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Full-Cycle Social Psychology for Theory and Application

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Abstract

Experimental lab-based research has the ability to carefully control variables and establish causality, but also possesses accompanying weaknesses. Most prominent is its inability to determine the strength or prevalence of phenomena in the natural environment. As a solution, we present a full-cycle approach to social psychology, whereby researchers use naturalistic observation to determine an effect's presence in the real world, theory to determine what processes underlie the effect, experimentation to verify the effect and its underlying processes, and a return to the natural environment to corroborate the experimental findings. We also discuss ways in which the full-cycle approach lends itself to applied research, how observing the lack of an effect where one is expected can lead to fruitful research, and how field research can offset some of the limitations of carefully controlled laboratory research.

Full-Cycle Social Psychology for Theory and Application

Jokes incorporated into communications for the sake of making the messages more amusing or attention grabbing actually tend to distract an audience rather than increase acceptance or retention of the message (Desberg, Henschel, Marshall, & McGhee, 1981). This is not the case however, under one condition: when the punch line of the joke matches the main point of the message in which it was contained. With that lesson in mind, we'd like to begin with the following joke:

> A man is leaving a restaurant one night and spots a friend looking around at the ground under a street lamp. He says that he'd dropped his car key and would appreciate some help in locating it. After some time spent searching, the pair comes up with a few things (a coin, an interesting button, an earring) but no key. Exasperated, the first man asks, ''Are you sure this is where you lost the key?'' His friend replies, ''No, actually. I think I lost it when I was getting out of my car across the street.'' Incredulous, the first man asks, ''Then why aren't you looking over there?'' ''Because the light's better over here,'' answers his friend.

It is likely to our benefit that the point of the joke is more important than the amusement it creates in this case, but the point is, indeed, important. Although many lost objects are sought and found where the light is good, a well-illuminated spot is not always the best place to look for what one finds most important. This is the case both when searching for lost objects and when conducting research in social psychology. Although many interesting and important social psychological phenomena have been found by focusing on where the light is best (i.e., illuminated by past theory, literature, and highly controlled laboratory research), this is not always where we should be looking.

As a guide for determining which areas to illuminate, we describe here a 'full-cycle' approach to social psychology, which involves conducting research by moving cyclically

(and bidirectionally) between naturalistic observation, theory, and experimentation (Cialdini, 1980). Utilizing the strengths of each of these components can compensate for the weaknesses of the others, and allow researchers to develop programs of research exploring phenomena that are powerful and prevalent in the environment, theorize why these phenomena occur, conduct controlled research to support the resulting theory, and return to the field to observe whether natural occurrences of the phenomena conform to the experimentally validated theory. Although the full-cycle model is not a model of application, but rather a model of ecologically valid basic research, use of the full-cycle approach also lends itself to application via the confidence it creates in the strength of effects under study and the ease with which one can use naturalistic observation to search for phenomena to study within the realm of social problems. Importantly, this can be done without sacrificing the ability to conduct basic research and advance basic theory.

Methodological Precision

The benefits of laboratory-based experimental research are considerable. The methodological rigor that the laboratory affords allows social scientists to carefully remove or control variables extraneous to the ones under study, detect important relationships between psychological variables, and better understand the mediating processes that underlie important social psychological phenomena. Furthermore, it would be a fool's errand to launch a new line of research without a solid understanding of relevant theory and consultation of past literature unless one seeks to plow untillable ground or replow ground already tilled. It is no wonder, then, that the most popular approach in social psychology is to sow the seeds of research in theory and literature, and cultivate them with methodical laboratory experiments.

Nevertheless, this classic approach also contains weaknesses. Researchers in social psychology are often faced with a unique challenge that many other disciplines need not confront: because social psychology is about the social world, social psychological research is understandably expected to be applicable to the real world. Although theory and literature can certainly lead to fruitful research topics, and laboratory research allows us to home in on the underlying processes at work, none of these serve to indicate the strength or prevalence of phenomena in natural settings. The significance of statistical tests do not indicate the real-world significance of the phenomena, and effect sizes only measure the size of an effect within the specific conditions set up in a lab. In fact, the variables researchers work so hard to control in the lab may actually be the variables that carry the most weight outside the lab, overpowering the variables a line of research has focused so intently upon.

