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&
Rubin

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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PREFACE

Bert Raven

Footprints in the snow. This was my earliest conscious association with the intricacies of social interaction. As a young child in the Midwest, I recall going out early on a wintry day and seeing the footprints of those who had gone out earlier. I found myself wondering about the unseen figures who had left their marks so vividly before me. How much could I tell about them? Some prints were large, both in sole and heel, and deep—a workman going off to catch the early bus to the local steel mill? Some were a bit smaller, lighter, and narrower—obviously those of a woman. And there were children's footprints, some walking, some running, sometimes suggesting a chase—a playful snowball fight? Dog prints had their unique paths—telephone pole to tree to fire hydrant. A lone child's path would often follow a meandering course, indicating that the child's attention was attracted first by one object and then another. A lone adult's path would generally be straight and direct, swerving only in response to another person or group coming from the opposite direction. But what puzzled me most was my observation of the paths of two persons walking together. Their paths, instead of following two straight parallel lines, formed a connected series of mirror-image arcs as the two paths converged and diverged in a regular pattern. At first, I thought this was some sort of unusual occurrence, or even a playful game, so I watched carefully on another morning and found similar patterns in the footprints of other pairs. Why? I rejected a few possible explanations—the repeated pattern did not seem like a playful game or dance, nor could it be two convivial drinking buddies, for the pattern was too regular. It occurred to me that I was seeing a pattern of mutual adjustment—the two persons were attempting to maintain a mutually acceptable distance between them. As they walked side by side their paths would gradually bring them closer together, closer than they perhaps felt to be appropriate or comfortable; they would then over-adjust by moving farther apart, beyond the appropriate distance, and then closer together again. I had formed a very simple hypothesis and could not wait to test it through actual observation. When I saw a pair walking together later one day, their behavior seemed consistent with my hypothesis, and I experienced that wonderful feeling of exhilaration that comes with having one's hypothesis supported by data. I also learned something else from the simple exercise—that one could sometimes learn more about how people behave by observing a trace or fragment of their behavior than by observing their total behavior.

Later, when I was taking courses in psychology and social psychology, I be-

came more aware of the problems and pitfalls in informal observation, and of the ways in which one's hypotheses can bias one's observation. Did the pattern of adjustment in the pair really occur, or did my expectations lead me to see such patterns when they didn't actually exist? For a time, healthy skepticism led me to distrust any casual observational data. Nothing was a fact unless it was supported by careful experimental control, precise and reliable measurement, and statistical significance. All too often social science education serves to put blinders on our students, restricting their observations and speculation to the point that their interest in human behavior becomes restricted and sterile. Even more often, a social psychology course or text will be overly defensive, limiting its discussion to a series of controlled and contrived experiments on molecular details of social interaction, each supported by pages of statistical tables. In this way, a creative student may be lost to the field forever. The rich observations of social behavior in biographies, novels, and drama are rejected as entertaining but of no social scientific value. A student is encouraged to disregard the evidence of his or her day-to-day experience for the same reason.

Jeff Rubin

Our primary objective in writing this book has been to achieve a balanced presentation of social psychology. On the one hand, we are convinced that social scientists need no longer be defensive. Social psychology has established itself as a substantial and important area, and its students no longer have to prove themselves or the merit of their discipline. Social psychology, however, is more than a systematic statement of the social scientific method. We therefore encourage you, the reader, to continually relate the material presented in these pages to problems and issues in your everyday lives; to works in literature, drama, and the arts that you find stimulating; to current social problems in our nation and elsewhere. We hope to provide some tools that will help you understand these problems and issues better, some theories, some hypotheses, and some carefully developed research evidence. While we believe that you will appreciate the ingenuity of social psychologists in developing the research studies described in this book, please never lose sight of the direct social and personal implications of their findings. To illustrate the relevance of basic social psychological concepts, we will draw on our own experiences—observations made while traveling with a circus will illustrate certain principles of group structure, an introspective account of a first parachute jump will illustrate affiliation in the face of threat, and patterns of interaction in our own families will illustrate similar patterns that can be found elsewhere. We urge you, the reader, to follow our lead and look for the personal relevance of the theories we discuss.

