 394 Buhle, J. T., 415 Buhrmester, M. D., 497 Bui, D., 396 Bullis, J. R., 604, 666, 672 Bullmore, E., 435 Bullmore, E. T., 110 Bullock, C., 111 Bunge, S. A., 415 Bunting, M. F., 275 Buoli, M., 685 Burdick, K. E., 685 Burg. M. M., 478 Burger, J. M., 507 Burgess, N., 94 Burgess, S., 685 Burke, B. L., 658 Burkhardt, P. E., 690 Burns, D., 700 Burns, H. J., 297, 298 Burns, T. C., 332 Burstein, M., 165, 693, 699 Burt, D. M., 537

Burt, M., 440 Burton, A. M., 190 Burton M J 252 Bush, E. C., 98, 588 Bushdid, C., 209 Bushman, B. J., 257, 588 Bushnell, M. C., 157, 215 Buss. A. H., 552 Buss, D. M., 15, 387, 442, 443, 497, 554 Butcher, J. N., 578, 626 Butler, A. C., 608 Butler, E. A., 539 Butler, P., 632 Buunk, A. P., 575 Buunk B D 541 Byars, A. W., 345 Byers-Heinlein, K., 332 Bygren, L. O., 123 Byington, K. W., 45 Byrne, E. M., 624 Cabanac, M., 428 Cabanlit, M., 645 Cacioppo, J. T., 405, 410, 431, 485 Cadenhead, K., 633 Caggiano, J. M., 136 Caglar, S., 585, 585 Cahill, L., 293, 408 Cahill, S., 676 Cahn, B. R., 158 Cain, M. A., 360 Cain, W.S., 209 Cairns. B., 391 Cairns, R., 391 Calder, A. J., 407 Call, J., 380 Callahan, A., 683 Caltran, G., 364 Calvini, G., 297 Campbell, A., 504 Campbell, J. D., 587, 588 Campbell, M., 693 Campbell, W., 669 Campbell, W. B., 590 Campbell, W. K., 588 Campeas, R., 676 Campori, E., 149 Canino, G. I., 616 Cannas, S., 293 Cannon, T. D., 633 Cantor, N., 561 Caporael, L. R., 431, 554 Caramasch, D., 511 Cardeña, E., 626 Carew, T. J., 225 Carev. B., 690 Carl, J. R., 604 Carli, L. L., 582 Carlsmith, M., 522 Carlson, E., 626 Carlson, E. N., 581 Carmichael, M., 467 Carmody, T., 699 Carmody, T. P., 340 Carnagey, N. L., 257 Carnell, S., 460 Carney, R. M., 478

Carpenter, L. L., 684 Carpenter, M., 380 Carpenter, S. K., 277 Carpenter, W. T., Jr., 631, 633 Carrasco, M., 135 Carré, J. M., 511 Carrère, S., 394, 395 Carrier, B., 157 Carroll, M., 458 Carson, A. J., 623 Carstensen, L., 397, 398 Carton, A. M., 510 Cartwright, C., 698 Carusi, C. P., 256 Caruso, S., 440 Carver, C. S., 511 Case, B., 165, 699 Case, R., 378 Casey, B. J., 385, 430 Caspi, A., 124, 166, 511, 535, 550, 553, 571, 604 Casson D H 646 Castellanos, F. X., 110, 648 Castles, D., 440 Castro-Loli, P., 685 Catala, M. D., 683 Catalan, J., 506 Catanese K B 441 Cattell, R., 341, 563 Cavanagh, J. O., 623 Cay, E. B., 110 CDC. 248 Ceci, S. J., 338, 341, 346, 348, 350 Cefalu, W. T., 458 Cekic, M., 158 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 248, 360, 456, 465, 466, 602 Cepeda, N. J., 137 Cerhan, J. R., 457 Cestari, V., 293 Chabas, D., 148 Chabris, C., 367 Chagnon, Y. C., 460 Chakrabarti, B., 110 Chakrabarti, S., 628 Chaloupka, F. J., 164 Chambers, D. W., 313 Chang, J., 435 Chang, L. J., 407 Chang, S., 665 Changeux, J. P., 139 Chant, D. C., 628 Chaplin, W., 698 Chapman, B. P., 572 Chapman, J. E., 608 Chapman, S., 467 Chappelow, J., 505 Charney, D. S., 618 Chase, V. D., 203 Chase, W. G., 275 Chassin, L., 168, 465, 466 Chatard, A., 575 Chatila, Y., 56 Chawarska, K., 643 Chee, A. E. H., 274 Chee, M., 486 Cheema, F., 293 Chein, J. M., 275

Chen, C., 614 Chen, D., 592 Chen M J 149 Chen, S., 110 Chess, S., 391 Cheung, A. M., 648 Cheung, F. M., 563 Cheung, S. F., 563 Childress, A. R., 167, 238 Chistyakov, A. V., 683 Chitins, X., 345 Chiu, W. T., 602, 613 Chivers, M. L., 444 Cho, Z., 665 Choi. D. W., 88 Choi, I., 189, 528 Chokroverty, S., 146 Choleris, E., 125 Chomsky, N., 334 Choo, P., 484 Choudhury, S., 385 Christakis, N. A., 460 Christal, R. E., 344 Christensen, D. D., 345 Christensen, P. N., 107, 440 Christianson, S., 296 Christoff, K., 209 Christopher, F.S., 394 Chronis, A. M., 694 Chronis-Tuscano, A., 696 Chung, A., 163 Chung-Yan, G. A., 532 Cialdini, R. B., 319, 504, 505, 506, 514 Cicchetti, D., 372, 693 Cikara M 499 Claes, M., 25 Clapp, J. D., 504 Clark, A. C., 565 Clark, C. S., 580 Clark, G. T., 147 Clark, L. A., 637 Clark, R. D., 364, 442 Clark, R. E., 270 Clark, S. E., 299 Clark-Foos, A., 288 Clarkin, J. F., 638 Clasen, L. S., 385 Clausell, E., 486 Cleary, P. D., 465 Clinton, J., 695 Cloninger, C., 552 Clore, G. L., 417 Cloutier, J., 536 Coakley, J. D., 201 Coan, J. A., 394, 620 Coast. J. R., 467 Coates, D., 321 Coccaro, E. F., 511 Coe, C. L., 477 Coe, W. C., 156 Cogsdill, E. J., 526 Cohen, D., 513 Cohen, D. J., 693 Cohen, G. L., 351 Cohen, J., 634 Cohen, J. D., 383 Cohen, L., 477

Cohen, R. A., 647 Cohen, S., 452, 475, 476, 477, 479, 484, 485 Cohn J F 368 Colcombe, S. J., 468 Coleman, M. R., 132 Coles, E. K., 696 Colligan, R. C., 478 Collins, A., 515 Collins L M 466 Collins, S. A., 166-67 Collins, T., 25 Colliver, J. D., 640 Colom, F., 685 Colom, R., 345 Colombo, C., 149 Colvin, C. R., 581 Combs, B., 454 Comer, J. S., 666, 672 Compton, J. S., 674 Compton, W. M., 640 Conger, R. D., 392, 572 Conn, C., 638 Conneely, K. N., 617 Connelly, A., 286 Conners, C. K., 648, 696 Connolly, J. F., 140 Conway, A. R. A., 275, 342, 344, 344 Conway, K. P., 165, 640 Conway, M., 295 Cook, G. I., 288 Cook, M., 232, 258, 259 Cook, R. G., 418 Cooney, R. E., 617 Cooper, C. R., 389 Cooper, G. M., 632 Copen, C. E., 539 Corbitt, E. M., 640 Corby, J. C., 156 Corcoran, K. A., 230 Corder, E. H., 396 Coren, S., 149 Corkin, S., 266, 292 Cornblatt, B., 633 Corr. P. J., 566 Correll, C. U., 687 Corti, R., 479 Corty, E., 465 Cosmides, L., 22, 23 Costa, P. T., Jr., 478, 563, 570, 571, 575, 578 Costanzi, M., 293 Cotten, S. R., 137 Coughlin, B. C., 205 Courchesne, E., 645 Cousins, A. J., 107, 440 Cowan, C. P., 395 Cowan, P. A., 248, 395 Cowell, P. E., 396 Cox, D. S., 477 Cox, K. L., 468 Coyne, J. C., 620 Craddock, N., 624, 685 Craft. L. L., 467 Craig, A. D. B., 167, 407 Craig, I. W., 122, 124, 511 Craig, J. W., 452 Craighead, W. E., 680, 681 Craik, F., 279

Cramer, V., 637 Crane, P., 397 Crawford H J 156 Crisp, R. J., 532 Crits-Chistoph, P., 657 Crocker, J., 590 Croen, L. A., 645 Crosnoe, R., 397 Crothers T 309 Crouch, D. J., 36 Crow, M. D., 579 Crowe, M., 696 Crowe, R. R., 617 Csernansky, J. G., 632 Csibra, G., 380 Csikszentmihalyi, M., 159, 483 Cuc, A., 296 Cui, L., 693 Cuijpers, P., 681 Cukrowicz, K. C., 606 Culbert, K. M., 460 Culham, J. C., 190 Culler, E., 201 Cummings, J. R., 699 Cunningham, M. R., 442 Cunningham, W. A., 533, 536 Cunnington, R., 102 Cuny, E., 677 Cupach, W. R., 422 Curry, J., 700, 701 Curtiss, S., 358 Custers B 426 Cuthbert, B., 604 Cutshall, J. L., 297 Cvetkovic-Lopes, V., 148 Czienskowski, U., 69 Czopp, A. M., 533 Dabbs, J. M., 511, 579 Dagher, A., 252 D'Agostino, R. B. Sr., 478 Dahl, D. W., 319 Dalal, R., 528 Dal Cin, S., 137, 426 Dale. K., 558 Dalton, M. A., 256, 314, 314 Damasio, A. R., 95, 99, 382, 408, 417, 418, 422 Damasio, H., 99, 167, 382, 418 Daniele, A., 87 Daniels, A. S., 669 Daniels, D., 551, 572 Daniels, K., 539 Dapretto, M., 645 Darby, B. L., 506 D'Arcy, R. C., 140 Dargan, P. I., 167 Dark, P. R., 319 Darley, J. M., 383, 515, 515 Darwin, C., 572 Dasgupta, A. G., 533 Daskalakis, Z. J., 683 Dauvilliers, Y., 148 Davidson, J. R., 674 Davidson, M., 258, 259 Davidson, R. J., 620 Davies, C. A., 344 Davies, G., 347

Davies, M. S., 645 Davies, P. G., 528 Davies, S., 167, 676 Davis, D. H., 168-69 Davis, F. C., 418 Davis, J. I., 407 Davis, J. O., 632 Davis, K. E., 527 Davis M H 132 Davis, S., 632 Dawood, M. Y., 107 Dawood, T., 620 Dawson, A. G., 145 Dawson, M., 643, 644 Daxinger, L., 123 Dayan, P., 234 Deacon, B. J., 660, 678 DeAnglis, T., 27 Deary, I. J., 342, 344, 345, 347 Deaton, A., 395 de Boer S F 511 DeCaria, C., 698 DeCaria, C. M., 698 DeCasper, A. J., 364 De Castella, A., 683 Decety, J., 382 deCharms, R. C., 215 Deci, E., 427 Degirmencioglue, S. M., 390 de Grauw, H., 260 Dehaene, S., 139 Deisseroth K 125 235 DeJong, W., 461, 504 Dekker, S., 102 de Klerk, N., 643 De la Herrán-Arita, A. K., 148 Delaney, H. D., 669 DeLateur, M. J., 510 Delbé, C., 25 DeLisi, M., 510 De Lisi. R., 378 Delmeire, L., 477 DeLong, M. R., 87, 665 DeLongis, A., 470 Demerouti, E., 159 Demir, E., 444 Demiralp, E., 4 Demler, O., 293, 602, 617, 648 Demos, K. D., 462 den Boer. J. A., 627 Denner, J., 389 Denys, D., 677 de Oliveria-Souza, R., 381, 383 Der, G., 344 De Rosa, E., 95 Desai, S. C., 110 DeSantis, C., 456 Desert, M., 575 Despres, J. P., 460 de Ståhl, T. D., 120 DeStefano, F., 646 Detke, M., 673 Detre, G. J., 138 Detweiler, J. B., 319 Deutsch, G. K., 337 Devine, P. G., 420, 528, 532 de Wijk, R. A., 209

DeYoung, C. G., 564, 566 DeYoung, E. K., 110 Dhawan, J., 88 Dhillon, A. P., 646 Diamond, D. M., 471 Diamond, M. C., 110 Diaz, N. S., 345 di Bella D 149 Dickson, B. J., 444 Dickson, N., 430 Dickson, P. R., 108 Dickson, W. J., 45, 46 Diener, E., 484, 485, 489, 537 Dierker, L., 165 Dietz. W. H., 458 DiFeliceantonio, A. G., 252 Digdon, N., 236 Dijksterhuis, A., 138, 589 Di Mari, L., 440 Dimoulas, P., 466 Dineley, K. T., 396 Dingus, T. A., 33-34, 40 Dinstein, I., 645 Dion, K., 537 di Salle, F., 25 Dixon, G., 643 Dobbs, D., 684 Doblin, R., 167 Docherty, N. M., 631 Dockray, A., 484 Doecke, C. J., 699 Doerr, E. E., 504 Dohrenwend, B. P., 620 Dolan, P., 320 Dolan, R. J., 138, 408, 426 Domhoff, G. W., 154 Domjan, M., 230 Donahue, A. B., 682 Dondi, M., 364 Dong, C. Y., 164 Dong, H., 348 Donnellan, M. B., 572, 588 Donnerstein, E., 257 Dooling, D. J., 280 Dore, J., 685 Dorfman, H. M., 511 Dorsaz, S., 148 Dorta, K. P., 701 Dotsch, R., 408 Doty, R. L., 209 Dougherty, D. D., 604 Dovidio, J. F., 532, 533 Doyle, W. J., 452, 484, 485 Draganski, B., 138, 426 Draghici, A. M., 258 Drews, F. A., 36 Dror, I. E., 410 Drosopoulos, S., 150 Druen, P. B., 442, 536 Druss, B., 680 Druss, B. G., 699 Dubbert, P. M., 467 Dubois, A., 476 Duchaine, B. C., 190 Duckworth, A. L., 341, 349 Duda, J. T., 348, 360 Duenas, H., 673

Duffy, V. B., 205 Dugatkin, L. A., 514 DuHamel, K. N., 157, 168 Dunbar, R. I. M., 497 Duncan, G. H., 156, 157 Duncker, K., 325, 325, 326 Dunlap, K., 418 Dunlop, B. W., 680, 681 Dunn, E. W., 395 Dunner, D. L., 681 Dunning, D., 10, 11 Duppils, G. S., 215 Durante, K. M., 107 Dussault, C., 695 Dutton, D. G., 414 Dwyer, J. H., 158 Dwyer, S., 632, 645 Dyck, J. L., 513 Dykman, B. M., 620 Dzemidzic, M., 111 Eacott, M. J., 365 Eagly, A. H., 68 Eaker, E. D., 478 Eaton, D. K., 50 Eberhardt, J. L., 530 Ebert, J. P., 232 Eccles, J., 572 Eckberg, P., 648 Ecker, U. K. H., 274 Edvinsson, S., 123 Edwards, R., 537 Egan, G. F., 102 Egas Moniz, A., 100 Egeland, J. A., 624 Egloff, B., 580 Ehirim, P., 132 Ehrlinger, J., 10 Eich, E., 155 Eichler, E. E., 632 Eidelson, J. L., 621 Einarsson, E. O., 271 Einstein, G. O., 288 Eisenberg, N., 382, 392 Eisenstein, M., 646 Eckstrand, K., 632 Ekelund, J., 552 Ekholm, B., 685 Ekman, P., 419, 419, 420 Ekstrom. M., 633 Elaad, E., 410 Elder, G. H., 397 Elfenbein, H. A., 420 Elieff, C., 486 Elinger, D., 51 Elinson, L., 680 Ellard, K. K., 604 Elliott, G. R., 693 Elliott, M. A., 111 Ellis, A., 659 Ellis, L., 444 Ellison, R. C., 478 Ellwart, T., 614 Elovainio, M., 553 Else-Quest, N., 553 Elwell, C. E., 364 Ely, T. D., 408 Elzinga, B. M., 471

Emery, C. F., 468 Emery, G., 621 Emmelkamp, P. M. G., 694-95 Emslie, G. J., 699 Endo, Y., 592 Engle, R. W., 275, 342, 344, 344, 345 English, T., 395 Engwall, M., 215 Enseleit, F., 479 Epley, N., 318 Epstein, D. R., 147 Epstein, L. H., 459 Epstein, R. M., 572 Era P 397 Erickson J 673 Erickson, K. I., 468 Erickson, S., 120 Ericsson, K. A., 341 Erikson, E. H., 386, 387 Eriksson, P.S., 112 Ernberg, G., 688 Eron, L., 257 Ershler, W. B., 477 Ert, E., 397, 498 Esber, G. R., 232 Eshel N 235 Eskandar, E. N., 684 Esler, M. D., 620 Eslinger, P. J., 383 Espie, C. A., 147 Esposito, F., 25 Etcoff, N. L., 95, 408 Everaerd, W. T. A. M., 471 Everdell, N., 364 Eysenck, H. J., 565 Eysenck, M. W., 614 Eysenck, S. B., 565 Fabbri-Destro, M., 645 Fabian, S. A., 269 Fabiano, G. A., 696 Fagerlin, A., 572 Fagerström, K. O., 466 Fairbank, J., 700, 701 Fallon, A. E., 461 Fallon, J., 408 Fan, J., 156, 157, 648 Fan, Y. X., 158 Fantz, R. L., 365, 379 Farah, M. J., 348, 360, 410, 585 Faraone, S. V., 694, 695 Farb, N. A., 158 Farina, M., 440 Farmer-Dougan, V., 102 Farooqi, I. S., 435 Farrelly, M., 466 Fasano, A., 87 Fawcett, J., 614 Fazio, R. H., 521 Fearon, R. M. P., 385 Feemster, K. A., 646 Fegley, S. G., 389 Fein, S., 510 Feingold, A., 537, 575 Feinsod, M., 683 Feldman, S. S., 391 Feldman Barrett, L., 421 Felgate, P., 167

Feng, S. G., 158 Ferdinand, A. O., 68 Fergus, I., 398 Ferguson, J. N., 698 Ferguson, M. A., 102 Ferguson-Smith, A. C., 123 Fernald, A., 369 Fernández-Espejo, D., 132 Fernberger, S. W., 226 Ferracioli-Oda, E., 145 Ferry, G., 173 Festinger, L., 295, 432, 522, 535 Fibiger, H. C., 161 Fielden, J. A., 511 Figee, M., 677 Fillipek, P.A., 648 Fincham, F. D., 540 Findling, R. L., 632 Finger, E. C., 641 Fink, M., 682 Finkel, E. J., 588 Finkenauer, C., 519 Finucane, M., 417 Fiore, M. C., 465 Fischer, H., 398, 408 Fischer, K., 378 Fischer, S., 150 Fischhoff, B., 454, 455 Fisher, C., 466 Fisher, H. E., 538 Fishkin, S. A., 441 Fisk, J. E., 167 Fiske, S. T., 499 Fisler, R. E., 614 Fitzgerald, C. A., 617 Fitzgerald, D. A., 511 Fitzgerald, P. B., 683 Fixx, J. F., 326 Flaten, M. A., 237 Flaum, M., 632 Flay, B. R., 465 Flegal, K. M., 457, 458 Fleming, T., 458, 461 Flenady, V. J., 360 Fleshner, M., 471 Fletcher, F., 351 Fletcher, P. C., 435 Flicker, L., 468 Flint, A. J., 457 Flint, J., 552 Flor, H., 460 Flores, S. A., 406 Floyd, K., 498 Flynn, J. R., 347, 348 Foa, E. B., 658, 674, 676 Fode, K. L., 47, 47 Foehr, U. G., 257 Foer, J., 284 Foley, K. M., 88 Folkman, S., 470, 480, 481 Fong, G. W., 253 Foorman, B. R., 336 Forbes, C., 350 Ford, E. S., 458 Forehand, R. L., 385 Forgas, J., 505 Forman, E. M., 608 Formann, A. K., 367

Fornito, A., 166, 617 Forth, A. E., 640, 692 Fortuna, K., 486 Foster, C. A., 588 Foster, J. D., 588 Foster, J. K., 468 Foster, M., 696 Fowler, J. H., 460 Fowler J S 238 Fox, H. C., 347 Fox, J. A., 510 Fox, N. A., 615 Fozard, J., 396 Frackowiak, R. S. J., 94 Fraley, R. C., 538 Frangou, S., 345 Frank, C. K., 381 Frank, E., 452 Frank, R., 99 Frank, R. G., 293, 602, 617 Franken I H A 566 Franken, R. E., 427 Franklin, M. E., 674, 676 Franklin, T. B., 472 Franko, D. L., 464 Franzke, P., 25 Fraser. C., 173 Fraser, S., 506 Fratiglioni, L., 397 Frazier, R. S., 521 Fredrickson, B. L., 482 Freedland, K. E., 478 Freedman, J., 257, 506 Freeman, A., 691 Freeman, S., 697 Freidman, D., 615 French, V., 116 Freud, A., 558, 558 Freud. S., 38 Frick, K. M., 467 Frid. D. J., 468 Fried, D. E., 275 Friedman, J. I., 632 Friedman, J. M., 435 Friedman, M., 478 Friehs, G. M., 677, 684 Friend-DelVecchio, W., 570 Friesen, W. V., 419, 419, 420 Frijda, N. H., 416 Frisch. M., 394 Frith, C. D., 211 Frohlich, P. F., 438 Fromer, M., 632, 645 Frost, J. A., 535 Fujita, F., 537 Fulero, S. M., 299 Fultz, J., 514 Funder, D. C., 549, 563, 569, 580, 581 Fung, H. H., 397 Fung, M. T., 640 Furukawa, H., 698 Gabrieli, J. D. E., 296, 337, 415

Gabrielli, W. F., 641 Gabriels, L. A., 677 Gaddis, S., 580 Gadian, D. G., 286 Gaertner, L., 592 Gaisler-Salomon, I., 472 Galaburda, A. M., 99 Gale, C. R., 342 Galef, B. G., Jr., 436 Galinsky, A. D., 533 Gallagher, D. T., 167 Gallagher, M. W., 147 Gallant, J. L., 138 Gallese, V., 260, 407 Gallup, 248 Gan, Y. G., 563 Gangestad, S. W., 107, 440, 537 Ganley, R., 582 Gapp, K., 472 Garavan, H., 167 Garb, H N., 578 Garcia, J., 231, 351 Garcia, J. A., 696 Gardner, H., 342 Gardner, W. L., 431 Garlick D 342 Garneau, N. L., 205 Garon, N., 275 Garrett-Mayer, E., 644 Garson, C., 681 Garver-Apgar, C. E., 107, 440 Garvey, M., 604 Gaskell, P. C., 396 Gaudiano, B. A., 666 Gaus, W., 49 Gavrilescu, M., 102 Gawryluk, J. R., 140 Gazzaniga, M. S., 103, 142, 329 Geaga, J. A., 163 Geary, D., 349 Geddes, J. R., 685 Geen, R. G., 565 Gelenberg, A. J., 681 Geller, F., 51 Gentile, D. A., 257, 258 George, L., 637 George, M. S., 683 Georgieva, I., 566 Gergely, G., 380 Gerhard, D. S., 624 Gernsbacher, M. A., 349, 643 Gershoff, E. T., 247 Gershon, E. S., 624 Geula, C., 86 Gevins, A., 166 Ghahremani, D. G., 209 Ghera, M. M., 615 Gheusi, G., 209 Giacobbe, P., 684 Giampino, T. L., 648 Gianaros, P., 475 Giannetta, J. M., 360 Gibbon, M., 614, 639 Gibbons, K. S., 360 Gibbons, M. B., 657 Gibbons, R., 702 Gibson, J. J., 256, 314, 314 Gick, M. L., 326 Giedd, J. N., 110, 385, 648 Giesbrecht, B., 135 Gigerenzer, G., 454 Gigerenzer, Z., 69 Gijsbers, A. A., 120

Gijsman, H. J., 685 Gilbert, D. T., 320, 321, 522 Gilbert, J. H., 332 Gilbert, R. W., 148 Gile, W. H., 458 Gill, M. J., 699 Gillard, J., 435 Gillberg, C., 644 Gillberg, L., 644 Gilligan, C., 381 Gillihan, S. J., 585 Gillis, J., 645 Gilman, S. R., 645 Gilovich, T., 6, 318, 589 Gingerich, A. C., 137 Ginton, A., 410 Giynas Ayhan, M., 605 Glaser, R., 468, 477, 486 Glaser, R. I., 477 Glass, R., 456, 486 Glasson E 643 Glenberg, A. M., 282 Glerean, E., 406 Glied, S., 696 Glimcher, P. W., 235 Glotzer, L. D., 98 Glover G 209 Glover, G. H., 215 Gluck, C. M., 461 Glynn, T. J., 466 Gnagy, E. M., 696 Gochman, P., 632 Godden, D. R., 282, 283 Godlee, F., 646 Goff, P. A., 530 Gogtay, N., 632 Gohm, C. L., 485 Goldapple, K., 681 Goldenberg, J.L., 587 Goldin, C., 313 Goldin, L. R., 624 Golding, J., 123 Goldman, R. F., 461 Goldman, S. T., 149 Goldman-Mellor, S. J., 604 Goldsmith, H. H., 553, 643 Goldsteen, K., 394 Goldstein, J., 396 Goldstein, M., 638 Goldstein, N. J., 504 Goldstein, R. Z., 167 Gómez, A., 497 Gonen, M. S., 605 Gonzales, K., 164 Gonzales, R., 163 González, I., 532 González-Pinto, A., 685 Good, C. D., 94 Goodale, M. A., 184 Goodall, J., 247 Goodman, R., 648 Goodman, S. H., 607 Goodwin, F., 599 Goodwin, G. M., 685 Goodwin, R. D., 614 Goodwin, S. A., 498 Gore, J. C., 190 Goren, A., 526

Gorman, J. M., 675 Gormley, P., 632, 645 Goshen, M., 25 Gosling, S. D., 24, 555, 555, 571, 580, 588 Gosselin, F., 94 Gosselin, P., 190 Gotlib, I. H., 607, 619, 661 Gottesman, I. I., 632 Gottfredson L S 340 342 343 Gottman, J. M., 394, 395, 539 Gould, E., 112 Gourarier, L., 360 Graap, K., 673 Grabowski, T., 99 Grady, C., 418 Graetz, N., 458, 461 Graf, P., 286, 287 Graff, H., 434 Gräff, J., 269, 293 Grafton, D. T., 408 Grafton S T 538 Graham, J. W., 465 Granot, D., 372 Grant, B. F., 640 Graubard, B. I., 457 Graven, M. A., 148 Gray, J. A., 566 Gray, J. R., 342, 343, 344, 564, 566 Gray, K., 497, 498 Gray, S., 396 Green, D. M., 178, 698 Greenberg, B. D., 677 Greenberg, J., 587 Greenberg, T., 700 Greene, D., 427 Greene, J. A., 434 Greene, J. D., 383 Greenhill, L. L., 696 Greenough, A., 360 Greenwald, A. G., 138, 521, 523, 529, 530, 533, 592 Greenwald, S., 616 Greenwood, M. R. C., 462 Gregg, A., 592 Greicius, M. D., 252 Greitemeyer, T., 25 Grewel, D., 343 Grieve, S. M., 348 Griffin, D. W., 541 Grigg-Damberger, M., 146 Grill-Spector, K., 190 Griskevicius, V., 504 Gross, J. J., 405, 414, 415, 539 Gross, N., 201 Grossman, M., 421 Grossman, R. I., 396 Grossniklaus, U., 123 Grosz, D., 614 Gruber, S. A., 162 Grubert, C., 684 Gruenewald, T. L., 472 Grunze, H., 685 Gruzelier, J. H., 156 Guay, B., 147 Gudmundsdottir, B. G., 163 Guehl, D., 677 Guenther, F. H., 132

Gueorguiev, M., 435 Guerin, B., 589 Guimond S 575 Gujar, N., 151 Gula, B., 69 Gulley, B. L., 551 Gunderson, J. G., 637, 638 Gunzerath, L., 466 Guo. F., 40 Gur, D., 349 Gur, R. C., 111, 396 Gur, R. E., 111, 396 Gurung, R. A. R., 472 Gustafsson, J.A., 125 Gustafsson, U., 685 Gutzkow, K., 361 Guyer, B., 699 Guze, B., 676 Gwaltney, J. M., Jr., 452 Gwaltney, J. M. J., 485 Haby, M., 699 Hackel, L. M., 499 Hackett, G., 110 Hadjiefthyvoulou, F., 167 Hadrysiewicz, 684 Hafner H 688 Hagekull, B., 372 Hagerty, B., 511 Haggarty, P., 347 Hagger-Johnson, G., 344 Hahn. W., 478 Haidt. J., 382 Haier, R., 110, 345 Haier, R. J., 342, 345, 408 Haikerwal, D., 620 Halaas, J., 435 Hall, C. C., 526 Hallam. M., 537 Hallberg, C., 673 Hallet, V., 644 Halliday-Scher, K., 390 Halligan, P. W., 140 Halpern, C. T., 439 Halpern, D. F., 110, 349 Halpin, L. E., 166-67 Hamamura, T., 593 Hamani, C., 683, 683 Hamann, S., 410 Hamann, S. B., 408 Hambrecht, M., 688 Hambrick, D. Z., 275, 344 Hamer. D. H., 444 Hamilton, A. F., 645 Hamilton, C., 538 Hamilton, L. K., 532 Hamilton, N. A., 147 Hamilton, W., 514 Hammen, C., 620 Han, S., 499 Hancock, P. J., 190 Hancox, R. J., 430 Handleman, J. S., 699 Handy, T. C., 135 Hanewinkel, R., 137, 466 Haney, C., 500 Hankin, B. L., 591, 592