This point is not meant to detract from the value of experimental research. The classic techniques of the social psychologist are indeed of great value, as long as it is known that

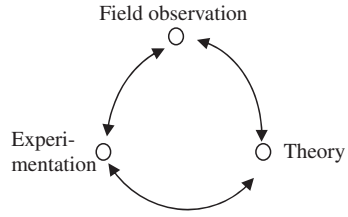

Figure 1 The full-cycle model.

the phenomenon being studied is important. Drawing inspiration from Stanley Milgram's (1963) famous obedience research, which was motivated by the shocking strength of authority in Nazi concentration camps or John Darley and Bibb Latané's (1968) bystander effect research, which was inspired by a well-publicized murder, the way to make this determination is by incorporating another valuable tool which has inspired some of the most well-known research programs in social psychology: naturalistic observation. Once the importance of an effect is established, one can comfortably ponder over theory and past literature and proceed to the experimental realm with confidence that the research is, indeed, valuable. From here, researchers can return to naturalistic observation to verify that the experimental findings match the manner in which the phenomenon was seen in the field. Utilizing this full-cycle approach (see Figure 1), moving cyclically between naturalistic observation, theory, and experimentation, it is possible to discover and research many important effects with fruitful results. This process typically involves (i) recognizing a powerful and interesting phenomenon in the natural environment, (ii) conducting an initial scientific test of the validity of the phenomenon, (iii) conducting further scientific investigation of the mediating processes and theoretical underpinnings of the effect, and (iv) looking back to naturally occurring situations to assess the match between the characteristics of the effect as it appeared in our studies versus how it appears in the real world.

Scouting Out New Effects

How, then, does one use naturalistic observation to scout out new effects for study? Perhaps the best way is through systematic personal observation: carefully examining naturally occurring behavior to seek out powerful and regularly occurring effects. One route to take in this regard is to remain alert to variables in the environment that produce noteworthy effects. By noting, for example, a small change in wording that seems to greatly affect compliance rates, one can, if sufficiently alert, spot important phenomena for study while going about one's daily routines. This strategy has served as the impetus for research conducted on basking in reflected glory (in which people tend to associate themselves with successful others to strengthen their own images; Cialdini, Finch, & DeNicholas, 1989; Cialdini et al., 1976), the even-a-penny-will-help technique (in which donation requests are more successful when even paltry donations are deemed acceptable; Cialdini & Schroeder, 1976), and the door-in-the-face tactic (in which one is more likely to comply with a request after having recently rejected a larger request; Cialdini, 1990; Cialdini et al., 1975).

However, one can be proactive as well as reactive in the search for important effects to study. In addition to remaining vigilant to important phenomena in one's everyday environment, it can also be immensely helpful to place oneself into environments where important effects are likely to occur. One of the authors engaged in this kind of observation to find new avenues for social influence research by 'going undercover' and taking training in industries whose livelihoods depend on successfully obtaining compliance. While being trained to sell such products as cars on a car lot, photography over the phone, and vacuum cleaners door-to-door, many dozens of compliance techniques presented themselves for study. Importantly, although most of them had shown themselves to be regularly powerful and effective according to the trainers, the reasons for their effectiveness remained unexplored and readily available for psychological study. Those who use the techniques are typically not concerned with *why* they work, just *whether* they work. Studying why successful techniques work also lends insight into why unsuccessful techniques do not work.

Example: When opposite procedures produce the same effects

A serendipitous example of the first type of systematic personal observation occurred during a class taught by one of us. The class covered a compliance procedure known as the foot-in-the-door technique, in which a requester is more likely to gain compliance to a request after a target agrees to a smaller, similar request. For example, Freedman and Fraser (1966) found that homeowners were more likely to allow researchers to place a large, unsightly sign advocating driver safety on their front lawn if these homeowners had displayed a small sign favoring the issue a week earlier. The underlying principle in this technique is that of consistency. After agreeing to display the smaller sign, people were more likely to display the larger one to stay consistent with the first commitment.

After explaining this procedure, a student in the class volunteered an example from her own life that she felt illustrated this technique well. A friend of hers asked her if he could borrow $25, but she refused because her budget would not allow it. He then asked her for just $15, which she agreed to despite claiming to be unable to afford even that sum. Of course, with this example she had reversed the two steps of the foot-in-the-door procedure, which begins with a small request and then moves to a larger one. However, despite the misunderstanding of the concept on the part of the student, the procedure of making a large request that is rejected followed by a smaller request had worked. Upon further reflection, it seemed that maybe this was not a one-time occurrence; perhaps she had stumbled onto something. However, the question remained: why did it work?

