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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:

Concise encyclopedia of psychology.

"A Wiley-Interscience publication."

1. Psychology—Dictionaries. I. Corsini, Raymond J.
BF31.C67 1987 150'.3'21 86-22392
ISBN 0-471-01068-5

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

especially in the post-World War II period. At the same time, the availability of computers, acknowledgment of the limitations of relatively small-scale experiments and observation, and the growth of a more general fabric of communication among the disciplines suggests that social psychology provides both an opportunity and potential for scientific progress.

FURTHER READINGS

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DESCRIPTIVE PSYCHOLOGY OBSERVATIONAL METHODS

E. F. BORGATTA

SOCIAL PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGY

Social psychophysiology is characterized by the use of noninvasive procedures to study the relationships between actual or perceived physiological events and the verbal or behavioral effects of human association. The field represents the intersection of social psychology and psychophysiology. Social psychology, the older of the two spawning disciplines, is directed toward understanding the reportable and behavioral effects of human association, whereas psychophysiology employs noninvasive procedures to study the interrelationships between physiological events and a person's reportable or overt behavior. Social psychology is generally partitioned into conceptual areas of research (e.g., attitudes, aggression, altruism) and is replete with abstract theories based largely on verbal data. Psychophysiology, in contrast, is generally partitioned into anatomical areas of research (e.g., cardiovascular, gastrointestinal) and is laden with sophisticated physiological measures, instrumentation, and observations with uncertain psychological significance. Social psychophysiology has emerged from these disparately focused disciplines for the purposes of understanding the psychological significance of physiological events and explaining complex behaviors in biological terms.

The perspective on human behavior epitomized by social psychophysiology is quite old. It dates back to at least the third century B.C.

Articles bearing the imprint of a social psychophysiological perspective began appearing in the psychological literature in the 1920s with reports about the changes in the breathing of poker players when they were bluffing and about the galvanic skin responses (GSRs) of students finding themselves possessing attitudes shared by few peers. The first summary of empirical research in social psychophysiology was published by Kaplan and Bloom in 1960. The review dealt with the physiological concomitants of social status, social sanction, definition of the situation, and empathy. An optimism was expressed that the field of social psychophysiology had

come of age. At about the same time, John Lacey published a critical and cogent review wherein he argued there was little consistency in the literature upon which to build bridges between psychophysiological data and psychological constructs.

Nevertheless, investigations of the reciprocal influence of social and physiological systems began to broaden in scope and increase in number. In 1962, Schachter and Singer published their influential two-factor theory of emotions that the sensations derived from a large and unexpected increase in physiological arousal could be experienced as widely different emotions, depending upon the circumstances covarying with these sensations. Leiderman and Shapiro represented a different vein of research: Evidence was presented for the dramatic impact that social factors such as conformity pressures have on physiological responding.

The attractiveness of psychophysiological procedures was tempered, however, by three formidable barriers: (1) the paucity of conceptual links between the psychophysiological data and social psychological constructs; (2) the technical sophistication and expensive instrumentation required to collect, analyze, and interpret psychophysiological data in social psychological paradigms; and (3) the inevitable pitting of social psychological and psychophysiological procedures against one another in studies of construct validation.

Three distinct strategies developed for dealing with these barriers. One strategy was simply to dismiss physiological factors as irrelevant, at least at present, to the study of social cognition and behavior, and to dismiss social factors as too molar to contribute to an understanding of psychophysiological relationships. A second strategy was to view the physiological factor important in the study of social processes as being diffuse, perceptible changes in physiological arousal. This view provided the rationale for conducting research with little or no psychophysiological recording equipment and expertise, since it followed from this reasoning that any single physiological response, or even sensitive measures of interoceptive sensations, reflected a person's physiological arousal at any given moment.

The third approach more often involved collaborative efforts by psychophysiologicalists and social psychologists. The strategy followed was to narrow the breadth of the social issue under investigation while increasing the depth (levels) of the analysis. For instance, rather than viewing physiological arousal as the *sine qua non* of organismic influences on social cognition and behavior, specific patterns of physiological responses were conceived as reflecting and/or influencing specific social processes. Experiments exemplifying this approach are characterized by the simultaneous measurement of multiple physiological, verbal, and/or behavioral responses in a single session, and by interpretations that entertain highly specific, reciprocal, and (at least initially) biologically adaptive influences between social and physiological systems. Studies of the incipient and transient patterning of facial muscles during social interaction, impression formation, or social influence are illustrative.

