

AP[®] EDITION

NEW EDITION

THE SCIENCE OF
PSYCHOLOGY⁴

AN APPRECIATIVE VIEW

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CONTENTS

Preface xiv



1 What Is Psychology? 2

Defining Psychology 4

- The Psychological Frame of Mind 4
- Psychology as the Science of All Human Behavior 5
- CRITICAL CONTROVERSY** Can Facebook Make You Miserable? 7

Psychology in Historical Perspective 8

- Wundt's Structuralism and James's Functionalism 8
- Darwin's Natural Selection 9

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Explore Evolution from Giraffes to Human Beings 10

Contemporary Approaches to Psychology 11

- The Biological Approach 11
- The Behavioral Approach 11
- The Psychodynamic Approach 12
- The Humanistic Approach 12
- The Cognitive Approach 12
- The Evolutionary Approach 13
- The Sociocultural Approach 13
- Summing Up the Seven Contemporary Approaches 13

What Psychologists Do 14

- Careers in Psychology 14
- Areas of Specialization 14

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Questions That Psychology Specialists Ask 18

AP INTERSECTION Personality, Developmental, and Cross-Cultural Psychology: Why Do We Grow Up, Psychologically? 19

The Science of Psychology and Health and Wellness 20

- How the Mind Impacts the Body 20
- How the Body Impacts the Mind 20
- AP Summary* 22
- AP Key Terms* 22
- AP Test Practice* 22



2 Psychology's Scientific Method 24

Psychology's Scientific Method 26

- Step 1. Observing Some Phenomenon 26
- Step 2. Formulating Hypotheses and Predictions 27
- Step 3. Testing Through Empirical Research 27
- Step 4. Drawing Conclusions 29
- Step 5. Evaluating the Theory 29

Types of Psychological Research 30

- Descriptive Research 30
- Correlational Research 33
- AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY** Miserable but Helpful? 36
- Experimental Research 37

AP INTERSECTION Motivation and Social Psychology: Can a Sense of Purpose Buffer Distress in the Face of Diversity? 41

Applications of the Three Types of Research 44

Research Samples and Settings 45

- The Research Sample 45
- The Research Setting 46

Analyzing and Interpreting Data 47

- Descriptive Statistics 47
- AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY** Experimentation in a Natural Setting 48
- Inferential Statistics 51

Conducting Ethical Research 51

- Ethics Guidelines 52
- Ethical Treatment of Research Animals 53
- CRITICAL CONTROVERSY** Is It Ethical to Use Deception in Research? 54

Thinking Critically About Psychological Research 55

- Avoid Overgeneralizing Based on Little Information 55
- Distinguish Between Group Results and Individual Needs 55
- Look for Answers Beyond a Single Study 56
- Avoid Attributing Causes Where None Have Been Found 56
- Consider the Source of Psychological Information 56

The Scientific Method and Health and Wellness 56

- AP Summary* 58
- AP Key Terms* 59
- AP Test Practice* 59



3 Biological Foundations of Behavior 60

The Nervous System 62

- Characteristics of the Nervous System 62
- Pathways in the Nervous System 64
- Divisions of the Nervous System 64

Neurons 65

- Specialized Cell Structure 66
- The Neural Impulse 67
- Synapses and Neurotransmitters 69

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Does Oxytocin Make People More Trusting? 73

- Neural Networks 74

Structures of the Brain and Their Functions 74

- How Researchers Study the Brain and Nervous System 75

AP INTERSECTION Environmental Psychology and Neuroscience:

- How Does Spending Time in Nature Affect the Brain? 77
- How the Brain Is Organized 78

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Brain in Different Species 81

- The Cerebral Cortex 82
- The Cerebral Hemispheres and Split-Brain Research 86
- Integration of Function in the Brain 89

The Endocrine System 89

Brain Damage, Plasticity, and Repair 90

- The Brain's Plasticity and Capacity for Repair 91
- Brain Tissue Implants 91

Genetics and Behavior 92

- Chromosomes, Genes, and DNA 92
- The Study of Genetics 93

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Identical Twins 96

- Genes and the Environment 96

Psychology's Biological Foundations and Health and Wellness 97

- AP Summary 98
- AP Key Terms 99
- AP Test Practice 99



4 Sensation and Perception 100

How We Sense and Perceive the World 102

- The Processes and Purposes of Sensation and Perception 102

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Old Woman or Young Woman? 104

- Sensory Receptors and the Brain 104
- Thresholds 106

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Can We Feel the Future? 107

- Signal Detection Theory 109

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Subliminal Perception:

- Working Up a Thirst 110
- Perceiving Sensory Stimuli 111
- Sensory Adaptation 113

The Visual System 113

- The Visual Stimulus and the Eye 114
- Visual Processing in the Brain 116
- Color Vision 119
- Perceiving Shape, Depth, Motion, and Constancy 121

The Auditory System 124

- The Nature of Sound and How We Experience It 125
- Structures and Functions of the Ear 126
- Theories of Hearing 129
- Auditory Processing in the Brain 129
- Localizing Sound 130

Other Senses 130

- The Skin Senses 130

AP INTERSECTION Sensation and Social Psychology: Why Do

- Some People *Literally* Feel What Others Feel? 132
- The Chemical Senses 133
- The Kinesthetic and Vestibular Senses 135

Sensation, Perception, and Health and Wellness 137

- AP Summary 138
- AP Key Terms 138
- AP Test Practice 139



5 States of Consciousness 140

The Nature of Consciousness 142

- Defining Consciousness 143
- Consciousness and the Brain 143
- Levels of Awareness 144

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Is Human Kindness Automatic? 147

Sleep and Dreams 148

- Biological Rhythms and Sleep 148
- Why Do We Need Sleep? 150
- Stages of Wakefulness and Sleep 151

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Taking a Ride on the Sleep

- Cycles 154
- Sleep Throughout the Life Span 154
- Sleep and Disease 156
- Sleep Disorders 156
- Dreams 158

Psychoactive Drugs 160

- Uses of Psychoactive Drugs 160

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Drug Use by U.S. Teenagers 161

- Types of Psychoactive Drugs 162

Hypnosis 169

- The Nature of Hypnosis 171
- Explaining Hypnosis 171
- Uses of Hypnosis 172

Consciousness and Health and Wellness:

Meditation 173

- Mindfulness Meditation 173
- Lovingkindness Meditation 174
- The Meditative State of Mind 174
- Getting Started with Meditation 174

AP INTERSECTION Consciousness and Social Psychology: Can Lovingkindness Meditation Reduce Prejudice? 175

- AP Summary 176
- AP Key Terms 177
- AP Test Practice 177



6 Learning 178

Types of Learning 180

Classical Conditioning 181

- Pavlov's Studies 182

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY From Acquisition to Extinction (to Spontaneous Recovery) 185

- Classical Conditioning in Humans 185

AP INTERSECTION Learning and Health Psychology: Can Classical Conditioning Be Used to Combat Obesity? 187

Operant Conditioning 190

- Defining Operant Conditioning 191
- Thorndike's Law of Effect 191
- Skinner's Approach to Operant Conditioning 191
- Shaping 192
- Principles of Reinforcement 193

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Schedules of Reinforcement and Different Patterns of Responding 197

- Applied Behavior Analysis 199

Observational Learning 200

Cognitive Factors in Learning 202

- Purposive Behavior 202
- Insight Learning 203

Biological, Cultural, and Psychological Factors in Learning 205

- Biological Constraints 205
- Cultural Influences 206
- Psychological Constraints 206

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Do Learning Styles Matter to Learning? 207

Learning and Health and Wellness 208

- AP Summary 210
- AP Key Terms 211
- AP Test Practice 211



7 Memory 212

The Nature of Memory 214

Memory Encoding 214

- Attention 215
- Levels of Processing 215
- Elaboration 216

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Why Is the Pen Superior to the Keyboard? 217

- Imagery 218

Memory Storage 219

- Sensory Memory 219
- Short-Term Memory 220

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Inner Workings of Working Memory 223

- Long-Term Memory 223

Memory Retrieval 230

- Serial Position Effect 230

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Serial Position Effect: Lost in Midstream 231

- Retrieval Cues and the Retrieval Task 232
- Special Cases of Retrieval 233

AP INTERSECTION Consciousness and Cognitive Psychology: Can Mindfulness Meditation Increase Susceptibility to False Memories? 234

Forgetting 239

- Encoding Failure 239
- Retrieval Failure 240

Study Tips from the Science of Memory 242

Memory and Health and Wellness 244

- Keeping Memory Sharp—and Preserving Brain Function 245
- Memory and the Shaping of Meaningful Experiences 246

- AP Summary 246

- AP Key Terms 247

- AP Test Practice 247



8 Thinking, Intelligence, and Language 248

The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology 250

Thinking 252

- Concepts 252
- Problem Solving 253

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Thinking Outside the Box 255

- Reasoning and Decision Making 255
- Thinking Critically and Creatively 260

AP INTERSECTION Cognitive Psychology and Developmental Psychology: Do Children Engage in Wishful Thinking? 261

Intelligence 263

Measuring Intelligence 264

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Normal Curve 266

Genetic and Environmental Influences on Intelligence 267

Extremes of Intelligence 269

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Do Teachers Have Stereotypes

About Gifted Children? 271

Theories of Multiple Intelligences 272

Language 274

The Basic Properties of Language 274

Language and Cognition 275

Biological and Environmental Influences on Language 277

Language Development over the Life Span 280

Thinking, Problem Solving, and Health and Wellness 282

Cognitive Appraisal and Stress 282

Cognitive Reappraisal 283

AP Summary 284

AP Key Terms 285

AP Test Practice 285



9

Human Development 286

Exploring Human Development 288

Research Methods in Developmental Psychology 289

How Do Nature and Nurture Influence Development? 289

What Is the Developer's Role in Development? 290

Are Early or Later Life Experiences More Important in Development? 291

Child Development 291

Prenatal Development 291

Physical Development in Infancy and Childhood 293

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Do "Sticky Mittens" Foster

Reaching in Infants? 295

Cognitive Development in Infancy and Childhood 298

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Thinking Critically About

Object Permanence 300

Socioemotional Development in Infancy and Childhood 304

Moral Development in Childhood 309

Adolescence 311

Physical Development in Adolescence 311

Cognitive Development in Adolescence 312

Socioemotional Development in Adolescence 312

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Exploring Identity Exploration 313

Emerging Adulthood, Adult Development, and

Aging 314

Emerging Adulthood 315

Physical Development in Adulthood 315

Cognitive Development in Adulthood 317

Socioemotional Development in Adulthood 318

Human Development and Health and Wellness 320

AP INTERSECTION Developmental Psychology and Emotion:

How Does the Emotional Work of Parenting Influence Well-Being? 321

Coping and Adult Development 321

Life Themes and Life-Span Development 322

AP Summary 322

AP Key Terms 323

AP Test Practice 323



10

Motivation and Emotion 324

Theories of Motivation 326

The Evolutionary Approach 326

Drive Reduction Theory 326

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Obeying the (Yerkes–Dodson)

Law 327

Optimum Arousal Theory 327

Hunger, Obesity, and Eating Disorders 328

The Biology of Hunger 328

Obesity 330

Disordered Eating 331

Approaches to Motivation in Everyday Life 334

Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs 334

Self-Determination Theory 335

Intrinsic Versus Extrinsic Motivation 336

Self-Regulation: The Successful Pursuit of Goals 336

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Do Superstars Inspire or

Discourage? 337

AP INTERSECTION Motivation and Behavior Genetics:

Why Do We Procrastinate? 339

Emotion 339

Biological Factors in Emotion 340

Cognitive Factors in Emotion 343

Behavioral Factors in Emotion 345

Sociocultural Factors in Emotion 346

Classifying Emotions 347

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Full Circle of Emotions 348

The Adaptive Functions of Emotions 349

Motivation, Emotion, and Health and Wellness:

The Pursuit of Happiness 350

Biological Factors in Happiness 350

Obstacles in the Pursuit of Happiness 350

Happiness Activities and Goal Striving 351

AP Summary 352

AP Key Terms 352

AP Test Practice 352



11 Gender, Sex, and Sexuality 354

Defining Sex and Gender 356

- Sex and Its Biological Components 356
- Gender 357
- Genes, Sex, and Gender 358
- Disorders of Sexual Development 359
- When Genetic Sex and Gender Conflict: Transgender Experience 360

Theories of Gender Development 361

- Biological Approaches 361
- Evolutionary Psychology 362
- Social Cognitive Approaches 364
- Social Role Theory 365

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Are Men Better Negotiators Than Women? 366

- Evaluating the Theoretical Approaches to Gender 366

The Psychology of Gender Differences 367

- Emotion, Empathy, and Helping 368
- Cognitive Ability 369
- Aggression 370
- Sexuality 371

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Sex and Casual Sex 372

- Evaluating the Evidence for Gender Differences 373

Sexual Orientation 374

- Defining Sexual Orientation 374
- Occurrence of the Different Sexual Orientations 374
- Origins of Sexual Orientation: A Scientific Puzzle 375
- Gay and Lesbian Functioning 378