Hanlon, C., 334 Hannan, L., 457 Hanowski, R. J., 33-34 Hanratty, M., 698 Hansen, C. J., 467 Hansen, R., 645 Hansen, T., 395 Hansen, W. B., 465 Happé, F., 644 Harburger, L. L., 467 Harding, C. M., 688 Hare, R. D., 640, 692 Hare, T. A., 385 Hari, R., 406 Harkins, S. G., 502 Harkins, S. W., 157 Harlow, H. F., 369, 370, 427 Harlow, J. M., 99 Harlow, M., 370 Harlow, M. K., 369, 427 Harpalani, V., 389 Harper, G. W., 695 Harpur, T. J., 692 Harrington, H., 166, 430, 604 Harris, B., 236 Harris, J. A., 50, 550 Harris, J. L., 426 Harris, J. R., 551 Harris, L. T., 499 Harris, S. E., 347 Harris, T. O., 620 Harrison B J 617 Harrison, M. A., 33 Harrison, T.L., 275 Hartford, J., 673 Hartge, P., 457 Hartley, T., 94 Harty, L., 638 Harvey, O. J., 516 Harvey, P. D., 632 Haselton, M. G., 107 Hashimoto, M., 629 Haslam, N., 499 Hassin, R. R., 418 Hastings. M., 638 Hatfield, E., 442, 537 Hawk, J. D., 269 Hawkins, C. B., 521 Hawkley, L. C., 431, 485 Haworth, C. M., 460 Hawton, K., 685 Haxby, J. V., 138 Hayakawa, S., 232 Hayashi, K. M., 163 Hayatbakhsh, M. R., 360 Hayes, J., 587 Hayes, J. E., 205 Hayne, H., 365 Haythornthwaite, J. A., 215 Hazan, C., 538 Hazlett, E. A., 632 He, J., 165, 699 Head, K., 342, 345 Health and Human Services Department, U.S., 465, 466, 467 Healy, A., 293 Heard, H., 691

Hearn, E. F., 698 Hearon. B., 657 Heath C 368 Heatherton, T. F., 137, 256, 314, 314, 350, 421, 426, 461, 462, 464, 475, 497, 499, 510, 536, 570, 585, 585, 588 Hebl, M. R., 461 Heeger, D. J., 645 Heerey, E. A., 539 Heider, F., 527 Heikkinen, E., 397 Heim, C., 472 Heiman, J. R., 107 Heimann, H., 629 Heine, S. J., 56, 574, 592, 593 Heinssen, R., 604 Helgren, L., 644 Helion, C., 382 Heller, D., 563 Helmreich, R., 536 Helms M J 478 Helzer, J. E., 168-69 Henderson, H. A., 615 Henninger, E. M., 477 Henrich, J., 56 Henriques, J. B., 620 Henry, P. J., 532 Henschel, A. L., 461 Herbener, E. S., 535 Herbert, J. D., 666 Herbert, T. B., 477 Herdener M 25 Hering. E., 186 Herman, C. P., 462, 463 Hermsen, S., 533 Herot, C., 615 Hershman, S., 497, 498 Hershow, R. C., 394 Hertz-Picciotto, I., 645 Hester, R. K., 669 Heuer, K., 614 Heyman, R. E., 541 Heymsfield, S. B., 458 Hezlett, S. A., 340 Hickok, G., 259 Hicks, K. L., 275 Hietanen, J. K., 406 Higgins, E. T., 428 Higgins, L. T., 12 Higgins, S. C., 435 Hilgard, E. R., 156, 157 Hilgard, J. R., 157 Hill, P. L., 572 Hill, S. E., 107 Hill, S. J., 685 Hilsenroth, M. J., 659 Hines, T., 6, 102, 560, 667 Hingson, R., 165 Hingson, R. W., 165 Hinshaw, S. P., 696 Hinson, R. E., 238 Hirsh, J. B., 564 Hirshfeld-Becker, D. R., 615 Hirshkowitz, M., 146 Hirst, W., 296 Hirstein, W., 112 Hirvonen, N., 628

Hitch, G., 273 Ho, B. C., 632 Ho, C. Y., 252 Hoad, G., 347 Hobson, J. A., 149, 152 Hochman, K. M., 632, 633, 687 Hockley, W. E., 282 Hodge, D., 300 Hodges, L., 673 Hoefler, M., 614 Hoekstra, R. A., 644 Hoerger, M., 572 Hof, P. R., 632 Hofbauer, R. K., 156 Hofer. S. M., 398 Hoffman, H., 530 Hoffman, J. H., 155 Hofmann, S. G., 657, 673 Hogan, L., 45 Hogan, M. J., 343 Hoge, M. A., 669 Hogh, P., 399 Hold, D. W., 167 Holland, A., 486 Holland, P. C., 232 Holland, S. K., 345 Hollander, E., 698 Hollander, M., 333 Holleran, S. E., 580 Hollins, S., 360 Hollis, K. L., 232 Hollon, S. D., 660, 673, 677, 681, 682, 701 Holman, K., 644 Holmbeck, G. N., 391 Holmboe, K., 644 Holmes, J. G., 541 Holmes, T. H., 470 Holst, C., 460 Holstein, S. B., 244 Holtzman, N.S., 588 Holyoak, K. J., 326 Hommer, D., 253 Hong, M. S., 163 Honts, C. R., 410 Honzik, C. H., 250, 251 Hood, W. R., 516, 517 Hooley, J. M., 626, 661 Hoon Sung, Y., 163 Hooshmand, F., 685 Hops, H., 619 Horikawa, T., 154 Horn, E. E., 550, 552 Horn, J. L., 342, 398 Horowitz, L. M., 620 Horton, E., 461 Hoscheidt S 95 Hoshi, T., 470 Hoshino, Y., 698 Hosking, S. G., 34 Hougaard, E., 659 Houlihan, D., 514 House, J. S., 394 Houts, R., 166 Houts, R. M., 385, 604 Hovland, C. I., 523 Howard, L., 382 Howard-Jones, P., 102

Howell, K. H., 695 Howlin, P., 698, 699 Hoyert, D. L., 454, 455 Hovt, D. R., 392 Hrebickova, M., 571 Hsee, C. K., 417 Hu, K. L., 552 Hu, N., 444 Hu. P. T., 151 Hu, S., 444, 466 Hubbard, E. M., 173, 174 Hubel, D., 110 Huedo-Medina, T. B., 678 Huesmann, L. R., 257 Huey, L. Y., 669 Huff, M. L., 125 Hughes, C. W., 699 Hughes, M. E., 394, 431 Hughes, V., 458 Hull C 425 Hull, J. G., 165, 258 Humedian, M., 661 Humphreys, K., 645 Hunsley, J., 606 Hunter, J., 340 Huppert, J. D., 674, 676 Hurion, E., 360 Hurlemann, R., 684 Hürlimann, D., 479 Husain, G., 367 Hutchings, B., 641 Hutchinson, J. B., 410 Huttunen, M. O., 633, 634 Hwang, C. K., 457 Hwang, J., 163 Hwu, H. G., 616 Hyde, J., 349 Hyde, J. S., 387, 420, 553, 591, 592, 619 Hyman, B. T., 149 Hyman, I. W., 136 Hyman, S. E., 644 Iacoboni, M. I., 259, 645 Iacono, W. G., 648 Iiiima. K., 470 Ilan, A. B., 166 Ilies, R., 563 Immunization Safety Review Committee, 646 Inati, S., 585, 585 Inbar. Y., 382 Inciardi, J. A., 163 Ingalhalikar, M., 111 Ingersoll, N., 471 Inoue, K., 435 Insel, T. R., 125, 604, 618, 698 Intelisano, G., 440 Ioannides, J. P., 467 Iordanova, M. D., 232 Iossifov, I., 644, 645 Irons, G., 236 Irvine, R. J., 167 Isen, A. M., 417 Isensee, B., 137 Ishigami, Y., 134 Isohanni, M., 628, 631 Isoldi, K. K., 461 Israel, S., 604

Israelski, D., 166 Ito, T. A., 410 Ivanovic, D. M., 345 Ivers, H., 147 Ivry, R. B., 329 Iwasaki, E., 435 Iyengar, S. S., 321, *321*, 322

Jääskeläinen, E., 628 Jablensky, A., 688 Jaccard, J., 521 Jacklin, C. N., 575 Jackson, B., 479 Jackson, S. A., 159 Jacobs D B 479 Jacobs, L. D., 340 Jacoby, L., 286, 287 Jacowitz, K. E., 318 Jaervelin, M., 552 Jagnow, C. P., 206, 207 Jahrig, J., 587 Jahromi, L. B., 697 Jakobsson, G., 644 James, T. W., 107 James, W., 410 James, W. H., 539 Jamieson G A 155 Jamison, K. R., 599, 685 Janak, P. H., 235 Janata, P., 25, 25 Jang, K. L., 550, 552 Janicki-Deverts, D., 475 Janis. I. L., 523 Janoff-Bulman, R., 321 Janssen, E., 107 Janusis, G., 695 Jasechko, J., 287 Jefferis, V., 431 Jemal, A., 456 Jencks, C., 340 Jenike, M., 95 Jenike, M. A., 408 Jenkins, C. D., 455, 478 Jensen, A., 344, 349 Jensen, M., 157 Jensen, P. S., 696 Jerome, L., 167 Jetten, J., 497 Jha, P., 465 Jiang, C. H., 348 Jiang, F., 138 Jiang, Y., 111 John, O. P., 555, 564, 571 Johns, M., 350, 351 Johnson, B. T., 678 Johnson, C. A., 465 Johnson, D., 271, 293, 394 Johnson, J., 257 Johnson, K., 10 Johnson, M. H., 364, 525 Johnson, M. K., 281 Johnson, V., 440 Johnson, W., 345 Johnston, L. D., 164, 465 Johnston, W., 164 Johnstone, T., 408 Joiner, T. E., Jr., 464, 606, 620, 623 Joiner, W. J., 145

Jokela, J., 397 Jokela, M., 553 Jolesz F A 151 Jolles, J., 102 Jolliffe, T., 418 Jones, A. C., 511 Jones, C. J., 479 Jones, E. E., 527 Jones H A 694 Jones, P. B., 631 Jones, R. M., 385, 430 Jones, W., 644 Jope, R. S., 685 Jordan, C. H., 588 Jorenby, D. E., 466 Jorm, A. F., 397 Josephs, R. A., 511 Judge, J., 167 Junco, R., 137 Jung, R. E., 342, 345 Juola P 628 Jureidini, J. N., 699 Jurkowitz, I. T. N., 641 Kaati, G., 123 Kabeto, M. U., 485 Kagan, J., 418, 554, 615, 615 Kagitcibasi, C., 56 Kahneman, D., 8, 317, 318, 319 Kalakanis, L., 537 Kaleva, M., 633 Kalisch, R., 138, 426 Kallio, S., 156 Kamara, S., 345 Kamisada, M., 629 Kamitani, Y., 154 Kandel, E. R., 225, 268 Kane, J. M., 687 Kane, M. J., 275, 342, 344, 344, 345 Kang, D. H., 477 Kang, H., 149 Kanno, T., 470 Kanwisher, N., 138, 139, 190 Kaplan, B., 683 Kaplan, R. M., 461 Kapur, S. E., 279 Karau, S. J., 68 Karisson, P., 398 Karlson, C., 147 Karlsson, S., 398 Karpicke, J. D., 277 Kasari, C., 697 Kassin, S. M., 410 Kavanagh, D. H., 632, 645 Kawachi, I., 484, 486 Kawai, N., 232 Kawakami, D., 532, 533 Kawas, C., 396 Kay, K. N., 138 Kayser, S., 684 Kazak, A., 607 Kazdin, A. E., 20, 248, 656, 666, 669 Keane, J., 407 Keane, M., 167, 326 Keck, P., 624 Keefe, F., 215 Keefe, F. J., 674 Keefe, R. S., 166

Keel, P. K., 463, 464 Keeling, R. P., 504 Keels, M. A., 361 Keiflin, R., 235 Keir, R., 258, 259 Keitner, G. I., 686 Kelleher, P., 461 Keller, A., 209 Keller J 159 Keller, M. B., 681 Keller, T. A., 645 Kelley, C., 287 Kelley, H. H., 523 Kelley, W., 585, 585 Kelley, W. M., 137, 350, 462, 536 Kellman, P., 378 Kelly, G., 561 Kelly, H. O., 248 Kelly, J. P., 110 Kelly, W. G., 123 Kelly, W. M., 426 Kelly-Hayes, M., 478 Keltikangas-Jarvinen, L., 553 Keltner, D., 415, 420, 422, 539 Kendall, J., 645 Kendler, K. S., 607 Kenis, G., 477 Kennedy, B., 486 Kennedy, D. N., 648 Kennedy, D. P., 95, 645 Kennedy, J. L., 624 Kennedy, M., 351 Kennedy, Q., 398 Kennedy, S., 681 Kennedy, S. H., 683, 684 Kennedy-Moore, E., 477 Kenrick, D. T., 190, 443, 497, 569 Kensinger, E. A., 292 Keogh, J., 435 Keough, M. E., 669, 675 Kernberg, O. F., 638 Kernis, M. H., 538, 588 Keshavan, M. S., 628 Kessler, R. C., 293, 538, 602, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 618, 623, 635, 637, 640, 648, 668 Kessler, T., 499 Kestler, L., 632, 633, 687 Ketter, T. A., 683, 685 Ketterson, E. D., 107 Kevs. A., 461 Keysers, C., 407 Khan-Dawood, F., 107 Khaw, M. W., 407 Khoo, A., 258 Kida, T. E., 6, 9 Kidd. K. K., 624 Kiecolt-Glaser, J. K., 394, 468, 476, 477, 486 Kiehl, K. A., 343 Kiff, J., 452 Kihlstrom, J. F., 155, 625-26, 628 Kijima, N., 550 Kilbride, J. E., 362 Kilbride, P. L., 362 Kilpatrick, L., 408 Kilts, C. D., 408 Kim, E., 638 Kim, H., 408, 418 Kim, J., 163, 468

Kim, J. A., 238 Kim, S. J., 163, 163 Kim-Prieto, C., 528 Kimura, D., 110 King, J., 695 King, L., 489 King, M.-C., 632 Kingsbury, A. M., 360 Kingstone, A. F., 135 Kircher, J. C., 410 Kirker, W. S., 585 Kirkpatrick, B., 631, 633 Kirsch, I., 156, 678 Kit, B. K., 457, 458 Kitamura, T., 478 Kitayama, S., 528, 591, 592, 593 Kittok, R., 511 Kivimaki, M., 553 Klatsky, A., 489 Klauer, S. G., 33-34, 40 Kleck B E 461 Klei, L., 644 Klein, D. N., 681 Klein, L. C., 472 Klein, R. G., 648, 695 Klein, R. M., 134 Klein, T., 513 Klein, W. M., 455 Klin, A., 643, 644 Klingberg, T., 275 Klingebiel, R., 460 Klonoff, E. A., 456 Klotz, M. L., 590 Klump, K. L., 460 Knafo, A., 551 Knight, R., 637 Knight, R. T., 381 Knopp, J., 659 Knouf, N., 190 Knowles, M., 431 Knowles, S., 659 Knox, S. S., 478 Knutson, B., 253 Ko. S. J., 580 Kobasa, S., 481 Kobayashi, C., 592 Kochanek, K. D., 456 Kocsis, J. H., 681 Koelling, R. A., 231 Koelsch, S., 25 Koestner, R., 578 Koh, K., 145 Kohlberg, L., 381 Kohn, D., 661 Koike, T., 470 Kolar, D. W., 581 Kolarz, C. M., 397 Konrath, S., 588 Kontsevich, L. L., 418 Koob, G. F., 167 Koole, S. L., 589, 681 Koolhaus, J. M., 511 Kootenay, B., 351 Koppell, B., 156 Köppen, J., 69 Korach, K. S., 125 Koralus, P., 383 Koran, L. M., 681

Korbonits, M., 435 Koren, D., 683 Korf J 627 Korgaonkar, M. S., 348 Korn, M. L., 614 Kornstein, S., 673 Korszun, A., 479 Korten, A., 688 Kositchek, R., 478 Kotler, M., 614 Kouzarides, T., 123 Kowalski, P., 7 Kowatch, R. A., 699 Koyabashi, T., 440 Kozak M J 676 Kozorovitskiy, Y., 112 Krakauer, J. C., 458 Krakauer, N.Y., 458 Krakowiak, P., 645 Kramer. M., 645 Kramer M S 347 Krampe, R. T., 341 Krank, M. D., 238 Krantz, D. S., 478 Kreinin, I., 683 Kremen, A. M., 482 Kremnitzer, M., 409 Krendl, A. C., 350 Kringelbach, M. L., 161, 162, 259 Kringlen, E., 637 Krishnaswami, S., 698 Kritchevsky, M., 45 Kross, E., 4 Krueger, J. I., 587, 588 Krueger, R. F., 607, 609 Kruger, J., 10, 11 Krupsky, M., 51 Ku. G., 533 Kubzansky, L. D., 479, 484 Kuchibhotla, K. V., 149 Kuhl, P. K., 332, 334 Kuhn, C., 162 Kuiper, N. A., 585 Kukucka, J., 410 Kukull, W., 397 Kulhara, P., 628 Kulik, J., 295 Kulkarni, J., 683 Kumar, S. K., 147 Kumashiro, H., 698 Kuncel, N. R., 340 Kunda, Z., 9, 529 Kupchik, Y. M., 125 Kupfer, D. J., 622 Kupka, R., 624 Kurzban, R., 487 Kusenda, M., 632 Kushlev, K., 395 Ky, K. N., 367 Kyllonen, P. C., 344 LaForge, K. S., 162 LaFrance, M., 420 Lager, A., 342 Lahti, I., 633 Lainhart, J. E., 102 Laird, J., 411 Lakey, C. E., 588

Lakshmi, B., 632 Lalonde, F., 385 Lambert E A 620 Lamborn, S. D., 391 Lamm, C., 382 Lamm, H., 501 Landa, R., 644 Landis, K. R., 394 Landis. T., 434 Landsman, V., 465 Lane, M. C., 635, 637, 640 Lane, R. D., 421 Lang, A., 360 Langa, K. M., 485 Langford, S., 695 Langlois, J. H., 537 Lansford, J. E., 248 Lantos, J. D., 646 Lapp, L., 151 Larcher, K., 252 Larocque, C., 190 Larrick, R. P., 510 Larsen, J. T., 405, 410 Larson, A., 537 Larson, E. B., 397 Larzelere, R. E., 248 Lasko N 293 Latané, B., 502, 515, 515 Latham, G., 429 Lattal, K. M., 269 Lattarulo, C. R., 149 Lau H 138 426 Lau. M., 681 Lau, M. A., 659 Laughlin, J. E., 344 Laureys, S., 132 Lautenschlager, N. T., 468 Lawrence, C., 408 Lawrie, S. M., 623 Lawson, G. M., 348, 360 Layden, J. C., 394 Layman, M., 454 Layton, M., 638 Lazar, M. A., 458 Lazarus, R. S., 470, 480 Le, K., 572 Leach, J. D., 322 Leary, M. R., 159, 431, 510, 587 Leckman, J. F., 693 Ledley, D. R., 676 LeDoux, J. E., 142, 236, 271, 293, 407, 408 Lee, C. K., 616 Lee, D. S., 4 Lee, J. E., 504 Lee, K. H., 665 Lee. K. J., 537 Lee, M. B., 95, 408 Lee, N. C., 102 Lee, P. A., 384, 385 Lee, S., 125 Lee, S. E., 40 Lee, Y., 645 LeFan, J., 536 Lefevre, C. E., 536 Leff. J., 688 Lehman, D. R., 322, 592, 593 Lehnart, J., 572 Lehrner, J. P., 209

Leibing, E., 657 Leichsenring, F., 657 Leigh, B. C., 165 Leiva, B. P., 345 Lejeune, C., 360 Lench, H. C., 406 Lenhart, A., 547 Lenzenweger, M. F., 635, 637, 640 Leotta A 645 Lepper, M., 321, 321, 427 Leroux, J. M., 673 Leshem, M., 472 Lesniak, K. T., 467 Letendre, L., 351 Leucht S 687 Leung, K., 563 LeVay, S., 444 Levenson, R. W., 406, 410 Levenstein, S., 476 Leventhal, H., 465 Leverich G S 624 Levesque, J., 673 Levey, S., 202 Levey, T., 202 Levin, D. T., 135, 136 Levine, A., 372 Levine, M., 515 Levinson, S., 236 Levitin, D. J., 25 Levy, D., 644, 645 Levy, K. N., 638 Lewandowsky, S., 274 Lewinsohn, P. M., 619 Lewis, B. P., 472 Lewis, C., 504 Lewis, G. J., 536 Lewis, K., 497, 498 Lewis, S. K., 506 Lewontin, R., 347 Li, D., 258 Li, J., 380 Li, N. P., 107, 443, 537 Liao, Y., 149 Licht, R. W., 685 Lichtenstein, S., 454, 455 Lichtermann, D., 552 Lieb, K., 638, 690 Lieb, R., 614 Lieberman, M. D., 511, 521, 522 Liebowitz, M., 673 Liebowitz, M. R., 676 Liewald, D., 347 Lihm, J., 645 Lilienfeld, S. O., 578, 667 Limosin, F., 634 Linardatos, B. S., 678 Lindeman, B., 204 Linder, N., 472 Lindquist, S., 123 Lindström, P., 445 Linehan, M. M., 638, 690, 691 Lineweaver, T. T., 137 Ling, S., 135 Link, B. G., 620 Linschooten, J. O., 361 Linsenmeier, J. A. W., 443 Linz, D., 257

Lisanby, S. H., 683 Liu, H. M., 332 Liu J 394 641 Liu, W. M., 661 Livesley, W. J., 552, 638 Livneh, Z., 51 Lledo, P. M., 209 Llera, S. J., 669 Lloyd, C., 477 Lloyd-Fox, S., 364 Locke, E., 429 Lockhart, D. J., 348 Lockhart, R., 279 Loeber, R., 349, 640 Loehlin J 550 Loewenstein, G. F., 417 Loftus, E. F., 281, 297, 298, 300 Logan, J. M., 238, 398 Loggia, M. L., 215 Lohr, B. A., 558 Lombardo M V 110 London, E. D., 511 Long, P. J., 385 Long, R., 632 Loo, C. K., 665 Looser, C. E., 499 Lopes, J., 695 Lopez, E. M., 389 Lopez, S. R., 56 Loranger, A. W., 635, 637, 640 Lorenz, K., 369, 369 Loughnan, S., 499 Lovaas. I., 696 Lovell, K., 659 Lovett, I., 445 Lowe, M. J., 111 Lowe, P., 668 Lowy, K., 201 Lozano, A. M., 683, 683, 684 Lu, Q. L., 158 Lubinski, D., 341 Lubman, D. I., 166 Luce, C. L., 514 Luciano, M., 552 Ludlow, D., 215 Ludwig, S. D., 394 Lummaa, V., 107 Luo, Z., 88 Lupien, J. P., 460 Luria, A. R., 289 Lurito, J. T., 111 Lutter, C. D., 511 Luus, C. A., 299 Lykken, D. T., 121, 550, 551, 552, 571, 640 Lynam, D. R., 349, 640 Lynn, R., 565 Lynn, S. J., 156 Lyoo, I. K., 163 Lyubomirsky, S., 322, 395, 414, 489 Ma, Y. H., 158 Maccoby, E. E., 575 MacCullum, R. C., 477 MacDonald, G., 431, 510, 587 MacDorman, M. F., 699

MacGregor, D., 417

Machon, R. A., 633, 634

MacInnis, R. J., 457, 458 MacKay, D., G., 135 MacLean, P., 406 MacNeill, D., 291 Macpherson, H. A., 695 Macrae, C. N., 499, 529, 585, 585 Macur, J., 403 Madden M 547 Maddi. S., 481 Maeda, F., 215 Maes, M., 477 Maggs, J. L., 165 Magnasco, M. O., 209 Magnier, M., 661 Magnotta, V., 632 Magnuson, V.L., 444 Magnusson, K. P., 51 Maguire, E. A., 94 Maher, B. A., 601 Maher, W. R., 601 Mahlios J 148 Mai, N., 194 Maia, T. V., 617 Maier, N., 327, 327 Major, B., 590 Makarov, V., 632 Makhijani, M. G., 68 Malarkey, W. B., 468 Malhotra, D., 632, 685 Malik, M., 646 Malinchoc, M., 478 Malle, B. F., 528 Mallouf, M., 56 Mallov, P., 648 Malmud, E. K., 360 Malone, D. A., 677, 684 Malpass, R. S., 190, 299 Mamun, A. A., 360 Mandisodza, A. N., 526 Maner, J. K., 514 Manes, F., 407 Mangun, G. R., 329 Mannarelli, T., 580 Manning, R., 515 Mannuzza, S., 648, 695 Mansfield, P. R., 699 Mansuy, I. M., 472 Mantione, M., 677 Mao, H., 132 Maguet, P., 152 Mar, R. A., 381 March, J. S., 701 March, S. J., 700, 701 Marcovitch, H., 646 Marcus, G. F., 115, 125, 333 Marcus, S. C., 680, 700 Maren, S., 230 Maret, S., 148 Margono, C., 458, 461 Marien, H., 426 Markon, J., 396 Markon, K. E., 609 Markowitz, J. C., 659, 660, 677, 680, 681, 682, 701 Markus, H., 585, 591, 592 Marraccini, M. E., 163 Marsella, A. J., 609

Marsh, A. A., 641 Marsh. H. W., 159 Marsh, R. L., 288 Marsh, W. L., 648 Marshall, B., 476 Marshall, G. D. J., 477 Marshall, J. C., 140 Marshall, P. J., 615 Marsland, A. L., 484 Marston, N. A., 683 Martens, A., 351 Martin, G. B., 364 Martin, J., 122, 124, 511 Martin, J. L., 620 Martin, K. M., 676 Martin, L. A., 645 Martin, M., 216 Martin, S. F., 167 Martin-Guehl, C., 677 Martin-Skurski, M. E., 505 Martz M E 165 Marucha, P. T., 477 Marusewski, A. L., 459 Maruta, T., 478 Masataka, N., 232 Maselko, J., 484 Mash. E. J., 606 Mashek, D. J., 381 Maslow, A., 424 Master, A., 351 Masters, W., 440 Mastoras, S. M., 343 Matarazzo, J. D., 340 Mather, M., 398 Mathews, V. P., 111 Matsumoto, D., 420 Mattek, A., 95 Mattern, J. L., 504 Matthews, A., 614 Matthews, A. M., 678 Matusch, A., 684 Matush, L., 347 Matzner, W. T., 487 Matzuk, M. M., 698 Maurer, K., 688 Mawhood, L., 698, 699 May, A., 348 May, J., 614 May, K. A., 537 Mayberg, H. S., 158, 666, 683, 683, 684 Mayer, J., 343, 435 Mayseless, O., 372 Mazur. A., 511 Mazziota, J. C., 676 McAdams, D., 579 McArdle, J. J., 342 McAuley, E., 468 McBurnett, K., 695 McCabe, D. P., 275 McCabe, S. E., 163 McCarthy, D. O., 477 McCarthy, G., 190 McCarthy, S., 685 McCarthy, S. E., 632, 645 McCeney, M. K., 478 McClay, J., 122, 124 McClellan, J. M., 632

McClelland, D. C., 429, 578 McClelland, J. L., 369 McCloskey, M. S., 511 McConahay, J. B., 532 McCormick, W. C., 397 McCoy, S. K., 587 McCrae, R. R., 563, 570, 571, 573, 575, 578 McCullough, J. P., 681 McCully, J., 238 McDaniel, M. A., 275, 288 McDermott, K. B., 298 McDonald, K., 166 McDonald, R. V., 238 McDowd, J. M., 398 McElhaney, K. B., 248 McElroy, S., 624 McEwen, B. S., 475, 477, 612 McGaugh, J. L., 293 McGeer, V., 383 McGhee, D., 521 McGlashan T H 688 McGonigal, K. M., 539 McGough, J. J., 648 McGrath, J. J., 628 McGrath, R. W., 668 McGraw, A. P., 405 McGue, M. K., 121, 550, 552, 571, 648 McInerney, N. L., 95 McInerney, S. C., 190, 408 McKenna, C., 541 McKenzie, K. E., 136 McKeon D 158 McLean, C. P., 658 McMahon, R. J., 372 McMaster, M. R., 513 McNaughton, B. L., 150 McNaughton, N., 566 McNeely, H. E., 683, 683 McNeil, D. G., 173 McPheeters, M. L., 697, 698 McPherson, L. M., 640, 692 McQuown, S. C., 269 McRobbie, H., 164 Meanev, M. J., 552 Meddis. R., 145 Medin, D. L., 312 Mednick, S. A., 633, 634, 641 Meeks, J. T., 288 Meengs, J. S., 460 Mehl, M. R., 579, 580, 581, 588 Mehler, J., 379, 379 Mehta, M., 164 Mehta, P. H., 511 Meier, M. H., 166 Meijer, Z., 592 Meister, D., 49 Meltzer, P. S., 632 Meltzoff, A. N., 364 Melzack, R., 214 Menachemi, N., 68 Menchola, M., 658 Mendelovici, A., 383 Mende-Siedlecki, P., 408 Menkes, D. B., 699 Mennella, J. A., 206, 207 Menon, V., 25, 252 Mensour, B., 673