What followed was a systematic investigation into a rejection-then-moderation procedure for inducing compliance, dubbed the door-in-the-face technique. It was obvious that the success of this technique could not be a result of the same principle as the foot-in-the-door. Remaining consistent in this case would result in *less* compliance. Through an examination of past literature and consideration of theory, it seemed that the driving force in this case may be the norm of reciprocity, in which a gift, favor, or in this case a concession on the part of one person requires repayment in kind from the other.

A series of experiments followed to verify the effect was real and to systematically rule out alternative explanations for it. Results supported the notion that it was reciprocity at work by indicating that it was necessary for a target to reject an initial request, not just be exposed to it. Furthermore, concession was required, and it had to be a concession to the person who made the initial request. Rejection of a request did not lead to greater compliance to a second request of equal size to the first or if a second, smaller request came from a second person (Cialdini et al., 1975).

Completing the Cycle

Thus far, we have discussed the importance of basing theory and subsequent experimentation on observations of prevalent, naturally occurring, powerful phenomena. To complete the final arc of the cycle, however, it is also important to go back to the natural environment after having conducted experiments and refined theory, this time to verify the validity of the experimental findings. For example, in the case of the door-in-the-face technique, the effectiveness of the tactic depended on reciprocal concessions; a concession on the part of the requester was met with a concession on the part of the target. Because successful influence techniques tend to remain in the field, while other, unsuccessful ones tend to die out, correct use of this technique should occur more frequently than possible alternatives that research has ruled out. That is, the use of sequential requests in which one makes a large request, allows for an answer, and then makes a smaller request should

be more common than making a large and small request simultaneously, making two equally sized requests sequentially, or making a large request followed by a smaller request from a separate requester. Indeed, observations in the field have confirmed this (Cialdini, 2008).

There may be times when this is not the case, and naturalistic observation requires one to go back to theory and experimentation to sort out why a mismatch has occurred between the field and the lab. For this reason, it is important to allow field observation, theory, and experimentation not only to cycle, but also to flow bidirectionally (see Figure 1). Arcing between theory and experimentation is already quite prevalent in social psychology, but the full-cycle social model also allows, and encourages, movement between field observation and theory, and between field observation and experimentation. Finally, it is important to note that because of the bidirectional flow allowed, one need not necessarily begin the cycle in field observation. It is also possible to gain inspiration for research using the traditional sources of theory and past literature, but it is advisable to then move to field observation to verify that the effect to be potentially investigated is, indeed, powerful and prevalent.

Application

Kurt Lewin is often credited with a famous saying in social psychology, ''There is nothing as practical as a good theory'' (Lewin, 1943, p. 118). Granting this credit is, however, a bit misleading, as in his original quotation, Lewin himself actually credited these words to an anonymous businessman. In contrast, it would also be misleading to rescind all the credit Lewin has received for these words. He does, indeed, deserve credit in the context of a larger, and perhaps more important, quotation:

> [Close cooperation between theoretical and applied psychology] can be accomplished ... if the theorist does not look toward applied problems with a highbrow aversion or with a fear of social problems, and if the applied psychologist realizes that there is nothing as practical as a good theory (Lewin, 1951, p. 169 as cited in Bickman, 1980, p. 7).

It is important to point out again that the full-cycle model is not a model of application, but of ecologically valid basic research. That said, the model of full-cycle social psychology is not only compatible with applied psychology, but lends itself to application. As discussed earlier, using a full-cycle approach allows researchers to have confidence that an effect under investigation occurs naturally in the 'real world', rather than being overpowered by other naturally occurring phenomena. Although this is important, it also serves as a substantial boost in the confidence of applied researchers in the ecological validity of effects and eases travel down the path from basic to applied research. Moreover, while using the full-cycle model can increase confidence that an effect is 'real', strategically choosing dependent variables relevant to application can take this one step further and assure those seeking to apply research that there is at least one social problem in which scientific support for a particular intervention's utility has been demonstrated. Research can then advance basic theory, increase confidence in the ecological validity of effects under study, and make more direct progress toward solving social problems. This 'high basic science, high use oriented' research, follows the model exemplified by Louis Pasteur (Stokes, 1997), in which basic research (e.g., his study of bacteria) is conducted to better understand and solve real-world problems (e.g., the failure of wine fermentation). This Pasteurian model has recently received support as an alternative to the typical linear model of scientific research that starts with basic research and then progresses to application (Reich, 2008).