Sexual Behaviors and Practices 380

- Sexual Behaviors 380
- Sexual Practices 380

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Sex in America 381

- The Human Sexual Response Pattern 382
- Cognition and Other Factors in Sexual Behavior 382

Sexual Variations and Disorders 384

- Fetishes 384

AP INTERSECTION Developmental Psychology and Health Psychology: When Is a Person Psychologically “Ready” for Sex? 385

- Paraphilic Disorders 386
- Pedophilic Disorder 386
- Disorders of Sexual Desire and Sexual Response 387
- Variations, Disorders, and the Meaning of Normality 388

Sexuality and Health and Wellness 388

- Sexual Behavior and Physical Health 388
- Sexual Behavior and Psychological Well-Being 389

AP Summary 390

AP Key Terms 391

AP Test Practice 391



12 Personality 392

Psychodynamic Perspectives 394

- Freud’s Psychoanalytic Theory 394
- Psychodynamic Critics and Revisionists 398

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Does Birth Order Affect Personality? 400

- Evaluating the Psychodynamic Perspectives 401

Humanistic Perspectives 401

- Maslow’s Approach 401
- Rogers’s Approach 402
- Evaluating the Humanistic Perspectives 403

Trait Perspectives 404

- Trait Theories 404
- The Five-Factor Model of Personality 405

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Your Personality Traits:

Who Are You? 406

- Evaluating the Trait Perspectives 408

AP INTERSECTION Personality Psychology and Comparative Psychology: Do Life Experiences Influence Personality? 409

Personological and Life Story Perspectives 409

- Murray’s Personological Approach 410
- The Life Story Approach to Identity 410
- Evaluating the Personological and Life Story Perspectives 411

Social Cognitive Perspectives 412

- Bandura’s Social Cognitive Theory 412
- Mischel’s Contributions 413
- Evaluating the Social Cognitive Perspectives 415

Biological Perspectives 415

- Personality and the Brain 416
- Personality and Behavioral Genetics 418
- Evaluating the Biological Perspectives 418

Personality Assessment 419

- Self-Report Tests 419
- Projective Tests 420
- Other Assessment Methods 421

Personality and Health and Wellness 422

- Personality and Physical Health 422

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY A Can-Do Attitude Means You Can Quit Smoking 424

- Personality and Psychological Well-Being 425

AP Summary 426

AP Key Terms 427

AP Test Practice 427



13 Social Psychology 428

Defining Social Psychology 430

- Features of Social Psychology 430
- An Example: The Bystander Effect 431

Social Cognition 432

- Person Perception 432
- Attribution 434
- The Self as a Social Object 435
- Attitudes 437

AP INTERSECTION Social Psychology and Personality Psychology: Do Some People Just Hate Everything? 438

Social Behavior 441

- Altruism 441
- Aggression 443

Social Influence 446

- Conformity and Obedience 446

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Obedience Then and Now 450

- Group Influence 451

Intergroup Relations 454

- Group Identity 454

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Why Does a Cell Phone Look Like a Gun? 458

- Ways to Improve Intergroup Relations 459

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Improving Group Relations Through Cooperative Activities 460

Close Relationships 461

- Attraction 461
- Love 462
- Models of Close Relationships 462

Social Psychology and Health and Wellness 463

- AP Summary 464
- AP Key Terms 465
- AP Test Practice 465

14 Industrial and Organizational Psychology 466



Origins of Industrial and Organizational Psychology 468

- Scientific Management 468
- Ergonomics: Where Psychology Meets Engineering 469
- The Hawthorne Studies and the Human Relations Approach to Management 469

Industrial Psychology 470

- Job Analysis 471

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Fastest-Growing Jobs in the United States 474

- Employee Selection 474

AP INTERSECTION I-O Psychology and Cognitive Neuroscience: Can Neuroscience Help Identify the Right Brain for the Job? 476

- Training 478
- Performance Appraisal 479

Organizational Psychology 482

- Approaches to Management 482
- Job Satisfaction 484
- Employee Commitment 484
- The Meaning of Work 485
- Leadership 486

Organizational Culture 488

- Positive Organizational Culture 488
- Toxic Factors in the Workplace 489

I-O Psychology and Health and Wellness 491

- Unemployment 491
- Stress at Work 491

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Why Is Work–Life Balance So Difficult? 492

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY You Need a Vacation! 493

- Managing Job Stress 493

AP Summary 494

AP Key Terms 495

AP Test Practice 495



15 Psychological Disorders 496

Defining and Explaining Abnormal Behavior 498

- Theoretical Approaches to Psychological Disorders 499
- Classifying Abnormal Behavior 500

Anxiety and Anxiety-Related Disorders 503

- Generalized Anxiety Disorder 503

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Does Everyone Have ADHD? 504

- Panic Disorder 505
- Specific Phobia 506
- Social Anxiety Disorder 507
- Obsessive–Compulsive Disorder 507

AP INTERSECTION Clinical Psychology and Social Psychology: Can Authentic Interactions Help Those with Social Anxiety? 508

- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder 510

Disorders Involving Emotion and Mood 511

- Depressive Disorders 511
- Bipolar Disorder 513

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Depression Among Women and Men Across Cultures 514

Dissociative Disorders 515
Dissociative Amnesia 515
Dissociative Identity Disorder 516

Schizophrenia 517
Symptoms of Schizophrenia 517
Causes of Schizophrenia 518

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY The Association of Genes with Schizophrenia 519

Personality Disorders 521
Antisocial Personality Disorder 521
Borderline Personality Disorder 522

Suicide 523
Biological Factors 524
Psychological Factors 524
Sociocultural Factors 525

Psychological Disorders and Health and Wellness 525
Consequences of Stigma 526
Overcoming Stigma 527
AP Summary 528
AP Key Terms 529
AP Test Practice 529



16 Therapies 530

Approaches to Treating Psychological Disorders 532
The Psychological Approach to Therapy 532
The Biological Approach to Therapy 532

Psychotherapy 534
Central Issues in Psychotherapy 534

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Does Therapy Work? 535
Psychodynamic Therapies 537
Humanistic Therapies 537
Behavior Therapies 538

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Classical Conditioning: The Backbone of Aversive Conditioning 540
Cognitive Therapies 540

AP INTERSECTION Clinical Psychology and Developmental Psychology: Can CBT Be Applied More Effectively to Children? 543
Therapy Integrations 544

Biological Therapies 544
Drug Therapy 544

CRITICAL CONTROVERSY Are Antidepressants Better Than Placebos? 547
Electroconvulsive Therapy 548
Psychosurgery 549

Sociocultural Approaches and Issues in Treatment 550
Group Therapy 550
Family and Couples Therapy 551
Self-Help Support Groups 552

Community Mental Health 552
Cultural Perspectives 553

Therapies and Health and Wellness 554
AP Summary 556
AP Key Terms 557
AP Test Practice 557



17 Health Psychology 558

Health Psychology and Behavioral Medicine 560
The Biopsychosocial Model 560
The Relationship Between Mind and Body 561

Making Positive Life Changes 561
Theoretical Models of Change 561
The Stages of Change Model 562

Resources for Effective Life Change 565
Motivation 565
Social Relationships 566
Religious Faith 566

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Praying for Good Health 567

Toward a Healthier Mind (and Body): Controlling Stress 568

Stress and Its Stages 568
Stress and the Immune System 569
Stress and Cardiovascular Disease 570
Stress and Cancer 570
Coping with Stress 571
Strategies for Successful Coping 572
Stress Management Programs 572


CRITICAL CONTROVERSY How Powerful Is the Power of Positive Thinking? 574

Toward a Healthier Body (and Mind): Behaving as If Your Life Depends upon It 575
Becoming Physically Active 575

AP PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY Physical Activity: A Matter of Life and Death 576
Eating Right 578

AP INTERSECTION Health Psychology and Cognition: Can Mindless Processing Enhance Healthy Eating? 579
Quitting Smoking 579

Psychology and Your Good Life 580
AP Summary 581
AP Key Terms 582
AP Test Practice 582

 **connect** McGraw-Hill Education Psychology APA Documentation Style Guide

Glossary	G-1
References	R-1
Name Index	NI-1
Subject Index	SI-1

CHAPTER 6

AP CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Types of Learning
VI. Learning
- 2 Classical Conditioning
VI.A. Classical Conditioning
- 3 Operant Conditioning
VI.B. Operant Conditioning
- 4 Observational Learning
VI.E. Social Learning
- 5 Cognitive Factors in Learning
VI.C. Cognitive Processes
- 6 Biological, Cultural, and Psychological Factors in Learning
VI.D. Biological Factors
- 7 Learning and Health and Wellness
VI.D. Biological Factors



Learning

AP[®]

Service Dogs: Learning Coach to the Rescue!

In childhood, Elle Shaheen was diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes.

Those with diabetes, which involves problems in regulating insulin and glucose in the blood, may not be aware when their glucose levels are too low. Ellie and her parents felt constant worry that low levels might leave her vulnerable to a seizure. When she was 13, Elle's family adopted Coach, a yellow lab, who after almost 2,000 hours of training can signal when he detects that Elle's glucose level is dangerously low (Shaheen, 2015). Coach is Elle's trusty companion whose abilities are especially helpful at night, when Elle might not notice any symptoms.

Dogs can be trained to use their amazing sense of smell to sound an alarm. Coach is just one of the estimated 30,000 assistance dogs working in the United States (Linebaugh, 2012). Service dogs are trained to aid people with a variety of disabilities. They provide sound discrimination for the hearing impaired, assist with mobility, and retrieve items, even lost cell phones. They open and close doors, help people dress and undress, and even put clothes in a washer and dryer. Truly, service dogs are highly skilled professionals. They are trained to perform using the principles that psychologists have uncovered in studying the processes that underlie learning, the focus of this chapter.

As you read, focus on the differences between classical conditioning, operant conditioning, and observational learning. Describe each type of learning and understand the processes of acquisition, extinction, spontaneous recovery, generalization, and discrimination in conditioning. In operant conditioning, know the difference between positive and negative reinforcement, and punishment. Consider how practice, schedules of reinforcement, and motivation impact learning. Be able to interpret graphs that demonstrate the results of learning experiments. Investigate how biological predispositions and cognition, as illustrated in latent and insight learning,

influence learning. Explain how learning principles can be applied to taste aversion and learned helplessness. Be able to demonstrate how behavior modification can be used to alter unwanted behaviors. Be sure to note the contributions of Albert Bandura, John Garcia, Ivan Pavlov, Robert Rescorla, B.F. Skinner, Edward Thorndike, Edward Tolman, and John B. Watson to our understanding of learning principles. ●

AP EXAM
PERCENTAGES

7-9% of the AP Psychology Exam questions come from content covered in this chapter.

PREVIEW



This chapter begins by defining learning and sketching out its main types: associative learning and observational learning. We then turn attention to two types of associative learning—classical conditioning and operant conditioning—followed by a close look at observational learning. Next, we consider the role of cognitive processes in learning before finally examining biological, cultural, and psychological constraints on learning. The close of the chapter looks at the role of learning in human health and wellness.

- This symbol denotes a key AP Psychology term.



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- **learning** A systematic, relatively permanent change in behavior that occurs through experience.
- **behaviorism** A theory of learning that focuses solely on observable behaviors, discounting the importance of mental activity such as thinking, wishing, and hoping.

- **associative learning** Learning that occurs when an organism makes a connection, or an association, between two events.

1. TYPES OF LEARNING

Learning anything new involves change. Once you learn the alphabet, it does not leave you; it becomes part of a “new you” who has been changed through the process of learning. Similarly, once you learn how to drive a car, you do not have to go through the process again at a later time. When you first arrived on campus at your school, you might have spent a lot of time lost. But once you got the lay of the land, you were able to navigate just fine. And perhaps you have a particular food that you know to avoid, because you once ate it, and it made you sick.

By way of experience, too, you may have learned that you have to study to do well on a test, that there usually is an opening act at a rock concert, and that there is a technique to playing a guitar chord. Putting these pieces together, we arrive at a definition of **learning**: a systematic, relatively permanent change in behavior that occurs through experience.

If someone were to ask you what you learned in class today, you might mention new ideas you heard about, lists you memorized, or concepts you mastered. However, how would you define learning if you could not refer to unobservable mental processes? You might follow the lead of behavioral psychologists. **Behaviorism** is a theory of learning that focuses solely on observable behaviors, discounting the importance of mental activity such as thinking, wishing, and hoping. Psychologists who examine learning from a behavioral perspective define learning as relatively stable, observable changes in behavior. The behavioral approach has emphasized general laws that guide behavior change and make sense of some of the puzzling aspects of human life (Greenwood, 2015).