Mercer, K. B., 617 Mérette, C., 147 Merico D 644 Merikangas, K. R., 165, 618, 693, 699 Mermelstein, R., 466 Merriman, B., 632 Merola, A., 87 Merz, C. N., 158 Merzenich, M. M., 337 Mesquita, B., 405 Messias, E., 631 Meston, C. M., 438 Mesulam, M., 86 Metalsky, G., 621 Metcalfe J 430 Metcalfe, R., 320 Metts, S., 422 Meyer, A., 49 Meyer, D. R., 427 Meyer-Lindenberg, A., 511 Mezulis A H 591 592 Michaelson, J. J., 685 Michaelsen, K. F., 347 Mickelsen, O., 461 Mickelson, K. D., 538 Mignot, E., 148 Miguel. E. C., 607 Miklowitz, D. J., 685 Miles, E., 415, 532 Milgram, S., 507, 508 Milich, R., 695 Mill, J., 122, 124, 511 Miller, A. H., 472 Miller, C. J., 511 Miller, D., 110 Miller, D. G., 297, 298 Miller, G. A., 267, 275 Miller, G. E., 475, 476, 477, 478 Miller, I. J., 205 Miller, I. W., 686 Miller, L. C., 441 Miller, M., 702 Miller, R. L., 125 Miller, R. S., 422 Miller, S., 685 Miller, W., 658 Miller, W. T., 656 Millevoi, A., 581 Mills, E. J., 466 Mills. J., 522 Mills, K. L., 385 Milner, A. D., 184 Milner, B., 266 Milton, J., 180 Min, H., 665 Minami, T., 666 Mineka, S., 232, 258, 259, 626 Minnes, S., 360 Minshew, N. J., 645 Miranda, D., 25 Mironova, E., 347 Mirowsky, J., 394 Mischel, W., 430, 561, 561, 586 Mishkin, M., 184, 286 Mitchell, G., 521 Mitchell, J. E., 463 Mitchell, J. P., 499
Mitchell, K. A., 535 Mitchell, P. B., 665 Mitelman, S. A., 632 Mithoefer, A. T., 167 Mithoefer, M. C., 167 Mittal, V. A., 633 Miyake, K., 56 Miyamoto, Y., 528 Miyawaki, K., 154 Mletzko, T., 472 Mobbs, D., 252 Moffitt, C., 695 Moffitt, T. E., 122, 124, 166, 430, 511 Mogg. K., 614 Mogil, J. S., 215 Moher, D., 695 Mohile, S. G., 572 Moises, H. W., 632 Molcho, A., 614 Moll, J., 381, 383, 533 Monarch N D 539 Monfils, M., 271, 293 Monroe, S. M., 606 Montague, P. R., 234 Monteith, M. J., 533 Monterosso, J., 322 Montgomery, C., 167 Montgomery, G. H., 157 Monti, M. M., 132 Monuteaux, M. C., 695 Mooney, L., 163 Moore C M 248 Moore, M. K., 364 Moore, T. J., 678 Mora, F., 252 Moran, J. L., 632 Moran, J. M., 585 Morefield, K. M., 167 Morewedge, C. K., 321 Morey, L. C., 656 Morf, C. C., 588 Morgenstern, M., 137 Morgenstern, O., 317 Morin, C. M., 147 Moring, J., 633 Morman, M. T., 498 Morris, G. J., 477 Morris, J. A., 669 Morris, J. C., 398 Morris. M. E., 580 Morris, N. M., 107 Morris, R., 511 Morrison, A. B., 275 Morse, R., 364 Mortensen, E. L., 347, 399 Morton, J., 525 Mosher, W. D., 539 Moskowitz, A. K., 631 Moskowitz, J. T., 481 Moskvina, V., 479 Moss, J. A., 435 Moulton, J. L., III, 695 Mounts, N., 391 Mourão-Miranda, J., 383 Moussawi, K., 125 Mowery, P. D., 466 Mowry, B. J., 624

Moxey, L., 319 Mroczek, D. K., 397, 571, 572 Mueller, P. A., 137 Muenke, M., 168 Mufson, L., 701 Muglia, L. J., 125 Muhle, R., 643 Mukherjee, R. A. S., 360 Muller, A. P., 690 Mulvenna, C., 173 Munafò, M. R., 552 Munro, B. A., 163 Munson, J. A., 372 Murakami, F., 592 Murch, S. H., 646 Muris, P., 566 Murphy, D. A., 695 Murphy, M. J., 504 Murphy, S. L., 456 Murray, H., 579, 579 Murray, L. K., 440 Murray, S. L., 541 Murru, A., 685 Mustanski, B. S., 444 Mustroph, M. L., 110 Myers, D. G., 487, 490, 501 Myers, J., 607 Naarala, M., 633 Naccache, L., 139 Naci, H., 467 Nadeau A 460 Nadel, L., 95 Nader, K., 271 Nagel, G., 125 Naishadham, D., 456 Najman, J. M., 360 Nakano, K., 478 Nakayama, K., 138, 139, 190 Napoli, A., 477 Naqvi, N. H., 167 Narayan, K. M., 457 Naselaris, T., 138 Nash, G. B., 479 Nash. M., 157 Nasrallah, H. A., 628 Nassar, N., 643 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), 45 National Institute of Mental Health, 605, 617 National Research Council, 699 Natu, V., 138 Nave, C. S., 569 Nawrocky, M., 88 Nazarian, M., 620 Neale, J. M., 477 Neale, M. C., 607 Nearing, K. I., 259 Neighbors, C., 504 Neimeyer, R. A., 535 Neisser, U., 338, 341, 346, 348, 350 Nelen, M., 511 Nellis, A. M., 454 Nelson, C. A., 147 Nelson, M. L., 466 Nelson, S. F., 632 Nelson, S. K., 395

Nelson, T. F., 504 Nemeroff, C. B., 472 Neuberg, S. L., 190, 514 Neumann, C., 633 Neuzil, K., 456 Newcomb, M. D., 535 Newcorn, J. H., 648 Newheiser, A. K., 532 Newman J P 566 Newman, M. G., 669 Newport, C., 472 Newton, T., 486 Neyer, F. J., 572, 573 Nezlek, J., 538 Nezworski, M. T., 578 Ng, M., 458, 461 Ng, W., 380 Nichols, K. E., 615 Nichols, R., 550 Nickel T 620 Nicolini, H., 673 Nidich, S., 158 Nielsen, J. A., 102 Nierman, A., 34 Nieto-Castanon, A., 132 Nijenhuis, E. R., 627 Nir. Y., 154 Nisbett, R. E., 23, 348, 427, 513, 528 Nishikawa, Y., 684 Nishino, S., 148 Nivoli, A., 685 Noble, K. G., 348 Nolan, J. M., 504 Nolen, W. A., 685 Nolen-Hoeksema, S., 414 Noll, D. N., 482 Noll, G., 479 Nomura, Y., 701 Noory, L., 632 Nopoulos, P., 632 Nord, A. S., 632 Nordahl, C. W., 645 Nordborg, C., 112 Norenzayan, A., 56, 189, 528, 574 Norman, C. C., 541 Norman, K. A., 138 Northstone, S., 123 Norton, M. I., 497, 498, 535 Nosek, B. A., 521 Novotny, C. M., 667 Novotny, S. L., 698 Nowson, C. A., 458 Noyes, R., 614 Nuessle, T. M., 205 Null, J., 291 Nummenmaa, L., 406 Nurnberger, J. J., 624 Nyberg, L., 398 Nystrom, LE., 383 Nzerem, C. K., 467 Oakes, M. A., 530 Oberauer, K., 274, 344 O'Boyle, M. W., 102 Ochsner, K. N., 405, 407, 415, 522 O'Connor, B. C., 696 Odbert, H., 563

Odishaw, J., 351 O'Donovan, M. C., 632 Oei, N.Y.L., 471 Oemig, C., 539 Offermanns, K., 25 Offord, K. P., 478 Ogawa, S., 125 Ogbu, J., 349 Ogden, C. L., 458 Ogletree, S. M., 583 Ohloff, G., 208 Oishi, S., 485 O'Kane, G. O., 292 Oke, A., 343 Okun M S 677 O'Leary, S. G., 247 Olfson, M., 293, 602, 617, 680, 700, 701 Olivares, M. G., 345 Olsen, A. K., 361 Olsen, E. O. M., 40, 50 Olshansky, S. J., 394 Olshavsky, R., 465 Olson, J. M., 550 Olson, R., 45 Olsson, A., 232, 259 O'Malley, P. M., 164, 165, 465 Omer S B 646 O'Neal, J. M., 630 O'Neil, J., 653 O'Neil, S., 159 Ones, D. S., 340 Ooms P 677 Oosterlaan, J., 694-95 Opel, D. J., 646 Oppenheimer, D. M., 137 O'Rahilly, S., 435 Orcutt, H. K., 617 Orenstein, W. A., 646 Orleans, C. T., 455 Orpana, H., 457 Ortigue, S., 538 Oskamp, S., 533 Ostendorf, F., 571 Oster, H., 364 Osterling, J., 644 Ostermann, S., 34 Oswald, F. L., 521 O'Toole, A. J., 138 Otsuji, J., 435 Ott. S. L., 633 Ottieger, A. E., 163 Ouimet, M. C., 40 Owen, A. M., 132 Paans, A. M., 627 Pacchiarotti, I., 685 Pack, A. I., 148 Padberg, F., 665 Page, G. G., 477 Page, M., 414 Pagnamenta, A. T., 644 Pagnoni, G., 158, 505 Paillard-Borg, S., 397 Pakaslahti, A., 631 Palmer, J., 297 Panitz, D., 209 Panksepp, J., 487

Pantelis, C., 166 Papademetris, X., 564 Papadimitriou, G. N., 682 Papakostas, Y. G., 682 Paparella, T., 697 Pape, S., 633 Paquette, V., 673 Paquin, G., 695 Parashar U 456 Park, H., 528 Park J 4 Parker, D., 111 Parker, J. D., 343 Parkinson C 383 Parnas, J., 605 Parrott, A. C., 167 Pascual-Leone, A., 683 Pascual-Leone, P. A., 683 Pasquinelli, E., 368 Passaro, D. J., 394 Pasupathi, M., 397 Patall, E. A., 322 Pate, V., 702 Patel, M., 456 Patrick, M. E., 165, 168 Patrick, W., 485 Pattatucci A M 444 Patterson, C. M., 566 Patterson, D., 157 Pattie, A., 342 Paul-Labrador, M., 158 Pauls, D. L., 617, 624 Paulus, M. P., 167 Pauly, J. M., 215 Paunonen, S. V., 563 Pavlov, I. P., 228 Payan, C., 634 Payer, D. E., 511 Paykel, E. S., 620 Payne, B. K., 530, 531 Payne, J. D., 150 Payton, A., 347 Paz-Elizur, T., 51 Pelhamm, W. E., 695, 696 Peltonen, L., 552 Pembrey, M. W., 123 Peng, K., 189 Penke, L., 536, 537 Pennebaker, J. W., 579, 580 Penrod, S., 299 Penton-Voak, I. S., 440, 537 Peretz, I., 25 Perez. H. T., 345 Perez, M., 606 Perfetti, C. A., 336 Perfilieva, E., 112 Perkins, W. J., 215 Perna, F. M., 467 Perner, J., 381 Perrett, D. I., 260, 440, 536, 537 Perri, M., 538 Perry, B. D., 360 Pert, C., 88 Peruche, M., 531 Pérusse, L., 460 Pesetsky, D., 336 Pessiglione, M., 138, 426

Pessoa, L., 383 Peters, E., 417 Peterson B S 617 Peterson, D. A., 112 Peterson, M. R., 633 Petitto, L. A., 335, 336 Petrie, K., 145 Petronis, A., 624 Petrycki, S., 700, 701 Pettersson, E., 550, 552 Pettit, J. W., 606 Petty, R., 523 Pew Foundation, 547 Pezdek K 300 Pfaff. D. W., 125 Pfaus, J. G., 439 Pfeifer, J. H., 645 Pfister, H., 614 Pfohl, B., 638 Pham. B., 695 Phan K L 511 Phelan, J., 537 Phelps, E. A., 135, 232, 259, 271, 293, 296, 407, 408, 410, 417 Phelps, M. E., 676 Phillips, A., 698 Phillips, M. D., 111 Phillips, M. L., 622 Phillips, P. J., 138 Phinney, J. S., 389 Piaget, J., 37, 374 Pickard J D 132 Pickett, C. L., 431 Pien, G. W., 148 Pierce, S. B., 632 Pierce-Otay, A., 582 Piet, J., 659 Pietschnig, J., 367 Pigott, T., 673 Pillow, D. R., 470 Pincus, H. A., 680 Pincus, M. A., 293, 602, 617 Pine, D. S., 604 Pinel, E. C., 321 Pinker, S., 332, 333, 334, 421 Pinsker, H. M., 225 Pinto, D., 644 Piotrowski, A., 120 Piper, M. E., 466 Pisoni, D. B., 332 Pitman, R., 293 Pittinsky, T.L., 350 Piven, J., 408 Pizarro, D., 382 Placenza, F. M., 684 Plailly, J., 407 Plakun, E. M., 690 Plant, E. A., 420, 531 Platt, R. W., 347 Plomin, R., 347, 460, 550, 551, 552, 572, 644 Pocklington, A. J., 632, 645 Poehlman, T. A., 521 Poehlmann, K. M., 410 Polanczyk, G. V., 607 Poland, G. A., 646 Poldrack, R. A., 337 Polich, J., 158

Polis, S., 418 Polivy, J., 462, 463 Polk, D., 158 Pollock, K. M., 682 Polyn, S. M., 138 Pons, F., 369 Porges, E. C., 382 Port, J. D., 617 Porter B H 364 Porter, S., 639 Portillo, N., 685 Posner, M. I., 156, 157 Post, R. M., 624 Potter, J., 571, 588 Poulton, R., 166 Powell, A. L., 513 Powell, R. A., 236 Power, R., 166 Pradervand, S., 148 Pratesi, C. C., 190 Preacher, K. J., 147 Premack, D., 244, 380, 467 Prenger, R. J., 138 Prentiss, D., 166 Prescott, A., 258 Prescott, C. A., 607 Prescott J 102 Press, G., 45 Pressman, S., 484 Presson, C. C., 168, 465 Preuschhof, C., 460 Price, B. H., 511 Price, C. S., 646 Price, D. D., 156, 157 Price, J. H., 579 Prigerson, H. G., 572 Prins, B., 293 Prins, P. J. M., 694-95 Prkash. R., 468 Pronin, E., 319 Prot, S., 258 Provencher, V., 462 Przeworski, A., 669 Puce, A., 190 Puiol. J., 617 Purcell, S. M., 632 Purdie, V. J., 530 Putnam, S. K., 511 Pyszczynski, T., 587 Qawasmi, A., 145 Quadros, C. D., 456 Quinn, D. M., 350 Quinn, J. F., 617 Quinn, K., 604 Quinn, P. D., 349 Raab, M., 69 Rabin, B. S., 452, 485 Rabung, S., 657 Radcliffe, N. M., 455 Radke-Yarrow, M., 514 Radua, J., 381 Raesaenen, S., 631

Raila, H., 95 Raine, A., 640, 641 Bainforth M 158 Rainville, P., 156, 157 Raio, C., 271, 293 Rajapakse, J. C., 110 Rajeevan, N., 564 Ram. S., 147 Bamachandran V S 112 173-74 Ramakrishnan, C., 125 Ramasundarahettige, C., 465 Ramirez-Esparza, N., 580 Rampon, C., 348 Ramsey, J., 167 Rand, D. G., 497, 498 Rapin, I., 643 Rapoport, J. L., 110, 616, 632, 676 Rapport, M. D., 695 Raskin, D. C., 410 Rasmussen, C., 351 Rauch, S. L., 95, 408, 615, 615, 618 Rauscher, F. H., 367 Rawson, R. A., 163 Rayner, R., 237 Raynor, H. A., 459 Raz, A., 156, 157 Read J P 467 Reader, M. J., 648 Ready, D., 673 Realo, A., 575 Reczek, C., 394 Redcav. E., 645 Redd, W. H., 157 Redick, T. S., 275 Reed, S. E., 452 Reeves, L. M., 326 Reeves, R. I., 404 Regal, C., 364 Regan, M. A., 34 Regan, P., 441, 534, 539 Regan, R., 644 Regard, M., 434 Regier, D. A., 616, 640 Reid, M. E., 641 Reifman, A. S., 510 Reinders, A. A., 627 Reinecke, A., 614 Reinisch, J. M., 347 Reis, D. L., 343 Reis, H. X., 538 Reiss, A. L., 252, 648 Rendell, J. M., 685 Renfrow, P. J., 24 Renier, C., 148 Renshaw, P. F., 648 Rescorla, R. A., 233 Respondek, C., 166 Ressler, K. J., 684 Revonsuo, A., 156 Reyna, C., 26 Reyner, K., 336 Reynolds, C. F., 681 Rezai, A. R., 677, 684 Rhodes, J. S., 110 Rhodewalt, F., 588 Rice, A., 138 Richard, J. M., 252

Richards, A., 614 Richards, J., 505 Richards, J. M., 539 Richardson, A., 630 Richeson, J. A., 350, 533 Richlan, F., 381 Richman, L. S., 484 Richter, M., 646 Rideout, V. J., 257 Ridgeway, V.A., 659 Ridley, M., 125 Ridout, B., 504 Rieckmann, A., 398 Riemann B 552 Rifkin, A., 701 Rifkin, W., 701 Rijsdijk, F. V., 644 Rinck, M., 614 Rippey, C. F., 632 Risen, J. L., 321 Riskind, J. H., 621 Rivera, M. T., 535 Rivers, S. E., 343 Rizvi, S., 684 Rizzi, L., 87 Rizzolatti, G., 407, 645 Rizzone, M. G., 87 Ro, E., 637 Roba, L. G., 459 Robbins, M. C., 362 Roberts, A. R., 536 Roberts, B. W., 570, 571, 572, 573 Roberts, D. F., 257 Roberts, R. E., 484 Roberts, R. W., 588 Roberts, S. A., 633 Robins, L. N., 616, 640 Robins, R. W., 420, 588 Robinson, J., 422 Robinson, J. L., 459 Robinson, M., 458, 461 Robinson, S. J., 167 Robinson, T. E., 252 Robles, T. F., 394 Roccanova, P., 632 Rock, D., 633 Rock, I., 194 Rockstuhl, L., 394 Rodhe, P. D., 619 Rodriguez, M. L., 430 Roe, F. J. C., 455 Roe, L. S., 460 Roeber, J., 164 Roediger, H. L., III, 275, 277, 298 Roemmich, J. N., 459 Roethlisberger, F. J., 45, 46 Rogeberg, R., 166 Rogers, S., 696 Rogers, S. J., 394 Rogers, T. B., 585 Roggman, L. A., 537 Rogosh, F. A., 372 Rohde, L. A., 607 Roisman, G. I., 486 Roizen, E. R., 695 Rolls, B. J., 460 Rolls, E. T., 252, 434

Rafnar, T., 51

Raggi, V. L., 694

Rahe, R. H., 470

Rompre, P. P., 252 Ronald, A., 644 Ronemus, M., 644, 645 Ropers, H. H., 511 Rosales, T. A., 163 Rosch, E., 312 Roscoe, W., 389 Rose, G., 471 Rosen, T. S., 333 Rosenbaum, J. F., 615 Rosenhan, D. L., 672 Rosenman, R. H., 478 Rosenstein, D., 364 Rosenthal, D. A., 391 Rosenthal, R., 47, 47, 526, 678 Rosenzweig, M. R., 107, 110 Ross, C. E., 394 Ross, D., 255, 255, 256 Ross, D. M., 631 Ross. H. E., 698 Boss L 527 Ross, M., 295, 590, 591 Ross, S., 255, 255, 256 Rossi-Arnaud, C., 293 Rostron, B., 465 Rothbaum, B. O., 673 Rothemund, Y., 460 Rothman, A. J., 319 Rothman, K. J., 457 Rothman, S. M., 88 Rotter, J., 560, 561 Bouillon F 634 Rourke, M., 607 Rouse, C., 313 Roussos, P., 632 Rovee-Collier, C., 365, 366 Rowe, D., 461 Rowe, D. C., 168, 551 Rowland, D. A., 537 Roy, A., 623 Royet, J. P., 407 Rozin, P., 437, 461 Rubenstein, A. J., 537 Rubichek, O., 683 Rubin, D. C., 296 Ruderfer, D., 632 Rudman, L. A., 498 Rudrauf, D., 167 Ruparel, K., 111 Rupp, H. A., 107 Rusbult, C. E., 540, 541 Ruschitzka, F., 479 Ruscio, A. M., 613 Rush, A. J., 621, 681, 699 Russell, C. A., 504 Russell, J., 405, 466, 673 Russell, M. A. H., 420 Russig, H., 472 Russin, A., 533 Rutgers, A. H., 372 Rutter, M., 643, 698, 699 Rvan. J., 418 Ryan, L. R., 95 Ryan, R., 427 Rydell, A. M., 372 Ryland, J., 138 Rymer, R., 358

Saab, B. J., 472 Sabol, S. Z., 466 Sackheim, H. A., 683 Sacks, J. J., 164 Sacks, O., 346 Sackur, J., 139 Saczawa, M., 633 Sagarin, B. J., 514 Sagiv, N., 173 Saha, S., 628 Saklofske, D. H., 343 Saleem, M., 257 Salidis, J., 337 Salimpoor, V. N., 252 Salovey, P., 319, 343 Salthouse, T., 397 Salum, G. A., 607 Samenieh, A., 282 Samson, A. C., 415 Sana, F., 137 Sanchez, I. M., 457 Sanders, A. L., 398 Sanders, K., 293 Sanders, S. A., 347 Sanderson, W. C., 613 Sandler, I., 470 Sanfey, A. G., 407 Sanford, A. J., 319 Santiago, C. D., 479 Santorico, S. A., 205 Santos, L., 45 Santosham, M., 456 Saphire-Bernstein, S., 473 Sapolsky, R., 471 Saraulli, D., 293 Sareen, J., 613 Sargent, J. D., 137, 256, 258, 314, 314, 426, 466 Sartorius, N., 688 Sathe, N., 697, 698 Satterthwaite, T. D., 111 Sauer-Zavala, S., 604 Saunders, A. M., 396 Savage, J., 454 Savage, J. H., 360 Savard, J., 147 Savic. I., 445 Savitz, D. A., 361 Saxe, R., 533 Sayette, M. A., 165 Scalf, P., 468 Schab, F. R., 209 Schachter, H. M., 695 Schachter, S., 411, 413, 431, 432, 505, 535 Schacter, D., 285, 286, 289, 301, 522 Schafe, G. E., 271 Schafer, J. C., 165 Schaffer, M. M., 312 Schaie, K. W., 398 Schank, R., 313 Schechter, J. C., 641 Schechtman, E., 51 Scheerer, M., 324, 324 Schellenberg, E. G., 367 Scherer, P. E., 458 Schiffman, J., 633 Schill, J., 620

Schiller, D., 271, 293 Schimel, J., 587 Schindler I 190 Schizophrenia Working Group of the Psychiatric Genomics Consortium, 632 Schlam, T. R., 467 Schlander M 696 Schlehofer, M. M., 34 Schmader, T., 350, 351 Schmahl, C., 638, 690 Schmechel, D. E., 396 Schmidt, F. L., 340 Schmidt, L., 138, 426 Schmidt, N. B., 669, 675 Schmitt, D., 573 Schmitt, D. P., 441, 442, 575 Schmitz, T.W., 95 Schmukle, S. C., 580 Schneider, N. G., 466 Schneider B 158 Schneider, S. K., 504 Schoch, H., 269 Schoenbaum, G., 232 Schoenemann, P. T., 98 Schroeder, S. A., 465 Schuchat A 646 Schulenberg, J. E., 164, 165, 168, 465 Schulsinger, F., 633 Schultz, P. G., 348 Schultz, P. W., 504 Schultz B 644 Schultz, W., 234, 252 Schulz, K. P., 648 Schulze, C., 150 Schulze, R., 344 Schumann, C. M., 645 Schurz, M., 831 Schuurman, P. R., 677 Schwartz, B., 321, 322 Schwartz, C. E., 615, 615 Schwartz, D., 309 Schwartz, G. E., 421 Schwartz, J., 521 Schwartz, J. M., 676 Schwartz, S., 152 Schwarz, N., 417, 513 Schwebel, D. C., 45 Schwingle, P. J., 361 Schvns, P., 95 Scislowska, M., 141 Sclafani, A., 459 Scoboria, A., 678 Scott, A. A., 645 Sears, D. O., 532 Sears. L., 408 Sebat, J., 632 Sechrest, L., 421 Sedikides, C., 590, 592, 593 Seegmiller, J. K., 136 Seelau, E. P., 299 Seeley, J. R., 619 Seeman, T. E., 473 Seer, R. A., 621 Segal, N. L., 121, 550 Segal, Z. V., 158, 659, 681 Segerstrom, S. C., 476, 477

Segool, N., 659 Seguin, J. R., 641 Sehgal, A., 145 Seibert, S., 132 Seibring, M., 504 Seidenberg, M. S., 336 Seligman, M. E. P., 341, 483, 621, 672 Selve. H., 474 Seminowicz D 683 683 Semrud-Clikeman, M., 648 Sengelaub, D. R., 107 Serati, M., 685 Sergent, C., 139 Serhan, F., 456 Serretti A 149 Sewlal, B., 351 Shackelford, T. K., 443 Shaffer, D., 700 Shah, R. S., 665 Shahar, F., 673 Shaller M 514 Shallice, T., 277 Shamosh, N. A., 343 Shane, M. S., 564 Shapiro, A. F., 395 Shapiro, T., 156 Sharpe, M. M., 623 Shaver, P. R., 538 Shaw, B., 621 Shaw, G. L., 367 Shaw, L. L., 513 Shaw, S., 479 Shear, M. K., 675 Shedler, J., 657 Sheehan, M. J., 98 Sheeran, P., 415 Sheffield, A. M., 385 Sheikh, K., 111 Sheline, Y. I., 632 Shelley, G., 511 Shelton, D. R., 465 Shelton, J., 588 Shenhav, A., 383 Shenkin, S. D., 347 Sher. L., 630 Shera, D. M., 360 Sherif, C. W., 516, 517 Sherif, M., 516, 517 Sherman, D. K., 648 Sherman, R. A., 569 Sherman, S. J., 168, 465 Sherwin, B. B., 107, 438 Shettleworth, S. J., 232 Shiekhattar, R., 123 Shih, M., 350 Shihabuddin, L., 632 Shilatifard, A., 123 Shimada, N., 470 Shin, L. M., 408, 615, 615 Shiner, R. L., 571 Shiomura, K., 592 Shipstead, Z., 275 Shoda, Y., 430, 561, 561 Short, K. R., 378 Shortt, J., 414 Shrager, E. E., 462 Shrout, P. E., 620

Shtasel, D. L., 396 Shults. R. A., 50 Shultz W 234 Siegel, J. M., 148 Siegel, S., 238 Siegler, I. C., 478 Siever, L. J., 638 Sigman, M., 645 Sijbrandij, M., 681 Sikich, L., 632 Silber, M., 146 Silbersweig, D., 638 Silva, C. E., 156 Silva, S., 700, 701 Silveri, M. M., 162 Silverman, I., 182 Silvers, J. A., 415 Simion, F., 364 Simmat-Durand, L., 360 Simms S 607 Simner J 173 Simon, H. A., 275 Simon, S. L., 163 Simons, A. D., 606 Simons, D. J., 135, 136 Simonsen, J., 394 Simonsen N B 504 Simons-Morton, B. G., 40 Simpson, H. B., 676 Simpson, J., 110 Simpson, J. A., 107, 440 Sims, H. E. A., 461 Singer, H. S., 648 Singer, J., 411, 413 Singer, L., 360 Singer, T., 382 Singleton, J. B., 632, 646 Sinnott-Armstrong, W., 383 Sirois, B. C., 478 Sjöström, M., 123 Skenderian, J., 34 Skinner, B. F., 222, 240, 243, 252, 334 Sklar, P., 624, 685 Skodol, A. E., 614, 620, 638, 639 Skoner, D. P., 452, 485 Skovgaard, L. T., 460 Slatcher, R. B., 580 Sloan, M. M., 205 Slovic, P., 417, 454, 455 Small, G. W., 396 Small, M., 299 Smart, L., 588 Smethurst, C. J., 159 Smith, A., 111 Smith, A. L., 467 Smith, A. P., 476, 477 Smith. C. J., 145, 151 Smith, D. M., 190, 485 Smith, I. M., 275 Smith, J., 646 Smith, J. L., 572 Smith, K. C., 125 Smith, K. S., 162, 235 Smith, M. E., 166 Smith, S. D., 88 Smith, S. M., 282, 455 Smith, T. W., 481

Smithson, C., 236 Smits, J. A. J., 673 Smoot. M., 537 Snarey, J. R., 381 Snider, L. A., 617 Snidman, N., 554, 615 Snyder, A. Z., 398, 632 Snyder, E. E., 460 Snyder, M., 561 Snyder, S., 88 Sobel, J. L., 465 Sobel, N., 209 Soderstrom, S. B., 535 Sohn, J. H., 345 Solms, M., 146, 152 Solomon, S., 587 Solovieff, N., 632 Solowij, N., 166 Somerville, L. H., 385, 408, 430 Sommers, K. L., 558 Sommerville, J. A., 380 Sommerville, R. B., 383 Soneji, D., 215 Song, C., 477 Song, W. Z., 563 Son Hing, L. S., 532 Sonntag, A., 620 Soorya, L., 698 Sorensen, H., 633 Sorensen, T., 460 Sorenson, E. R., 419 Sorri, A., 633 Soulsby, J. M., 659 Southgate, V., 645 Spann, M., 673 Spanos, N. P., 156 Spearman, C., 341 Spelke, E. S., 378, 526 Spence, M. J., 364 Spencer, M. B., 389 Spencer, S. J., 138, 350, 529 Spencer, T., 695 Sperling, G., 273, 274 Spiegel, N., 538 Spieker, L. E., 479 Spieker, S. J., 372 Spiers, H. J., 94 Spinath, F. M., 347 Spitzer, R. L., 614, 639 Sprecher, S., 394 Springer, D., 459 Spurr, K. F., 148 Squire, L. R., 45, 270 Squires-Wheeler, E., 633 Srivastava, S., 539, 564, 571 Stacy, A. W., 165 Stappen, I., 209 Stark, C. E. L., 270 Stark, S., 431 Starr, J. M., 347 State Department, U.S., 454 Staudt, J., 378 Stavrinos, D., 45 Stead, L. F., 164 Steele, C. M., 350 Steele, D., 456 Steeves, J. K., 190

Stefanik, M. T., 125 Steffenburg, S., 644 Stein D J 613 Stein, J., 630 Stein, J. M., 269 Stein, M. B., 613 Steinberg, E. E., 235 Steinberg, L., 385, 391 Steiner, J. E., 428 Steingard, R. J., 648 Steinhauer, S. R., 640 Stellar, E., 434, 462 Stelmack, R. M., 345 Steptoe, A., 484 Steriade M 146 Sternberg, R., 343 Sternberg, R. J., 345, 538 Stetler, C. A., 478 Stevens, L. C., 467 Stevens, N., 147 Stevenson J 648 Stewart, A., 319 Stewart, D. G., 632 Stewart, J. L., 620 Stewart, M. O., 673, 681 Stice, E., 461 Stickgold, R., 144, 150 Stillwell, A. M., 421 Stinson, F. S., 640 Stoessel, P. W., 676 Stohler, C. S., 666 Stokstad E 643 Stone, A. A., 395, 477 Stoney, C. M., 478 Stopfer, J. M., 580 Stouthamer-Loeber, M., 349 Strahan, E. J., 138 Straus, R., 478 Strauss, J. S., 688 Stray, S. M., 632 Strayer, D. L., 36, 136 Strentz, T., 481 Stribley, V., 167 Striegel-Moore, R. H., 464 Stringer, S., 624 Strittmatter, W. J., 396 Strobino, D. M., 699 Stromberg, T., 632 Strunk, D., 673, 681 Strupp, H. H., 656 Stuart, G. W., 669 Stuewig, J., 381 Stuewig, R., 638 Stump, J., 470 Stunkard, A. J., 460 Stürmer, T., 702 Suarez, A., 691 Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 699, 699 Suchindran, C., 439 Suh, E., 485 Sui, Y., 163 Sulem, P., 51 Sulin, R. A., 280 Sullivan, L. M., 478 Sullivan, M. J. L., 215 Summerfelt, A., 633