Bert Raven

While we are thinking about applications of social psychological concepts, what about two people writing a book? Shouldn't we be able to see many of the princi-

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ples of social interaction operating here? I started to write another book a number of years ago, and after many sporadic attempts managed to complete six chapters, which have been sitting in a file drawer ever since. Although I was clearly interested in the subject matter, the problem was that there always seemed to be other things that had to be done, obligations toward others that seemed to be more pressing. I still felt that I had something to say in a text such as this one, but to make sure that it would be completed I needed to work with someone else. The field is broad and diverse, of course, and it is useful to have another person's perspective—someone with whom I could check my ideas from time to time. But even more critical for me are the interdependence pressures that result from working with a collaborator. By having someone to whom I was obligated and who was obligated to me in turn, someone with whom I could work toward a mutually desirable goal, I could put off some of the immediate conflicting pressures to do other things. However, the collaborator could not be just anyone. It had to be someone for whom I would have personal as well as professional admiration. It would have to be someone whose perspective was not entirely consistent with mine, so that we could mutually supplement and occasionally challenge one another, but not so different in outlook that we would feel no affiliation and no sense of common purpose.

Jeff Rubin

Of course, similar considerations entered my mind as we explored the possibilities of working together on this book. Indeed, it was our basic similarity in outlook and approach to teaching and research that originally drew us together—I had been using Sartre's play *No Exit* to illustrate group structure in my lectures, and I was amazed and delighted to hear of a social psychologist out on the West Coast who was doing the same thing. I had been carrying out research on bargaining behavior and conflict and was delighted to find that many of the concepts of social power, as presented by my future collaborator, meshed with and further clarified my own research. Thus, both similarity and complementarity of interests and views helped bring us together.

The process by which we worked together can also be seen in relation to the stages of group problem-solving described by Robert Freed Bales and Fred Strodtbeck. Our first meetings were devoted largely to solving problems of orientation and communication, agreeing to a common language (though we were both social psychologists, it is interesting how frequently we used our terms somewhat differently); and problems of evaluation and common goals—deciding exactly what our final product should be like, how broad a field of social psychology should be covered, and what audience we should write for. There were problems of control—decisions about how the task should be divided and coordinated. We had our occasional disagreements as well, to be sure, and our tensions, but fortunately we were able to resolve these effectively. The point, again, is that the two of us were working as a group and following most of the principles discussed in this book.

Bert Raven & Jeff Rubin

The preceding "dialogue" was part of the Preface to the first edition of this book. We have not changed a word of it, since it is as descriptive of the development and purposes of the text now as it was several years ago. Looking back on that statement, we can remember how we awaited the reception of our book with excitement tinged with some apprehension. We had some messages to share with our readers. We wanted to convey our excitement about social psychology and what it has to offer to all of us. We hoped we had a book that students and others would read eagerly and, in so doing, would come to share our enthusiasm. But we felt that our book was different from others (a view probably shared by most authors). Maybe it was too different? Maybe our readers would not find our personal discussions as meaningful as they had been for us? Like playwrights and composers on opening night, we awaited the response of our readers. To our delight, the response was overwhelmingly positive. Students, other than our own, stopped us to tell us how very interesting and informative they had found the text. Our colleagues in the field were also quite positive, and offered a number of suggestions for improvement.

We had made a conscious decision in our first edition to focus on interpersonal and group behavior and then show how such theory could be extended to other social phenomena; as a result, we omitted or reduced our coverage of several topics that social psychologists consider central to our field. In this edition, we have taken very seriously the several suggestions for broader coverage of the field, and we immodestly think that our book is now even better than before, especially with the addition of six chapters. Walter Swap, Jeff's friend and colleague at Tufts, prepared for us two very thorough and thought-provoking chapters on social attitudes, and the ways in which these attitudes are influenced by others. Mary Parlee, of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York and currently president of the Division on the Psychology of Women of the American Psychological Association, contributed a challenging and insightful chapter on the social psychology of sex roles and male–female differences. Sally Ann Shumaker and Ralph Taylor, both members of the faculty and research staff of the Johns Hopkins University and its Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, developed a provocative chapter that presents developments in the vigorous new field of environmental social psychology. These authors each carefully reviewed our text and were particularly careful to fit their new materials into the other chapters, both in terms of interrelating theory and research as well as style of presentation. We, of course, worked closely with the contributing authors in the final stages and, with their agreement and understanding, made further revisions so that the new material would become part of a cohesive whole. Then, in addition, we ourselves prepared chapters on aggression and the positive forms of social behavior (altruism and helping behavior), and rewrote completely our earlier chapter on person perception to reflect new developments in the field. Other chapters were also revised, less extensively, to reflect suggestions from students and colleagues, and to include the most recent developments.