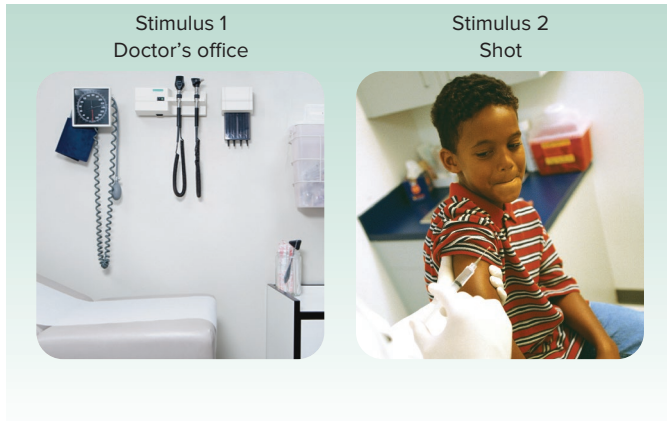
Behaviorism maintains that the principles of learning are the same whether we are talking about humans or nonhuman animals. Because of the influence of behaviorism, psychologists’ understanding of learning started with studies of rats, cats, pigeons, and even raccoons. A century of research on learning in animals and in humans suggests that many of the principles generated initially in research on animals also apply to humans (Burgos, 2015; Olmstead & Kuhlmeier, 2015).

In this chapter we look at two types of learning: associative learning and observational learning. Let’s briefly review each of these before getting into the details.

First, **associative learning** occurs when an organism makes a connection, or an association, between two events. *Conditioning* is the process of learning these associations. There are two types of conditioning—classical and operant—both of which have been studied by behaviorists (McSweeney & Murphy, 2014).

In *classical conditioning*, organisms learn the association between two stimuli. As a result of this association, organisms learn to anticipate events. For example, lightning is associated with thunder and regularly precedes it. Thus, when we see lightning, we anticipate that we will hear thunder soon afterward. In *operant conditioning*, organisms learn the association between a behavior and a consequence, such as a reward. As a result of this association, organisms learn to increase behaviors that are followed by rewards and to decrease behaviors that are followed by punishment. For example, children are likely to repeat their good manners if their parents reward them with candy after they have shown good manners. Also, if children’s bad manners provoke scolding words and

Classical Conditioning



Operant Conditioning

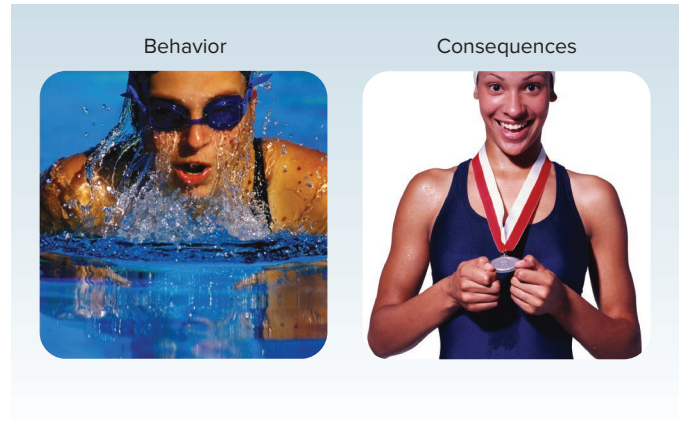


FIGURE 1 Associative Learning: Comparing Classical and Operant Conditioning (*first*) In this example of classical conditioning, a child associates a doctor's office (stimulus 1) with getting a painful injection (stimulus 2). (*second*) In this example of operant conditioning, performing well in a swimming competition (behavior) becomes associated with getting awards (consequences). (first) © PunchStock; (second) © Photodisc Collection/Getty Images; (third) © Ryan McVay/Getty Images; (fourth) © Photodisc Inc./Getty Images

harsh glances by parents, the children are less likely to repeat the bad manners. Figure 1 compares classical and operant conditioning.

Much of what we learn, however, is not a result of direct consequences but rather of exposure to models performing a behavior or skill (Legare & Nielsen, 2015; Meltzoff & Williamson, 2013). For instance, as you watch someone shoot baskets, you get a sense of how the shots are made. This brings us to our second type of learning: observational learning. **Observational learning** occurs when a person observes and imitates another's behavior. Observational learning is a common way that people learn in educational and other settings. Observational learning is different from the associative learning described by behaviorism because it relies on mental processes: The learner has to pay attention, remember, and reproduce what the model did. Observational learning is especially important to human beings. In fact, watching other people is another way in which human infants acquire skills.

Human infants differ from baby monkeys in their strong reliance on imitation (Bandura, 2009a, 2011a). After watching an adult model perform a task, a baby monkey will figure out its own way to do it, but a human infant will do exactly what the model did. Imitation may be the human baby's way to solve the huge problem it faces: to learn the vast amount of cultural knowledge that is part of human life. Many of our behaviors are rather arbitrary. Why do we clap to show approval or wave hello or bye-bye? The human infant has a lot to learn and may be well served to follow the old adage, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

Learning applies to many areas of acquiring new behaviors, skills, and knowledge (Barron & others, 2015). Our focus in this chapter is on the two types of associative learning—classical conditioning and operant conditioning—and on observational learning.

2. CLASSICAL CONDITIONING

Early one morning, Bob is in the shower. While he showers, his wife enters the bathroom and flushes the toilet. Scalding hot water suddenly bursts down on Bob, causing him to yell in pain. The next day, Bob is back for his morning shower, and once again his wife enters the bathroom and flushes the toilet. Panicked by the sound of the toilet flushing, Bob yelps in fear and jumps out of the shower stream. Bob's panic at the sound of the toilet illustrates the learning process of **classical conditioning**, in which a neutral stimulus (the sound of a toilet flushing) becomes associated with an innately meaningful stimulus (the pain of scalding hot water) and acquires the capacity to elicit a similar response (panic).

● **observational learning** Learning that occurs through observing and imitating another's behavior.

test yourself

1. What is associative learning?
2. What is conditioning? What two types of conditioning have behavioral psychologists studied?
3. What is observational learning? Give two examples of it.

● **classical conditioning** Learning process in which a neutral stimulus becomes associated with an innately meaningful stimulus and acquires the capacity to elicit a similar response.

Pavlov's Studies

Even before beginning this course, you might have heard about Pavlov's dogs. The work of the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov is well known. Still, it is easy to take its true significance for granted. Importantly, Pavlov demonstrated that neutral aspects of the environment can attain the capacity to evoke responses through pairing with other stimuli and that bodily processes can be influenced by environmental cues.

In the early 1900s, Pavlov was interested in the way the body digests food. In his experiments, he routinely placed meat powder in a dog's mouth, causing the dog to salivate. By accident, Pavlov noticed that the meat powder was not the only stimulus that caused the dog to drool. The dog salivated in response to a number of stimuli associated with the food, such as the sight of the food dish, the sight of the individual who brought the food into the room, and the sound of the door closing when the food arrived. Pavlov recognized that the dog's association of these sights and sounds with the food was an important type of learning, which came to be called *classical conditioning*.

Pavlov wanted to know *why* the dog salivated in reaction to various sights and sounds before eating the meat powder. He observed that the dog's behavior included both unlearned and learned components. The unlearned part of classical conditioning is based on the fact that some stimuli automatically produce certain responses apart from any prior learning; in other words, they are inborn (innate). *Reflexes* are such automatic stimulus–response connections. They include salivation in response to food, nausea in response to spoiled food, shivering in response to low temperature, coughing in response to throat congestion, pupil constriction in response to light, and withdrawal in response to pain.

An **unconditioned stimulus (US)** is a stimulus that produces a response without prior learning; food was the US in Pavlov's experiments. An **unconditioned response (UR)** is an unlearned reaction that is automatically elicited by the US. Unconditioned responses are involuntary; they happen in response to a stimulus without conscious effort. In Pavlov's experiment, drooling in response to food was the UR. In the case of Bob and the flushing toilet, Bob's learning and experience did not cause him to shriek when the hot water hit his body. His cry of pain was unlearned and occurred automatically. The hot water was the US, and Bob's panic was the UR.

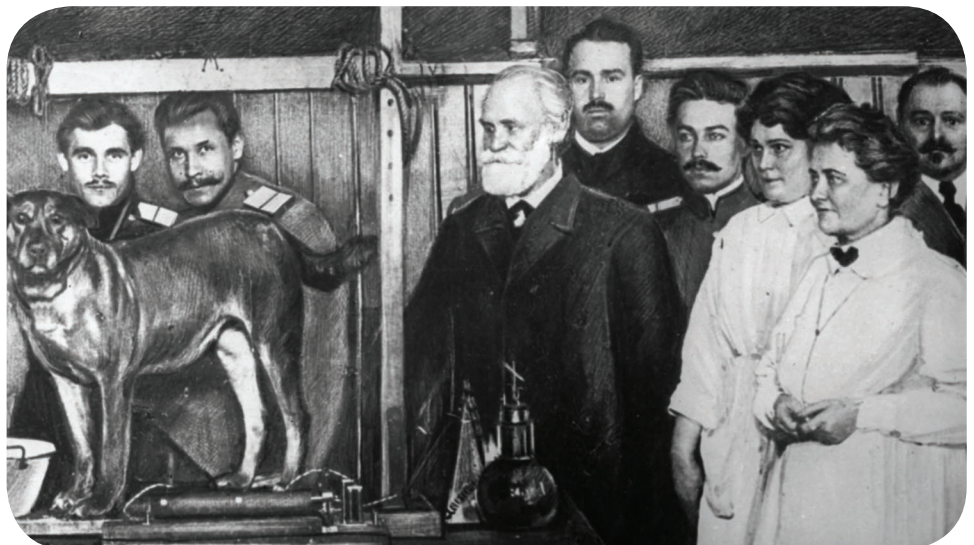
In classical conditioning, a **conditioned stimulus (CS)** is a previously neutral stimulus that eventually elicits a conditioned response after being paired with the unconditioned stimulus. The **conditioned response (CR)** is the learned response to the conditioned

- **unconditioned stimulus (US)** A stimulus that produces a response without prior learning.

- **unconditioned response (UR)** An unlearned reaction that is automatically elicited by the unconditioned stimulus.

- **conditioned stimulus (CS)** A previously neutral stimulus that eventually elicits a conditioned response after being paired with the unconditioned stimulus.

- **conditioned response (CR)** The learned response to the conditioned stimulus that occurs after conditioned stimulus–unconditioned stimulus pairing.



Pavlov (the white-bearded gentleman in the center) is shown demonstrating the nature of classical conditioning to students at the Military Medical Academy in Russia.

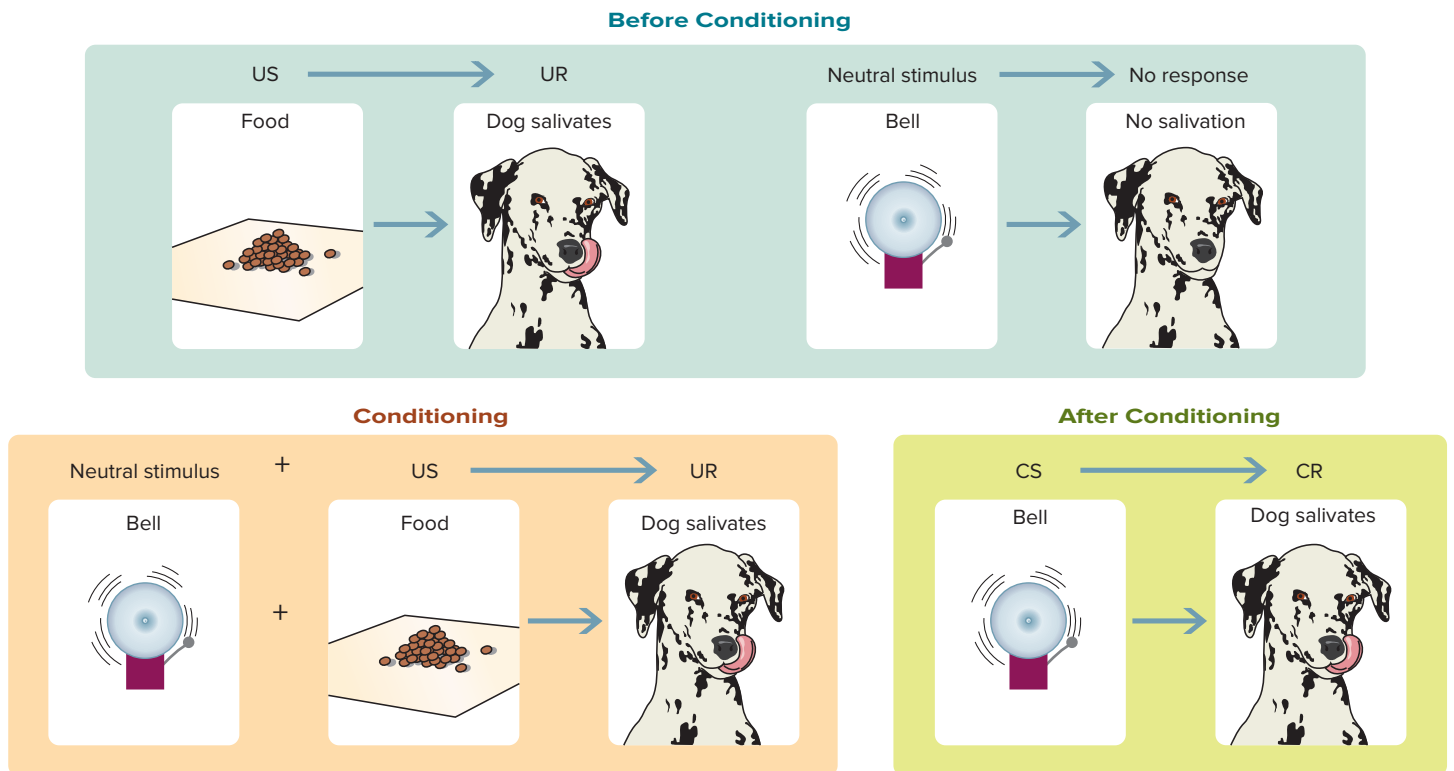


FIGURE 2 Pavlov's Classical Conditioning In one experiment, Pavlov presented a neutral stimulus (bell) just before an unconditioned stimulus (food). The neutral stimulus became a conditioned stimulus by being paired with the unconditioned stimulus. Subsequently, the conditioned stimulus (bell) by itself was able to elicit the dog's salivation.

stimulus that occurs after CS–US pairing (Pavlov, 1927). Sometimes conditioned responses are quite similar to unconditioned responses, but typically they are not as strong.