Sumner, J., 698 Sun. H. F., 563 Super, C. M., 362 Suppes, T., 685 Süß, H. M., 344 Sussex, J. N., 624 Susskind, J., 418 Suzuki, A., 550 Svenson O 589 Svrakic, N., 552 Swaab, D. F., 387 Swann, W. B., Jr., 497 Swanson, J. M., 696 Swanson, S. A., 693, 702 Swartz, M. S., 637 Swartzwelder, S., 162 Sweatt, J. D., 396 Swedo, S., 617 Swendsen, J., 165, 699 Swets, J. A., 178 Svme, S. L., 485 Syvaelahti, E., 631 Szkodny, L., 669 Szuba, M. P., 676 Tabernero, C., 532 Tachibana, R., 698 Taheri, S., 148 Tai K 533 Tajfel, H., 498 Talarico, J. M., 296 Tallal, P., 337 Tallev. P. R., 656 Tamaki, M., 154 Tanapat, P., 112 Tandon, R., 628 Tang, C. Y., 648 Tang, Y., 348 Tang, Y. Y., 158 Tangney, J. P., 381, 638 Tanielian, T., 680 Tateyama, M., 629 Taylor, A. K., 7 Taylor, H. L., 461 Taylor, J., 95 Taylor, K., 110 Taylor, S., 590, 591 Taylor, S. E., 472, 473 Taylor, S. F., 482 Teasdale, J. D., 659 Tees, R. C., 332 Telang, F., 238 Tell, R. A., 678 Tellegen, A., 121, 405, 428, 550, 552 Teller, D. Y., 364 Temple, E., 337, 381 Tenesa, A., 347 Teri, L., 397 Terracciano, A., 574, 575 Tesch-Romer, C., 341 Tesser, A., 551 Teter, C. J., 163 Tetlock, P. E., 521 Teuber, H. L., 266 Tharmaphornpilas, P., 456 Tharp, G., 511 Thase, M. E., 660, 677, 680, 682, 701

Theriault, G., 460 Thisted, R. A., 431 Thiyagarajan, M., 149 Thoits, P. A., 475 Thomas, A., 391 Thomas, C., 645 Thomas, P. R., 159 Thompson, L., 145 Thompson, P., 190 Thompson, P. M., 163, 342, 344 Thompson, S. C., 34 Thompson, W. F., 367 Thompson-Brenner, H., 667 Thomson, B., 458, 461 Thomson, D. M., 282 Thöny, B., 472 Thorgeirsson, T.E., 51 Thorn, B., 215 Thornhill, R., 537 Thun. M., 465 Tian J 235 Tice, D., 475 Tickle, J. J., 256 Tidwell, M. C. O., 155 Tienari, P., 633 Tierney, S. C., 666 Tillmann B 25 Timmerman, T.A., 510 Ting, S., 34 Tipper, C. M., 135 Titus-Ernstoff, L. T., 256, 314, 314 Todd. A. R., 533 Todorov, A. T., 408, 526 Toguchi, Y., 592 Tohkura, Y. I., 332 Tollesfson, G. D., 86 Tolman, E. C., 250, 251 Tolson, J. M., 390 Tomasello, M., 332, 380 Tombs, S., 182 Tong, F., 139, 190 Tonkin, A. L., 699 Tononi, G., 154 Tooby, J., 22, 23 Torgerson, S., 637 Torrey, B. B., 633 Torrey, E. F., 633 Toth, S., 372 Totman. R., 452 Tourville, J. A., 132 Towers, D. N., 620 Towvim, L. G., 504 Tracy, J.L., 420, 588 Tranel, D., 95, 382, 408, 418 Treanor, J. J., 484 Treffert, D. A., 345 Tremblay, A., 460 Trentacoste, S. V., 643 Tressel, P. A., 163 Triandis, H., 591 Trivers, R. L., 514 Tronick, E. Z., 368 Tropp, L. R., 532 Truong, N. L., 695 Tryon, G. S., 657 Tryon, W. W., 657

Trzesniewski, K. H., 588 Tsai, L. H., 269, 293 Tsakanikos, E., 173 Tsao, F. M., 332 Tshibanda, L., 132 Tsien, J. Z., 269 Tucker, M., 150 Tuescher, O., 638 Tugade, M. M., 482 Tuholski, S. W., 344 Tulving, E., 279, 282, 285 Turcotte, K. D., 163 Turetsky, B. E., 396 Turk, C. L., 513 Turk J 360 Turkheimer, E., 550, 552 Turner, E. H., 678 Turner, G., 583 Turner, J. C., 497 Turner, R. B., 484 Tversky, A., 8, 69, 317, 318, 319 Twenge, J. M., 588 Tyler, C. W., 418 Tyrrell, D. A., 477, 486 Tzuang, G., 166 Ubel P A 485 Uchida, N., 235 Udd, M., 685 Udry, J. R., 107, 439 Uguz, F., 605 Uhlmann E 521 Ullman. M., 333 Umberson, D., 394 Unger, R. H., 458 Ungerleider, L. G., 184 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 512, 512 Updegraff, J. A., 472 Urberg, K. A., 390 Urrutia, M. S., 345 Usher, M., 620 Uttl, B., 287 Uvnas-Moberg, K., 487 Uzzi. B., 535 Vaccarino, F. J., 108 Vaccaro, D., 168 Vacic, V., 685 Vågerö, D., 342 Vaidya, J., 405, 428 Vaituzis, A. C., 110 Valdimaradottir, H., 477 Valentine, K. A., 537 Valiente, C., 392 Vallabha, G. K., 369 Vallières, A., 147 Vallone, R., 69 Valyear, K. F., 190 Van Bavel, J. J., 499 van Berckelaer-Onnes, I. A., 372 van Bockxmeer, F. M., 468 van den Munckhof, P., 677 van der Kolk, B. A., 618 Van der Oord, S., 694-95 Van de Water, J., 645 Van Gastel, A., 477

Vanhaudenhuyse, A., 132 Van Hulle, C. A., 553 van Ijzendoorn, M. H., 372 Vanilovich, I., 347 van Kamp, S., 532 van Knippenberg, A., 589 Van Lange, P. A. M., 540 Van Oost, B. A., 511 Van Paesschen W 286 Van Well, S., 471 Varejao, M., 695 Vargas-Reighley, R. V., 389 Vargha-Khadem, F., 286 Varner, J. L., 253 Vaughan, J. T., 138, 139 Vazire, S., 580, 581, 581, 588 Vázquez, A., 497 Vecsey, C. G., 269 Velasquez, I., 158 Venables, P., 640, 641 Verdi G 695 Verduyn, P., 4 Verhofstad, N., 361 Vernon, P. A., 345, 550 Vespa, J., 539 Viechtbauer, W., 571 Vieira. A., 583 Vieta, E., 685 Viki, G. T., 26 Vincent, J. D., 209 Vincent, J. E., 506 Vismara L 696 Vitiello, B., 696 Vitkup, D., 645 Vohs, K. D., 441, 519, 587, 588 Voils, C. I., 533 Volkmar, F., 643, 644 Volkow, N. D., 161, 167, 238, 434 Volkow, N. E., 168 Volz, K. G., 499 von Cramon, D., 194 von Cramon, D. Y., 499 von der Embse, N., 659 von Neumann, J., 317 Voon, V., 683, 683 Voracek, M., 367, 575 Vosshall, L. B., 209 Vredenburg, D.S., 590 Vygotsky, L., 378 Vytal, K., 410 Waber, D., 345 Wadden, T., 461 Wadden, T. A., 155 Wadsworth, M. E., 470 Wager, T. D., 482, 666 Wagner, A. D., 410 Wagner, A. R., 233 Wagner, C., 514 Wagner, D. D., 137, 426, 510 Wagner, M. T., 167 Waite, L. J., 394, 431 Waiter, G. D., 260 Walker, E. F., 632, 633, 672, 687 Walker, M. P., 144, 151 Walker, N., 164

Walker, R. L., 606

Wall, P. D., 214 Wall, S., 371, 372 Walsh T 632 Walster, E. H., 537, 538 Walters, E. E., 293, 602, 617 Walton, G. M., 350 Walton, K. E., 571 Waltrip, R. W., 633 Walts, B. M., 460 Wampold, B. E., 666 Wamsley, E. J., 150 Wang, C. S., 533 Wang, G. J., 161, 238 Wang, J. H., 158 Wang, L., 397 Wang, P. S., 602, 612, 614, 616, 618, 623, 668 Wang, P. W., 685 Wang, X., 499 Ward, A., 322 Warden, R., 638 Wardle, J., 460 Warren, J. R., 476 Warren, Z., 697, 698 Warrington, E., 277 Wassermann, E. M., 683 Watanabe M 698 Waters. E., 371, 372 Watkins, K. E., 286 Watson, D., 405, 428, 563 Watson, J. B., 237 Watson, J. M., 136 Watson, N. V., 107 Wattanapenpaiboon, N., 458 Watters, C., 343 Waugh, C. E., 482 Waxler, N. E., 628 Weaver, D., 140 Webb, T. L., 415 Weber, E. U., 417 Weber, M., 293 Wechsler, H., 504 Wegener, D. T., 523 Wegner, D., 414 Weidner, G., 478 Weinberg, W. A., 699 Weinberger, J. L., 570, 578 Weiner. B., 527 Weintraub, E.S., 646 Weisberg, R. W., 326 Weise-Kelly, L., 238 Weisnagel, S. J., 460 Weiss, A., 344, 552 Weissman, M. M., 616, 659, 701 Weitzman, E. R., 165 Welch, N., 417 Welham, J. L., 628 Wellard, R. M., 617 Weller, A., 372 Wells, G. L., 299 Wells, K., 700, 701 Wells, R. E., 322 Welte, J. W., 155 Werker, J. F., 332, 369 Wertz, A. E., 254 West, B. T., 163 West, S. G., 581 Westbrook, R. F., 230

Westen, D., 560, 667 Westernman, M., 396 Weston, T., 137 Weyandt, L. L., 163, 695 Whalen, C. K., 647 Whalen, P. J., 95, 408, 418, 536 Whalley, L. J., 347 Wheatley, T., 321, 383 Wheeler, D., 506 Wheeler, L., 514, 538 Wheelwright, S., 418 Whiskin, E. E., 436 Whitbeck, L. B., 392 White, A., 165 White, B. J., 516 White, C. M., 167 White, J. M., 167 White, J. W., 6 White, K., 322 White, N. S., 408 Whitelaw E 123 Whiteman, V., 360 Whiteside, S. P., 617 Whitney, C. G., 646 Whittle, S., 166 Wichmann, T., 87, 665 Wicker B 407 Wickett, J. C., 345 Widiger, T. A., 637, 638, 640 Widom, C. S., 640 Wiener, J., 343 Wierson M 385 Wiese, D., 405, 428 Wiesel, T. N., 110 Wigler, M., 644, 645 Wikramaratne, P., 701 Wilens, T. E., 694, 695 Wilfley, D. E., 464 Wilhelm, O., 275, 344 Wilke, M., 345 Willemsen, A. T., 627 Williams, C. L., 578 Williams, H. J., 632, 645 Williams, J. B. W., 614, 639 Williams, J. H. G., 260 Williams, J. M. G., 659 Williams, K., 502 Williams, R., 478 Williams, S. C., 125, 345 Williams, T. J., 587 Williams, W. A., 683 Wills, T. A., 168, 485 Wilson, A. E., 590, 591 Wilson, D. B., 6 Wilson, G. T., 464 Wilson, K., 466, 695 Wilson, M. A., 150 Wilson, T. D., 320, 321 Wilson, W., 162 Wilson-Mendenhall, C. D., 406 Winberg, J., 364 Winblad, B., 397

Winfield, I., 637 Winfield, R., 657 Winslow, J. T., 698 Winter, J. E., 458 Wise, B. M., 136 Wise, R. A., 252 Wiseman, R., 180 Wiste, A., 51 Witherby, S. A., 173 Witherspoon, D., 286 Witten, I. B., 235 Wittmann, W. W., 344 Wolpert, D. M., 211 Wolraich, M. L., 6 Wolsic, B., 537 Wood, D., 571, 572, 573 Wood, D. M., 167 Wood, J. M., 578 Wood, L. M., 343 Wood, M. A., 269 Wood, S. J., 617 Wood, W., 421 Woodruff, G., 380 Woods, S. W., 633, 675 Woodward, A. L., 380 Woodworth, K. A., 461 Woodworth, M., 639 Woody, E. Z., 156 World Health Organization, 458,465 Worley, H., 618 Woulbroun, E. J., 551 Wray, N. R., 624 Wright, C. I., 408, 615, 615 Wright, E. J., 132 Wright, L. W., 558 Wright, R. J., 479 Wright, S. C., 532 Wu, C., 536 Wu, H. Y., 149 Wu, J., 348, 360 Wu, M. N., 145 Wu, P., 466 Wurm, M., 478 Wvland, C. L., 585, 585 Wynn, K., 254 Wynne, L. C., 633 Xiao, J., 468 Xie. L., 149 Xu, F., 333 Xu, J., 454, 455, 456, 484 Xu, Q., 19 Xu, X., 499 Yaffe, R., 698 Yamada, A. M., 609 Yamagata, S., 550 Yamaguchi, S., 592 Yamamoto, B. K., 166-67 Yamrom, B., 645 Yang, J., 347 Yarkoni, T., 407

Yashima, Y., 698 Yates, D., 293 Yauk C 361 Yazar-Klosinski, B., 167 Yeo, R. A., 342, 345 Yeshurun, Y., 209 Yoo, S. S., 151 Yoon, P. W., 454 Yoon, S., 645, 685 Yoshikawa, S., 537 Yoshimura, K., 550 Young, A., 190 Young, A. W., 407 Young, K. L., 34 Young, L. J., 125, 698 Young, R. C., 539 Yuan, S., 380 Yucel, M., 166, 617 Yue, Z., 145 Yuille, J. C., 297 Yurak. T. J., 590 Yurgelun-Todd, D. A., 162 Zabetian, A., 457 Zagoory-Sharon, O., 372 Zahn-Waxler, C., 422, 514 Zaidan H 472 Zajonc, R., 417, 499, 519, 535 Zak, P. J., 487 Zaki, J., 407 Zametkin, A. J., 648 Zanarini, M. C., 638, 690 Zanna, M. P., 138, 532 Zatorre, R. J., 25, 252 Zautra, A. J., 470 Zavras, B. M., 163 Zebian, S., 56 Zeigler Hill, V., 588 Zeki, S., 439 Zervas, I. M., 682 Zha, W., 165 Zhang, F., 125 Zhang, J. X., 563 Zhang, T.Y., 552 Zheng, M., 12 Zhou, F., 646 Zibetti, M., 87 Zielinski, B. A., 102 Zihl, J., 194 Zimbardo, P., 500 Zimmermann, J., 573 Zink, C. F., 505 Ziv. N., 25 Zobel, A. W., 620 Zola-Morgan, S., 45 Zonderman, A., 396 Zorrilla, E. P., 435 Zubieta, J. K., 666 Zubin, J., 688 Zugen, C., 632 Zuo, X., 499 Zusman, R., 293

Subject Index

Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations.

Abelson, Robert, 313 absentmindedness 291-92 291 Abu Ghraib prison (Iraq), 500–501, 500 abuse. and development, 357-58 and memory, 300-301 and psychological disorders, 627, 638 self-, 638, 654, 690 substance, 658 see also addiction; specific substance acceptance, unconditional, 562, 657 accidental death, 455 accommodation, in relationships, 540-41 accommodation, in schemes, 374-75 accommodation, visual, 182 accuracy, and research methodology, 65 acetominophen, 215 acetylcholine (ACh), 85-86, 85, 86, 663, 680.687 and Alzheimer's, 396 achievement motivation, 429 Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), 165, 166, 477 acquisition, and learning, 250-51 action potential: and nervous system, 80-82, 81 and psychological disorders, 662 activation, and self-knowledge, 585, 585 see also spreading activation models activation-synthesis theory, 153-54 activity level, and temperament, 552-53 actor-observer discrepancy, 528 adaptation: and attachment, 366, 369, 369 and brain, 22-23, 360 characteristic, 570, 570 and culture, 23-24 and development, 360 and emotions, 416-22 and fear, 22–23 and genes, 15, 119 and harming and helping others, 514 and learning, 232 of mind. 22-23 and motivation, 427, 443 and personality, 554-55, 570 and psychological disorders, 613 and reproduction, 15, 22 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15 and self-knowledge, 590 and sensation, 178-79, 179 and sexual behavior, 443 and sleep as adaptive behavior, 148-51 and survival, 15, 23

and themes of psychological science, 15 see also brain, plasticity of Adderall, 163, 694, 695 addiction: to alcohol, 164-65 and behaviors affecting health, 466, 467 biology of, 167-69 to drugs, 167-69, 237-38 and genetics, 466 and learning, 235 adenosine, and sleep, 151 adjustment disorder, 617 Adler, Alfred, 560 adolescence. and biology, 384 changes during, 384-92, 384 depression in, 701 and identity, 385-90 and psychological disorders, 640, 645, 648, 693-702,701 and risk taking, 385 and stress, 385 see also puberty adolescent growth spurt, 384 adoption studies: and genetic basis of psychological science, 120 - 22and obesity, 460 and personality, 550-51 and psychological disorders, 607, 633, 641 adrenal glands, 470, 473-74 adrenaline, 86, 412 adulthood, meaning in, 393–99 advertising, use of "experts" in, 8 affect, see emotions affect-as-information theory, 417 affective disorders, 639 see also moods; psychological disorders affective forecasting, 320-21, 321 affective heuristic, 320-21 affiliation, 473, 535-38 and anxiety, 432 aftereffects, 195 afterimage, 186, 187 after-the-fact explanations, 9, 142-43, 143 age, aging, 396-99, 396, 688 and low BMI, 458 and personality, 569-70, 570, 571 and psychological disorders, 688, 692 age regression, 301 aggression: biological factors in, 510-11 definition of, 510 factors influencing, 510-13 and learning, 255, 255, 257-58

and personality, 565 and psychological disorders, 691 social and cultural aspects of, 512-13, 512, 513 see also violence agonists, 84-85, 85 agoraphobia, 614 agreeableness, 554, 563, 573-74 AIDS, see Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome Ainsworth, Mary D. Salter, 370-71 air pressure, and audition, 198–99 Albert B. (case study), 236, 237, 608 alcohol abuse of, 162, 164-65, 394, 475, 602, 608, 608, 609, 658, 660, 669 addiction to, 164-65 and aging, 396 and behaviors affecting health, 467, 489 and binge drinking, 164-65 and children, 165, 314 and consciousness, 164-65 and development, 360 and driving, 164 effects of. 36 and epigenetic tags, 123 and GABA, 164 and gender, 165, 165 and influence of neurotransmission, 87 and memory, 282-83 and sleep, 150 and tolerance, 238 treatment of problems with, 658 alcoholism, see alcohol, abuse of alertness, 565, 565 algorithm, 325 all-or-none principle, 82 Allport, Floyd, 19 Allport, Gordon, 549, 549, 563 Almond, Paul, 569 alpha waves, 146, 146 alternative treatments, 664-65, 682-83, 698 see also biological therapies altruism 514 Alvarez, Luis, 180 Alzheimer's disease, 86, 396, 396, 397 Ambady, Nalini, 526 ambivalent attachment, 372 American Association of Suicidology, 622 American Idol 10 American Psychiatric Association, 463, 603 American Psycho, 640 American Psychological Association, 671, 684 American Sign Language, 334, 335

American Speech-Hearing-Language Association, 202 Ames, Albert, 193–94 Ames boxes, 193-94, 194 amiable skepticism, 5-6 amnesia, 86, 292, 626 childhood, 296-97 retrograde, 626 source. 296-97 amphetamines, 161, 163, 166 amplitude, of sound waves, 198, 198 amputation, 112, 112, 211 amygdala, 618 and aggression, 511 and basic structure and functions of brain, 94-95, 95, 98 and emotions, 406, 407-8, 407, 408 and judging trustworthiness, 526 and memory, 293 and morality, 383 and motivation, 430 and personality, 554 and psychological disorders, 615, 615, 641 and sensation, 209 and sleep, 152, 153 and social influence, 505 and stereotypes, 533 analogical representations, 310, 311, 311 analogies, finding appropriate, 326 anal-retentive personalities, 560 anal stage, 559 analysis, see data, analysis and evaluation of; levels of analysis analytical intelligence, 343 anchoring, 318-19, 318, 319 versus framing, 319 Anderson, Norman, 535 androgens, 107, 387, 438, 444-45 anger, 484, 638, 661 see also hostility animals: communication of, 335-36, 335 olfactory capabilities of, 208 personality of, 554-55, 555 research on, 59-62, 61-62, 62, 110, 123, 123, 124, 125, 472, 645, 698 anonymity, 58 and bystander apathy, 515 anorexia nervosa, 463, 463, 464, 608, 608 antagonists, 84-85, 85 anterograde amnesia, 292, 292 anti-anxiety medications, 662, 673, 675, 691 antibodies, and autism spectrum disorder, 645 anticipatory coping, 480 anticonvulsive medications, 663, 685 antidepressant medications, 662, 677-80, 681,685 and placebo effect, 678 antipsychotic medications, 631, 632, 662-63, 686-88,688 antisocial personality disorders (APD), 608, 636, 637-41, 640, 689, 691-92, 692 anxiety, 604, 680 and addiction, 165 and affiliation, 432 and behaviors affecting health, 461, 462, 466,484

and conformity, 505 and culture, 661 death. 587 and health, 484 and immune system, 477 and influence of neurotransmission, 87 and inhibition. 615 and insomnia 147 and interpersonal relations, 421 and learning, 236-37, 247 and motivation, 431-32, 432 and personality, 556 and psychological disorders, 19, 602, 604, 605, 612-15, 615, 638 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 and self-knowledge, 587 separation, 370 social, 587 treatment for, 658, 664, 672-75 anxious attachment, 372 anxious/resistant attachment 372 aphagia, 434 aphasia, 330-31 aplysia, 224-25, 224, 268 applied behavioral analysis (ABA), 696, 697, 697 appraisals: and coping, 480 reflected, 586-87 Apted, Michael, 569 aptitude, 338-39 argument, 523-24 Aristotle 12 600 Armstrong, Lance, 108, 108 Aronson, Eliot, 518, 522 arousal: of emotions, 405, 405, 411-15 and influence of neurotransmission, 86 and motivation, 425, 426, 440 and personality traits, 565, 565 and psychological disorders, 612, 640, 691.694 and sleep, 146 and themes of psychological science, 21 Asch, Solomon, 19, 503-5, 503 As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised as a Girl (Colapinto), 388 Asperger's syndrome, 643 assessment: and clinical interview, 605-6 definition of. 605 evidence-based, 606 of personality, 577-82 of psychological disorders, 603-5, 603, 605-6,606 assimilation, 374 association of events, 233 loosening of, 630 association networks, 281-82, 281 Ativan, 662 Atkinson, Richard, 272, 272 attachment, 366-72, 368, 538 definition of, 366 attention: and conscious awareness, 133-37 and intelligence, 345 joint, 333

overselectivity of, 696 and psychological disorders, 602, 690, 696, 697 697 selective, 134-35 and technology in the classroom, 136-37, 136 see also focusing attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), 608, 642, 643, 647-48, 648, 694-96.695 attention span, 612 attitudes accessibility of, 520 and behavior, 519-24 change in, 522 definition of, 519 and emotions, 484 formation of, 519-24 and health, 483-90 and social psychology, 519-24 attributional dimensions, 527 attributions, 527-28, 540-41, 621 atypical antipsychotic medications, 663, 687 audition 198 see also hearing auditory cortex, 199 auditory hallucinations, 630, 688 auditory information, see hearing auditory localization, 201 auditory nerve, 199 auditory processing, and levels of analysis, 25 authority, 19, 506-8, 508 autism spectrum disorder (ASD), 346, 346, 372, 642, 643-47, 644, 645, 656, 694, 696-99,696 and antibodies. 645 and brain, 645 and IQ, 697, 699 and mirror neurons, 645 and schizophrenia, 645 and vaccinations, 646-47, 646 autokinetic effect, 502-3 automatic processing, 134, 134 autonomic arousal, and polygraph tests, 409-10.409 autonomic nervous system (ANS), 77, 104 - 6,612and emotions, 406, 411 autoreception, 84 autoshaping, 243 availability heuristic, 320, 320 averaging, 55 avoidant attachment, 371 avoidant personality disorder, 636 awareness: and psychological disorders, 625-28 self-, 500-501, 584 and stereotypes, 532 and study of consciousness, 140 and treatment of psychological disorders, 673 see also autism spectrum disorder; consciousness axons and basic structure and functions of brain, 96 definition of, 78-79 and development of brain, 110

and nervous system, 78, 79, 81 and sensation, 183, 212 Azelea, Iggy, 528

babbling, 332, 654 Baby Einstein rocking chair, 367 Back, Kurt, 535 Baillargeon, Renée, 378 balance, 199 Bale, Christian, 640 Banaji, Mahzarin, 521 Bandura, Albert, 255, 255, 429, 561 Bard, Philip, 411 Barger, Albert, 236 Bargh, John, 138 Barlow, David, 667, 675 Barnum, P. T., 99 Bartlett, Frederic, 280 Bartoshuk, Linda, 205, 205 basal ganglia, 94, 95, 95, 648 base rate 320 basic tendencies, 570, 570 basilar membrane, 199 Batson, Daniel, 513 Baumeister, Roy, 159, 421-22, 431, 441, 587 Bayer Aspirin Company, 162, 162 B cells, 476 Beautiful Mind, A, 628 Beck, Aaron T., 19, 621, 659, 659, 680 Beckham, David, 256, 256 bedwetting, 643 behavior. affecting physical health, 453-57 and attitudes, 519-24 and biology, 75-125 crowd, 501 and culture, 23-24 and death. 454-55 definition of. 5 deviant, 500 disorganized and inappropriate, 631 and genetics/genes, 22, 120-22, 460, 466 groups' influence on individual, 499-502 influence of neurotransmission on, 84-88 interpreting of, 142-43, 143 as learned, 659 and mind. 20 and motivation, 423-49 and operant conditioning, 239-53 and personality, 580, 580 and psychological disorders, 19, 612, 615-17, 628, 631, 633, 643 purpose of, 14-15 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 and scripts, 314-15 situations as shaping, 19 and social factors, 20 and study of consciousness, 137-38 and themes of psychological science, 5, 22, 24thin slices of, 526 and thought/thinking, 18 unconscious processing as influence on, 137-38 see also behavioral approach system; behavioral genetics; behavioral inhibition system; behavioral therapy; behaviorism;

behavior modification; cognitivebehavioral therapy; dialectical behavior therapy; emotions; learning; motivation; rewards; social psychology; specific psychological disorders; types of behavior behavioral approach system (BAS), 556, 566 behavioral genetics, 120-22, 125, 444-45 behavioral inhibition system (BIS), 566, 566 behavioral therapy: and choosing a practitioner, 668-70, 670 and treatment of psychological disorders, 19, 658-60, 676, 690, 691, 696, 697 see also cognitive-behavioral therapy behaviorism: definition of. 17 and development, 368 founding of, 223 influence of, 223 and learning, 250-51 and personality, 560, 562 and psychological disorders, 608, 656 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17 - 18Behaviorism (Watson), 241 behavior modification, 245-50, 249, 656, 658, 696 definition of. 249 and exercise, 248-49, 249 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17 - 18, 19being heard, 533, 533 Békésy, Georg von, 201 beliefs: and development, 387, 388 and identity, 387, 388 and memory, 287, 295 and personality, 561, 562 and treatment of psychological disorders. 659 Belmont Report, 60 Bem, Daryl, 180 Benjet, Corina, 248 benzodiazepines, 87, 162, 662 Berschied, Ellen, 538 beta waves, 146, 146 better-than-average effect, 589 Bever, Tom, 335, 379, 379 Beyond Freedom and Dignity (Skinner), 18 bias: attributional, 527-28 confirmation, 299, 299 correspondence, 527 and critical thinking, 6 in decision making, 317-31 heuristic, 9 ingroup-outgroup, 530 and memory, 295, 297 observer, 46-47, 47 optimism, 455 and psychological reasoning, 6-10 and research methodology, 46-47, 678 response, 178, 178 selection, 55 self-serving, 9, 590-91 and sensation, 178, 178 Bickerton, Derek, 335 bicultural identity, 389-90