The increasing utility for investigators to be informed about various levels of human behavior ranging from the physiological to the sociocultural resulted during the 1980s in a convergence among the three research strategies outlined as the barriers to social psychophysiological research were overcome. The nonelectrophysiological procedures developed by earlier investigators to study the effects of "arousal" on social processes, for example, posed interesting questions regarding the actual physiological basis for the obtained data. This, in turn, resulted in research on the symptoms and sensations people associate with various patterns of somatic and autonomic responses.

FURTHER READINGS

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PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY (NONREDUCTIONISM) SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

J. T. CACIOPPO

SOCIAL SKILLS TRAINING

Recent interest in social skills training, dating from the early 1970s, has a long past but a short history (to paraphrase Ebbinghaus' often cited quote). Concern about social competencies had long been secondary to other social and educational endeavors. It was generally assumed that one learned appropriate interpersonal skills "naturally," through the traditional socializing institutions—home, school, church, workplace. When social inadequacies were noted, they were attributed to faulty socialization: poor breeding, poor schooling, or poor religious and moral training. Even traditional mental health concepts viewed interpersonal inadequacies as symptomatic of more basic, underlying conflicts or psychopathologies.

Changes in social institutions effect changes in their traditional functions, including the teaching and nurturance of social competencies. By the early 1970s, a number of such changes were evident. Family structure had been modified, with a rapid rise in single-parent families, as well as families in which both mothers and fathers worked outside the home. Religious institutions no longer held the central position or support they once had. Schools were called upon to educate a more heterogeneous group of youngsters, displaying a wider range of in-school behaviors. And the impact of a new socializing agent, television, began to be noted. These various societal changes created a *Zeitgeist* ripe for the direct teaching of social skills.

The two major fields particularly receptive to social skills training were education and psychology. Throughout the history of education, the teaching of interpersonal, social, and moral behaviors and values sometimes has been an explicit goal, but almost always an implicit goal.

Psychology's involvement in social skills training can be traced through the emergence of the behavior modification movement. From that perspective, treatment efforts were reconceptualized in learning theory terms, with problematic behaviors viewed as examples of inadequate or faulty learning.

A favorite target population for the early behavior modifiers was institutionalized psychiatric patients. Many of the first behavior modification efforts were directed toward eliminating the bizarre, disturbed, and disturbing behaviors that often characterized patients, and teaching skills necessary for adequate outside functioning. There was little disagreement that these chronic patients were deficient in social skills. Whether their deficiencies were primarily attributable to the lack of opportunity to use such skills within the institution, or whether they had never adequately learned appropriate social skills is still a matter of debate.

Most such training efforts espouse the rationale that the individual is deficient in important interpersonal competencies, having never learned them adequately in the past. However, some (e.g., Wolpe) believe that the relevant skills may have been acquired but their appropriate usage is inhibited by conditioned anxiety. Still other researchers emphasize cognitive factors, such as negative expectations and self-appraisals, as causal (e.g., Meichenbaum). This view parallels the broader introduction and acceptance of cognitive factors into more traditional behavioral approaches to treatment, emerging under the rubric of "cognitive-behavior modification."

COMPONENTS

While not all social skills training programs are alike, there are many commonalities. Programs differ in the relative emphasis placed upon particular components, as well as their presentation, sequence, and utilization. Components most frequently included in training programs are (1) rationale presentation, (2) modeling, (3) role playing, (4) feedback, and (5) homework/transfer of training.

Rationale

An overview of the skills to be taught generally precedes training proper. The meaning of the terminology used and the relevance of the skill(s) to trainees' lives are often dealt with. Examples include "assertiveness" and "dating."

Terminology used in describing various social skills is not uniform across training programs. No standard taxonomy of social skills and their behavioral referents yet exists.

Modeling

A clear presentation of the behaviors to be learned is a part of most training programs regardless of whether the theoretical basis is skill deficit or conditioned anxiety. Many modeling presentations include cognitive behaviors (self-verbalizations) as well as overt behaviors.

Role Playing

After trainees have been exposed to modeled examples they are given opportunities to practice the behaviors. Trainees may role-play both overt and covert responses, with the ex-