In studying a dog's response to various stimuli associated with meat powder, Pavlov rang a bell before giving meat powder to the dog. Until then, ringing the bell did not have a particular effect on the dog, except perhaps to wake the dog from a nap. The bell was a *neutral* stimulus, meaning that in the dog's world, this stimulus did not have any signal value at all. Prior to being paired with the meat powder, the bell was meaningless. However, the dog began to associate the sound of the bell with the food and salivated when it heard the bell. The bell had become a conditioned (learned) stimulus (CS), and salivation was now a conditioned response (CR). In the case of Bob's interrupted shower, the sound of the toilet flushing was the CS, and panicking was the CR after the scalding water (US) and the flushing sound (CS) were paired. Figure 2 summarizes how classical conditioning works.

Researchers have shown that salivation can be used as a conditioned response not only in dogs and humans but also in, of all things, cockroaches (Nishino & others, 2015; Watanabe & Mizunami, 2007). These researchers paired the smell of peppermint (the CS, which was applied to the cockroaches' antennae) with sugary water (the US). Cockroaches naturally salivate (the UR) in response to sugary foods, and after repeated pairings between peppermint smell and sugary water, the cockroaches salivated in response to the smell of peppermint (the CR). When they collected and measured the cockroach saliva, the researchers found that the cockroaches had slobbered over that smell for 2 minutes.

ACQUISITION

Whether it is human beings, dogs, or cockroaches, the first part of classical conditioning is called acquisition. **Acquisition** is the initial learning of the connection between the US and CS when these two stimuli are paired (as with the smell of peppermint and the sugary water). During acquisition, the CS is repeatedly presented followed by the US. Eventually, the CS will produce a response. Note that classical conditioning is a type of

● **acquisition** The initial learning of the connection between the unconditioned stimulus and the conditioned stimulus when these two stimuli are paired.

learning that occurs without awareness or effort, based on the presentation of two stimuli together. For this pairing to work, however, two important factors must be present: contiguity and contingency.

Contiguity simply means that the CS and US are presented very close together in time—even a mere fraction of a second (Gottlieb & Begej, 2014). In Pavlov’s work, if the bell had rung 20 minutes before the presentation of the food, the dog probably would not have associated the bell with the food. However, pairing the CS and US close together in time is not all that is needed for conditioning to occur. Imagine that the bell not only rings just before the food is delivered, but it also rings many times when the food is not on its way. In such a situation, the dog would not associate the bell with the food, and no learning would occur. Why? Because the bell does not serve as a signal for the food.

Contingency means that the CS must not only precede the US closely in time, but it must serve as a reliable indicator that the US is on its way (Rescorla, 1966, 1988, 2009). To get a sense of the importance of contingency, imagine that the dog in Pavlov’s experiment is exposed to a ringing bell at random times all day long. Whenever the dog receives food, the delivery of the food always immediately follows a bell ring. However, in this situation, the dog will not associate the bell with the food, because the bell is not a reliable signal that food is coming: It rings a lot when no food is on the way. Whereas *contiguity* refers to the fact that the CS and US occur close together in time, *contingency* refers to the information value of the CS relative to the US. When contingency is present, the CS provides a systematic signal that the US is on its way (Kringelbach & Berridge, 2015).

GENERALIZATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Pavlov found that the dog salivated in response not only to the tone of the bell but also to other sounds, such as a whistle. These sounds had not been paired with the unconditioned stimulus of the food. Pavlov discovered that the more similar the noise was to the original sound of the bell, the stronger the dog’s salivary flow.

Generalization in classical conditioning is the tendency of a new stimulus that is similar to the original conditioned stimulus to elicit a response that is similar to the conditioned response (Dunsmoor & Murphy, 2015; Dunsmoor & Paz, 2015).

Generalization has value in preventing learning from being tied to specific stimuli. Once we learn the association between a given CS (say, flashing police lights behind our car) and a particular US (the dread associated with being pulled over), we do not have to learn it all over again when a similar stimulus presents itself (a police car with its siren howling as it cruises directly behind our car).

Stimulus generalization is not always beneficial. For example, the cat that generalizes from a harmless minnow to a dangerous piranha has a major problem; therefore, it is important to also discriminate among stimuli. **Discrimination** in classical conditioning is the process of learning to respond to certain stimuli and not others. To produce discrimination, Pavlov gave food to the dog only after ringing the bell and not after any other sounds. In this way, the dog learned to distinguish between the bell and other sounds.

EXTINCTION AND SPONTANEOUS RECOVERY

After conditioning the dog to salivate at the sound of a bell, Pavlov rang the bell repeatedly in a single session and did not give the dog any food. Eventually the dog stopped salivating. This result is **extinction**, which in classical conditioning is the weakening of the conditioned response when the unconditioned stimulus is absent (Dunsmoor & others, 2015; Vurbic & Boutin, 2014). Without continued association with the unconditioned stimulus (US), the conditioned stimulus (CS) loses its power to produce the conditioned response (CR). You might notice that although extinction weakens the link between the CS and the presence of the US, it can also be thought of as a second type of learning: learning that the CS means the US is *not* coming (Schyns & others, 2016).

Extinction is not always the end of a conditioned response. The day after Pavlov extinguished the conditioned salivation to the sound of a bell, he took the dog to the laboratory and rang the bell but still did not give the dog any meat powder. The dog salivated, indicating that an extinguished response can spontaneously recur. **Spontaneous recovery** is

● generalization (in classical conditioning)

The tendency of a new stimulus that is similar to the original conditioned stimulus to elicit a response that is similar to the conditioned response.

● discrimination (in classical conditioning)

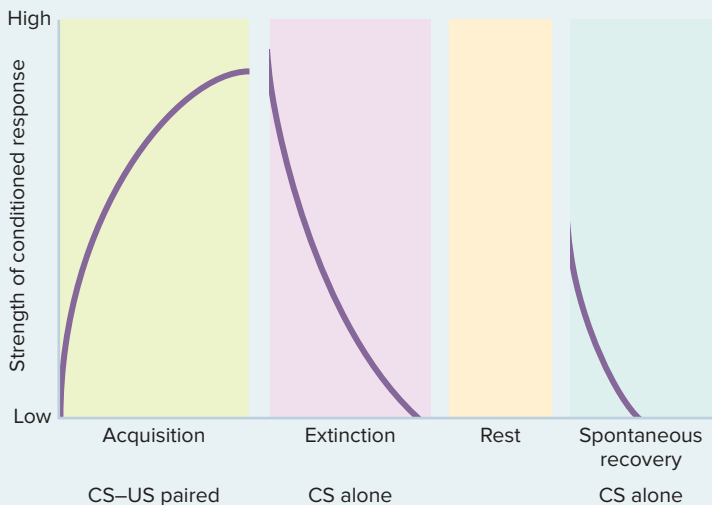
The process of learning to respond to certain stimuli and not others.

● extinction (in classical conditioning)

The weakening of the conditioned response when the unconditioned stimulus is absent.

● **spontaneous recovery** The process in classical conditioning by which a conditioned response can recur after a time delay, without further conditioning.

AP psychological inquiry



From Acquisition to Extinction (to Spontaneous Recovery)

The figure illustrates the strength of a conditioned response (CR), shown on the Y or vertical axis, across the stages from acquisition, to extinction, to a rest period, and finally to spontaneous recovery. Using the graphs, answer the following questions.

1. What happens to the unconditioned stimulus (US) and the conditioned stimulus (CS) during acquisition, and how does this influence the conditioned response (CR)?
2. When is the CR strongest and when is it weakest?
3. What happens to the US and CS during extinction, and how does this influence the CR?
4. Notice that spontaneous recovery occurs after a rest period. Why is this rest necessary?
5. In your own life, what are some conditioned stimuli that are attached to conditioned responses for you? Trace them through these steps.

the process in classical conditioning by which a conditioned response can recur after a time delay, without further conditioning (Leising, Wong, & Blaisdell, 2015; Rescorla, 2005).

Consider an example of spontaneous recovery you may have experienced: You thought that you had forgotten about (extinguished) an old girlfriend or boyfriend, but then you found yourself in a particular context (perhaps the restaurant where you used to dine together), and you suddenly got a mental image of your ex, accompanied by an emotional reaction to him or her from the past (spontaneous recovery).

The steps in classical conditioning are reviewed in the Psychological Inquiry. The figure in the feature shows the sequence of acquisition, extinction, and spontaneous recovery. Spontaneous recovery can occur several times, but as long as the conditioned stimulus is presented alone (that is, without the unconditioned stimulus), spontaneous recovery becomes weaker and eventually ceases.

Not only do extinguished learned associations show spontaneous recovery, but they can be reinstated just by moving the organism to a new setting. **Renewal** refers to the recovery of the conditioned response when the organism is placed in a novel context (Revilla & others, 2014). Renewal can be a powerful problem to overcome—as it is when a person leaves a drug treatment facility to return to his or her previous living situation (Bouton, Winterbauer, & Vurbic, 2012).

The processes of acquisition, extinction, spontaneous recovery, and renewal all demonstrate the important role of learned associations for the survival of all creatures. All animals, including humans, are, in some ways, on the look-out for survival-relevant connections, such as learning what cues signal food. Once such connections are made, they are difficult to break entirely as demonstrated in spontaneous recovery. Finally, those connections remain in the organism's repertoire and can pop back up in a new setting.

renewal The recovery of the conditioned response when the organism is placed in a novel context.

Classical Conditioning in Humans

Although the process of classical conditioning has often been studied in nonhuman animals, the human capacity to learn associations is extremely important for our survival (Krause, 2015). Here we review examples of classical conditioning at work in human life.



Watson and Rayner conditioned 11-month-old Albert to fear a white rat by pairing the rat with a loud noise. When little Albert was later presented with other stimuli similar to the white rat, such as the rabbit shown here with Albert, he was afraid of them too. This study illustrates stimulus generalization in classical conditioning.

Courtesy of Professor Benjamin Harris

EXPLAINING FEARS

Classical conditioning provides an explanation of fears (Field & Purkis, 2014). John B. Watson (who coined the term *behaviorism*) and Rosalie Rayner (1920) demonstrated classical conditioning's role in the development of fears with an infant named Albert. They showed Albert a white laboratory rat to see whether he was afraid of it. He was not. As Albert played with the rat, the researchers sounded a loud noise behind his head. The noise caused little Albert to cry. After only seven pairings of the loud noise with the white rat, Albert began to fear the rat even when the noise was not sounded. Albert's fear was generalized to a rabbit, a dog, and a sealskin coat.

Let's use Albert's example to review the key concepts of classical conditioning. In the beginning, Albert had no response to the rat. The rat, then, is a neutral stimulus—the conditioned stimulus (or CS). The rat was then paired with a loud noise. Note that the loud noise would startle Albert and make him cry: Loud noises upset babies. That makes the loud noise the unconditioned stimulus (US), because it evokes a response naturally without the need for learning. Albert's reaction to the loud noise is the unconditioned response (or UR). Again, being upset by loud noises is something that babies just do. The white rat (CS) and loud noise (US) were paired together in time, and each time the loud noise would upset little Albert (UR). This pairing is the process of acquisition. Then, the rat (the CS) was presented to Albert without the loud noise (the US), and Albert became alarmed and afraid even without the noise. Poor Albert's enduring fear of the rat is the conditioned response (CR).

Today, Watson and Rayner's (1920) study would violate the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association. In any case, Watson correctly concluded that we learn many of our fears through classical conditioning. We might develop fear of the dentist because of a painful experience, fear of driving after having been in a car crash, and fear of dogs after having been bitten by one.

If we can learn fears through classical conditioning, we also can possibly unlearn them through that process. In the chapter "Therapies", for example, we will examine the application of classical conditioning to therapies for treating phobias.