Big Bang Theory, 221-22, 221, 239, 242, 343 Big Five, 563–64, 563, 570, 573, 577, 578, 580, 604 637 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 27, 456 Binet, Alfred, 339, 339, 341 Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale, 339 binge drinking, 164-65 and social norms marketing, 504 binge eating, 462, 463-64, 464 bin Laden, Osama, 296 binocular convergence, 192, 192 binocular depth cues, 191, 193 binocular disparity, 191-92, 192 biological needs, 242, 425, 428, 434 biological psychology, 26 biological revolution, 21-22, 21 biological rhythms, 620 biological therapies: and brain stimulation, 665, 676-77, 683-84, 683 686 limitation of. 655 and magnetic fields, 664 and pseudotherapies, 665 and psychosurgery, 664, 667-68, 676, 686 and treatment of psychological disorders, 655,664-65,698 see also alternative treatments biological trait theory, 564-65, 564 hiology of addiction, 167-69 and adolescence, 384 and aggression, 510-12 and behavior. 75-125 constraints of, 250, 250 and culture, 385–90 and development, 384-92 and gender, 388–89 and identity, 385-90 and learning, 250-51, 252-53 and motivation, 444-45 and operant conditioning, 250-51 of personality, 549, 570 and psychological disorders, 19-20, 86-87, 606-7, 607, 612, 615, 619-21, 644-45 and psychopathology, 601 and schizophrenia, 631-33 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 - 20and sexual behavior, 438-40, 439, 444-45 and stress, 470-72 see also brain; genetics/genes; specific parts of brain biopsychosocial approach, 453-54, 453 bipolar disorder, 599-600, 608, 608, 621-24, 663, 684, 686 and genetics, 624, 685 bipolar I disorder, 621, 622, 623 bipolar II disorder, 621, 622, 623 blank slate, mind as, 223 blind spots, 183, 183, 184 Block, Jack, 167 blocking, 291 blocking effect, 233-34 blushing, 422 Bobo doll study, 255, 255, 256-57 body, see mind-body problem body language, 525-26, 526

body maps of emotion, 406 body mass index (BMI), 457-58, 457 as predictor of health, 457 body shape index, 458 body weight, as socially contagious, 460, 460 Boggs, Wade, 243 Bolles, Robert, 250 Bonanno, George, 415 Booker, Cory, 495-96, 495, 510, 513, 527 borderline personality disorder, 636, 637-39, 638, 657, 689, 690-91 Boston Marathon bombings, 296, 296, 454 Botox, 85-86, 85 bottom-up processing, 175, 191 botulism 85 Bouchard, Claude, 460 Bouchard, Thomas, 550 Bowlby, John, 368, 370 brain: adaptation of, 22, 360 and aging, 396, 397 and autism spectrum disorder, 645 basic structure and functions of, 89-103, 99, 101, 345 bilateral structure of, 111 computer analogy of, 18 critical periods for, 110 and deep brain stimulation, 87 development of, 109-13, 359-60, 380-81 division of, 100-103, 101 and eating, 360, 434 and emotions, 382-83, 405, 406-8 and environment, 95 evolution of, 22-23 and exercise, 467 and finding patterns, 6-7 and "fire together, wire together" theory, 111 and gender, 110-11, 111, 387-88 and group membership, 497, 497, 498-99 hemisphere specialization in, 102 information-processing theories about, 18 injuries to, 25, 44-45, 98-100, 111, 112-13, 139-41, 152, 265-66, 286, 293 and intelligence, 343-46 and language, 101, 111, 111, 330-31, 331, 332,334 and learning, 95, 111-12, 236, 252-53, 380-81 and learning disabilities, 114 and levels of analysis, 25, 25 localization of function in. 21 and malnutrition, 360 and meditation, 157-58, 158 and memory, 265-66, 268-71, 268, 277, 287-88, 293, 397 and mind, 5, 12-13, 18 and motivation, 434, 438, 443, 445 neonatal. 634 and neuron integration into communication systems, 104-8 and obesity, 460 and perception, 175, 190, 194-95 and personality, 98-99, 99, 554 plasticity of, 109-10, 110, 111-12, 113, 359 and psychological disorders, 607, 612, 615, 615, 620, 632-33, 640-41, 645, 648, 662, 664-65, 673, 676, 680, 681, 683-84, 686, 698

and psychophysiological assessment, 90-91 and research methodology, 44-45, 90-92 and restrained eaters, 462 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 and self-knowledge, 585, 585 and sensation, 175, 176, 198, 204-5, 212-13 and sexual behavior, 445 and situations 19 size of, 345, 645 and sleep, 144-54, 146 and smell, 208–9 and spatial relationships, 110 specialization in, 90 and speech production, 90 speed of mental processing in, 343-44 and spinal cord, 89 stimulation of, 665, 665, 676-77, 683-84, 683 and stress, 471 and study of consciousness, 138-41, 139 and teen years, 385 and treatment of psychological disorders, 19, 662, 664-65, 673, 676, 680, 681, 683-84, 686, 694, 698 and visual receptors, 182-85 see also neurons; neurotransmission; specific parts and functions of brain brain connectivity, 12 brain death, 141, 141 brain imaging, 76 and basic structure and functions of brain, 91 - 92and brain death, 141, 141 and brain injury, 140-41, 141 and brain size, 345 and coma, 132, 132 and development, 381 and hallucinations, 630 and hypnosis, 156-57 and learning, 238 and locked-in syndrome, 132 and memory, 278 and morality, 381-82 and OCD, 617 and pain. 215 and passionate love, 538 and perception, 191 and personality traits, 564 and physical attractiveness, 536 and placebo effect, 666 and psychological disorders, 607, 615, 615, 617, 648, 673, 676 and research methodology, 91–92, 91, 92 and schizophrenia, 632 and self-knowledge, 585, 585 and sensory deprivation neglect, 360 and sleep, 152, 154 and social conformity, 505 and stress, 482 and synesthesia, 173-74 see also functional magnetic resonance imaging brain stem, 92-93, 93, 94, 95, 146, 153 Brand, Russell, 599 Breland, Keller, 250 Breland, Marian, 250 Breuer, Josef, 656

brightness, 187-88, 188 Broadbent, Donald, 134-35 broaden-and-build theory, 482 Broca, Paul, 90, 90 Broca's area, 90, 90, 331, 331 Brown, B. Bradford, 391 Brown, Jonathan, 590 Brown, Roger, 291, 295, 333 buffering hypothesis, 485 bulimia nervosa, 462, 464, 660 bullies 588 bupropion (Wellbutrin), 680 Buss, Arnold, 552-53 Buss, David, 442 bystander apathy, 514-16, 515 bystander intervention effect, 515, 515 Cade, John, 685 caffeine, 161, 237, 238 and sleep, 150-51 Cairns, Beverly, 391 Cairns, Robert, 391 California Q-sort, 579, 579 Calkins, Mary Whiton, 15, 15 cancer, 166, 602 candle problem, 325, 325, 326 Cannon, Walter B., 411, 425, 472 Cannon-Bard theory of emotion, 411, 412 Capecci, Mario, 125 car accident study, 297, 298 caregivers, caregiving: and infant development, 366-68, 368 and personality, 572 and psychological disorders, 639 see also attachment; parent/child relationship; parenting, style of; parents careers, 27-29, 29 Carrey, Jim, 271 Carstensen, Laura, 397 case studies: and memory, 265-66, 276-77 and research methodology, 44-45, 44 Caspi, Avshalom, 122-23 Cast Away, 431 castration. 107 catatonic behavior, and schizophrenia, 631 categorical approach, 604 categorization: definition of, 311, 312 of psychological disorders, 603–5, 603 and stereotypes, 528-30 and thought/thinking, 311-12 Cattell, Raymond, 341, 342, 563 caudate, 617, 677 causal connection, establishing of, 51 causality: establishing of, 51, 53 and research methodology, 50, 51-53, 51 Ceci, Stephen, 348 cell bodies, 78, 79 cell phone use: while driving, 33-34, 34, 35-41 versus intoxication, while driving, 36 cells: and genetic basis of psychological science, 116.116

see also type of cells

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 454, 465, 646 central nervous system (CNS), 76-77, 77, 104, 211,607,694 central tendency, 65-66 central traits, 577 centration, 376 cerebellum 93.94 cerebral cortex, and basic structure and functions of brain, 93, 93, 94, 95, 96-100, 96 see also left hemisphere; right hemisphere Chabris, Christopher, 367 "change blindness" phenomenon, 135–36, 136 characteristic adaptations, 570, 570 cheating, 22-23, 421 Cherry, E. C., 134 Chess, Stella, 391 childhood amnesia, 296-97 children, 357-72 and cigarettes and alcohol, 314 decision to have, 395, 395 and life transitions, 395 and psychological disorders, 615, 615, 617, 633, 642-48, 642, 692, 693-702 see also adolescence; development, human; parent/child relationship; parenting, style of chimpanzee, Nim Chimpsky, 335-36 chlorpromazine, 686-87 choice, and multiple options, 321, 321 Chomsky, Noam, 334, 335 Chow, Liang, 403 chromosomes, 115, 116, 119, 119 chronic pulmonary disease, 478 chunking, 275, 275, 277, 280 Cialdini, Robert, 319, 505, 514 cigarettes, see smoking cigarettes, electronic, 466, 467 circadian rhythms, 144-45, 145, 149 circumplex model, 405, 405 clang associations, 630-31 classical conditioning, 226, 226, 285 and attitudes, 520 definition of, 227-28, 227, 228 and emotions, 407 and learning, 226-28, 235-38, 237, 239-41 and memory, 286-87 and motivation, 169 operant conditioning as different than, 239 - 41and psychological disorders, 608, 658, 660 cleanliness, and roommates (college), 582-83.583 Cleckley, Hervey, 639, 640 client-centered therapy, 657-58 client-practitioner relationship, 691 clinical interview, 605-6 clinical psychologists, 668 clinical psychology, 27 Clinton, Bill, 59, 501 Clinton, Hillary, 313 cliques, 390-91, 391 clomipramine, 676, 676 Clore, Gerald, 417 closure, 189, 190 in visual perception, 189 clozapine, 663, 687, 687

clustering of visual elements, 189 cocaine, 161, 163-64, 238 and Coca-Cola, 163-64, 164 cochlea, 199, 200 cochlear implants, 202-3, 203 cocktail party phenomenon, 134, 584 codeine, 162 coding, see encoding cognition and adulthood, 393 and aging, 397-99 definition of, 310 and development, 334-35, 357-72, 374-79 and emotions, 404, 417-18 and exercise, 467 information-processing theories of, 18 innate, 379 and intelligence, 343-46 and language, 331, 334-35 and learning, 232–35, 250–51 and moral values. 381 and operant conditioning, 250-51 and personality, 557, 560-61 Piaget's stages of development for, 374-79, 375 and psychological disorders, 19, 612, 614, 614, 619-21, 621, 628 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 and sleep 149 and social and cultural context, 377-78 and social psychology, 521-22 and treatment of psychological disorders, 688.699 see also cognitive-behavioral therapy; cognitive dissonance; cognitive restructuring; cognitive therapy; decision making; problem solving; representations, mental; schemas; thought/thinking cognitions, hot/cold, 430 Cognitive-Affective Personality System (CAPS), 561, 561 cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT): and sleep, 147 and treatment of psychological disorders, 19,608,658-60,673-76,680-81,681,686, 688,700 cognitive dissonance, 521-22, 522 cognitive maps, 250 cognitive neuroscience, 18, 19 cognitive perspective, 233 cognitive psychology, 26 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 cognitive restructuring, 659, 659 cognitive-social theories, of personality, 561 cognitive therapy, and treatment of psychological disorders, 19, 658-60, 672-75, 690, 691 see also cognitive-behavioral therapy cognitive triad, 621, 621 Cohen, Sheldon, 477 Colapinto, John, 388 collective self, 591-92, 593 College Board Examination Survey, 589 Collins, Allan, 281 color, 183, 185-88, 186, 187 color blindness, 186, 186 color constancy, 196

coma, 132, 132, 140 see also persistent vegetative state common factors 666 common sense, 13, 13 communication: and adaptation, 23 of animals, 335-36 and autism spectrum disorder, 644 and basic structure and functions of brain, 96 and nervous system, 77-79 neuron integration into systems of, 104-8 and psychological disorders, 642, 643, 696 697 and specialization of neurons, 77-79 and themes of psychological science, 23 see also language; speech comorbidity, 604, 604, 606, 613, 613, 662 companionate love, 538, 538 competetion, cooperation versus, 517 compliance, 505-6, 507 compulsions, 616 see also obsessive-compulsive disorder computers: brain as analogous to, 18 and memory, 267, 267, 275 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 concepts: definition of, 312 as symbolic representations, 311-12 Concerta, 694 concordance rates, 620, 644, 648 concrete operational stage, 375, 376-77 conditioned response (CR), 227, 228, 229, 230, 234,234,675 conditioned stimulus (CS), 227, 228, 229-35, 229, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 242 conditioned taste aversion, 231-32, 231 conditioning, 228, 228 and attitudes, 520 and choosing a practitioner, 670 and emotions, 407 and psychological disorders, 608, 616, 617 second-order, 230 see also classical conditioning; operant conditioning conditioning trials, 227 conduct disorder, 692 cones, 182-83, 184, 185, 186-87, 365 confidentiality, 58, 61 confirmation bias, 7, 299, 299, 409-10, 409 conflict, 539 and romantic relationships, 539, 541 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17 conformity, 502-5, 502, 503, 507 confounds, 53 Confucius, 12, 12 conscience, 558 conscientiousness, 554, 563, 564, 565, 573-74 consciousness, 132-43 and alcohol, 164-65 altered. 155-69 and attention, 133-37 and brain activity, 132, 133, 138-41 definitions of, 133 and drugs, 160-69 and escapism, 159, 159

consciousness (cont.) and flow, 159 and hypnosis, 155-57, 155 and immersion in action/activities, 158-59 levels of. 571 and meditation, 157-58, 157 and memory, 286 and neural responses in the brain, 139, 139 and personality, 557, 557 and psychological disorders, 608, 617, 628 and scientific foundations of psychology, 14,17 sleep as altered state of, 145-48 and split brain, 100-103, 103, 143 study of, 131-69, 132, 133 conscious strategies, in problem solving, 325 consolidation, and memory, 267 constraint, 565 construct validity, 63, 63 contact comfort, 369 context-dependent memory, 282, 283 contexts, and emotions, 418, 418 contiguity, and learning, 229, 231 continuation, good, 189, 189 continuity, in visual perception, 189 continuous reinforcement, 245 control. 34, 427, 695 in establishing causality, 53 and research methodology, 52 see also locus of control; self-regulation control group, 52 controlled processing, 134, 134 convenience sampling, 54, 55 conventional morals, 381 convergence, binocular, 192, 192 cooperation, 516-18, 516, 517 competition versus, 517 coping: and appraisals, 480 and behaviors affecting health, 488 and individual differences, 481-82 as process, 480-82 and psychological disorders, 606, 690, 696 with stress, 469-74, 488-89 types of, 480-82 coping response, 469 cornea, 182 corpus callosum, 96, 96, 100, 101, 111 correlation, direction of, 49, 49 correlational studies: and ethics, 51 and prediction, 51 and research methodology, 48-51, 48, 67-68.67 and trauma, 51 correlation coefficient, 67, 67 correspondence bias, 527 cortex: and basic structure and functions of brain.96 and development of brain, 112-13 reorganization of, 112, 112 specialization of, 99 see also specific cortexes cortical maps, 112 cortisol, 470-71, 474, 479 Costa, Paul, 570, 570

counseling psychologists, 27, 668 Craik, Fergus, 279 cramming, and memory, 302 creation of positive events, 481 creative intelligence, 343 creativity: definition of, 427 and motivation, 427 creole, 335, 335 criminals: and psychological disorders, 628, 639, 640, 691,692 self-esteem of, 588 critical periods, 110, 359 critical thinking, see thought/thinking, critical Crocker, Jennifer, 590 cross-cultural studies, 56 cross-sensory experience, see synesthesia crowd behavior, 501 Crowe, Russell, 628 cryptomnesia, 297, 297 crystallized intelligence, 341-42, 345, 347, 398 Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly, 159 Cuban, Mark, 532 cultural psychology, 27 cultural syndromes, 609, 610 culture: and adaptation, 23-24 and aging, 396 and anxiety, 661 and behavior, 23-24, 24 and biology, 385-90 and cognitive strategies, 377-78, 377 and depressive disorders, 618, 661 and development, 332, 334, 335, 358, 362-63, 363, 381, 385-90 East-West, 23-24, 189 and eating, 436-37, 436, 437 and emotions, 419-20, 419, 661 and euphemisms, 661 evolution of, 23-24 and gender, 388 and harming and helping others, 512-13.512 and identity, 385-90 and impressions, 528 and intelligence, 349 and language, 335 and levels of analysis, 24-26 and memory, 280, 281 and motivation, 436–37, 441–43 and nature/nurture debate, 12 and obesity, 461, 461 and perception, 189 and personality, 563, 571, 571, 573-75, 574 and psychological disorders, 602, 607, 607, 609, 628, 629, 661-62, 661, 688 and psychotherapy, 661-62, 661 and research methodology, 46-47, 56, 56 and scripts, 314 and self-knowledge, 587, 591-93, 593 and self-serving bias, 591-93, 592, 593 and sexual behavior, 441-43 and stress, 661 and themes of psychological science, 23 - 24.24and women working, 24

culture of honor, 512 curiosity, 427 "daily hassles" stress, 470 Damasio, Antonio, 417-18 Darley, John, 515 Darwin, Charles, 15, 15, 229, 240, 418, 419, 422, 572 Darwin, Erasmus, 15 Darwinism, 15 see also evolution data analysis and evaluation of, 63-68 analyzing of, 39, 40 and research methodology, 40, 63-68 see also romantic relationships deafness, 202-3, 203 Deary, Ian, 344 death: and accidents, 455 and behavior, 454-55 and lifestyle, 455 and psychological disorders, 618, 672 and smoking, 465-67 see also suicide death anxiety, 587 debriefing, 59, 61 deception, 59, 61 decision making: bias in, 317-31 and emotions, 320-21, 381, 417 group, 501-2 and heuristics. 316-21, 417 and intelligence, 344 and levels of analysis, 25 and life transitions, 395 and moods, 417 overview about, 316 and problem solving, 316-27, 316 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18.20 declarative memory, 286 deep brain stimulation (DBS), 87, 665, 665, 676-77.683-84.683 deep structure. 334 defense mechanisms, 558, 558 dehumanizing, of outgroups, 499 deindividuation, 500-501, 501 delayed gratification, 430, 430 delta waves, 146, 146 delusions, 628, 629, 629, 663, 686, 687 of grandeur, 629 of harassment, 629 dementia, 396-97 dementia praecox, 603 demonic possession, 601, 601 demonstration, teaching through, 256 dendrites, 78, 79, 81 dependence, 167-69, 636, 637, 639 dependent personality disorder, 636 dependent variables (DV), 43, 52-53 depolarization, 81 depressants, 161, 162 depression, 604 and adolescence, 699-702, 699 and aging, 397 and behaviors affecting health, 461, 462, 467

causes of, 619-21, 621 and culture, 661 definition of, 677 and gender, 684 and heart disease, 478 major, 618 and mood, 405 and nervous system, 86 as psychological disorder, 602, 605, 613, 618-21,638 and race/ethnicity, 684, 699 and reproduction, 684 and sexual behavior, 680 and sleep, 149 and stereotypes, 684 treatment for, 656, 659, 662, 664, 665, 677-84,699-702 and violence, 684 see also bipolar disorder; moods depressive disorders, 618–19 and culture 618 and gender, 619 persistent, 619 and situations, 620 see also depression depth perception, 191-93, 194 Descartes, René, 13, 13, 133 Descartes' Error (Damasio), 417 description, 34 descriptive decision theories, 317 descriptive statistics, 65-67, 66 descriptive studies, and research methodology, 44-48.44 desensitization, systematic, 673 development, human, 357-99 and adaptation, 360 and attachment, 366-72, 368 and biology, 384-92 and brain, 334, 359-60, 380-81 and cognition, 334-35, 358, 374-79 and culture, 332, 334, 335, 358, 362-63, 363, 381, 385-90 and dynamic systems theory, 363, 363 and environment, 334, 358, 360, 362-63, 363.365 Erikson's eight stages of, 386, 386 and gender, 384-85 and genetics, 358, 360 and how children learn about world, 374-83 and identity, 385–90 and isolation, 357-58 and learning, 374–83 and meaning in adulthood, 393-99 and memory, 365 overview about, 357-58 parents' role in, 372, 382, 390, 391-92 and perception, 364-65, 378-79 and personality, 553-54, 559-60 Piaget's stages of, 374-79 prenatal, 359-61 and psychological disorders, 642-48, 642, 654.692 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 and sensitive periods, 359-60 and sensory information, 364-65, 375-76 see also children; psychosexual stages; type of development

developmental psychology, 26-27 definition of, 358 Devine, Patricia, 532-33 D.F. (case study), 184-85, 190 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), 463, 464, 603-4, 603, 604-5, 607, 609, 613, 615-16, 617, 618, 626, 628, 629, 636, 637, 638, 639, 639, 640, 642, 642, 643, 647, 668, 675, 684, 684, 699 dialectical behavior therapy (DBT), 690-91, 690 diathesis 606 606 diathesis-stress model, 606, 606, 607 Dickinson, Emily, 600 Diener, Ed, 484 diet, restrictive, 461-62 difference threshold, 177-78 digital media, 3-4,3 Dijksterhuis, Ap, 138 dimensional approach, 604 Dion, Karen, 537 direction of correlation, 49, 49, 50 discrimination, 230-31, 517-18, 530, 590, 661 in learning, 244 disease: and emotions, 484 and exercise, 467 and genetics/genes, 119 disgust, 381 dishabituation, 224 Disney, 367 disordered eating, 462-64, 463 disorganized behavior, 631 disorganized speech, 628, 630-31 display rules, 420-21 dissociative amnesia, 626 dissociative disorders, 625-28 dissociative fugue, 626 dissociative identity disorder (DID), 626-28, 627 *see also* multiple personality disorder dissonance: and attitudes, 521-23, 531 postdecisional, 522 see also cognitive dissonance distance perception, 193 distortion, of memory, 266, 295-303 distraction, 430, 430 in control of emotions, 415 and pain, 214-15 distress (duress), 469-70 distrust. see trust divorce, 486, 539 Dix, Dorothea, 601 DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), 61, 115, 116, 119, 123, 549, 551, 632, 644 Doctors Without Borders, 510, 510 dogbane, 686, 687 domains of functioning, 604-5 dominance, and emotions, 420 Doogie mice, 269, 269 door-in-the-face effect, 506 dopamine, 238, 688 and addiction, 161, 163, 167 and basic structure and functions of brain, 95 definition of, 87 and emotions, 405 functions of, 86, 87 and influence of neurotransmission, 87

and learning, 252-53 and motivation, 439 and personality, 552 and prediction error, 234-35, 235 and psychological disorders, 632 and rewards, 252-53, 252 and sexual behavior, 439 and smoking, 466 and treatment of psychological disorders, 662,663,694 Dorr, Richard, 445 dorsal stream, 179, 183 double standard, 441 Douglas, Gabrielle "Gabby," 403-4, 404, 423, 426 427 428 downward comparisons, 481 dreams. and behavioral study of learning, 223 content of, 152 definition of, 152 and influence of neurotransmission. 86 and latent content, 152 and manifest content, 152 meaning of, 152-53 and motor cortex, 153 and prefrontal cortex, 153 and psychological disorders, 656, 657 remembering, 152, 154 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17 and sleep, 146, 152-54 drive reduction, and homeostasis, 425-26, 425 drives, 424-26, 425, 656, 692 see also specific drives driving: cell phone use during, 33-34, 34 cell phone use versus alcohol use and, 36 drug companies, studies sponsored by, 678-79, 679 drugs: abuse of, 602, 608, 633, 658, 669 addiction to, 167-69, 237-38 and children, 168 as consciousness-altering, 160-69 and development, 359, 360 and influence of neurotransmission, 84, 86-87, 86, 87 and memory, 265, 270, 293 and pharmaceutical industry research, 678 prescribing, 668, 671 "recreational," 161-67 and sexual behavior, 439-40 and suicide, 622 see also medications; pharmacology; specific drugs DSM, see Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders dualism, 13, 133 Duncker, Karl, 325 Dunlap, Knight, 418 duress (distress), 469-70 dynamic systems theory, 363, 363 dysgraphia, 114 dyslexia, 114, 114, 337 dysthymia, 619

EAR (electronically activated record), 579–80 eardrums, 199, 200

early infantile autism, 643 ears. 200 eating and behaviors affecting health, 457-64, 488 and brain 360 and influence of neurotransmission, 86 and internal sensations, 435 and learning, 435-36 and motivation, 434-37, 436 and portion size, 460 and psychological disorders, 658 restrained, 462 and variety of food, 459-60, 459 see also obesity; taste Ebbinghaus, Hermann, 289–90 eccentricity, 608 echoic memory, 273 echolalia, 631, 644, 697 ecstasy, 166-67, 167 education, and learning disabilities, 114 Egas Moniz, António, 100, 664, 686 ego, 558 egocentrism, in child development, 376, 377 Einstein, Albert, 340 ejaculation, 384 Ekman, Paul, 419, 419 elaboration likelihood model, 523-24, 524 elaborative rehearsal, 279 electrical stimulation, 664 electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), 664-65, 664.682 electroencephalogram (EEG), 91, 91, 145-46.146 and psychological disorders, 640 electronically activated record (EAR), 579-80 electronic cigarettes, 466, 467 electrophysiology, 91 electroshock therapy, 690 Elgort, Ansel, 538 Ellis, Albert, 19, 659 embarrassment, 381, 421, 422, 422, 523 embryo, 359, 359, 360 emotion, body maps of, 406 emotional anxiety disorder, 673 emotional expression, as nonverbal communication, 421, 421 emotional intelligence (EI), 343 emotionality, 553 emotional stability, 565 emotion-focused coping, 480-81, 480 emotions: activation of, 405 and adaptation, 416-22 and aging, 397 and amygdala, 95, 95 arousal of, 405, 405, 411-15 and attitudes, 484 and brain, 94, 95, 382-83, 405, 406-8 and cognition, 404, 417-18 components of, 404-15 and contexts, 418, 418 controlling of, 414-15, 415 and culture, 661 and decision making, 320-21, 381, 417 definition of, 404 and development, 366 and disease, 484

and environment, 412 and gender, 420-21 and health, 414-15, 484 how people experience, 404–15 influence of neurotransmission on, 84-88 and interpersonal relations, 421-22 and learning, 247 and levels of analysis, 25 and limbic system, 406-8 and memory, 293, 296, 298, 408 misattribution of source of, 412-15 and moods, 404-5, 417, 421 and moral values, 381 and motivation 403-45 negative, 381, 484, 609 negative, and aggression, 510 overview about, 403-4 and perception, 406 and personality, 561, 565 positive, 484 and pride expressions, 420, 420 and psychological disorders, 609, 612-24, 633, 638, 639, 659, 661, 673, 690 and sensory system, 209, 407 and sleep, 152, 154 strategies for controlling of, 414-15 and survival, 416, 421, 422 types of, 405, 405 valence of, 405, 405 see also moods; stress; specific emotions empathic therapy, 657 empathy, 98, 259, 259, 382, 514, 575, 639-41.657 encoding: and descriptive research, 45 frequency, 199-202 in observational studies, 45 encoding specificity principle, 282 Endless Love, 538 endocrine system, 76, 104, 106-8, 106 endorphins, 86, 88, 88, 158, 682 engrams, 268 Enns, James, 182 environment. and brain. 95 and brain development, 360 and brain plasticity, 112 and development, 334, 358, 360, 362-63, 363, 365 and emotions, 412, 422 enriched, 360, 641 and gender, 389 and genetics/genes, 115, 116, 117-18, 120-22, 123.124.347 and group differences, 349-51 and hormones, 385 and identity, 389 and intelligence, 342, 346-48 and language, 335 and learning, 222, 223 and motivation, 444 and nature/nurture debate, 12 and obesity, 458, 460 and perception, 175 and personality, 571–73 and psychological disorders, 607-8, 617, 633-34, 634, 638-39, 641, 647

and psychopathology, 601 and representations, 313-15 schemas as means of organizing information about, 313-15 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15,17 and sensation, 179 and sexual behavior, 444 and themes of psychological science, 22 and treatment of psychological disorders, 668 virtual, 673 see also experience enzyme deactivation, 84 epigenetics, 123, 347, 348 of memory, 269-70 and personality, 549 epilepsy, 98, 100, 265-66, 407 epinephrine, 86, 86, 474 functions of, 86 episodic memory, 285, 286 equilibrium, 425 equipotentiality, 268 Erikson, Erik, 386, 386, 483 erogenous zones, 559 erotic plasticity, 441 errors, and research methodology, 65 escapism, 159, 159 Escoffier, Auguste, 204 ESP (extrasensory perception), 180 estrogens, 107, 387, 438 estrus 107 Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind, 271 ethics: and altering memory, 293 and cochlear implants, 203 and correlational studies, 51 and pregnancy, 360 in psychological research, 60-61 and research methodology, 57-62 ethnicity, see race/ethnicity ethnomusicology, 25-26 ethyl alcohol, 87 etiology, 603, 617, 631, 640-41, 647 euphemisms, for psychological disorders, 661 eustress, 469-70 evaluating, and scientific method, 35-37 Evans, Martin, 125 event-related potential (ERP), 91 evidence-based assessment, 606 evidence-based treatments, 667 evolution: and attitudes, 519 of brain, 22-23 of culture, 23-24 and harming and helping others, 514 and impressions, 526 and ingroup-outgroup bias, 530 and learning, 231-32, 242 and mate selection, 536 and memory, 278 and menstrual cycle, 385 and motivation, 442 and personality, 554 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15

and sexual behavior, 442 and stereotypes, 530 and stress, 472, 473 and themes of psychological science, 15, 15 22 evolutionary psychology, 22 definition of, 22 examinations, studying for, 302-3 excitation, and nervous system, 81, 82, 83, 87-88 excitation phase, 440 excitation transfer, 415 exemplars, 312, 312 exercise. and behavior modification, 248-49, 249 and consciousness, 158 and health, 452, 467-68, 478, 489 and sleep, 151 and stress, 489 as therapy, 682 expectations, and personality, 560-61, 561 expected utility theory, 317, 317 experience: and attitudes, 519-20 and development, 358 and development of brain, 110 and learning, 222-23, 227 and memory, 266-67, 278, 286 and nature/nurture debate, 12 openness to new, 563, 564 and personality, 562 and psychological disorders, 656, 657 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15 see also environment; type of experience experimental groups, 52, 55 experimental method, in psychological research, 51-53, 53 experimental psychology, 13-14 experimental studies: and research methodology, 51-53 and scientific foundations of psychology, 13 - 14experimenter expectancy, effects, 47, 47 experiments, and scientific method, 40 explanation, 34 explicit attitudes, 521 explicit memory, 285, 286, 286 exposure, 658-59, 658, 673, 675, 676, 676 exposure and response prevention, 659 expressed emotion, 661 Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals (Darwin), 418 expressive aphasia, 331 externalizing disorders, 609, 609 external validity. 63 extinction, 229-30, 229, 236-37, 246, 675 extrasensory perception (ESP), 180 extraversion, 563, 566, 573-74 and BAS, 566 extraverts, 563, 564-65, 564, 565, 569, 580 extrinsic motivation, 427, 427 eye contact, 372 in infants, 362, 369 eyes, 110, 182-83 eyewitnesses, 299, 299 Eysenck, Hans, 564-65