Throughout this volume, we have attempted to dramatize and add interest to our discussion of social psychological theory and research through the use of various methods of illustration: descriptions of historical events, presentation of our own experiences, serious and humorous anecdotes, photography, drawings, and cartoons. It is likely that when the social psychological history of the twentieth century is written, motion picture films and television will be recognized as major forms of documentation of our society and influences upon us, both individually and collectively. Obviously, both the documentation and influence have been positive and negative. For our chapter openers, we have attempted to set the scene for each chapter with a carefully selected still photo from a motion picture.

We were particularly careful to review our entire first edition for sexist language—of which we found a number of examples, such as the use of the generic masculine pronoun—and we carefully rewrote accordingly. The English language is so bound to such implicitly sexist usage that some ingenuity was required for us to accomplish this end without introducing unnecessarily complex or distracting phrasing. However, with the help of our reviewers and our skillful editor, Susan Friedman, we hope we have been successful.

The Raven-Rubin dyad, as is customary, takes full responsibility for this volume and any errors it may contain. However, we are deeply grateful to a number of others who have assisted us in various ways. The interdependence pressures that led us to devote long hours to this venture meant we had less time to spend with others to whom we have deep feelings of love and obligation. We are grateful to Carol, David, Sally, and Noah Rubin and to Celia, Michelle, and Jon Raven for their sympathy, support, and understanding. Since our last edition, our own families have grown and matured: Sally and Noah were not present for our first edition; David is now a grade schooler who likes to hike in the White Mountains. Jon (whose insightful analysis of power in the Raven household, at age seven, is still worthy of presentation on page 486) is now a student at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Michelle at the University of California, Davis. It is both fun and educational to spring our thoughts on social psychology upon them, and get their insights and experiences.

From the beginnings of this project, we have benefited from the suggestions and recommendations of many colleagues: Daniel Katz, Robert Zajonc, Bruce Biddle, Ruth Cline, Gregory Donnerworth, Jacqueline Goodchilds, George Levinger, Zella Luria, Neil Malamuth, Michael Pallak, David Redfearn, Carol Rubin, Walter Swap, Daniel Williams. We have continued to consult with many of these in our revision. Samuel Himmelfarb and Steven Schiavo provided insightful reviews of our entire revised text. Joy Stapp, in addition to reviewing our first revision—sometimes, incredibly, line by line, even word by word—provided further evaluations and suggestions of the re-revised material that proved especially valuable.

Students, colleagues, and others who had had occasion to use our text or to see our revision, generously shared critical comments and suggestions, almost all of which were attended to in our final manuscript. We cannot recall or give credit to

them all, but let us list a number of them:

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Finally, we owe thanks to our secretaries—Phyllis Radler, Gail Shulman, and Marjorie Fishman—who tirelessly typed and retyped our many revisions, and to the production and editorial staff of John Wiley: To Carol Luitjens, who as editor recognized the potential in our text and offered us valuable encouragement and direction in the revision; to Stella Kupferberg and her co-workers who helped us in the selection of photographs and illustrative material; especially to Susan Friedman, who worked most closely, patiently, and insightfully with us in the revision of our final manuscript material; to Kevin Murphy for the design and layout; to Catherine Starnella for production supervision; and to Pamela Bellet-Cassell for assistance in pulling all the pieces together.

Bertram H. Raven
Jeffrey Z. Rubin

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn

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