BREAKING HABITS

Counterconditioning is a classical conditioning procedure for changing the relationship between a conditioned stimulus and its conditioned response. Therapists have used counterconditioning to break apart the association between certain stimuli and positive feelings (Engelhard & others, 2014). **Aversive conditioning** is a form of treatment that consists of repeated pairings of a stimulus with a very unpleasant stimulus. Electric shocks and nausea-inducing substances are examples of noxious stimuli that are used in aversive conditioning (Symonds & Hall, 2012).

To reduce drinking, for example, every time a person drinks an alcoholic beverage, he or she also consumes a mixture that induces nausea. In classical conditioning terminology, the alcoholic beverage is the conditioned stimulus, and the nausea-inducing agent is the unconditioned stimulus. Through a repeated pairing of alcohol with the nausea-inducing agent, alcohol becomes the conditioned stimulus that elicits nausea, the conditioned response. As a consequence, alcohol no longer is associated with something pleasant but rather with something highly unpleasant. Antabuse, a drug treatment for alcoholism since the late 1940s, is based on this association (Ullman, 1952). When someone takes this drug, ingesting even the smallest amount of alcohol will make the person quite ill, even if the exposure to the alcohol is through mouthwash or cologne. Antabuse continues to be used in the treatment of alcoholism today (Ellis & Dronsfield, 2013).

Classical conditioning is likely to be at work whenever we engage in mindless, habitual behavior (Wood & Runger, 2016). Cues in the environment serve as conditioned stimuli, evoking feelings and behaviors without thought. These associations become implicit "if-then" connections: If you are sitting in front of your laptop, then you check your e-mail. These automatic associations can function for good (for instance, you get up every morning and go for a run without even thinking) or ill (you walk into the kitchen and open the fridge for a snack without even thinking).

- **counterconditioning** A classical conditioning procedure for changing the relationship between a conditioned stimulus and its conditioned response.

- **aversive conditioning** A form of treatment that consists of repeated pairings of a stimulus with a very unpleasant stimulus.

Learning and Health Psychology: Can Classical Conditioning Be Used to Combat Obesity?

The rates of overweight and obesity in the United States are a public health crisis. Most Americans are overweight, and approximately half of the U.S. adult population is obese (Ogden & others, 2014). Underlying these statistics is the simple fact that many people eat when they are not hungry. Eating in the absence of hunger (or EAH) is thought to be caused by reactions to food cues. The term *food cues* refers to the conditioned stimuli that are part of the eating experience, including the sight and smell of tasty food (Jansen, 1998). The conditioned response to these cues includes a desire to eat, salivation, and other bodily changes associated with preparing to eat. Essentially, when people look at and smell tasty food, the body automatically prepares to eat.

Some people, however, are more sensitive to food cues, showing a very strong response to these cues including the tendency to engage in more EAH (Boutelle & Bouton, 2015; Boutelle & others, 2015). Using the principles of classical conditioning, is it possible to extinguish the link between food cues and eating, thereby reducing EAH?

Now, the link between the sight and smell of a freshly baked chocolate chip cookie and eating that cookie might seem so strong that it would be next to impossible to extinguish. Can we separate food cues from eating?

A recent study examined this possibility (Schyns & others, 2016). Overweight women were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. Women in the experimental condition were

Is your eating guided by food cues?

exposed to the sights and smells of tasty food. These women sat at a table topped with a variety of delicious and decadent foods: chocolate mousse, whipped cream, strawberry mousse, custard, and chocolate cake. They were encouraged to look at the desserts, smell them, and fully imagine themselves eating them—but no tasting allowed. After 80 minutes of this exposure, the women were told to throw the desserts in the trash. For the control group, the experimenter presented standard information about body satisfaction and healthy weight for the same amount of time. Then, all participants were required to eat two sandwiches to



© D. Hurst/Alamy Stock Photo

ensure that no participants were hungry. Finally, the dependent variables were measured.

A key dependent variable was EAH, operationalized by a phony “taste test.” Participants were presented with the desserts and were told to taste each one and make ratings. They could eat as much as they wished, and the amount eaten was measured. Recall that because they had just eaten the sandwiches, none of the participants could be hungry, and so the amount of the desserts they ate is a measure of EAH. The results showed that the experimental group ate less than those in the control condition. In addition, compared to controls, those in the experimental group expressed less agreement with the belief that if tasty food is in front of them, then they must eat it. In short, staring at, smelling, and fantasizing about eating tasty food, but then not eating it, began the process of severing the link between those sights, smells, and thoughts and eating.

Pavlov’s original discovery of classical conditioning occurred in the context of food and eating. We should not be surprised, then, that classical conditioning holds a great deal of promise in developing interventions to combat overeating.

Let’s consider an imaginary Pavlov’s dog, called Bill. After years of service in Pavlov’s lab, Bill is taken in by a caring family. Now, Bill is not kept in a state of hunger but is allowed to eat whenever he wants. But Bill’s family might notice that he runs to his dish, salivating, and seems to want to eat whenever the doorbell rings—even if he is not hungry. Why? Because Bill has acquired an association in which ringing bells evoke food-related behaviors. Bill, our imaginary dog, eats when he is not hungry because of a learned association. Could such a link help explain overeating and obesity in humans? The principles of classical conditioning have been used to combat overweight and obesity in humans by targeting such links (Boutelle & Bouton, 2015). To read about this work, see the Intersection.

CLASSICAL CONDITIONING AND THE PLACEBO EFFECT

The chapter “Psychology’s Scientific Method” defined the *placebo effect* as the effect of a substance (such as taking a pill orally) or a procedure (such as using a syringe to inject



a substance) that researchers use as a control to identify the actual effects of a treatment. Placebo effects are observable changes (such as a drop in pain) that cannot be explained by the effects of an actual treatment. The principles of classical conditioning can help to explain some of these effects (Montgomery & Kirsch, 2013). In this case, the pill or syringe serves as a CS, and the actual drug is the US. After the experience of pain relief following the consumption of a drug, for instance, the pill or syringe might lead to a CR of lowered pain even in the absence of an actual painkiller. The strongest evidence for the role of classical conditioning on placebo effects comes from research on the immune system and the endocrine system.

CLASSICAL CONDITIONING AND THE IMMUNE AND ENDOCRINE SYSTEMS

Even the human body's internal organ systems can be classically conditioned. The immune system is the body's natural defense against disease. A number of studies reveal that classical conditioning can produce *immunosuppression*, a decrease in the production of antibodies, which can lower a person's ability to fight disease (Ader & Cohen, 1975; Sticht & others, 2015).

The initial discovery of this link between classical conditioning and immunosuppression came as a surprise. In studying classical conditioning, Robert Ader (1974) was examining how long a conditioned response would last in some laboratory rats. He paired a conditioned stimulus (saccharin solution) with an unconditioned stimulus, a drug called Cytoxan, which induces nausea. Afterward, while giving the rats saccharin-laced water without the accompanying Cytoxan, Ader watched to see how long it would take the rats to forget the association between the two.

Unexpectedly, in the second month of the study, the rats developed a disease and began to die off. In analyzing this unforeseen result, Ader looked into the properties of the nausea-inducing drug he had used. He discovered that one of its side effects was suppressed immune system functioning. It turned out that the rats had been classically conditioned to associate sweet water not only with nausea but also with the shutdown of the immune system. The sweet water apparently had become a conditioned stimulus for immunosuppression.

Researchers have found that conditioned immune responses also occur in humans (Kusnecov, 2014). For example, in one study, patients with multiple sclerosis were given a flavored drink prior to receiving a drug that suppressed the immune system. After this pairing, the flavored drink by itself lowered immune functioning, similarly to the drug (Giang & others, 1996).

Similar results have been found for the endocrine system. Recall from the chapter "Biological Foundations of Behavior" that the endocrine system is a loosely organized set of glands that produce and circulate hormones. Research has shown that placebo pills can influence the secretion of hormones if patients had previous experiences with pills containing actual drugs that affected hormone secretion (Benedetti & others, 2003; Piedimonte & Benedetti, 2015). Studies have revealed that the sympathetic nervous system (the part of the autonomic nervous system that responds to stress) plays an important role in the learned associations between conditioned stimuli and immune and endocrine functioning (Wager & Atlas, 2015).

TASTE AVERSION LEARNING

Consider this scenario. Mike goes out for sushi with some friends and eats spicy yellow tail, his favorite dish. He then proceeds to a jazz concert. Several hours later, he becomes very ill with stomach pains and nausea. A few weeks later, he tries to eat spicy yellow tail again but cannot stand it. Importantly, Mike does not experience an aversion to jazz, even though he attended the jazz concert that night before getting sick. Mike's experience exemplifies *taste aversion*: a special kind of classical conditioning involving the learned association between a particular taste and nausea (Bernal-Gamboa, Nieto, & Rosas, 2015; Garcia, Ervin, & Koelling, 1966; Martínez-Moreno, Rodríguez-Durán, & Escobar, 2016).

Taste aversion is special because it typically requires only one pairing of a neutral stimulus (a taste) with the unconditioned response of nausea to seal that connection,

often for a very long time. As we consider later, it is highly adaptive to learn taste aversion in only one trial. An animal that required multiple pairings of taste with poison likely would not survive the acquisition phase. It is notable, though, that taste aversion can occur even if the “taste” had nothing to do with getting sick—perhaps, in Mike’s case, he was simply coming down with a stomach bug. Taste aversion can even occur when a person has been sickened by a completely separate event, such as being spun around in a chair (Klosterhalfen & others, 2000).

Although taste aversion is often considered an exception to the rules of learning, Michael Domjan (2005, 2015) has suggested that this form of learning demonstrates how classical conditioning works in the natural world, where associations matter to survival. Remember, in taste aversion, the taste or flavor is the CS; the agent that made the person sick (it could be a rollercoaster ride or salmonella, for example) is the US; nausea or vomiting is the UR; and taste aversion is the CR.

Taste aversion learning is particularly important in the context of the traditional treatment of some cancers. Radiation and chemotherapy for cancer can produce nausea in patients, with the result that individuals sometimes develop strong aversions to foods they ingest prior to treatment (Coa & others, 2015; Davidson & Riley, 2015; Jacobsen & others, 1993). Consequently, they may experience a general tendency to be turned off by food, a situation that can lead to nutritional deficits (Coa & others, 2015).

Researchers have used classical conditioning principles to combat these taste aversions, especially in children, for whom anti-nausea medication is often ineffective (Skolin & others, 2006) and for whom aversions to protein-rich food is particularly problematic (Ikeda & others, 2006). Early studies demonstrated that giving children a “scapegoat” conditioned stimulus prior to chemotherapy would help contain the taste aversion to only one specific type of food or flavor (Broberg & Bernstein, 1987). For example, children might be given a particular flavor of Lifesaver candy or ice cream before receiving treatment. For these children, the nausea would be more strongly associated with the Lifesaver or ice cream flavor than with the foods they needed to eat for good nutrition. These results show discrimination in classical conditioning—the kids developed aversions only to the specific scapegoat flavors.

CLASSICAL CONDITIONING AND ADVERTISING

Classical conditioning provides the foundation for many of the commercials that we are bombarded with daily. (Appropriately, when John Watson, whom you will recall from the baby Albert study, left the field of psychology, he went into advertising.) Think about it: Advertising involves creating an association between a product and pleasant feelings (buy that pumpkin spice latte and be happy). TV advertisers cunningly apply classical conditioning principles to consumers by showing ads that pair something positive—such as a beautiful woman (the US) producing pleasant feelings (the UR)—with a product (the CS) in hopes that you, the viewer, will experience those positive feelings toward the product (the CR).

Even when commercials are not involved, advertisers exploit classical conditioning principles—for instance, through the technique of product placement, or what is known as *embedded marketing*. For example, suppose that while viewing a TV show or movie, you notice that a character is drinking a particular brand of soft drink or eating a particular type of cereal. By placing their products in the context of a show or movie you like, advertisers are hoping that your positive feelings about the show, movie plot, or a character (the UR) rub off on their product (the CS). It may seem like a long shot, but all they need to do is enhance the chances that, say, navigating through a car dealership or a grocery store, you will feel attracted to their product.

DRUG HABITUATION

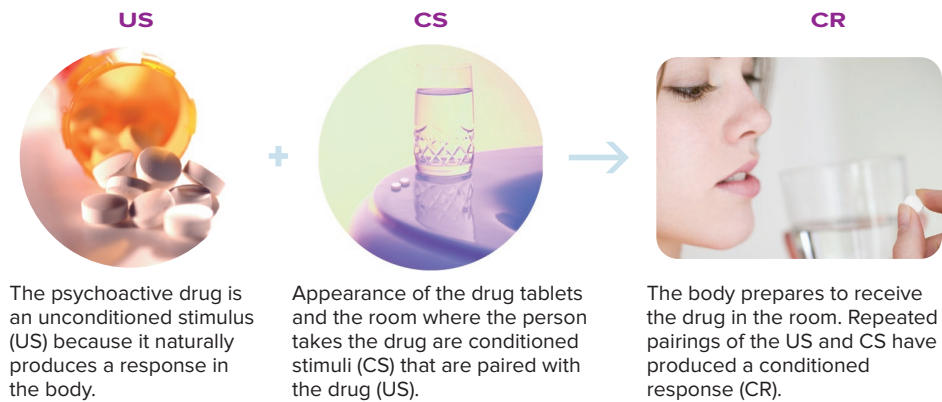
The chapter “States of Consciousness” noted how, over time, a person might develop a tolerance for a psychoactive drug and need a higher and higher dose of the substance to



The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is trying out taste aversion as a tool to prevent Mexican gray wolves from preying on cattle. To instill taste aversion for beef, the agency is deploying bait made of beef and cowhide that also contains odorless and flavorless substances that induce nausea (Bryan, 2012). The hope is that wolves that are sickened by the bait will no longer prey on cattle and might even rear their pups to enjoy alternative meals.