face, see facial attractiveness; facial expressions; facial recognition; fusiform face area Facebook, 3-4, 137, 504 facial attractiveness, 537, 537 facial expressions: and basic structure and functions of brain, 95 across cultures 419 and development, 368, 368 and emotions, 408, 408, 418-20, 418, 422 and impression formation, 526 facial feedback hypothesis, 411, 411 facial gestures, and disgust, 382, 382 facial recognition: and basic structure and functions of brain, 98 and perception, 190, 190, 191 and psychological disorders, 615, 615 facial symmetry, and attractiveness, 537 factor analysis, 341 fairness, in animal research, 61-62 faking bad, 579 faking good, 579 false-consensus effect, 465 false fame effect, 287, 296, 529 false memories 298-301 falsifiable hypotheses, 37 familiarity, and relationships, 535 family systems model, 607 family therapy, 660-61, 661 Fantz, Robert, 365, 365 Fault in Our Stars, The, 538 favoritism. 589 Fazio, Russell, 521 fear, 454-55, 455, 658-59 as adaptive, 613 and brain, 95, 408 and health, 454-55 hierarchy of, 673, 674 and learning, 231-32, 236, 247, 258-59, 258, 608.673 and psychological disorders, 614, 640 and relationships, 535 and social influence, 505 see also phobias fear conditioning, 236 fear response, in rhesus monkeys, 258 Fechner, Gustave, 177 feelings, see emotions Fernandez de Kirchner, Cristina, 313 Festinger, Leon, 295, 432, 521, 521, 535 fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), 360, 360 fetus, 359, 359, 360 fight-or-flight response, 472, 472 figure and ground, 189 "fire together, wire together" theory, 111 five-factor theory, 563-64, 563, 577, 578, 580 *see also* Big Five fixation, 560 fixed interval schedule (FI), 245, 245 fixed ratio schedule (FR), 245-46, 246 fixed schedules, 245, 245 flashbacks, 617 flashbulb memories, 295-96, 296 Flourish (Seligman), 483 flow. 159 fluid intelligence, 341-42, 345, 347, 398

fluoxetine hydrochloride, see Prozac Flynn, James R., 348 Flynn effect, 348 focusing, 345 Foer, Joshua, 284 Folkman, Susan, 480, 481 Food and Drug Administration (FDA), U.S., 678 683 699 700 foot-in-the-door effect, 506 forebrain, 94, 95 forecasting, affective, 320-21, 321 forensic psychologists, 27 Forgas, Joseph, 505 forgetting, 265-66, 289-93, 396 formal operation stage, 375, 377 fovea, 183, 184 Fox, Michael J., 87, 87 framing, 318-19, 319 definition of, 318-19 versus anchoring, 319 Franklin, Eileen, 301 Franklin, George, 301 Fraser, Scott, 506 fraternal twins, see twins, dizygotic Fredrickson, Barbara, 482 free association 17 223 656 Freedman, Jonathan, 506 Freedom of Information Act, 678 Freeman, Walter, 100 freezing response, 236 Fremdschämen, 10 frequency, of sound waves, 198, 198 Freud, Anna, 558, 558 Freud, Sigmund, 17, 17, 20, 38, 152-53, 223, 369, 428, 557-58, 557, 600, 607, 656, 656, 686 Freudianism, 19, 21, 223, 236, 421, 557-60, 557, 562, 607, 657, 672, 690 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17, 17.19 Freudian slips, 137, 558 friendships: and development, 390-91, 390 and identity, 390-91, 390 making and keeping, 431, 431 and psychological disorders, 647 and quality of relationships, 535-38 frontal lobes, 179, 204 and aging, 396, 397, 398 and basic structure and functions of brain, 96.98.140 and development, 380-81 and emotions, 418 and intelligence, 345 and learning, 380-81 and memory, 397 and morality, 382-83 and motivation, 443 and psychological disorders, 632, 638, 641, 648,664,673,683 and self-knowledge, 585, 585 and sensation, 209 and sexual behavior, 443 and sleep, 152 and stereotypes, 533 and teenagers, 385 see also prefrontal cortex fugue, dissociative, 626

fully functioning person, 562 functional fixedness, 325, 325 functionalism, 14-15, 20, 22 functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), 92, 92, 111, 632 functioning, domains of, 604-5 fundamental attribution error, 527-28, 527 Funder David 581 fusiform face area, 98, 139 fusiform gyrus, 190, 191 g, see general intelligence GABA (gamma-aminobutyric acid), 86, 87, 164 662 Gabby Douglas Story, The, 403-4 Gage, Phineas, 98-99, 99 Gall, Franz, 90 Galton, Francis, 17, 137, 341, 343 gambling, 669 ganglion cells, 183, 184, 186–87 Garcia John 231 Gardner, Howard, 342 gate-control theory, 214, 214 gay/gayness, see homosexuality Gazzaniga, Michael, 100, 102 gender: and alcohol. 165. 165 and biology, 388-89 and brain, 110-11, 111, 387-88 and culture, 388 and depression, 684 and depressive disorders, 619 and development, 384–85 and emotions, 420-21 and environment. 389 and hormones, 110 and identity, 387-88 and impressions, 529 and intelligence, 349 and motivation, 441-42 and personality, 575 and psychological disorders, 608-9, 608, 614, 619, 637, 643, 688 and psychotherapy, 684 roles. 313, 387, 388-89 and schizophrenia, 608, 608 and scripts, 313, 313 and sex characteristics, 384-85, 388 and sexual behavior, 107, 441-42, 442 and smell. 209 and social identity theory, 498 and socialization, 387, 388 and social psychology, 529 and stereotypes, 313 and stress, 472-73 and temperament, 553 gene expression, 115, 116, 116 and environment, 123 and personality, 550 general adaptation syndrome, 473-74, 474 general intelligence (g), 341-43, 341, 344-45 and gender, 349 generalization, and learning, 230-31, 244 generalized anxiety disorder (GAD), 613-14 generalized learned behavior, 696-97, 699 genetic analysis, 76 genetics/genes:

and adaptation, 15 and adaption, 119 and addictions, 466 and aggression, 510-11 and aging, 396 and autism spectrum disorder, 645 as basis of psychological science, 115-25 and behavior, 22, 120-22, 125, 460, 466 and bipolar disorders, 624 and development, 358, 360 dominant, 117, 119 and environment, 115, 117-18, 120-22, 124, 347 and harming and helping others, 514 and heart disease, 477 and heredity, 117-18, 119 and intelligence, 346-48, 346 modification of, 123-25, 123 and motivation, 444-45 and mutations 119-20 natural selection at level of, 514 and nature/nurture debate, 12 and obesity, 460, 461 and personality, 550-52, 554, 571 and psychological disorders, 115, 606, 607, 617, 620, 632, 632, 633, 641, 644-45.648.685 and RDoC, 605 recessive, 117, 119-20 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15 and sensation, 205 and sexual behavior, 444-45 and smoking, 466 and suicide, 623 and themes of psychological science, 22 see also DNA; gene expression; genotypes; Human Genome Project; phenotypes genetic variation, 119 Genie (case study), 357-58, 357, 360 genital stage, 559 genome, 115 genotypes, 117-18, 118 Genovese, Kitty, 514-15, 515 Gestalt psychology: definition of. 16 and learning, 16 and perception, 189, 189 and scientific foundations of psychology, 16 ghrelin, 435 Giffords, Gabrielle, 140 Gilmore, Gary (case study), 639, 639 Gilovich, Thomas, 7, 69 Glaser, Ronald, 486 glial cells, 79, 82 and schizophrenia, 632 global aphasia, 331 globalization, 23 global workspace model, 139-40 glucose, 435 glucostatic theory, 435 glutamate, 86, 87-88 and OCD, 617 goals: achievement of personal, 428-30 and aging, 397 and emotions, 416

and motivation, 428-30 and organization of subgoals, 322-23 and problem solving, 321-27 gonads, 107, 438 Goodall, Jane, 45 good continuation, 189, 189 Goodwin, Frederick, 599 Gore Al 59 Gosling, Sam, 555, 580 Gottfredson, Linda, 342 Gottman, John, 539, 540 Gould, Elizabeth, 112 gourmand syndrome, 434, 435 Graf. Peter. 286 grasping reflex, 361, 361 gratification, delayed, 430, 430 Gray, Jeffrey, 566 gray matter, 93, 95, 112-13 Green Our Vaccines, 646 Greenwald, Anthony, 521 grief 661 Gross, James, 414 ground, figure and, 189 groups: decision making by, 501-2 and environment, 349-51 experimental, 52, 55 and genes, 349-51 and harming and helping others, 514 influence on individual behavior of, 499-502 and intelligence, 349-51 polarization in, 501 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 see also ingroup-outgroup bias group therapy, 660, 691 groupthink, 501 growth hormone (GH), 108, 149 growth hormone releasing factor (GRF), 108 Grzebski, Jan, 141, 141 Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Girls and Women (American Psychological Association), 684 guilt, 382, 421-22, 618 Guimond, Serge, 575 gustation. see taste gut feelings, 418 habits, 287, 426 habituation, 224, 224, 379, 675 Haidt, Jonathan, 155–56, 382 hair cells, 199 Halbrook, Diana, 301 hallucinations, 628, 629, 630, 637, 663, 686, 688 and mania, 622 hallucinogens, 162 haloperidol, 686-87 Hamer, Dean, 444 Hamilton, William, 514 handwriting, 627, 627 Haney, Chris, 500 Hanks, Tom, 431 happiness, 483, 489 and well-being, 483-84, 484 haptic experiences, 211 haptic receptors, 211

haptic sense, 210, 211, 212-13

see also touch

hardiness, 481 Hare, Robert, 640 Harlow, Harry, 369-70, 370, 372, 427 harming others, 510-18 Harrison, George, 297 Hatfield, Elaine (Walster), 538 Hawking, Stephen, 340 Hawthorne effect, 45-46, 46 Hawthorne Works, 45-46 Hayak, Selma, 530 Hazan, Cindy, 538 hazing study, 522-23 HDAC (histone deacetylases), 269-70 HDAC inhibitors, 293 head. size of. 345 health: and anger/hostility, 484, 486 and anxiety, 484 and attitudes, 483-90 behaviors affecting, 453-57 and cognition 453 and emotions, 414-15, 484 and fear, 454-55 and general intelligence, 342 and happiness, 483-84, 484, 489 and homosexual relationships, 486 and loneliness, 485 and marriage, 485-86, 486 and oxytocin, 487 and personality, 478, 478 and positive psychology, 483-84 and psychosocial factors, 453-68 racial disparity in, 456-57 and resilience, 484 and social integration, 485-87 and social support, 485-87 and spirituality, 487-90 strategies for improving, 488-89 and stress, 451-52, 475-82, 476, 489 and trust, 486-87, 487 and well-being, 451-90 Health and Human Services Department, U.S. (USDHHS), 465, 699 health psychology, 27, 453 hearing: and aging, 397 as basic sensory process, 198-203, 200 and basic structure and functions of brain, 98 and development, 364, 374 and language, 332 and memory, 273 and perception, 179 hearing loss, noise-induced, 202 heart disease, 477-80, 477, 479, 602 heat, and aggression, 510 Heatherton, James, 193 Heatherton, Sarah, 193 Hebb, Donald, 111, 268 hedonism, 428, 639 Heider, Fritz, 527 Heine, Steven, 574 Helmoltz, Hermann von, 201 helping others, 510-18 hemineglect, 98, 98, 140 Hemingway, Ernest, 600 heredity, 116-18, 119, 122 Here's the Deal: Don't Touch Me (Mandel), 616

heritability, 119, 122, 550-52 Herman, Peter, 462 heroin, 84, 88, 162, 162, 168, 168, 237-38 hertz, 198 heuristic biases, 9 heuristics, 316-21, 325, 417 definition of, 317 hierarchy of fears, 673, 674 model of personality, 563 hippocampus, 166 atrophy of, 612 and basic structure and functions of brain, 94-95 95 98 and development of brain, 112 and emotions, 408 and exercise, 467 and memory, 61, 265, 270, 406-7, 408 and psychological disorders, 612 size of, 94-95 and sleep 151 Hippocrates, 601 histamine, 663, 677, 680, 687 histrionic personality, 636 Hitler, Adolf, 579, 579 HIV, 456, 477 H.M. (case study), 265-66, 266, 270-71, 276-77, 286, 292 Hobson, John Alan, 153-54 Hoffman, Dustin, 345 homeostasis, 425, 425, 435 and drive reduction, 425-26, 425 homicidal death. 639 homophobia, 558-59 homosexuality, 443-45, 445, 486, 558-59, 684 and modern prejudice, 532 homunculus, 112 honor, culture of, 512 Honorton, Charles, 180 Hooley, Jill, 661 hormones: and aggression, 511 definition of, 106-7 and development, 372 and environment, 385 and gender, 110, 388, 389 and motivation, 435, 438 and neuron integration into communication systems, 106-8 and puberty, 384 and sexual behavior, 107, 438-39, 439, 444 and stress, 471 and trust, 487 see also specific hormones Horney, Karen, 560 hostage study, 481 hostility, 478, 478, 480, 486, 517, 550 see also anger "hot hand" hypothesis, 69, 69 Hovland, Carl, 523 How Opal Mehta Got Kissed, Got Wild, and Got a Life (Viswanathan), 297 How We Know What Isn't So: The Fallibility of Human Reason in Everyday Life (Gilovich), 7 HPA (hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal) axis, 470, 472, 472

Hubel, David, 41-42, 42 hue. 187-88 Hull, Clark, 425, 500 Human Connectome Project, 12 human development, see development, human human genome, and themes of psychological science, 22 Human Genome Project, 116, 117 see also genetics/genes humanistic approach: to personality, 562, 562, 578 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 - 20and treatment of psychological disorders, 657-58.657 humor, 415 in control of emotions, 415 Huntington's disease, 95 hyperactivity disorders, 602 hyperphagia, 434, 434 hyperpolarization, 81 hypertension, 612 hypnosis: and brain imaging, 156 and consciousness, 155-57 dissociation theory of, 156, 157 and memory, 301 and pain, 157 self-, 157, 157 sociocognitive theory of, 156 theories of, 156-57 hypnotic analgesia, 157 hypomanic episodes, 622 hypothalamus: and basic structure and functions of brain, 94,95 and body temperature, 425 and eating, 434-35, 434, 435 functions of, 108 and motivation, 407, 434-35, 438, 439, 439, 440.444-45 and neuron integration into communication systems, 108 and sexual behavior, 438, 439, 439, 440, 444 - 45and sleep, 145, 145 and stress, 470, 473 suprachiasmatic nucleus of, 145, 145 hypotheses: definition of, 37 forming of, 38, 39 and scientific method, 38-41 ibuprofen, 215 iconic memory, 273 id, 558 identical twins, see twins, monozygotic identity: adolescent, 385-90 bicultural, 389-90 and biology, 385-90 and culture, 385–90 and development, 385-90 and environment, 389 and friendships, 390-91, 390 gender, 387-88 multiple, 626-28

identity (cont.) and norms, 388 and psychological disorders, 625-28,637 race/ethnicity, 389-90 and socialization, 387, 389 idiographic approach, 577 Ikeda, Kikunae, 204–5 illusions, 188, 189, 196-97, 196 illusory contours, 189, 190 in visual perception, 189 illusory correlations, 529 images, see representations, mental imagination, and mind/body problem, 13 imipramine, 674-75, 677 imitation, 248, 256, 256 in infants, 364 immediate memory, see short-term memory immersion in action/activities, 158-59 immune system, 149, 473, 486, 489, 617 and positivity, 484 and stress, 476-77, 476 Implicit Association Test (IAT), 521, 521 implicit attitudes, 521 implicit memory, 285, 286-87, 287, 521 impressions: first. 525-26 formation of, 525-33 imprinting, 369, 369 impulsivity: and basic structure and functions of brain, 99 648 and influence of neurotransmission, 86 and personality, 565 and psychological disorders, 617, 637, 638, 640, 647-48, 691 Imus, Deirdre, 646 incentives, 426-28 inclusive fitness, 514 independent self-construals, 591-92, 593 independent variables, 43 individual differences, see uniqueness, individual industrial melanism, 119, 119 industrial psychologists, 27 infancy, factors shaping, 359-72 infant attachment behaviors, 368, 368 infantile amnesia, 365 infant reflexes, 361 inferential statistics, 68 inferiority complex, 560 influence: and conformity, 502-5 informational, 502-3 normative, 502-5 social, 496-508 information processing, see neurotransmission information processing model, and memory, 267 information-processing theories, and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 informed consent, 59, 59, 61 Ingram, Jeff, 626, 626 ingroup favoritism, 498, 517, 530 ingroup-outgroup bias, 530 ingroups, 23, 497-98, 497 inhibiting stereotypes, 532-33

inhibition: and learning, 566 and nervous system, 81, 82, 83 and personality, 554, 566 and psychological disorders, 656 and social anxiety, 615 injury, self-, 644 innate knowledge, 379 inner ear. 199. 200 insecure attachment, 372 insight, and problem solving, 326-27, 327 insight, in psychotherapy, 656, 659, 660, 692 insight learning, 251 insomnia, 147 cognitive-behavioral therapy and, 147 inspection time tasks, 344, 344 Institute of Medicine, 646 Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC). 60 institutional review boards (IRBs), 58, 60 instrumental behavior 239 instrumental conditioning, see operant conditioning insula, 167, 167 and emotions, 406, 407 intellectual disabilities, 642 intelligence, 338-51 and aging, 397, 398–99 and birth weight, 347, 347 and brain, 343-46 cognitive approach to, 343-46 and culture 349 and decision making, 344 definition of, 338 and environment, 342, 346-48 gender and, 349 and genes, 346–47, 346 and group differences, 349–51 and language, 310–51 measurement of, 338-41, 339 and memory, 266, 286 and Mozart Effect, 367-68, 367 multiple, 342-43 overview about, 338 and problem solving, 344 and psychological disorders, 697, 699 psychometric approach to, 338-41, 339 and race, 349-51 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 and speed of mental processing, 343-44,398 testing of, 338-41, 398 and working memory, 344–45 see also specific types of intelligence intelligence quotient, see IQ intentionality, 380 interactionist approach, to personality, 569 interdependent self-construals, 592-93, 593 interference, and memory, 290 internalizing disorders, 609, 609 internal validity, 63-65, 64 international travel, and personality, 572-73 Internet, 3-4, 5, 137 dating, 547-48 and globalization, 23 interneurons, and nervous system, 77, 78, 78 interpersonal psychotherapy, 659

interpersonal relations, see relationships; support, social Interpretation of Dreams, The (Freud), 38 interpreter, brain, 142-43, 143, 156 interval schedules, 245-46, 245 interviews: clinical, 605-6 motivational 658 intrinsic motivation, 427, 427 introspection, 13-14, 223 introverts, 563, 564-65, 564, 565, 569 intrusive thoughts, 615-17 intuition, 6 ion channels, 79, 80 ions. 79 see also types of ions iproniazid, 677 IQ (intelligence quotient): and aging, 398-99 and amygdala, 407 and autism spectrum disorder, 697, 699 and birth weight, 347, 347 definition of, 339-40 and measurement of intelligence, 339-40, 339.340 and memory, 266, 286 and psychological disorders, 697, 699 and working memory, 275 Iraq War, 500 iris.182 isolation, 357-58, 631, 643 Iyengar, Sheena, 321, 321 Jackson, William, 299 Jacoby, Larry, 287 James, LeBron, 69, 69 James, William, 14-15, 14, 22, 240, 410 James-Lange theory of emotion, 410-11, 411 Jamison, Kay Redfield, 599-600, 600, 601, 621 Janis, Irving, 501 Jaws, 227, 227 Jennings, Ken, 286 Jensen, Arthur, 349 Jeopardy!, 286, 527, 527 jigsaw classroom, 518 job, see careers John, Oliver, 555 Johnson, Virginia, 440 Joiner, Thomas, 622-23 joint attention. 333 Jones, Edward, 527 Jordan, Michael, 243 Joudrie, Dorothy, 626 Jung, Carl, 560 justifying effort, 522-23, 523 Kagan, Jerome, 554 Kahneman, Daniel, 134, 317-18 Kandel, Eric, 225, 268 Kanner, Leo, 643, 644 Kazdin, Alan, 248 k-complexes, 146, 146 Keller, Helen, 280 Kelley, Harold, 527 Kelly, George, 561 Keltner, Dacher, 415, 422

Kennedy, John F., 292, 295

Kesey, Ken, 664 Keyes, Daniel, 626 Kiecolt-Glaser, Janice, 486 Kim Jae-beom, 159 Kim Yun-jeong, 159 kinesthetic sense, 210-11 kin selection, 514 Kitaoka, Akiyoshi, 195 Kitayama, Shinobu, 591 knock-out/knock-in studies, 124 knowledge, innate, 379 Kobasa, Suzanne, 481 Kohlberg, Lawrence, 381, 382 Köhler, Wolfgang, 16, 326-27, 327 Kosslyn, Stephen, 156, 180 Kraepelin, Emil, 603, 603, 642 Kuhl, Patricia, 332 Kulik, James, 295 Kunis, Mila, 191 Kushner, Harold, 490 Laird, James, 411 Lancet, 646 Lange, Carl, 410 language, 329-37 acquisition of, 334-35, 335 and aging, 396 and brain, 101, 103, 111, 111, 330-31, 331, 332 334 and cognition, 331, 334-35 and culture, 335 and development, 358 development of, 332-33, 360 and environment, 335 errors in. 334 and hearing, 332 hierarchical structure of, 329 and intelligence and thinking, 310-51 learning of, 332-33 and operant reinforcement, 334, 334 and overgeneralization, 333 and psychological disorders, 644, 654 and reading, 336-37 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18.20 sign, 334–35, 335 and social and cultural context, 377-78 surface versus deep structure of, 334 as system of communication, 329-31 teaching of. 334 units of, 330 and universal grammar, 334 language acquisition device, 334 Lanza, Adam, 9, 9 Lashey, Karl, 268, 270 Latané, Bibb, 515 latency stage, 559 latent content, 152 latent learning, 251, 251 Latham, Gary, 429 laughter, 415 Laureys, Steven, 140 law of conservation, 376 laws of nature, understanding the, 378-79 Layton, Molly, 638 Lazarus, Richard, 480 L-DOPA, 87

Leach, Jennifer Kay, 322 learned helplessness model, 621 learning and anxiety disorder, 614 associative, 223, 224 and biology, 250-51, 252-53 and brain, 95, 111-12, 236, 252-53, 380-81 and cognition, 232-35, 250-51 demonstration 256 and development, 374-83 and environment, 222, 223 and evolution, 231-32, 242 facilitation of, 149, 150 and fear, 231-32, 235-38, 247, 258-59, 258, 608.673 generalized, 696-97, 699 and imitation, 248, 256 importance of, 222 and influence of neurotransmission, 86, 87 latent 251 251 and levels of analysis, 25 and nature/nurture debate, 12 nonassociative, 223, 223, 224, 224 observational, 224, 254-60, 561 and operant conditioning, 239-53, 240 and personality, 560-61, 566 and punishment, 247, 247 and reinforcement, 241-44, 252-53 and rewards, 252-53 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15.18 simple models of, 224-25 and situations, 19 and sleep, 149, 150 and specific disorders, 642 vicarious, 256-57 see also conditioning; language; type of learning learning disabilities, 114 and brain, 114 and succeeding in college, 114, 114 learning theory, 223 Leary, Mark, 431, 587 LeDoux, Joseph, 271, 407 left hemisphere, 102, 102, 142-43, 143 and language, 330-31, 331 and memory, 398 and psychological disorders, 620 Lennon, John, 667 lens. 182 Leonardo da Vinci, 13, 13, 192 Lepper, Mark, 321, 321, 427 leptin, 435 lesbians/lesbianism, 684 see also homosexuality LeVay, Simon, 444-45 levels of analysis, and themes of psychological science, 24-26, 25 levels of processing model, and memory, 279 Levey, Gerald, 121 Levitin, Daniel, 198 Lewin, Kurt, 19, 19 Lewontin, Richard, 347 libido, 558, 559 lie-detector tests, 91, 91, 409-10, 409 life, using psychology in, 28-29, 29 life expectancies, 398, 456, 456

life experience, and personality, 571-73, 572 life history data, 579 life span, 393, 399, 648 lifestyle, and death, 455 life transitions, 393-95 light, color of, 185-88, 186, 187 limbic system: definition of, 94, 406-7 and eating 434 and emotions, 406-8, 407, 411 and learning, 238 and motivation, 439 and psychological disorders, 648 and sexual behavior, 439 Linehan, Marsha, 690, 690 linguistic relativity theory, 331 lipostatic theory, 435 listening, 533, 533 literature review, 38-39, 39 lithium, 663, 684, 685, 691 and bipolar disorder, 600 Little Albert, 237, 237, 608 lobotomies, 100, 100, 664, 677, 686, 767 localization of function, and brain, 21 Locke, Edwin, 429 Locke John 223 locked-in syndrome, 131-32, 132 Lockhart, Robert, 279 locus of control, 561 Loehlin, James, 550 Loftus, Elizabeth, 281, 297, 298, 300 Logan, Jessica, 398 London taxi drivers, study of, 94-95 loneliness, and health, 485 longitudinal studies, and psychological disorders, 632, 648 long-term memory, 471 and aging, 397 different systems of, 285-88, 285 and forgetting, 292 number of systems of, 285 organization of information in, 279-84, 529 retrieval from, 267, 282-84 short-term working distinguished from, 276-77.276 as stage of memory, 272, 272, 275-78 storage in, 277-78, 529 long-term potentiation (LTP), 268-69, 269 loosening of associations, 630 Lopez, Jennifer, 530 Lorenz, Konrad, 369, 369 loss aversion, 318-19, 318 Lovaas, Ivar, 697 Lovato, Demi, 599, 600, 622 love, 538-41, 538 low-balling strategy, 506 LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide), 162 Luchins, Abraham, 324 Luper, Paula, 648 Lykken, David, 551, 552, 640 lymphocytes, 473, 476, 477

Ma, Yo-Yo, *291* Mace, John, *445* Mack, Michelle, 109, *110*, 113 MacLean, Paul, 406 MacNeill, David, 291

Mad Men, 466 Madonna (performer), 396 magnetic field treatment, 664 magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), 91-92, 92, 606 607 Maier, Norman, 327, 327 maintenance rehearsal, 279 Major, Brenda, 590 major depression, 618, 685 major life stressors, 470 maladaptiveness, in psychological disorders, 602 - 3malaria, 119, 456 malnutrition, 360, 641 Mandel, Howie, 616 M&M's study, 379, 379 mania, 601, 684-85 manic depression, 599-600, 621 see also bipolar disorder manic episodes, 600, 621 manifest content 152 manipulating variables, in experimental method, 52-53 mantra, 157 MAOA gene, and aggression, 510-11 marble test, Piaget's, 379, 379 marijuana, 161, 163, 166, 168 and chemotherapy, 166 medicinal use of, 166, 166 and memory, 166 Markus, Hazel, 585, 591 Marlatt Alan 165 marriage, 394, 394, 485-86, 486, 539 success rates for, 539 and well-being, 485 Martin, Alexis, 309-10, 309, 329, 340, 348 Mask of Sanity, The (Cleckley), 639 Maslow, Abraham, 19, 424-25, 424, 483, 484, 562 Masrahi, Yousef Ahmed, 88 Masters, William, 440 masturbation, 441 matching principle, 535 mates, selection of, 23, 394, 442-43, 554 mathematics, understanding, 379 mating selection, 23 Matsumoto, David, 420 Mayberg, Helen, 683, 683 McAdams, Dan, 579 McCarley, Robert, 153 McCarthy, Jenny, 646-47, 646 McCollough, Celeste, 188 McCollough effect, 188 McCrae, Robert, 570, 570 McMath, Jahi, 141, 141 MDMA, 166-67, 167 medicinal uses of, 167 mean, 65, 66 media, 5, 5 digital, 3-4, 3 and imitation, 256 and memory, 296 misrepresentation of scientific findings by, 102,102 and scientific reporting, 41 social, 3-4 and violence, 257-58, 258 medial prefrontal cortex, and group membership, 499

medial temporal lobes, and memory, 270 - 71median. 66. 66 Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), 28 medications. and children with psychological disorders, 694,694 and choosing a practitioner, 668 and treatment of psychological disorders, 620, 631, 632, 662-63, 673, 675, 677-80, 687, 691, 696 see also drugs; psychopharmacology; specific medications meditation, 157-58 and brain function, 157-58, 158 concentrative form of, 157, 157 and consciousness, 157-58 mindfulness, 659, 690 mindfulness form of, 157, 157 and sleep, 151 medulla oblongata, 93, 93 Mehl, Matthias, 579 Mehler, Jacques, 379, 379 melancholia, 601 melatonin, 145 Melzack, Ronald, 214 memory, 265-303 and addiction, 163 and age regression, 301 and aging, 396, 397–98 altering of, 271, 293 and attitudes, 520, 521 and brain, 93, 94-95, 99, 111-12, 265-66, 268-71, 287-88, 293, 397 and childhood, 296-97 competitions, 284, 284 computer analogy of, 267, 267, 275 and conscious awareness, 626 and consolidation. 267 context-dependent, 283 and cramming, 302 and culture, 280, 281 definition of, 267 and development, 365 distortion of. 266, 295-303 and drugs, 265, 270, 293 and emotions, 293, 296, 298, 408 encoding of, 267, 267, 272-73, 279, 279, 285, 398 epigenetics of, 269-70 and evolution, 278 and exercise, 467, 468 and experience, 266-67, 278, 279, 286 false, 298-301 and forgetting, 265-66, 289-93, 396 and hippocampus, 61 and hypnosis, 301 and influence of neurotransmission, 86, 87 information process model of, 267 and intelligence, 266, 286 and levels of analysis, 25 and levels of processing model, 279 long-term, 275-78, 408, 529 and marijuana, 166 and MDMA, 167 meaningful, 279 and medial temporal lobes, 270-71

and mind/body problem, 13 and misattributions, 296-97 network models of, 281-82, 281 organization of information in, 275, 279-84 overview of, 265-66 and persistence, 293 physical location of, 268, 270–71 and psychological disorders, 682 repressed, 300-301, 301 retrieval of, 267, 282-84, 288 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18.20 and sensation, 209, 272-73 sensory, 274 and sleep, 147, 149, 150, 152, 154 span of, 275, 344, 344 storage of, 266-67, 267, 272-78 strategies for improving, 284 and stress, 471 and substitution. 274 and synaptic connections, 269 and themes of psychological science, 21, 22 and transformation, 274 and unconsciousness, 287, 287 see also type or system of memory memory bias, 295 Memory Olympics, 284 memory palace, 283 memory-retention test, 366 Mendel, Gregor, 116-17, 117, 118 menopause, see menstrual cycle menstrual cycle, 384, 440, 472-73, 684 and evolution, 385 mental age, 339 mental disorders, see psychological disorders mental health continuum, 604, 604 mental health practitioner, choosing a, 668-70.670 mental maps, 311, 311 mental representation, 279 mental sets, 324-25, 324 mental status exam, 605 mere exposure effect, 520, 520, 523, 535, 537 Merkel, Angela, 313 Merritte, Douglas (Albert B.), 236 message content, and persuasion, 523 meta-analysis, 68 metabolic syndrome, 458 metabolism, 435, 462, 648 Metcalfe, Janet, 430 methamphetamine, 161, 163, 163, 164, 167 method of loci, 283 methods of savings, 289 methylphenidate, 694 Miami Heat, 69 Michael J. Fox Foundation, 87 Michelangelo, 600 microsleep, 149 midbrain, 93, 93 middle ear, 199, 200 Milgram, Stanley, 506-7, 506, 508 military, 168-69 Mill, John Stuart, 13-14 Miller, George A., 18, 275 Miller, William, 658 Miller's Analogy Test, 340