Further in this vein, naturalistic observation in the full-cycle model need not be limited to observing new, powerful phenomena. There are also cases where the impetus for an important line of research may come from observing a *lack* of an effect in the natural environment where there should be one. One can then use theory and experimentation to discover why expected effects are missing or how to create effects where there are none. Here, we can draw inspiration from another seminal work in psychology, Richard LaPierre's (1934) research into attitude–behavior disjunctions. During the 1930s, when prejudice and discrimination against people of Asian descent was widespread in the United States, LaPierre traveled the country with a Chinese couple. During this time, they visited 250 hotels and restaurants, only one of which refused them service. Noting an unexpected lack of expressed discrimination on the part of people who almost certainly held prejudicial attitudes, LaPierre followed up his trip by writing letters to the hotels and restaurants he and the couple had visited which asked whether they would be willing to serve a Chinese couple. Serving as a potent demonstration of the potential inconsistency between attitudes and behavior, 90% of the 128 replies indicated that these places would *not* do so. Decades of research exploring situational and personality factors that predict when attitudes will match relevant behavior have since followed (see, e.g., Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977, 2005 for reviews).

Examples

Although incorporating Pasteurian elements into the full-cycle model is not a requirement, it is certainly a bonus, and not a bonus that should be taken lightly. To illustrate how application can be incorporated into this model, and the use of the full-cycle model as a vehicle for conducting basic research in areas where effects are notably absent, we describe a recent line of research that accomplishes each of these in the environmental realm of energy conservation.

Anyone who has recently spent a night in a hotel has likely encountered a sign asking guests to reuse their towels and linens during their stay. In addition to the cost-saving benefits of this reuse, the reduction in detergent and energy used can have a major positive effect on the environment. With both selfish and selfless reasons in place, hotels have incentive to do their best to encourage towel and linen reuse among their guests. Considering the fact that three quarters of Americans consider themselves environmentalists (Mackoy, Calantone, & Droge, 1995), it may come as no surprise that one of the most common appeals to guests is an environmental one, asking guests to reuse their towels as a way to help the environment. Other hotels have taken further steps using cause-related marketing, in which they attempt to utilize the norm of reciprocity by promising donations to environmental organizations on behalf of guests if guests first choose to reuse their towels. These messages, although possibly successful to some degree, are not optimally influential for hotels from the perspective of a social influence researcher because they fail to take advantage of readily available opportunities for the ethical use of social influence principles. For one of us, this seemed to provide an excellent opportunity for scientific research geared toward increasing the effectiveness of these signs. Like a roadside billboard that reads, 'this space available for rent', it was as if the sign had said, 'this space available for test'.

Two series of studies involving the incorporation of influence principles into towel reuse signs were conducted in area hotels. Messages on signs were systematically varied, and data collection was conducted by hotel housekeeping staff trained to track towel reuse. One series of studies involving the application and theoretical advancement of

research examined how signs with messages highlighting social norms for towel reuse would fare versus the typical environmental appeals. First, the research showed that the incorporation of social norms advocating towel reuse was significantly more effective than the environmental appeal typically used by hotels. Second, despite the importance that past research has placed on one's identification with the group from which a norm originates, it was not the norms from the group that hotel guests identified with the most (i.e., guests of the same gender) that had the greatest influence on behavior and led to the most towel reuse. Rather, the most influential norms were *provincial norms*, norms that came from other guests in the same immediate environmental settings (i.e., guests who stayed in the same room; Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008).

Another study examined the effectiveness of attempts at reciprocity norm use in cause-related marketing. As mentioned earlier, cause-related appeals typically promise a donation on the guests' behalf if the guests first donate. This highlights an important aspect of the norm of reciprocity that distinguishes it from a proposed social/economic contract: felt obligation to reciprocate is brought about not by a proposition for an exchange, but by indebtedness to another party for an act already performed. Based on this distinction, a small but important change to the signs was proposed and tested. Specifically, one version of the sign promised a donation to an environmental organization if guests choose to comply with a request to reuse their towels, whereas another informed guests that a donation had *already been made* on their behalf before asking guests to reuse their towels. Results indicated that this minor change had major effects on behavior: learning a donation had already made increased towel reuse by nearly one-third (Goldstein, Griskevicius, & Cialdini, 2009).