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FIGURE 3 Drug Habituation The figure illustrates how classical conditioning is involved in drug habituation. As a result of conditioning, the drug user will need to take more of the drug to get the same effect as the person did before the conditioning. Moreover, if the user takes the drug without the usual conditioned stimulus or stimuli—represented in the middle panel by the bathroom and the drug tablets—overdosing is more likely. (first) © Thinkstock/JupiterImages; (second) © Brand X Pictures/PunchStock; (third) © Rick Gomez/Corbis



● **habituation** Decreased responsiveness to a stimulus after repeated presentations.

get the same effect. Classical conditioning helps to explain **habituation**, which refers to the decreased responsiveness to a stimulus after repeated presentations. A mind-altering drug is an unconditioned stimulus: It naturally produces a response in the person's body. This unconditioned stimulus is often paired systematically with a previously neutral stimulus (CS). For instance, the physical appearance of the drug in a pill or syringe, and the room where the person takes the drugs, are conditioned stimuli that are paired with the unconditioned stimulus of the drug. These repeated pairings should produce a conditioned response, and they do—but it is different from those we have considered so far.

The conditioned response to a drug can be the body's way of *preparing* for the effects of a drug (Ettenberg & others, 2015; Rachlin & Green, 2009). In this case, the body braces itself for the effects of the drug with a CR that is the opposite of the UR. For instance, if the drug (the US) leads to an increase in heart rate (the UR), the CR might be a drop in heart rate. The CS serves as a warning that the drug is coming, and the conditioned response in this case is the body's compensation for the drug's effects (Figure 3). In this situation the conditioned response works to decrease the effects of the US, making the drug experience less intense. Some drug users try to prevent habituation by varying the physical location of where they take the drug.

This aspect of drug use can play a role in deaths caused by drug overdoses. How is classical conditioning involved? A user typically takes a drug in a particular setting, such as a bathroom, and acquires a conditioned response to this location (McClernon & others, 2015; Siegel, 1988). Because of classical conditioning, as soon as the drug user walks into the bathroom, the person's body begins to prepare for and anticipate the drug dose in order to lessen the effect of the drug. Essentially, the context in which the drug is taken (for example, the bathroom) becomes a conditioned stimulus that signals that the drug is coming. However, if the user takes the drug in a location other than the usual one, such as at a rock concert, the drug's effect is greater because no conditioned responses have built up in the new setting, and therefore the body is not prepared for the drug.

When you read about cases of deadly overdoses, note how often the person has taken the drug under unusual circumstances or after a visit to rehab. In these cases, with no CS signal, the body is unprepared for (and tragically overwhelmed by) the drug's effects. After time in rehab, the associative links have been extinguished and the individual is at risk of overdosing (Ravndal, Lauritzen, & Gossop, 2015).

test yourself

1. What is meant by an unconditioned stimulus (US) and an unconditioned response (UR)? In Pavlov's experiments with dogs, what were the US and the UR?
2. What is meant by a conditioned stimulus (CS) and a conditioned response (CR)? In Pavlov's experiments with dogs, what were the CS and the CR?
3. What learning principle does the Watson and Rayner study with baby Albert illustrate?

3. OPERANT CONDITIONING

Recall from early in the chapter that classical conditioning and operant conditioning are forms of associative learning, which involves learning that two events are connected. In classical conditioning, organisms learn the association between two stimuli (US and CS). Classical conditioning is a form of *respondent behavior*, behavior that occurs in automatic response to a stimulus such as a nausea-producing drug and later to a conditioned stimulus such as sweet water that was paired with the drug. Calling a behavior "respondent" means that it happens on auto pilot.

Classical conditioning explains how neutral stimuli become associated with unlearned, *involuntary responses*. Classical conditioning is not as effective, however, in explaining *voluntary behaviors* such as a student's studying hard for a test, a gambler's playing slot machines in Las Vegas, or a service dog fetching his owner's cell phone on command. Operant conditioning is usually much better than classical conditioning at explaining such voluntary behaviors. Whereas classical conditioning focuses on the association between stimuli, operant conditioning focuses on the association between behaviors and the stimuli that follow them.

Defining Operant Conditioning

Operant conditioning or instrumental conditioning is a form of associative learning in which the consequences of a behavior change the probability of the behavior's occurrence. The American psychologist B. F. Skinner (1938) chose the term *operant* to describe the behavior of the organism. An operant behavior occurs spontaneously. According to Skinner, the consequences that follow such spontaneous behaviors determine whether the behavior will be repeated.

Imagine, for example, that you spontaneously decide to take a different route while driving to campus one day. You are more likely to repeat that route on another day if you have a pleasant experience—for instance, arriving at school faster or finding a new coffee place to try—than if you have a lousy experience such as getting stuck in traffic. In either case, the consequences of your spontaneous act influence whether that behavior happens again.

Recall that *contingency* is an important aspect of classical conditioning in which the occurrence of one stimulus can be predicted from the presence of another one. Contingency also plays a key role in operant conditioning. For example, when a rat pushes a lever (behavior) that delivers food, the delivery of food (consequence) is contingent on that behavior. This principle of contingency helps explain why passersby should never praise, pet, or feed a service dog while he is working (at least without asking first). Providing rewards during such times might interfere with the dog's training.

● **operant conditioning or instrumental conditioning** A form of associative learning in which the consequences of a behavior change the probability of the behavior's occurrence.

Thorndike's Law of Effect

Although Skinner emerged as the primary figure in operant conditioning, the experiments of E. L. Thorndike (1898) established the power of consequences in determining voluntary behavior. At about the same time that Pavlov was conducting classical conditioning experiments with salivating dogs, Thorndike, another American psychologist, was studying cats in puzzle boxes. Thorndike put a hungry cat inside a box and placed a piece of fish outside. To escape from the box and obtain the food, the cat had to learn to open the latch inside the box. At first the cat made a number of ineffective responses. It clawed or bit at the bars and thrust its paw through the openings. Eventually the cat accidentally stepped on the lever that released the door bolt. When the cat returned to the box, it went through the same random activity until it stepped on the lever once more. On subsequent trials, the cat made fewer and fewer random movements until finally it immediately stepped on the lever to open the door (Figure 4). Thorndike's resulting **law of effect** states that behaviors followed by pleasant outcomes are strengthened and that behaviors followed by unpleasant outcomes are weakened.

The law of effect is profoundly important because it presents the basic idea that the consequences of a behavior influence the likelihood of that behavior's recurrence. Quite simply, a behavior can be followed by something good or something bad, and the probability of a behavior's being repeated depends on these outcomes. As we now explore, Skinner's operant conditioning model expands on this basic idea.

● **law of effect** Thorndike's law stating that behaviors followed by positive outcomes are strengthened and that behaviors followed by negative outcomes are weakened.

Skinner's Approach to Operant Conditioning

Skinner believed that the mechanisms of learning are the same for all species. This conviction led him to study animals in the hope that he could discover the components

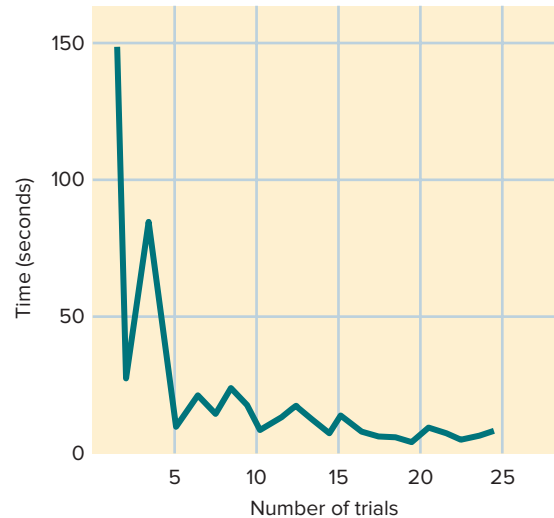
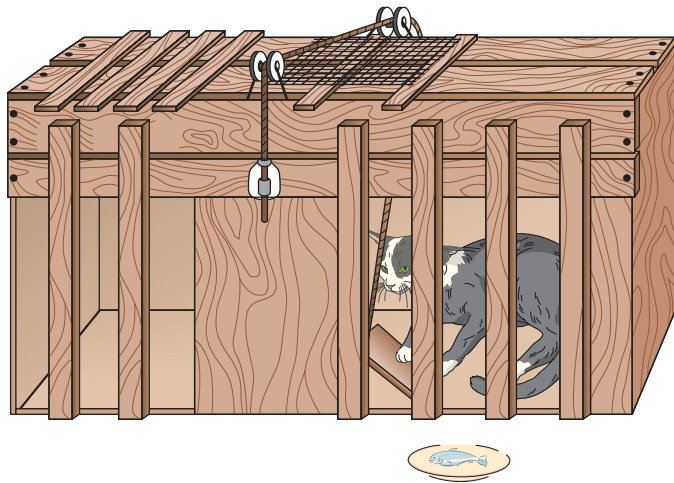


FIGURE 4 Thorndike's Puzzle Box and the Law of Effect (left) A box typical of the puzzle boxes Thorndike used in his experiments with cats to study the law of effect. Stepping on the lever released the door bolt; a weight attached to the door then pulled the door open and allowed the cat to escape. After accidentally pressing the lever as it tried to get to the food, the cat learned to press the lever when it wanted to escape the box. (right) One cat's learning curve over 24 separate trials. Notice that the cat escaped much more quickly after about five trials. It had learned the consequences of its behavior.

of learning with organisms simpler than humans, including pigeons. During World War II, Skinner trained pigeons to pilot missiles. Naval officials just could not accept pigeons guiding their missiles in a war, but Skinner congratulated himself on the degree of control he was able to exercise over the pigeons (Figure 5).

● **shaping** Rewarding successive approximations of a desired behavior.

Skinner and other behaviorists made every effort to study organisms under precisely controlled conditions so that they could examine the connection between the operant behavior and the specific consequences in minute detail. In the 1930s, Skinner created an operant conditioning chamber, also called a Skinner box, to control experimental conditions (Figure 6).

A device in the box delivered food pellets into a tray at random. After a rat became accustomed to the box, Skinner installed a lever and observed the rat's behavior. As the hungry rat explored the box, it occasionally pressed the lever, and a food pellet was dispensed. Soon the rat learned that the consequences of pressing the lever were positive: It would be fed. Skinner achieved further control by soundproofing the box to ensure that the experimenter was the only influence on the organism. In many of the experiments, the responses were mechanically recorded, and the food (the consequence) was dispensed automatically. These precautions were aimed at preventing human error.

Shaping

Imagine trying to teach even a really smart dog how to signal that her owner's blood-glucose level is low—or how to turn on the lights or do the laundry. These challenges might seem insurmountable, as it is unlikely that a dog will spontaneously perform any of these behaviors. You could wait a very long time for such feats to occur. Nevertheless, it *is* possible to train a dog or another animal to perform highly complex tasks through shaping.

Shaping refers to rewarding successive approximations of a desired behavior (Emer & others, 2015; Slater & Dymond, 2011). For example, shaping can be used to train a rat to press a bar to obtain food. When a rat is first placed in a Skinner box, it rarely presses the bar. Thus, the experimenter may start off by giving the rat a food pellet if it is in the same half of the cage as the bar. Then the experimenter might reward the rat's

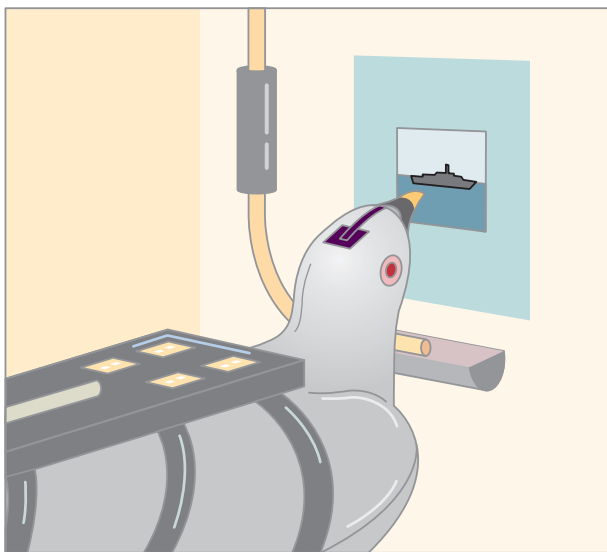


FIGURE 5 Skinner's Pigeon-Guided Missile Skinner wanted to help the military during World War II by using the tracking behavior of pigeons. A gold electrode covered the tip of the pigeons' beaks. Contact with the screen on which the image of the target was projected sent a signal informing the missile's control mechanism of the target's location. A few grains of food occasionally given to the pigeons maintained their tracking behavior.

behavior only when it is within 2 inches of the bar, then only when it touches the bar, and finally only when it presses the bar.