Milligan, Billy (case study), 626-27 Mills, Judson, 522 Milner, Brenda, 266 mind: adaptivity of, 22-23 and behavior, 20 as blank slate, 223 and brain, 5, 12-13, 18, 98 functions of, 15 and influence of neurotransmission, 86-87 rational 13 representations of, 310-15 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15, 18 19 - 20and situations. 19 and study of consciousness, 131-69, 133 see also mind-body problem; psychological disorders; theory of mind mind-body problem, 12-13 mindfulness-based cognitive therapy, 659 mindfulness meditation, 659, 690 Minds of Billy Milligan, The (Keyes), 626 minimal group paradigm, 498, 499 minimally conscious state, 141, 141 Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), 578-79 Minnesota Twin Project, 121 mirror neurons, 259-60 and autism spectrum disorder, 645 misattributions: of arousal, 412-15, 414 and memory, 296-97 source, 296 Mischel, Walter, 430, 561, 568 Miss M. (case study), 145 mnemonics, 283-84 mode, 66, 66 modeling, 658 and imitation. 256 ModeratedDrinking.com, 669 modern prejudice, 531-32, 532 modern racism, 532 Molaison, Henry, see H.M. Molly (MDMA), 166-67, 167 Money, John, 388 monoamine oxidase (MAO), and aggression, 510 - 11monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors, 123, 662,677 monoamines, 86, 510-11, 620 see also specific monoamine monocular depth perception, 191-93 moods: and emotions, 404-5, 417, 421 and exercise, 467, 468 and influence of neurotransmission, 86 and levels of analysis, 25 and life satisfaction, 417 and memory, 282 and psychological disorders, 612-24, 637, 638, 660, 662, 685 and sleep, 149 see also emotions; specific disorder moral dilemmas, 381-82 Morales, Evo, 313 moral treatment, 601 moral values, 381-82 and development, 381-83

and emotion, 382 Morgan, Christiana, 578 morphemes, 329, 330, 330 morphine, 88, 162, 168 mortality, see death Moskowitz, Judith, 481 mothers: and psychological disorders, 644 surrogate, 369, 370 motion: aftereffects of, 195 and perception, 194-95 motivation: and adaptive behavior, 427, 443 and behavior, 423-49 and behaviors for their own sake, 427 and biology, 444-45 and brain, 434, 438, 445 and culture, 441-43 and drives. 424-26 and eating, 434-37, 436 and emotion, 403-45 and environment, 444 and genes, 444-45 and goals, 428-30 and incentives, 426–28 and intelligence, 341 and needs, 424-26 overview of, 403-4 and personality, 561, 566, 578 pleasure as, 427, 428, 429 and self-determination. 427-28 and self-perception, 427-28 and self-regulation, 429 and sexual behavior, 438–45 and social influence, 499-500 and social needs, 430-32 and social psychology, 499-500 and stereotypes, 530 and treatment of psychological disorders, 658.691 see also incentives; rewards; types of motivation motivational interviewing, 658 motor disorders. 642 motor functions: and brain, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 648 and development, 361-63 and memory, 266, 287, 287 and nervous system, 82, 86 and psychological disorders, 612, 628, 633, 648,686 motor memory, see procedural memory motor neurons, 77, 78, 78 motor skills, and memory, 285 Moulton, Samuel, 180 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 367-68 Mozart effect, 367-68, 367 M.P. (case study), 194-95 Multimodal Treatment of Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (MTA), 696 multiple personality disorder, 625-28 see also dissociative identity disorder multiple sclerosis (MS), 75-76, 76, 82, 115 murder, see homicidal death Murray, Henry, 428, 578, 579, 579 Museum of Tolerance (Los Angeles), 232 music, 24-26, 25, 367-68

and negative behaviors, 25-26 mutations, 119, 644-45 Mutesi, Phiona, 309-10, 310 mutilation, self-, 638 see also self-abuse myelination, 212, 359, 360, 385 myelin sheath, 79, 82 and schizophrenia, 632 Myers, David, 487 N.A. (case study), 44-45, 44 Nader, Karim, 271 narcissism, 588, 591 narcissistic personality, 588, 636 narcolepsy, 148 Nash, John Forbes, 628 National Center for Learning Disabilities, 114 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), 34 National Institute of Drug Abuse, 166 National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), U.S., 604-5, 617, 696 National Institutes of Health (NIH), 202, 700 National Suicide Prevention Lifeline, 623 National Survey of Drug Use and Health, 163 699 naturalistic observation. 40, 45, 45 natural killer cells, 476, 477 natural selection. at gene level, 514 and harming and helping others, 514 and personality, 554 and themes of psychological science, 15 nature-nurture debate, 12, 19, 120, 123, 346, 358, 388, 606, 606 Nazis, 499, 579 needs: hierarchy of, 424, 424 and motivation, 424-26, 425, 430-32 see also specific needs need to belong, 430-32, 431, 505 negative activation, 405, 405 negative correlation, 49 negative feedback model, 425, 425 negative punishment, 246, 247 negative reinforcement, 244, 244, 247 negative symptoms, of schizophrenia, 628-29, 631, 686, 687 Neisser, Ulrich, 18 neocortex, and social groups, 497 neo-Freudians, 560 NEO Personality Inventory, 578 neophobia, 535 nervous system: and biological basis of psychological science, 76 - 88divisions of, 77 and endocrine system, 106-8, 106 and influence of neurotransmission on emotion, thought, and behavior, 82 - 88major divisions of, 77, 104-6, 105 and multiple sclerosis, 76, 76 operation of, 76-88 see also central nervous system; memory; peripheral nervous system network models, of memory, 281-82 neural networks, 76

neurochemistry: and memory, 267, 272 and psychological disorders, 607, 617 and themes of psychological science, 21 and treatment of psychological disorders, 662 680 neurodevelopmental disorders, 642 neurogenesis, 112 neuroleptics, 662-63 neuronal firing, see action potential neurons. and basic structure and functions of brain, 93 as basic units of nervous system, 76, 77 definition of. 76 and development of brain, 112 and eating, 435 and hearing, 199 integration into communication systems of, 104 - 8mirror. 259-60 and motivation, 435 and operation of nervous system, 76-88 and perception, 190 and sensation, 175, 176, 176, 179 and sleep, 150, 153 structure of, 78-79, 79 neuropsychological testing, 605, 606 neuroscience, 21 and RDoC, 605 neuroscience/biological psychology, 26 neuroses 686 neuroticism, 554, 563, 565, 566, 574, 575, 604 and BIs, 566 and job satisfaction, 572 neurotransmission, 252 and categories of transmitters, 84-88, 86 definition of. 83 drugs and, 161 and exercise, 467 influence on emotion, thought, and behavior of. 84-88 and learning, 225, 269 and motivation, 439-40 and nervous system, 82-88 and psychological disorders, 607, 617, 620, 631, 632, 638, 662, 677, 680, 682, 694 relationship of receptors and, 83, 84 and sexual behavior, 439-40 see also category of transmitter neutral stimulus, 226-27, 228 New Guinea study, 419, 420 Newman, Mark, 121 New York Longitudinal Study, 391 New Zealand study, 122-23, 511 Nichols, Robert, 550 nicotine, 161, 466 nicotine replacement therapy, 467 nightmares, 617 Nim Chimpsky (chimpanzee), 335-36, 335 nine-dot problem, 324, 324, 326 Nisbett, Richard, 142, 189, 348 nitric oxide, 439-40 NMDA receptors, 269 nodes, 281-82 nodes of Ranvier, 79, 80, 82 nomothetic approach, 577

nonspecific stress response, 474 nonverbal behavior, 526, 526 norepinephrine, 86 definition of, 86 and emotions, 405 functions of, 86 and influence of neurotransmission, 86 and memory, 293 and psychological disorders, 620, 662, 663, 673 682 687 normal distribution, 340, 340 normative decision theories, 317 norms: and adaptation, 24 and binge drinking, 504, 504 conformity to, 502-5, 502, 503 and eating, 437 and identity, 388 and motivation, 437 and research methodology, 46-47 and social influence, 502-5 and themes of psychological science, 24 Northern Illinois University, shooting at, 617 Novocain, 215 nucleus accumbens, 95 nutrition, and brain, 360 Obama, Barack, 313, 520 obedience, 19, 506-8, 506, 508, 508 obesity, 23, 86, 434, 434, 435, 454, 455, 457-64,459 and brain 460 global rates of, 458 and life spans, 394 and sleep apnea, 148 object agnosia, 184 object constancy, 196, 196 objective method, for personality assessment, 579-80 object perception, 188-90 object permanence, 376 object relations theory, 560 observation: and actor-observer discrepancy, 528 and learning, 224, 254-60, 255, 561 naturalistic, 45, 45 participant, 45, 45 and personality, 577, 580-81 and research methodology, 44-48 and scientific foundations of psychology, 13-14, 18, 20 see also eyewitnesses observational studies, see descriptive studies observer bias, 46-47 obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), 86, 615-17, 616, 617, 636, 659, 660, 665, 665, 675-77, 676, 690, 698 obstructive sleep apnea, 147-48, 148 Occam's Razor, 38 occipital cortex, and sleep, 146 occipital lobe: and basic structure and functions of brain, 96,140 and perception, 179 occlusion, 192 Odbert, Henry, 563 odorants, 208, 208

Oedipus complex, 559-60 Ogbu, John, 349 O'Keeffe, Georgia, 600 olfaction, see smell olfactory bulb, 208, 209 olfactory epithelium, 208, 208 olfactory hallucinations, 630 Oliver Jamie 114 One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest (Kesey), 664 O'Neil, James, 653-55, 654, 697, 698 O'Neil, John, 653-55 O'Neill, Miles, 654 Ono, Yoko, 667 On the Origin of Species (Darwin), 229 openness to new experience, 563, 564 operant chamber, 241-42, 242 operant conditioning, 226, 226, 240, 697 and attitudes, 520 and behavior modification, 245-50 biology's influence on, 250–51 classical conditioning as different than, 239 - 41cognition's influence on, 250-51 and learning, 239-53, 240 and psychological disorders, 608, 616, 617, 658 and schedules of reinforcement, 245-50 operant reinforcement, and learning language, 334, 334 operational definitions, 43 opiates, 162, 169 opponent-process theory, 186-87 optical illusions, 188, 193-94, 194 optic chiasm, 183, 185 optic nerves, 183, 184, 185, 186 optimism bias, 455 optogenetics, 125, 125 oral personalities, 560 oral stage, 559 organizational psychologists, 27 orgasm, 439 orgasm phase, 440 orienting reflex, 379 Osbourne, Jack, 75-76, 76, 78, 82, 115 Osbourne, Ozzy, 75 Osbourne, Sharon, 75 ossicles, 199, 200 Oswald, Lee Harvey, 292 Ouchi, Hajime, 188 outer ears, 199, 200 outgroup homogeneity effect, 498, 517 outgroups, 23, 497-98, 497 oval window, 199 Oxycontin, 162 oxytocin, 372, 439, 473, 487, 698 pain: and attitudes, 523 and basic sensory processes, 213 controlling of, 214-15 gate-control theory of, 214, 214 and humor, 415

and hypnosis, 157

as motivation, 428

and influence of neurotransmission, 88, 88

and personality, 566 phantom, 211 types of, 211-15 Palmer, John, 297 panic attacks, 675 panic disorder, 614, 674-75 Papez, James, 406 paradoxical sleep, see REM sleep Paradox of Choice, The (Schwartz), 322-23 paralysis, 131 paranoid personality, 636 paraprofessionals, 669 parasympathetic division, 105-6, 105 parent/child relationship: and development, 358, 372, 382, 390, 391-92 and identity, 390, 391–92 and personality, 550-51, 559-60, 562 and social development, 358 see also attachment parenting: and life transitions, 395 style of, 382, 382, 550-51 parents. development role of, 358, 372, 382, 390, 391 - 92and identity, 390, 391-92 and psychological disorders, 644, 647, 653-54,694-95 and punishment, 246-48 and sense of self, 390, 391-92 see also parent/child relationship; parenting parietal lobes, 96-97, 96, 98, 140, 179 and touch. 211 Parkinson's disease, 87, 87, 95, 665, 683, 686, 687 partial-reinforcement, 245 partial-reinforcement extinction effect, 246 participant observation, 45, 45passionate love, 538, 538 Patall, Erika A., 322 patterns, and brain, 6-7 Pavlov, Ivan, 17, 226, 227, 228, 228, 230, 231, 241 experiments of, 226-28, 227, 228 Pavlovian conditioning, see classical conditioning Peek, Kim, 345 peer review, 37, 37, 41 peers, and sense of self, 390-91, 390 see also friendships Pemberton, John, 163 "pendulum" experiment, 327, 327 Penfield, Wilder, 97, 98 Pennebaker, James, 579 perception, 185 and basic sensory processing systems, 180 and brain, 174-75, 175, 190, 194-95 and color, 185-88, 186, 187, 196 constancies in, 196-97, 196 and culture, 189 depth, 191-93, 194 and development, 364-65, 378-79, 378 and emotions 406 and environment, 175 and figure and ground, 189 Gestalt principles of, 20, 189, 189 and hearing, 179 and how we sense the world, 175

and illusions, 196, 196 and location of objects, 191-93 and motion, 194-95 object, 188-90 and proximity and similarity, 189, 189 and psychological disorders, 628 and scientific foundations of psychology, 16, 16 20 and sensation, 174-80 and shape, 196, 196 and sixth sense, 180 size, 193-94, 196 and smell, 179 and spatial relationships, 191-93 and stereotypes, 530-31, 531 and study of consciousness, 133 and survival, 190 and taste, 179 and touch, 179 and vision 179 and what versus where, 190 performance: and motivation, 426 self-assessment of, 10-11, 10, 34 peripheral nervous system (PNS), 77, 77, 104-6 persistence, and memory, 293 persistent depressive disorder, 619 persistent vegetative state, 140-41, 141 see also coma personal attributions, 527, 528 personal constructs, 561 personality, 547-93 and adaptation, 554-55, 570, 570 and age, 569-70, 570 of animals, 554–55, 555 assessment of, 577-82 and behavior, 580, 580 and behaviorism, 560, 562 biological basis of, 549, 570 and brain, 98-99, 99 and cognition, 557, 560-61 and committed relationships, 572 and consciousness, 557 and culture, 563, 571, 571, 573-75, 574 definition of, 549 and development, 553-54, 559-60 disorders of, 635-41, 636 and emotions, 561, 565 and environment, 571-73 and evolution, 554 and experience, 562, 563, 564 and gender, 575 and genetics, 550-52, 554, 571 and health, 478, 478 hierarchical model of, 563, 563 humanistic approach to, 562, 562, 578 and identity, 391 and inconsistency, 568 interactionist approach to, 569 and learning, 560-61, 566 and motivation, 561, 566, 578 and neo-Freudians, 560 parents' role in development of, 391 and prediction, 577-82 psychodynamic theories of, 557-60 and psychological disorders, 619, 625-28, 635-41, 636, 689-92

psychologists, 27 and relationships, 535-36, 536 and self-construals, 592-93, 593 and self-regulation, 561 and situations, 561, 568-69, 571-73, 581 socio-cognitive approach to, 561 stability of, 568-75, 570 and stereotypes, 575 structural model of 558-59 and temperament, 552-53, 553 theories of, 557-66 traits, see traits, personality and unconsciousness, 557-60, 557, 577-78 and values, 561, 561 personality psychology, 19 personal myths, 579 person-centered approach, and personality, 562 person/situation debate, 568 perspective giving, 533 perspective taking, 533 persuasion, 523-24 Petitto, Laura Ann, 334, 335, 335 Pettyfer, Alex, 538 p factor, 604 phallic stage, 559, 560 phantom limbs, 112, 112 phantom pain, 211 pharmaceutical industry, and drug research, 678 pharmacology, and treatment of psychological disorders, 677-80, 686-87, 694-96, 698 phenotypes, 117-18, 118, 119 pheromones, 210, 445 philosophy, 12 phobias, 235-38, 237, 613, 613, 615, 659, 673-74 see also specific phobias phonemes, 329-30, 330, 332 phonics, 336, 336 photopigments, 183 phototherapy, 682, 682 phrases, 330 phrenology, 90, 90 physical activity, and sleep, 149 physical appearance, and first impressions, 525-26 physical attractiveness, 536-38, 537 in mate selection, 536-37 physical condition, and aging, 393, 396 physical dependence, 167-69 physical development, 357-72, 362 physical exercise, and brain development, 110 physical fitness, and behavior modification, 248-49.249 physics, understanding of, 378-79 physiology, 15, 404, 405-8, 606-7 and eating, 434-35 Piaget, Jean, 374-79, 379 and cognitive development, 37-38 pidgin, 335 pineal gland, 145, 145 Pinel, Philippe, 601 Pinker, Steven, 421 pitch, 199-202 Pitt, Brad, 520 pituitary gland, 108, 470 Pizarro, David, 382

placebo/placebo effect, 487, 666, 675, 676,680,698 and antidepressants, 678, 699 place coding, 199, 201-2, 201 planning, 87, 345 and basal ganglia, 95 plaque, and heart disease, 479 plasticity, of brain, 109-10, 110, 111-12, 113.359 plateau phase, 440 Plato, 12 play, 427, 697, 697 pleasure: as motivation, 427, 428 and personality, 558 pleasure principle, 428, 558 Plomin, Robert, 552-53 polarization: group, 501 and nervous system, 79 Polivy, Janet, 462 polygenic effects, 118 polygraphs, see lie-detector tests polypeptides, 115-16 pons, 93, 93 Ponzo, Mario, 194 Ponzo illusion, 193, 194, 194 population, research, 54 positive activation, 405, 405 positive correlation, 49 positive psychology, 483-84, 484 positive punishment, 246, 247 positive reappraisal, 481 positive reinforcement, 244, 244, 247 positive symptoms, of schizophrenia, 628-29, 686,687 positron emission tomography (PET), 91, 91, 605.607 see also brain imaging postconventional morals, 381 postdecisional dissonance, 522 poster sessions, 40-41 posthypnotic suggestion, 155 postsynaptic neurons, 82, 83 posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 293. 605, 608, 617-18, 626, 628, 658-59 potassium, and nervous system, 79-80 potentiation, long-term, 268-69, 269 practical intelligence, 343 practice, and memory, 277 practitioners, see therapists prayer, 158 preconscious, 557 preconventional morals, 381 prediction, 34, 51 and correlational studies, 51 and development, 380 and learning, 232-35 and personality, 554, 577-82 and research methodology, 34 prediction error, 233 and dopamine, 234-35, 235 predispositions, and psychological disorders, 607 preferential-looking technique, 365, 365 prefontal lobotomy, see lobotomies prefrontal cortex: and basic sensory processes, 208, 209

and basic structure and functions of brain, 98-100 140 and eating 434 and emotions, 382-83 and learning, 238 and motivation, 434 and psychological disorders, 617, 620, 683 686 pregnancy: and alcohol and drug use, 360 and psychological disorders, 633-34, 645 682 and stress, 360, 472 prejudice, 530-33 definition of, 530 modern, 531-32 Premack, David, 244, 380, 467 Premack principle, 244 prenatal period, 359; also see pregnancy preoperational stage, 375, 376-77, 376 prescribing drugs, 668, 671 presynaptic neurons, 82-84 pride, 381 expressions of, 420, 420 primacy effect, 276, 276 primary appraisals, 480 primary auditory cortex, 98, 199 primary emotions, 405 primary motor cortex, 98 primary reinforcers, 242 primary sensory areas, see cerebral cortex primary somatosensory cortex, 96, 97, 97 and touch. 211 primary visual cortex, see visual cortex privacy, 58, 61 proactive interference, 290, 291 problem-focused coping, 480-81, 480 problem solving: and brain structure and function, 345 and choices, 321, 321 and decision making, 316-27, 316 and goals, 321-27 and insight, 326-27, 327 and intelligence, 344 and learning, 251 overview about, 316 and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 377 and psychological disorders, 612, 690 and representations, 323-25 and structural model of personality, 558 and themes of psychological science, 22 procedural memory, 285, 287, 287 processing, automatic versus controlled, 134,134 progesterone, 438 prognosis, and psychological disorders, 606 projective methods, for personality assessment, 578, 578, 606 prolonged exposure, 658 propanolol, 293 prosocial behavior, 513 prosopagnosia, 190 prospective memory, 287-88, 288 protein, and genetics/genes, 116 prototypes, 312, 312 proximity: and relationships, 535

and similarity, 189, 189 Prozac, 87, 620, 662, 674, 676, 678, 680, 698, 699 700 pseudoinsomnia, 147 psilocybin mushrooms, 163 psychiatric nurses, 668 psychiatric social workers, 668 psychiatrists, 668 psychoactive drugs, 161-67, 161 psychoanalysis: definition of, 17 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17, 17.19-20 and treatment of psychological disorders, 656, 656, 686 psychobiography, 579 psychodynamic theories: of personality, 557-60 and treatment of psychological disorders, 656 - 57psychodynamic therapy, definition of, 656 psychological disorders, 599-648 and adolescence, 640, 693-702, 701 and age, 688, 692 and anxiety, 19 and anxiety as root of different disorders, 612 - 15assessment/diagnosis of, 603-5, 606 and behavior, 19, 612, 616-17, 628, 631, 643 and behaviorism, 608 and biology, 19-20, 86-87, 606-7, 607, 612, 615, 619-21, 644-45 and brain, 19, 607, 612, 615, 615, 620, 632-33, 640-41, 645, 648, 662, 664-65, 673, 676, 680, 683-84, 686, 698 and brain stimulation, 665, 676-77, 683-84 categories of, 603-5, 603 causes of, 600-601, 600, 606-9, 606, 656 and children, 633, 642–48, 692, 693–702 and cognition, 19, 612, 614, 614, 619-21, 621, 628,688,699 and comorbidity, 604, 606 conceptualization and classification of, 600-610.621 and conditioning, 608, 616, 617 and consciousness, 608, 617, 628 and continuous dimensions, 604, 604 and culture, 602, 607, 607, 609, 629, 661-62, 661,688 and death/grieving, 672 and development, 642-48, 642, 654, 692 dimensional approach to, 604 and emotions, 609, 612, 633, 638, 639, 659 and environment, 607-8, 617, 633-34, 634, 638-39, 641, 647, 668 and etiology, 603-5, 603 and experience, 656, 657 externalizing, 609, 609 and gender, 608-9, 608, 614, 619, 637, 688 and genetics/genes, 115, 606, 607, 617, 620, 632, 632, 633, 641, 644-45, 648 historical view of, 601, 601 and intelligence, 697, 699 internalizing, 609, 609 and magnetic field treatment, 664 as maladaptive, 602-3 and medications, 620, 631, 632

and mood, 618-21, 637, 638, 685 and parents, 644, 647, 653-54, 694-95 and personality, 619, 625-28, 635-41, 689-92 and pregnancy, 633-34, 645, 682 and pseudotherapies, 667-68, 667 and psychosurgery, 664, 665, 676, 686 and race/ethnicity, 661 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 - 20and sexual behavior, 621, 638 and situations, 619-21, 681 and social functioning, 613, 613, 615, 631, 643, 644, 654, 698, 699 and suicide. 623 and testing, 604-5, 606, 640 and thinking/thought, 19 and thought disturbances, 623-34 treatment of, 19-20, 653-702 treatment resistant 664 and unconscious. 607 and violence, 638 see also specific disorder or type of treatment psychological reasoning: and critical thinking, 6-9 definition of, 6 psychological research, participation in, 60-61,61 psychological science: and biological revolution, 21-22 and biology and behavior, 75-125 definition of 4-5 genetic foundations of, 115-25 interdisciplinary aspects of, 26 and levels of analysis, 24-26, 25 methods of, 5 psychological testing, 604-5, 606, 640 psychological treatments, 667 psychotherapy versus, 672-73 psychology: definitions of, 13-14 developments in, 21-27 personality, 19 and BDoC 605 scientific foundations of, 12-20 study of, and wide ranging careers, 28-29, 29 subfields of, 26-27 psychometric approach, to intelligence, 338-41, 339 psychoneuroimmunology studies, 476 psychopathology, 600, 604 psychopathy, 639, 640, 640, 691, 692 psychopharmacology, 655 psychophysics, 177-79 psychophysiological assessment, 90-91 psychosexual stages, 559 psychosis, 625, 633, 662-63, 690 definition of, 628 psychosocial factors, and health, 453-68 psychosocial motives, 428-30 psychosocial therapy, 687-88 psychosurgery, 664, 665, 676, 686 psychotherapy, 19-20, 655, 656-62, 684, 701 psychological treatments versus, 672-73 see also specific technique or method psychotic disorder, 686 definition of, 628 see also specific disorder

psychotic episodes, 687, 688 psychoticism, 565 psychotropic medications, 662-63, 685, 686,691 PsycINFO, 38 puberty, 384-85, 438 see also adolescence Public Health Service, U.S., 59 PubMed.38 punishment: and behavior, 246-50 definition of, 246 and learning, 247, 247 and parents, 246-48 and personality, 566 physical, 247-48 as positive or negative, 246, 247 and psychological disorders, 640 and treatment of psychological disorders, 658 pupil, 182, 184 Pussin, Jean-Baptiste, 601 qualitative information, and sensation, 176,177 quantitative information, and sensation, 176.177 questioning, and scientific method, 35-37 quetiapine, 685 race/ethnicity: and depression, 684, 699 and identity, 389-90 and impressions, 530, 531-32, 531 and intelligence, 349-51 and perception, 190 and psychological disorders, 661 and stereotypes, 530, 531-32, 532 racism, modern, 532 Rader, Dennis, 639 radical acceptance, 690 Raffaele, Kelsey, 33, 34 Rain Man, 345 Ramachandran, V.S., 173-74 Ramsev. Eddie. 131 Ramsey, Erik, 131-32, 131 random assignment, 55, 55 random errors, 65, 65 randomized clinical trials, 666 range, 66, 66 rapid eye movements, see REM sleep rational-emotive therapy, 659 rationalizing, 558 ratio schedule, 245-46 Raven Progressive Matrices Test, 349, 349 Rayner, Rosalie, 236 reaction formation, 558-59 reaction times, 344 reactivity, 45-46 and descriptive research, 45-46 in observational studies, 45-46 reactivity effect, 45-46 reading, learning of, 336-37 reality: and delusions, 629 virtual, 673 reality principle, 558 reappraising, 414-15

reasoning: abstract, 377 and brain structure and function, 345 definition of, 6 moral, 381 and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 377 psychological, 6-10 *see also* thought/thinking rebound effect, 414 receivers, and persuasion, 523 recency effect, 276, 276 receptive aphasia, 331 receptors: definition of, 83 and nervous system, 82-84 and sensation, 175-76, 176, 200, 204-5, 208-9.212-13 and smell 208-9 see also sensation; type of receptors reciprocal helping, 514 reciprocity, 497 recognition, and aging, 398 see also facial recognition reconsolidation process, 298 and memory, 271 "recreational drugs," 161–67 reflected appraisal, 586-87 reflective listening, 657 reflexes, 78, 92, 361, 375 Reimer, Brian, 388-89, 388 Reimer, David (Bruce; Brenda), 388-89, 388.389 Reimer, Janet and Ron, 388-89 reinforcement: absence of, 251 as conditioning, 242-44 and definition of reinforcer, 241 and learning, 241-44 and personality, 560-61, 566 as positive or negative, 244, 244 and potency of reinforcers, 244 and rewards. 252-53 schedules of, 245-50, 245 successive approximations in, 242 and treatment of psychological disorders, 691.697 vicarious, 256-57 see also rewards rejection, and aggression, 510 relationships: client/practitioner, 691 and development, 358, 390-92 and emotions, 421-22 and learning, 247 and life transitions, 393–95 and psychological disorders, 620, 636, 638, 647, 657, 659 quality of, 534-41 romantic, 538, 538, 540-41, 541 of roommates (college), 582-83 seeing nonexistent, 8 see also attachment; friendships; parent/ child relationship; social interaction relative comparisons, 318-19 framing of, 8–9 relaxation techniques, see meditation

releasing factor, 108 reliability, 63-65 religion, 487-90, 661 religious ecstasy, 159, 159 REM behavior disorder, 148 REM dreams, 152 REM sleep, 146-47, 148, 150, 153, 620 repeated TMS, 665 replication, of studies, 41 representations: analogical, 310, 311, 311 and memory, 279 mental, 310-15 and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 374 - 79and problem solving, 323-25 restructuring, 324, 325 symbolic, 311-12, 311 representativeness heuristic, 320 repressed memories, 300-302, 301 reproduction: and adaptation, 15, 22 and depression, 684 and genetic basis of psychological science, 118 - 20and heredity, 116–18, 119 and life transitions, 395 and motivation, 428, 430, 442 and personality, 554 and sexual behavior, 442 and stress, 471 and themes of psychological science, 15 Rescorla, Robert, 232-33 Rescorla-Wagner model, 233, 234 Research Domain Criteria (RDoC), 604-5, 685 research methodology, 33-69 and animals, 59-62 and averaging, 55 and bias, 46-47, 678, 679 and case studies, 44-45, 44 and causality, 50, 51-53, 51 and correlational studies, 48-51, 48, 67-68,67 and cross-cultural studies, 56, 56 and data, 40 and descriptive studies, 44-48, 44 and ethics, 57-62 and experimental studies, 51-53,55 and hypotheses, 38-41 and meta-analysis, 68 and observation, 44-48 and prediction, 34 and psychological science, 4 and scientific method, 34-42, 38 and self-reporting, 48, 48 and statistical procedures, 63-68 and theories, 34, 37-38 and types of studies, 43-56 and unexpected findings, 41-42 and variables, 48-53 reserpine, 686 resilience, and health, 484 resolution phase, 440 response: bias, 178, 178 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18

and sensation, 176-79, 177 response-prevention therapy, 676, 676 responsibility: diffusion of, 515 and psychological disorders, 695–96 rest, and sleep, 149 resting membrane potential, 79, 80 restrained eating, 462 restrictive dieting, 461-62 restructuring: cognitive, 659, 659 of representations, 324, 325 results, reporting of, 39, 40-41 reticular activating system (RAS), 565 reticular formation, 93, 93 retina, 182-83, 184, 185, 186, 191, 192, 193, 365 retrieval, of memory, 266-67, 267, 274, 282-84, 288, 291 aging and, 398 retrieval cues, 282-84 retroactive interference 290 291 retrograde amnesia, 292, 292, 626 reuptake, 84, 86, 676 rewards, 244 and attitudes, 522 biological basis of, 252-53 and learning, 252-53 and motivation, 427, 427 and personality, 554, 566 and psychological disorders, 658 and scientific foundations of psychology, 18 see also incentives right hemisphere, 102, 102, 142-43, 143, 190, 191,620 and aging, 398 and language, 331 risk, and BIs, 566 risk-benefit ratio, 58-59 risk judgments, and emotions, 418 risky-shift effect, 501 Risperdal, 663, 687, 698 Ritalin, 694-95, 695, 696 Robins, Lee, 168-69 Robinson, Rebecca, 193 Rocco, Johnny, 505 rods, 182-83, 184 Rogers, Carl, 19, 20, 483, 562, 562, 657-58, 657 Rogers, Tim, 585 role models, 168 Rolling Stones, 396, 396 romantic relationships, 538, 538 and conflict, 539, 541 principles of, 540-41, 541 roommates, college, and cleanliness, 582-83,583 rooting reflex, 361, 361 Rorschach inkblot test, 578, 578 Rosch, Eleanor, 312 Rosenthal, Robert, 47, 47, 526 rotavirus, 456 Rotter, Julian, 560-61, 561 round window, 199 Rousseff, Dilma, 313 Rozin, Paul, 437 rumination, 414 runner's high, 158-59, 682 Russian newspaper reporter, memory of, 289