These studies demonstrate how Pasteurian elements can be incorporated into a full-cycle approach to seek out important effects to study, as well as research phenomena that have an immediate application while simultaneously promoting advancement of basic psychological theory.

Field Experimentation: An Acid Test for Basic Research

Considering the value of establishing the strength of laboratory effects in the natural environment, how can we work toward verifying the ecological validity of our research other than through naturalistic observation? Recently, one of us lamented the decline of field research in social psychology, research that is of the utmost importance for a discipline seeking relevance to the natural environment and to the public (Cialdini, 2009).

In the spirit of the full-cycle model, field research offers the considerable advantage over laboratory research in that it can establish the strength of an effect in a naturalistic setting. Once one is in the field and unable to carefully manipulate variables under study while eliminating all confounding variables – variables that, as mentioned before, may actually overpower the effects of the variables under study outside the lab – one can see if an effect is really worth its salt. In many ways then, field research and laboratory research are symbiotic, each with strengths and weaknesses that complement one another. By exploring a phenomenon under conditions of tight control to establish the mediating processes at work, yet also testing the phenomenon under conditions where other variables are allowed to vary, one can understand both why a phenomenon occurs as well as whether it occurs in nature.

For example, in a recent line of theory-driven research (Jacobson, Mortensen, & Cialdini, 2009a,b) we explored whether two different types of social norms operate via different mechanisms. Social norms can be placed into two distinct categories: descriptive

norms, which represent the prevalence or typicality of a given behavior and are followed to make correct decisions, and injunctive norms, which represent the extent to which people approve/disapprove of a behavior and are followed to get along with others (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990). Given this distinction, we theorized that there are also likely to be different processes at play with each norm type, processes that would be likely to differentially require self-regulation (or willpower). Specifically, we expected that individuals would need to set aside short-term self-interest to obtain the social approval offered by following injunctive norms. If so, then self-regulation, in the form of resisting impulses for short-term self-interest, should be required to follow these norms. If descriptive norms, in contrast, are followed to engage in actions that are concordant with one's own short-term self-interests, then self-regulation should not be required to follow them. In fact, we reasoned, self-regulation may be required to *resist* them, even if injunctive and descriptive norms prescribe the *same behavior*.

Using the typical social psychological approach, we initially subjected this idea to experimentation in a highly controlled laboratory setting. If self-regulation is differentially required for each type of norm, we reasoned that depleting people of their ability to self-regulate should differentially affect their tendencies to follow each type of norm. Consequently, we randomly assigned participants to engage in an activity that would deplete them of their self-regulatory resources (i.e., watch a video of an interview while avoiding looking at words that appeared conspicuously in the corner of the screen) or an activity that would allow these resources to remain (i.e., watching the same video without avoiding the words). Subsequently, we presented them with an opportunity to fill out additional surveys not included in the present study. With this request, participants received one of two bits of additional information. Those in the injunctive condition were told that most students in the past had indicated they believed participants should fill out additional surveys in this situation. Those in the descriptive condition were instead told that the students had, themselves, completed extra surveys.

The results supported our theory. Students exposed to an injunctive norm for completing the surveys agreed to complete significantly fewer surveys if they had been previously depleted of their self-regulatory resources. In contrast, students who had been exposed to a descriptive norm actually showed a trend to complete *more* surveys if they had been depleted.

We were, of course, pleased by these results. Through careful design, we had succeeded in capturing the effect we had theorized to exist. What we had failed to capture, however, was any information regarding whether this effect had ecological validity. Is this something that occurs in the world outside the lab, or do other, more meaningful effects overpower it? To answer this question, and to replicate our findings, we decided to take the research into the field. Being academics, we chose a setting where we knew willpower was frequently depleted and where we are very accustomed to making requests: the classroom.

A colleague of ours was teaching two personality psychology classes at the same time on consecutive days, and planning a difficult activity in an upcoming class, which we reasoned would be quite depleting of students' self-regulatory resources. She allowed us to come into both of her classes and administer a quick 5-minute survey. At the end of the survey, as in our first study, we asked the students to volunteer to complete extra surveys and presented them with descriptive or injunctive norms from past students for doing so. For one of the classes, we administered the survey during a break halfway through the 3-hour class – after they had engaged in the difficult activity. However, for the other class, we administered our survey at the beginning of the class before they had a chance to become depleted of their willpower.