Returning to the service dog example, rather than waiting for the dog to spontaneously put the clothes in the washing machine, we might reward the dog for carrying the clothes to the laundry room and for bringing them closer and closer to the washing machine. Finally, we might reward the dog only when it gets the clothes inside the washer. Indeed, trainers use this type of shaping technique extensively in teaching animals to perform tricks. A dolphin that jumps through a hoop held high above the water has been trained to perform this behavior through shaping.

Principles of Reinforcement

We noted earlier that a behavior can be followed by something pleasant or something unpleasant. When behaviors are followed by a desirable outcome, the behaviors are likely to be repeated. When behaviors are followed by an undesirable outcome, they are less likely to occur. Now we can put some labels on these different patterns.

Reinforcement is the process by which a stimulus or event (a *reinforcer*) following a particular behavior increases the probability that the behavior will happen again. These desirable (or rewarding) consequences of a behavior fall into two types, called *positive reinforcement* and *negative reinforcement*. Both of these types of consequences are experienced as pleasant, and both increase the frequency of a behavior.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REINFORCEMENT

In **positive reinforcement** the frequency of a behavior increases because it is followed by a desirable stimulus. For example, if someone you meet smiles at you after you say, “Hello, how are you?” and you keep talking, the smile has reinforced your talking. The same principle of positive reinforcement is at work when you teach a dog to “shake hands” by giving it a piece of food when it lifts its paw.

In contrast, in **negative reinforcement** the frequency of a behavior increases because it is followed by *the removal* of something undesirable. For example, if your father nagged you to clean out the garage and kept nagging until you cleaned out the garage, your response (cleaning out the garage) removed the unpleasant stimulus (your dad’s nagging). Taking an aspirin when you have a headache works the same way: A reduction of pain reinforces the act of taking an aspirin. Similarly, if your laptop is making an irritating buzzing sound, you might give it a good smack on the side, and if the buzzing stops, you are more likely to smack it again if the buzzing resumes. Ending the buzzing sound rewards the laptop-smacking.

Notice that both positive and negative reinforcement involve rewarding behavior—but they do so in different ways. Positive reinforcement means following a behavior with the addition of something pleasant, and negative reinforcement means following a behavior with the removal of something unpleasant. So, in this case “positive” and “negative” have nothing to do with “good” and “bad.” Rather, they refer to processes in which something is given (positive reinforcement) or removed (negative reinforcement).

Whether it is positive or negative, reinforcement is about increasing a behavior. Be sure to review Figure 7 as it provides further examples to help you understand the distinction between positive and negative reinforcement. These processes can be tricky.

A special kind of response to negative reinforcement is avoidance learning. **Avoidance learning** occurs when the organism learns that by making a particular response, a negative stimulus can be altogether avoided. For instance, a student who receives one bad grade might thereafter always study hard in order to avoid the negative outcome of bad grades in the future. Even when the bad grade is no longer present, the behavior pattern sticks. Avoidance learning is very powerful in the sense that the behavior is maintained even in the absence of any aversive stimulus. For example, animals that have been trained to avoid a negative stimulus, such as an electrical shock, by jumping

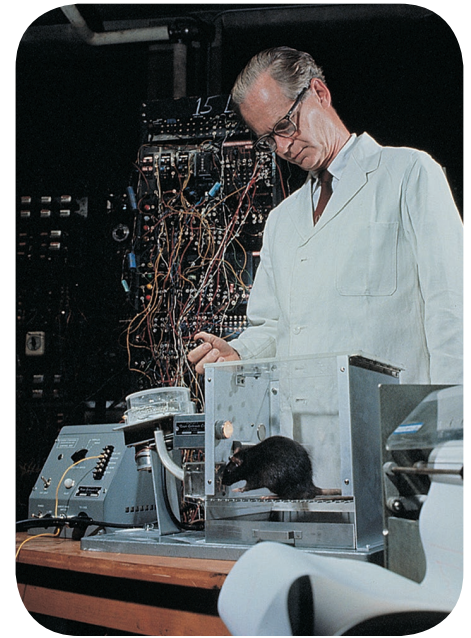


FIGURE 6 The Skinner Box B. F. Skinner conducting an operant conditioning study in his behavioral laboratory. The rat being studied is in an operant conditioning chamber, sometimes referred to as a Skinner box. © Nina Leen/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images



Through shaping, animals can learn to do amazing things—even ride a wave, like this alpaca shown with its trainer, Peruvian surfer Domingo Pianezzi.

© Pilar Olivares/Reuters/Corbis

- **reinforcement** The process by which a stimulus or event (a reinforcer) following a particular behavior increases the probability that the behavior will happen again.
- **positive reinforcement** The presentation of a stimulus following a given behavior in order to increase the frequency of that behavior.
- **negative reinforcement** The removal of a stimulus following a given behavior in order to increase the frequency of that behavior.
- **avoidance learning** An organism’s learning that it can altogether avoid a negative stimulus by making a particular response.

Positive Reinforcement		
Behavior	Rewarding Stimulus Provided	Future Behavior
You turn in homework on time.	Teacher praises your performance.	You increasingly turn in homework on time.
You wax your skis.	The skis go faster.	You wax your skis the next time you go skiing.
You randomly press a button on the dashboard of a friend's car.	Great music begins to play.	You deliberately press the button again the next time you get into the car.

Negative Reinforcement		
Behavior	Stimulus Removed	Future Behavior
You turn in homework on time.	Teacher stops criticizing late homework.	You increasingly turn in homework on time.
You wax your skis.	People stop zooming by you on the slopes.	You wax your skis the next time you go skiing.
You randomly press a button on the dashboard of a friend's car.	An annoying song shuts off.	You deliberately press the button again the next time the annoying song is on.

FIGURE 7 Positive and Negative Reinforcement Positive reinforcers involve adding something (generally something rewarding). Negative reinforcers involve taking away something (generally something aversive).

● **learned helplessness** An organism's learning through experience with negative stimuli that it has no control over negative outcomes.

into a safe area may thereafter gravitate toward the safe area, even when the shock is no longer presented.

Experience with unavoidable negative stimuli can lead to a particular deficit in avoidance learning called learned helplessness. In **learned helplessness** the organism has learned that it has no control over negative outcomes. Learned helplessness was first identified by Martin Seligman and his colleagues (Altenor, Volpicelli, & Seligman, 1979; Hannum, Rosellini, & Seligman, 1976). Seligman and his associates found that dogs that were first exposed to inescapable shocks were later unable to learn to avoid those shocks, even when they could avoid them (Seligman & Maier, 1967). This inability to learn to escape was persistent: The dogs would suffer painful shocks hours, days, and even weeks later and never attempt to escape.

Exposure to unavoidable negative circumstances may also set the stage for humans' inability to learn avoidance, such as with the experience of depression and despair (Landgraf & others, 2015; Pryce & others, 2011). Learned helplessness has aided psychologists in understanding a variety of perplexing issues, such as why some victims of domestic violence fail to escape their terrible situation and why some students respond to failure at school by giving up trying.

TYPES OF REINFORCERS

Psychologists classify positive reinforcers as primary or secondary based on whether the rewarding quality of the consequence is innate or learned. A **primary reinforcer** is innately satisfying; that is, a primary reinforcer does not require any learning on the organism's part to make it pleasurable. Food, water, and sexual satisfaction are primary reinforcers.

A **secondary reinforcer** acquires its positive value through an organism's experience; a secondary reinforcer is a learned or conditioned reinforcer. Secondary reinforcers can be linked to primary reinforcers through classical conditioning. For instance, if someone wanted to train a cat to do tricks, the person might first repeatedly pair the sound of a whistle with food. Once the cat associates the whistle with food, the whistle can be used in training.

● **primary reinforcer** A reinforcer that is innately satisfying; a primary reinforcer does not require any learning on the organism's part to make it pleasurable.

● **secondary reinforcer** A reinforcer that acquires its positive value through an organism's experience; a secondary reinforcer is a learned or conditioned reinforcer.

We encounter hundreds of secondary reinforcers in our lives, such as getting an A on a test and a paycheck for a job. Although we might think of these as positive outcomes, they are not innately positive. We learn through experience that A's and paychecks are good. Secondary reinforcers can be used in a system called a *token economy*. In a token economy behaviors are rewarded with tokens (such as poker chips or stars on a chart) that can be exchanged later for desired rewards (such as candy or money).

GENERALIZATION, DISCRIMINATION, AND EXTINCTION

Not only are generalization, discrimination, and extinction important in classical conditioning, but they are also key principles in operant conditioning.

Generalization In operant conditioning, **generalization** means performing a reinforced behavior in a different situation. For example, in one study pigeons were reinforced for pecking at a disk of a particular color (Guttman & Kalish, 1956). To assess stimulus generalization, researchers presented the pigeons with disks of varying colors. As Figure 8 shows, the pigeons were most likely to peck at disks closest in color to the original. When a student who gets excellent grades in a calculus class by studying the course material every night starts to study psychology and history every night as well, generalization is at work.

Discrimination In operant conditioning, **discrimination** means responding appropriately to stimuli that signal that a behavior will or will not be reinforced. For example, you go to a restaurant that has a “University Student Discount” sign in the front window, and you enthusiastically flash your student ID with the expectation of getting the reward of a reduced-price meal. Without the sign, showing your ID might get you only a puzzled look, not cheap food.

The principle of discrimination helps to explain how a service dog “knows” when she is working. Typically, the dog wears a training harness while on duty but not at other times. Thus, when a service dog is wearing her harness, it is important to treat her like the professional that she is. Similarly, an important aspect of the training of service dogs is the need for selective disobedience. Selective disobedience means that in addition to obeying commands from her human partner, the service dog must at times override such commands if the context provides cues that obedience is not the appropriate response. So, if a guide dog is standing at the street corner with her visually impaired owner, and the person commands her to move forward, the dog might refuse if she sees the “Don’t Walk” sign flashing. Stimuli in the environment serve as cues, informing the organism if a particular reinforcement contingency is in effect.

Extinction In operant conditioning, **extinction** occurs when a behavior is no longer reinforced and decreases in frequency. If, for example, a soda machine that you frequently use starts “eating” your coins without dispensing soda, you quickly stop inserting more coins. Several weeks later, you might try to use the machine again, hoping that it has been fixed. Such behavior illustrates spontaneous recovery in operant conditioning (Bouton & Schepers, 2015).

CONTINUOUS REINFORCEMENT, PARTIAL REINFORCEMENT, AND SCHEDULES OF REINFORCEMENT

Most of the examples of reinforcement we have considered so far involve *continuous reinforcement*, in which a behavior is reinforced every time it occurs. When continuous reinforcement takes place, organisms learn rapidly. However, when reinforcement stops, extinction takes place quickly.

A variety of conditioning procedures have been developed that are particularly resistant to extinction. These involve *partial reinforcement*, in which a reinforcer follows a behavior only a portion of the time. Partial reinforcement characterizes most life experiences. For instance, a golfer does not win every tournament she enters; a chess whiz

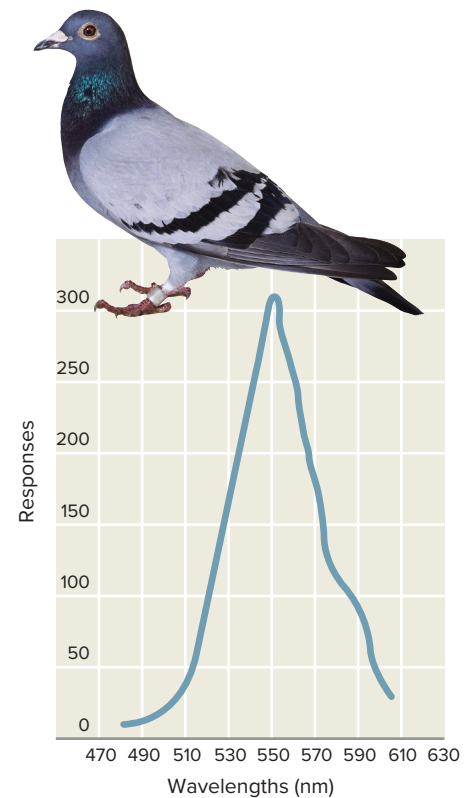


FIGURE 8 Stimulus Generalization In the experiment by Norman Guttman and Harry Kalish (1956), pigeons initially pecked at a disk of a particular color (in this graph, a color with a wavelength of 550 nm) after they had been reinforced for this wavelength. Subsequently, when the pigeons were presented with disks of colors with varying wavelengths, they were likelier to peck at those with a similar color to the original disk. (photo) © Photodisc/Getty Images

- **generalization (in operant conditioning)**
Performing a reinforced behavior in a different situation.
- **discrimination (in classical conditioning)**
The process of learning to respond to certain stimuli and not others.
- **extinction (in operant conditioning)**
Decreases in the frequency of a behavior when the behavior is no longer reinforced.