Sacks, Oliver, 346 sadism, 500 Salem witch trials, 162 salivary reflex, 229 sampling, 54, 54, 55 Sandy Hook Elementary School shootings, 9 SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test), 430 satiety, 434 saturation, 187-88 savants, 345-46 savings, and memory, 289 scatterplots, 67, 67 Schachter, Stanley, 411-12, 431, 432, 505 535 Schachter-Singer Two-Factor theory of emotion, 411-15, 412, 413 Schacter, Daniel, 286, 289, 300-301 Schank, Roger, 313 schemas: cognitive, 528, 529 definition of, 280 and memory, 280-81 and scripts, 314 self-, 584-85, 585 and stereotypes, 313, 313 and thinking/thought, 313–15 see also stereotypes schemes, and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 374-77, 374, 375 Schiavo, Terri, 140-41, 141 schizoid personality, 636 schizophrenia, 605, 634 and autism spectrum disorder, 645 and biology, 631-33 and conceptualization and classification of psychological disorders, 607-8, 607, 628-34.628.632 definition of. 628 and dementia praecox, 603 diagnostic criteria for, 628-29, 629 and gender, 608, 608 and genetics, 685 treatment for, 661, 662-63, 664, 685, 686-88 virus hypothesis of, 633 schizotypal personality, 636 schizovirus hypothesis, 633 schooling, and IQ, 348 school psychologists, 27 Schwartz, Barry, 322-23 Schwarz, Norbert, 417 science, four primary goals of, 34-35 scientific conferences, 40-41 scientific method, 12-20, 38, 39 and critical thinking, 37-41 scientific thinking, 36, 36, 37, 37, 46, 46, 50, 124, 124, 136, 136, 139, 139, 206, 206, 228, 228, 237, 237, 251, 255, 258, 274, 283, 298, 314, 366, 370, 413, 419, 432, 476, 503, 508, 517, 531, 555, 615, 683, 701 scripts. 314-15 and schemas, 314 sexual, 441, 441 seasonal affective disorder (SAD), 620, 682, 682 Seattle Longitudinal Study, 398

secondary appraisals, 480 secondary emotions, 405 secondary reinforcement, 242, 249 secondary traits, 577 second-generation antipsychotics, 687 second-order conditioning, 229-30, 233 secure attachment, 371-72 seizures, 663, 664, 682, 687 selection bias. 55 see also bias, and research methodology selective attention, 134-35 selective breeding, 117, 117 selective permeability, 80 selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs), 87, 620, 662, 663, 673, 674, 675-76, 678, 680, 698, 699, 700, 702 self: collective, 592-93, 593 independent, 592-93, 593 interdependent, 592-93, 593 and memory 266 mental strategies to main views of, 588 - 91and psychological disorders, 637 sense of, 266, 390-92, 639 self-abuse, 638, 654 self-actualization, 424, 562 self-awareness, 500-501, 584 of one's own inadequacies, 10-11, 10 self-care, 688 self-concept, 584-86 self-construals, 592-93, 593 self-control. see self-regulation self-destructiveness, 690 self-determination theory, 427-28 self-efficacy, 429, 561 self-enhancement, 582-83 self-esteem: across the life span, 589 and obesity, 461 and personality, 562 and prejudice/discrimination, 517-18, 530 and psychological research, 60-61 and relationships, 537 and social regard, 586-88, 587 and treatment of psychological disorders, 662.682 self-evaluative maintenance, 590 self-help, 667 self-hypnosis, 157, 157 self-injury, 690 and autism spectrum disorder, 644, 654, 698 and suicide. 622-23 self-judgment, and performance, 10-11, 34 self-knowledge, 579, 584-93 self-monitoring, 568 self-mutilation, 638, 690 see also self-abuse self-perception theory, 427-28 self-regulation: and motivation, 429 and personality, 561 self-reporting, 574, 578-79, 580, 581 in research methodology, 48, 48 self-respect, 690 self-schema, 584-85, 584 self-serving biases, 9, 590-91, 592-93, 593

Seligman, Martin, 232, 483, 621 Selye, Hans, 106, 473-74, 476 semantic memory, 285, 286 semantics, 329 semi-starvation study, 461-62, 462 sensation, 174-80 and adaptation, 178-79, 179 and aging, 397 basic processes of, 200, 208-9, 212-13 and brain, 175, 176, 200, 204-5, 208-9, 212 - 13definition of, 174 and development, 360, 364-65, 375-76 and emotions 407 and environment, 179 and genetics, 205 and learning, 223 and memory, 209, 272-73 and sensory thresholds, 177-78, 177 and sixth sense 180 see also specific senses sensation-seeking, 640-41 sensitive periods, 359-60, 369 sensitization, 224-25, 225 sensorimotor stage, 375-76, 375 sensory coding, 175-76, 177 sensory memory, 272-73, 272, 273, 274 sensory neurons, 77-78, 78 sensory receptors, 176 sensory-specific satiety, 437 sensory thresholds, 177-78, 177 sentences 330 separation anxiety, 370 September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, 296, 296, 454, 481, 481 serial position effect, 276, 276 Seroquel, 685 serotonin: and aggression, 510–11 definition of, 86-87 functions of, 86-87, 86 and influence of neurotransmission, 86-87 and motivation, 439 and personality, 552 and psychological disorders, 620, 638, 662, 673, 676, 680, 687, 698 and sexual behavior, 439 and sleep, 149 set-points, 425, 435, 461 "seven sins of memory," 289-90, 290, 292 sex. see gender sex characteristics, primary and secondary, 384-85.388 sexual behavior: and adaptive behavior, 443 and alcohol 165 and behaviors affecting health, 489 and biology, 438-40, 439, 444-45 and brain, 94, 445 and depression, 680 and endocrine system, 107 and environment, 444 and frequency of sex, 538-39 and gender, 107, 441-42, 442 and hormones, 107, 438-40, 439 and love, 538-39 and mania, 621

and mating strategies, 442-43 and motivation, 428, 438-45 and nervous system, 107 and psychological disorders, 638 and relationships, 538-39 and safe sex, 489 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17 and sexual orientation, 443-45 sexual dysfunction, 662, 680 sexual orientation, 443-45, 445 sexual reproduction, see reproduction sexual response cycle, 440, 440 sexual strategies theory, 442 shadowing, 134, 135 shame, 381 shape constancy, 196 shape perception, 196, 196 shaping, 242, 242, 334 Shapiro, Alexis, 434 Shaver, Phillip, 538 Shaw, Herman, 59 Shedler, Jonathan, 167 Shepard, Roger, 16, 197 Sherif, Muzafer, 502-3, 516-17 Shiffrin, Richard, 272, 272, 287 Shiva Fellowship Church Earth Faire, 168 shock experiments, 506-8, 508 short-term memory, 272, 272, 273 see also working memory shyness, 554, 568 sickle-cell disease, 119, 120 Siegel, Shepard, 238 signal-detection theory, 178, 178 sign language, 334-35, 335 similarity, proximity and, 189 Simon, Théodore, 339 Simonides, 283 Singer, Jerome, 411-12 single-pulse TMS, 665 situational attributions, 527 situationism, 568, 568, 581 situations: and aggression, 510 and brain, 19 and depressive disorders, 620 and evil, 19 and genetics and behavior, 22 and harming and helping others, 514-16 and impressions, 527-28 influence on behavior of, 500 and learning, 19 and personality, 561, 568-69, 571-73 and psychological disorders, 619-21 and relationships, 535-38 and research methodology, 45-46 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 and social influence, 507 and social psychology, 500, 507, 514-16, 527-28 strong, 569, 569 and treatment of psychological disorders, 681 weak, 569, 569 sixth senses, 180 size constancy, 196 size perception, 193-94, 196 skepticism, 5-6 skills, 341

skin, and sensory receptors, 211 Skinner, B. F., 18, 20, 222, 240, 240, 241-42, 242, 247, 250, 252, 334, 560, 562 Skinner box, 241-42, 242 sleep, 144-54 as adaptive behavior, 148-51 and adenosine, 151 and alcohol. 150 as altered state of consciousness, 145-48 amount of, 145 and basic structure and functions of brain, 93,*93* and brain, 144-54, 146 and caffeine, 150–51 and cognitive behavioral therapy, 147 deprivation of, see sleep deprivation disorders, 147-48, 148 and exercise, 151 and health, 452 and meditation 151 and moods, 149 and narcolepsy, 148 and nervous system, 86, 110 and obstructive sleep apnea, 147-48, 148 and psychological disorders, 612, 613, 618, 620 638 purpose of, 148-51 and restoration, 149 and sleep-wake cycles, 108 stages of, 146, 146, 147 strategies for, 150-51, 151 see also dreams; REM sleep sleep apnea, 147-48, 148 sleep deprivation, 149, 151 and adenosine, 151 and caffeine, 151 and exercise, 151 and meditation, 151 and napping, 151 sleeper effect, 296 sleep spindles, 146 sleepwalking, 148 slow-wave sleep, 146, 150 smell, 94, 208-10, 208-9, 364 and perception, 179 Smithies, Oliver, 125 smoking, 50-51, 57, 58, 167, 168, 455, 465-67, 465, 466, 478, 488, 489, 661 and children, 168 and epigenetic tags, 123 and imitation, 256, 256 quitting of, 466-67 Snoop (Gosling), 580 sociability, 553 social anxiety disorder, 613, 613, 615, 615, 673 see also social phobia social blunders, and bystander apathy, 515 social brain hypothesis, 497, 497 social comparisons, 432, 590, 591 social development, 358, 366-72 social exclusion, 505 social facilitation, 499-500, 499 social factors: and behavior, 20 and emotions, 421-22 and genetic basis of psychological science, 122 - 23

and psychological disorders, 613, 631-32, 644,654,698,699 and scientific foundations of psychology, 20 see also relationships social identity theory, 498 social influence, 496-508 social integration, 485-87 social interaction. and psychological disorders, 631, 643, 644 and treatment of psychological disorders, 654, 688, 696, 698, 699 see also relationships social intuitionist model, and morality, 382 socialization and attitudes. 519-20. 520 and development, 358 and emotions, 420, 422 and gender, 387, 388 and identity, 387, 389 and morality, 382 social learning, 254 social loafing, 502 social media, 3-4 social multiplier, 347 social needs, and motivation, 430-32 social norms 502 see also norms social norms marketing, and binge drinking, 504 social phobia, 613, 613, 615, 660 social psychology, 19, 27 and adaptation, 514, 590 and attitudes. 519–24 and attributions, 525-26, 540-41 and cognition, 521-22and evolution, 514, 530 and gender, 529 and harming and helping others, 510-18 and impressions, 525–33 and motivation, 499-500 and relationships, 534-41 and scientific foundations of psychology, 19 and self-knowledge, 584-93 and situations, 500, 507, 514-16, 527-28 social regard, 586-88 social-skills training, 658, 660, 688, 688 social support, see support, social socio-cognitive theories, of personality, 561 sociocultural model, and psychological disorders, 607, 607 socioeconomic status (SES), and intelligence, 347-48 socioemotional development, 360 socioemotional selectivity theory, 397, 398 sociometer theory, 587, 587 sodium, and nervous system, 79-80 somatic markers, 417-18 somatic marker theory, 417 somatic nervous system, 77, 104-6 somatosensory hallucinations, 630 somatosensory homunculus, 97, 97 somatosensory nerves, 78 somatosensory signals, 104-5 somnambulism, 148 sound localization, 199 sound waves, 198, 198, 200 definition of, 198 source amnesia, 296-97

source attribution, 523 source credibility, 102, 102, 367-68, 367, 678-79.679 judging of, 7-8, 37 source misattributions, see misattributions, source S.P. (case study), 407 spanking, 247-48, 247 spatial relationships, 96, 183, 191-93 and brain, 110 Spearman, Charles, 341, 341 Spears, Britney, 599 species, attachment across, 369, 369 specific factors, 666 specific learning disorders, 642 specific response level, 563 speech, 103, 630, 644 disorganized, 630-31 speech production, 332 speech waveform, 331 Spelke, Elizabeth, 378 Sperling, George, 273, 274 Sperry, Roger, 100, 102 spinal cord: and basic structure and functions of brain, 92 - 93and brain. 89 and sensation, 213 spirituality, 487-90, 490 and well-being, 487-90, 490 split brain, 100-103, 101, 102, 103, 142-43, 143 spontaneous recovery, and learning, 229-30, 229 sports psychologists, 27 spreading activation models, 282 Springsteen, Bruce, 396 Spurzheim, Johann, 90 SSRIs, see selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors standard deviation, 67, 340 Stanford-Binet test, 339 Stanford prison study, 500, 500 Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale, 339 Stark, Susan, 431 startle response, 612 State Department, U.S., 454 state-dependent memory, 282-83 statistical procedures, 63-68 statistical significance, 68 statistics, misunderstanding, 8, 69, 180 status, in mate selection, 536 stereoscopic vision, 192 stereotypes: automatic categorization as basis of, 528-30.528 and depression, 684 and emotions, 420 and gender, 313 and impressions, 528-33 and ingroup-outgroup bias, 530 inhibiting, 532-33 and perception, 530-31, 531 and personality, 575 and prejudice, 517, 530-33 and race, 530, 531-32 and schemas, 313, 313

stereotype threat, 350, 350, 351 Stern, Wilhelm, 339 Sternberg, Robert, 343 Stickgold, Robert, 150 stigma, and psychotherapy, 661 stimulants, and addiction, 161, 161, 163 stimulus, and detection, 176 see also sensation stimulus discrimination, 231, 231 stimulus generalization, 230, 230, 236, 237 Stohr, Oskar, 121 Stoner, James, 501 storage, of memory, 266-67, 267, 272-78, 285 Strange Situation Test, 370-71, 371 stream of consciousness, 15 streptococcal infections, 617 stress 617 and adolescence, 385 and biology, 470-72 and brain, 471, 482 chronic, 475, 477 coping with, 469-74, 470, 489 and culture, 661 in daily life, 469 definition of, 469 and development, 359, 360 and dissociative disorders, 626 as distress (duress), 469-70 as eustress, 469-70 and evolution, 472 and exercise, 489 and gender, 472-73 and health, 451-52, 475-82, 476, 488 and heart disease, 477-80, 477 and hostility, 478, 478 and immune system, 476-77, 476 and interpersonal relations, 470 and marriage, 485-86 and pregnancy, 360 and psychological disorders, 606, 606, 612, 620.684 and restrained eaters, 462 stages of, 474 types of, 469-70 and working memory, 471 stressors, 469 short term, and immune system, 472 stress resistance, 481 stress scale, 470, 471 stroboscopic motion perception, 195-96, 195 Stroop, John Ridley, 156 Stroop effect, 156, 336 Stroop test, 156-57 structuralism, 14, 20 structural model of personality, 558-59 studies. conducting of, 39, 40 designing of, 39-40, 39 replication of, 41 sponsored by drug companies, 678-79, 679 studying, strategies for, 302-3, 303 study-skills course study, 295 Stunkard, Albert, 460 Styron, William, 684, 684 subcortical structures: and basic structure and functions of brain, 94-95,95

and emotions, 411 and memory, 270 $see \ also \ specific \ structures$ subjectivity, 14, 404 and study of consciousness, 133, 133 subliminal perception, 137-38, 137 substance abuse, 602, 695 see also alcohol, abuse of; drugs, abuse of Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 699 substitution, and memory, 274 subtyping, 529-30 successive approximations, 242 sucking reflex, 361, 361, 375-76 suggestibility, 297-98, 298 see also hypnosis Sugiyama, Lawrence, 45 suicide, 618, 619, 622-23, 623, 638, 681, 682, 690, 691, 699-700, 700, 701 factors in, 622-23, 623 and genetics 623 and panic attacks, 614 and psychological disorders, 623 and self-injury, 622-23 superego, 558 superordinate goals, 517 superordinate traits, 563 superstitions, 243, 243 supertasters, 205-6, 205 support, social: and health, 485-87 and stress, 485 and treatment of psychological disorders, 659,660,682 suppression, thought, 414 suprachiasmatic nucleus, 145, 145 surface structure, 334 surgery, and psychological disorders, 664, 665, 676.686 surrogate mothers, see 369, 370 surveys, 39-40 survival: and adaptation, 15, 22, 23 and basic structure and functions of brain, 92 - 93and development, 366-72 and emotions, 416, 421, 422 and harming and helping others, 514 and ingroup/outgroup bias, 530 and memory, 278 and motivation, 424, 428, 430 and perception, 190 and personality, 554 and stress, 470 and themes of psychological science, 15, 22.23 survival of the fittest, 15 Swedo, Susan, 617 symbolic representations, 311, 311 concepts as, 311–12 symbolism, and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 376 sympathetic division, 105-6, 105 sympathetic nervous system, 479 and stress, 470 sympathy, 382 synapse/synapses, 359

definition of, 79 and development, 359, 360 and intelligence, 348 and learning, 225–26 and nervous system, 79, 79, 82–84, 87 and psychological disorders, 662 synaptic pruning, 359–60 synesthesia, 173–74, 174 syntax, 329, 333, 335 systematic desensitization, 659, 673 systematic errors, 65, 65 systems approach, 660

taboos, 437 tabula rasa. 223 tactile stimulation, 211 Tajfel, Henri, 498 Tajin Kyufusho, 609 "talk" psychotherapy, 657, 672-73 see also psychoanalysis; psychodynamic theories tardive dyskinesia, 663, 686, 687 taste, 204-7, 204-5, 206, 364, 434, 435 - 36cultural influences on, 206-7 five basic sensations of 204-6 and mother's diet 205 206 and perception, 179 taste buds, 204, 204, 205 Taylor, Shelley, 472-73, 590 T cells, 476-77 Teasdale, John, 659 technology, 5 in the classroom, 136-37, 136 technology-based treatments, 669 teenage brain, 385 teenagers: and frontal cortex, 385 and limbic system, 385 telegraphic speech, 333 temperament: definition of, 552 and gender, 553 and personality, 552-53, 553 temperature, and sensation, 211 temporal coding, 199, 200 temporal lobes: and basic structure and functions of brain, 96, 98, 140 and memory, 265-66, 266, 270-71, 277 and perception, 179 and psychological disorders, 632 tend-and-befriend response, 473, 473 teratogens, 360-61 Terman, Lewis, 339 terminal buttons, 78, 79, 79, 84 Terrace, Herbert, 335 terrorism, 27, 296, 510 terror management theory, 587 Tessler, Linda, 114 testable hypotheses, 37 testing: aptitude, 338-39 intelligence, 344, 348, 350-51 as measurement of intelligence, 338-41 neuropsychological, 605, 605 psychological, 604-5, 606, 640

testing (cont.) and psychological disorders, 604-5, 606, 640 validity of, 340-41 see also specific tests testosterone, 107, 438 and aggression, 511 and facial width, 537 test trials 227 texting, see cell phone use texture gradient, 193 thalamus 185 and basic structure and functions of brain, 94, 95, 95 and emotions, 407, 407 and perception, 179, 179 and sensation, 176, 183, 205, 209, 211, 213 and taste, 204 and touch, 211 Thatcher, Margaret, 191 Thatcher illusion, 190, 191 THC (tetrahydrocannabinol), 166 Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), 578, 578 theories. good, 37-38 and research methodology, 34, 37-38 theory, definition of, 37 theory of mind, 380-81, 380, 382, 643 therapists: choosing of, 668-71, 669, 670 client relationship with, 691 theta waves, 146, 146 thimerosal, in vaccines, 646-47 Thinking Eye, the Seeing Brain, The (Enns), 182 Thinking Fast and Slow (Kahneman), 134 thin slices of behavior, 526 third-variable problem, 50 This Is Your Brain on Music (Levitin), 198 Thomas, Alexander, 391 Thorndike, Edward, 222, 240-41, 240 Thorndike's puzzle box, 240-41, 240 thought suppression, 414 thought/thinking: abstract, 377 and application of psychological science, 5.6 and behavior, 18 biased, and anxiety disorder, 614, 614 and categorization, 311-12 critical, 5, 6, 35-41, 110, 180, 243, 377 definition of, 310 influence of neurotransmission on, 84-88 and language, 310-51 and Piaget's cognitive development stages, 374 and psychological disorders, 19, 608 rational, 558 and representations, 310-15 and scientific foundations of psychology, 15,18 and structural model of personality, 558 - 59unwanted, and anxiety disorders, 615-17 see also cognition; decision making; mind; problem solving; reasoning; representations threats, 614

thresholds, 177-78, 177 tickling, 211 time, and eating, 435-36 tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon, 291 Titchener, Edward, 14, 16 tobacco, and children, 314 token economies, 249 tolerance, 167, 238 Tolman, Edward, 250, 251 Tomasello, Michael, 332 Tomkins, Silvan, 411 Tong, Frank, 138-39 top-down processing, 175, 191 touch, 210-15, 212-13, 364 and parietal lobes, 96-97 and perception, 179 sensory receptors for, 211 Touched with Fire (Jamison), 600 "Tower of Hanoi" problem, 322, 324 toxins, and influence of neurotransmission, 84 85 Tracy, Jessica, 420 traits, personality: of animals, 554-55, 555 as approach for studying personality, 557, 562 - 66assessment of, 579-80, 579, 581 as behavioral dispositions, 562-66 central 577 consistency of, 549 definition of 549 and hierarchical model, 563, 563 and life events. 571–73 and person-situation debate, 568 secondary, 577 stability of, 569-79, 579 tranquilizers, 662, 673, 686 transcendental meditation, 158 transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), 92, 93, 665, 665, 683 repeated, 665 single-pulse, 665 transduction, and sensation, 175-76, 182 transformation, and memory, 274 transgender, 387 transgenic mice, 61-62, 62 transience, 289, 290 transitions, life, 393-95 transitivity, 497 trauma, 292, 293, 606, 607, 617, 626, 638, 656, 658, 659, 667, 673, 690 and correlational studies, 51 Treatment of Adolescents with Depression Study (TADS), 700, 701 treatment resistant disorders, 664 Trebek, Alex, 527, 527 trepanning, 664, 664 Triandis, Harry, 591 trichromatic theory, 186 tricyclic antidepressants, 662, 677, 680, 699 Triplett, Norman, 499 Trivers, Robert, 514 trust, 486-87, 487 Tsien, Joseph, 269 Tugade, Michele, 482 Tulving, Endel, 282, 286 Turner, John, 498

Tuskegee Institute, 59 Tversky, Amos, 317-18 Twain, Mark, 422 twins: dizygotic, 120-22, 121 and emotions, 422 and genetic basis of psychological science, 120 - 22and intelligence, 346-47 monozygotic, 120-22, 121 and motivation, 444 and obesity, 460 and OCD, 617 and personality, 550, 551, 571 and psychological disorders, 607, 607, 620, 624, 632, 632, 641, 644, 648 and sexual behavior, 444 twin studies, 120-22, 121, 444 Twitmyer, Edwin, 226 two-factor theory, 411-15, 412, 413 Type A behavior pattern, 478, 478 Type B behavior pattern, 478, 478 unattended information processing, 135 unconditional positive regard, 562, 657 unconditioned response (UR), 227, 228, 230-31.233-35 unconditioned stimulus (US), 227, 228, 229-31, 229, 233-35, 234, 235, 238, 242 unconscious: definition of, 17 as influencing behavior, 137-38 and memory, 287, 287 and personality, 547, 557-60, 577-78 and psychological disorders, 607 and scientific foundations of psychology, 17.20and study of consciousness, 137-38 and treatment of psychological disorders, 656 unexpected findings, 41-42 unihemispherical sleep, 148 uniqueness, individual, and personality, 577 United 93, 481 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 160 universal grammar, 334 Unquiet Mind, An (Jamison), 599 Up documentary series, 569, 569 U.S.A. Memory Championships, 284 "use it or lose it" policy, 359-60 using psychology in your life, 28-29, 60-61, 61, 114, 114, 150-51, 151, 202, 248-49, 249, 302-3, 303, 322-23, 323, 395, 395, 414-15, 415, 540-41, 541, 582-83, 583, 622-23, 623, 670-71, 670 utility, 317 vaccinations, and autism spectrum disorder, 646-47.646 valence, of emotions, 405, 405 validation, 690 validity: construct, 63, 63 external, 63 internal, 63–65, 64 and research methodology, 63-65, 64

of tests, 340-41

Valium, 87 values, and personality, 561, 561 van Gogh, Vincent, 600 van Knippenberg, Ad, 138 variability, 67 variable interval schedule (VI), 245, 245 variable ratio schedule (VR), 246, 246 variables. dependent. 52-53 manipulating, in experimental method, 52 - 53and research methodology, 43-44, 48-53, 67 - 68variable schedules, 245-46, 245, 246 variation. 122 variety, and eating, 436, 436 Vazire, Simine, 581 Ventner, J. Craig, 117 ventral stream, 179, 183 vestibular senses, 199 vicarious learning, 256-57 Vicki (case study), 638 Vicodin, 162 Vietnam War, 168-69, 168 violence: and alcohol 164 and depression 684 and genetic basis of psychological science, 122 - 23and ingroup/outgroup bias, 516-17 and learning, 248, 255, 257-58, 258 and media, 257-58, 258 and psychological disorders, 638 see also aggression virtual environments, 673, 673 virus hypothesis, 633 vision, 364-65 as basic sensory processing system, 182-97 and basic structure and functions of brain, 96, 96, 101 and development, 364-65, 365 as important source of knowledge, 182 and learning, 232 and perception, 175, 176, 179 and psychological disorders, 644 and sleep, 149, 152, 153 see also visual cortex visual acuity, 364-65, 365 visual cortex, 182, 365 and basic sensory processes, 183, 185 and basic structure and functions of brain, 96,96

and development, 365 and development of brain, 110 and emotion, 407 and perception, 179, 195 visual hallucinations, 630 visual information, and memory, 273 Viswanathan, Kaavya, 297 vocal cords, 330, 330 vocal tract human 330 von Restorff effect, 296 Vygotsky, Lev, 377-78 Wagner, Allan, 233 Wakefield, Andrew, 646-57 Walker, Elaine, 633 Wall, Patrick, 214 Wallace, Mike, 684 Washington, Denzel, 533 waterfall effect, 195 "water lily" problem, 326 Watson, John B., 17-18, 223, 226, 236, 237, 241, 608 Weber, Ernst, 136 Weber's law, 178 Wechsler, David, 339 Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), 339, 339 Wegner, Daniel, 414 weight, see eating; obesity Weiner, Bernard, 527 well-being: definition of 453 and happiness, 483-84, 484 and health, 451-90 and marriage, 485 and spirituality, 487-90, 490 Wells, Gary, 299 Wells, H. G., 241 Werker, Janet, 332 Wernicke's area, 331, 331 Wertheimer, Max, 16 Western Collaborative Group, 478 "what is beautiful is good" stereotype, 537 What to Believe? Using Psychological Reasoning, 10-11, 69, 69, 102, 102, 142-43, 143, 180, 243, 243, 299, 299, 319, 319, 367-68, 367, 409-10, 409, 454-55, 455, 488-89, 488, 504, 504, 535-47, 592-93, 593, 647, 678-79, 679 Wheatley, Thalia, 155-56 white matter, 93

whole language approach, in learning to read. 336 Why Marriages Succeed or Fail... and How You Can Make Yours Last (Gottman), 540 Why People Die by Suicide (Joiner), 622 Wiesel, Torsten, 41-42, 42 Wilde, Gabriella, 538 Williams, Robin, 618, 618 Wilson, Timothy, 142 Wiltshire, Stephen, 346, 346 Winfrey, Oprah, 108, 108, 646-47 withdrawal, 167, 238, 631 women: and ingroup bias, 498, 498 working, 24 Woodley, Shailene, 538 Woodruff, Guy, 380 word salad, 630 working backward, 326 working memory, 273 and aging, 397 and basic stages of memory, 273-75 and brain structure and functions, 344-45 definition of, 344 and intelligence, 344-45, 344 long-term memory distinguished from, 276-77 276 and organization of information, 281-82 and stress, 471 see also short-term memory working self-concept, 585-86, 586 World Health Organization (WHO), 458, 465.477 Wundt, Wilhelm, 14, 14

Xanax, 87, 662

Yerkes-Dodson law, 426, 426 yoga, 158, 659 youth, *see* adolescence; children Yufe, Jack, 121

Zajonc, Robert, 417, 499–500, *499*, 519–20 Zametkin, Alan, 648 Zen meditation, 158 zero correlations, 49 Zeta-Jones, Catherine, 599, 622 Zilstein study, 431 Zimbardo, Philip, 500 Zoloft, *679* zygotes, 119, 359, *359* Zyprexa, 663, 687