It should be noted that this field study, on its own, is actually quite weak in its design as far as controlling for confounding variables is concerned. There are many variables that change between the beginning and middle of a class period, and any effects found in this study could be demonstrating the effects of any number of them. Narrowing down the variable(s) responsible for the effects was not our aim, however. We had already accomplished that in the first study. Knowing this, we were then able to submit our basic research to the acid test: is the effect sufficiently powerful to occur in natural social settings? We were glad to find that the answer was a resounding yes.

Replicating the results of our first study, participants exposed to the injunctive norm volunteered to complete significantly fewer additional surveys when asked in the middle of class – after having been depleted of self-regulatory resources – versus before class. Those exposed to the descriptive norm, however, displayed the exact opposite pattern, volunteering for significantly more surveys halfway through the class. Although we had sacrificed control over the situation, we had found a stronger manipulation of the variable in question than we obtained in the lab (it is very difficult to get participants in the lab to wholeheartedly engage in self-regulation for 1½ hours!) and demonstrated the ecological validity of our effect.

Using field research and systematic naturalistic observation, it is then possible to both seek out new effects to research and verify the ecological validity of past research. We recommend, therefore, that researchers consider furthering past research by exploring new psychological processes in the field where ecological validity can be advanced, as well as subjecting past research to field research and naturalistic observation.

Conclusion

Carefully controlled laboratory experimentation is a great strength of social psychological research, but it carries with it concomitant weaknesses in that the careful control afforded by the lab also allows the detection of effects that are weak or rarely occurring in the natural environment. Naturalistic observation also carries weaknesses in that it can establish whether an effect occurs in the natural environment, but it is difficult to establish exactly why the effect occurs. A solution is to enact a full-cycle approach to social psychology whereby psychological phenomena are studied via naturalistic observation to verify their presence outside of the lab, by contemplating theory to understand underlying processes of phenomena, and through experimentation to corroborate proposed theories. One can then complete the cycle and return to naturalistic observation to see if the phenomena occur in the environment in such a way that bears out experimentally tested theories. Furthermore, this cycle allows for bidirectional flow, such that one can use one component of the cycle to inform either of the other two.

The full-cycle approach to social psychology is also important because it lends itself to application. Verifying the strength and prevalence of a psychological effect in the natural environment encourages its adoption for applied research. Additionally, one can strategically conduct basic research using dependent variables that address social problems to make headway in both theory and application. Observing where an effect fails to appear can serve as an alternative method for developing research ideas and can also aid the mission of high basic science, high-use oriented research.

Finally, the bidirectional nature of the full-cycle model allows one to address the overuse of theory and lab experimentation in additional ways as well. First, one can use naturalistic observation to verify whether effects based on theory and past literature – whether old or new – are strong and prevalent outside of the lab. Second, in the spirit of the full-cycle

model, one can conduct experiments in the field, relinquishing control over variables to examine whether effects remain when extraneous variables are allowed to vary.

We would like everyone in the psychological community to make the commitment to use the full-cycle model in every line of research they conduct. If that proposition is rejected, however, we are willing to make a concession and retreat to asking psychologists to just try it once.

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Short Biographies

Chad R. Mortensen received his bachelor's degree from the University of Iowa and his master's degree from Arizona State University, where he is currently a doctoral student. His research interests lie in the areas of social influence, social motivations, self-regulation processes, and functional biases in perceptions, evaluations, and behavior. His current research focuses on the differential impact of self-regulatory resource depletion on normative influence processes and the effects of social motivational primes on self-perceptions, compliance, conformity, behavioral avoidance tendencies, attention, and memory. During his time as a graduate student, he has also taught undergraduate courses in social psychology, introductory psychology, and research methods. He is currently pursuing an academic career in social psychology.

Robert B. Cialdini received undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate education in psychology at the University of Wisconsin, the University of North Carolina, and Columbia University, respectively. He is currently Regents' Professor of Psychology and Marketing at Arizona State University, where he has also been named Distinguished Graduate Research Professor. He has been elected president of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology and has been the recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Achievement Award of the Society for Consumer Psychology, the Donald T. Campbell Award for Distinguished Contributions to Social Psychology, and the Peitho Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Science of Social Influence. His interests in persuasion and social influence have manifested recently in an emphasis on consumer psychology, which he makes a large part of his graduate and undergraduate courses in interpersonal influence. His focus on the influence process is also evident in his projects, currently underway, to investigate the factors that incline people to behave according to the norms of the society, especially in the arena of environmental protection.

Endnote

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