● **schedules of reinforcement** Specific patterns that determine when a behavior will be reinforced.

does not win every match he plays; a student does not get a pat on the back each time she solves a problem.

Schedules of reinforcement are specific patterns that determine when a behavior will be reinforced (Bermúdez, Bruner, & Lattal, 2013; Craig & others, 2015). There are four main schedules of partial reinforcement: fixed ratio, variable ratio, fixed interval, and variable interval. With respect to these, *ratio schedules* involve the number of behaviors that must be performed prior to reward, and *interval schedules* refer to the amount of time that must pass before a behavior is rewarded. In a fixed schedule, the number of behaviors or the amount of time is always the same. In a variable schedule, the required number of behaviors or the amount of time that must pass changes and is unpredictable from the perspective of the learner. Let's look concretely at how each of these schedules of reinforcement influences behavior.

A *fixed-ratio schedule* reinforces a behavior after a set number of behaviors. For example, a child might receive a piece of candy or an hour of video-game play not *every* time he practices his piano, but after five days of practicing, at least an hour a day. A mail carrier must deliver mail to a fixed number of houses each day before he or she can head home. The business world often uses fixed-ratio schedules to increase production. For instance, a factory might require a line worker to produce a certain number of items in order to get paid a particular amount. As you can imagine, fixed-ratio schedules are not very mysterious, especially to human learners.

Consider, for instance, if you were playing the slot machines in Las Vegas, and they were on a fixed-ratio schedule, providing a \$5 win every 20th time you put money in the machine. It would not take long to figure out that if you watched someone else play the machine 18 or 19 times, not get any money back, and then walk away, you should step up, insert your coin, and get back \$5. Of course, if the reward schedule for a slot machine were that easy to figure out, casinos would not be so successful.

What makes gambling so tantalizing is the unpredictability of wins (and losses). Slot machines are on a *variable-ratio schedule*, a timetable in which behaviors are rewarded an average number of times but on an unpredictable basis. For example, a slot machine might pay off at an *average* of every 20th time, but the gambler does not know when this payoff will be. The slot machine might pay off twice in a row and then not again until after 58 coins have been inserted. This averages out to a reward for every 20 behavioral acts, but *when* the reward will be given is unpredictable.

Variable-ratio schedules produce high, steady rates of behavior that are more resistant to extinction than the other three schedules. Clearly, slot machines can make quite a profit. This is because not only are the rewards unpredictable, but they require behavior on the part of the person playing. One cannot simply wait around and then put in a coin after hours of not playing, hoping for a win. The machine requires that a certain *number* of behaviors occur; that is what makes it a *ratio* schedule.

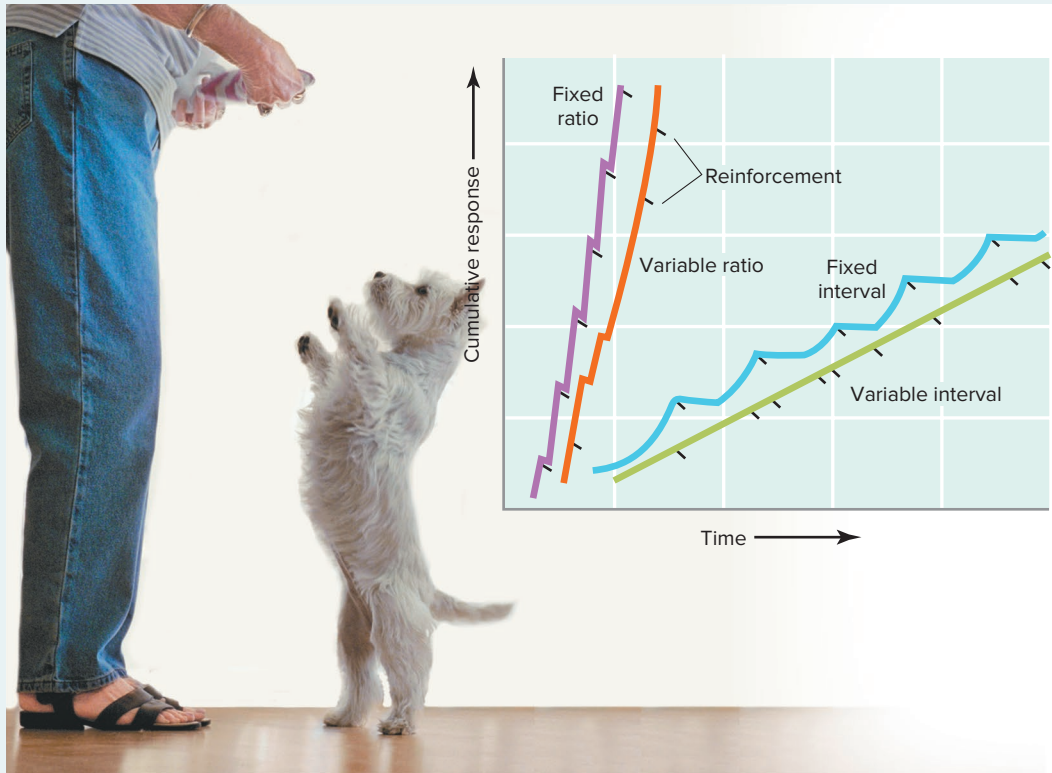
In contrast to ratio schedules of reinforcement, *interval* reinforcement schedules are determined by the *time elapsed* since the last behavior was rewarded. A *fixed-interval schedule* reinforces the first appropriate behavior after a fixed amount of time has passed. If you take a class that has four scheduled exams, you might procrastinate most of the semester and cram just before each test. Fixed-interval schedules of reinforcement are also responsible for the fact that pets seem to be able to “tell time,” eagerly sidling up to their food dish at 5 P.M. in anticipation of dinner. On a fixed-interval schedule, the rate of a behavior increases rapidly as the time approaches when the behavior likely will be reinforced. For example, suppose you are baking cookies, and when you put the cookie sheet into the oven, you set a timer. But before the timer goes off, you find yourself checking the cookies, over and over.

A *variable-interval schedule* is a timetable in which a behavior is reinforced after a variable amount of time has elapsed. Pop quizzes occur on a variable-interval schedule. Random drug testing follows a variable-interval schedule as well. So does fishing—you do not know if the fish will bite in the next minute, in a half hour, in an hour, or ever. Because it is difficult to predict when a reward will come, behavior is *slow and consistent* on a variable-interval schedule (Gaucher, Forget, & Clément, 2015; Romani &



Slot machines are on a *variable-ratio schedule* of reinforcement.

AP psychological inquiry



(photo) © Cardinal/Corbis

Schedules of Reinforcement and Different Patterns of Responding

This figure shows how the different schedules of reinforcement result in different rates of responding. The X or horizontal axis represents time. The Y or vertical axis represents the cumulative responses. That means that as the line goes up, the total number of responses are building and building. In the figure, each hash mark indicates the delivery of reinforcement. That is, each of those little ticks indicates that a reward is being given.

Look closely at the pattern of responses over time for each schedule of reinforcement. On the fixed-ratio schedule, notice the dropoff in responding after each response; on the variable-ratio schedule, note the high, steady rate of responding. On the fixed-interval schedule, notice the immediate dropoff in responding after reinforcement and the increase in responding just before reinforcement (resulting in a scalloped curve); and on the variable-interval schedule, note the slow, steady rate of responding.

1. Which schedule of reinforcement represents the “most bang for the buck”? That is, which one is associated with the most responses for the least amount of reward?
2. Which schedule of reinforcement is most similar to pop quizzes?
3. Which reinforcement schedule is most similar to regular tests on a course syllabus?
4. Which schedule of reinforcement would be best if you have very little time for training?
5. Which schedule of reinforcement do you think is most common in your own life? Why?

others, 2015). This is why pop quizzes lead to more consistent levels of studying compared to the cramming that might be seen with scheduled tests.

Let’s take a closer look at the responses associated with each schedule of reinforcement in the Psychological Inquiry feature.

PUNISHMENT

We began this section by noting that behaviors can be followed by something good or something bad. So far, we have explored only the good things—reinforcers that are meant to increase behaviors. Sometimes, however, the goal is to decrease a behavior, and in such cases the behavior might be followed by something unpleasant. **Punishment** is a consequence that decreases the likelihood that a behavior will occur. For instance, a child plays with matches and gets burned when he lights one; the child consequently is less likely to play with matches in the future. As another example, a student interrupts the instructor, and the instructor scolds the student. This consequence—the teacher’s verbal reprimand—makes the student less likely to interrupt in the future. In punishment, a response decreases because of its unpleasant consequences.

- **punishment** A consequence that decreases the likelihood that a behavior will occur.

● **positive punishment** The presentation of a stimulus following a given behavior in order to decrease the frequency of that behavior.

● **negative punishment** The removal of a stimulus following a given behavior in order to decrease the frequency of that behavior.

Just as the positive–negative distinction applies to reinforcement, it can also apply to punishment. As was the case for reinforcement, “positive” means adding something, and “negative” means taking something away. Thus, in **positive punishment** a behavior decreases when it is followed by the presentation of a stimulus, whereas in **negative punishment** a behavior decreases when a stimulus is removed. Examples of positive punishment include spanking a misbehaving child and scolding a spouse who forgot to call when she was running late at the office; the coach who makes his team run wind sprints after a lackadaisical practice is also using positive punishment. *Time-out* is a form of negative punishment in which a child is removed from a positive reinforcer, such as her toys. Getting grounded is also a form of negative punishment as it involves taking a teenager away from the fun things in his life. Figure 9 compares positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, positive punishment, and negative punishment.

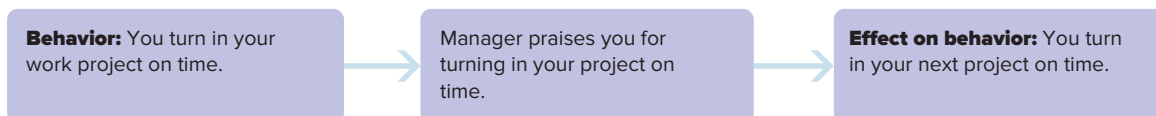
TIMING, REINFORCEMENT, AND PUNISHMENTS

How does the timing of reinforcement and punishment influence behavior? And does it matter whether the reinforcement is small or large?

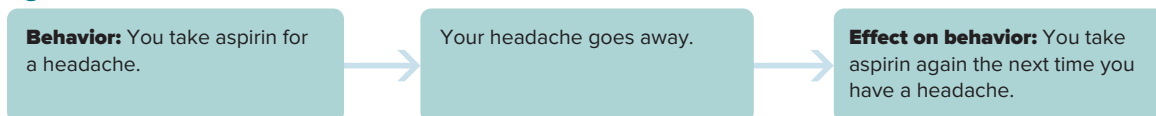
Immediate Versus Delayed Reinforcement As is the case in classical conditioning, in operant conditioning learning is more efficient when the interval between a behavior and its reinforcer is a few seconds rather than minutes or hours, especially in lower animals (Freestone & Church, 2010). If a food reward is delayed for more than 30 seconds after a rat presses a bar, it is virtually ineffective as reinforcement (McNamara & others, 2015). Humans have the ability to connect their behaviors to delayed reinforcers. We can, for instance, study hard knowing that a test is a few weeks away (as there is the reward of the grade we will earn).

Sometimes important life decisions involve whether to seek and enjoy a small, immediate reinforcer or to wait for a delayed but more highly valued reinforcer (Murray, Theakston, & Wells, 2016). For example, you might spend your money now on clothes, concert tickets, and the latest smartphone, or you might save your money and buy a car

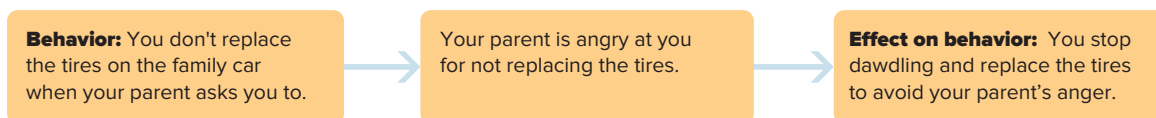
Positive Reinforcement



Negative Reinforcement



Positive Punishment



Negative Punishment

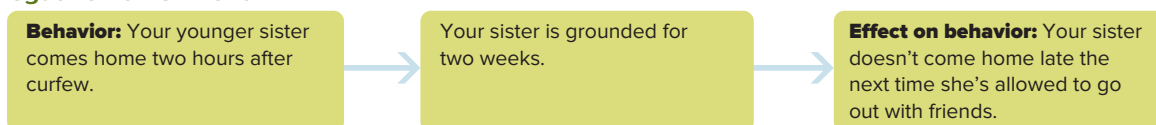


FIGURE 9 Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement, Positive Punishment, and Negative Punishment

The fine distinctions here can sometimes be confusing. With respect to reinforcement, note that both types of reinforcement are intended to increase behavior, either by presenting a stimulus (in positive reinforcement) or by taking away a stimulus (in negative reinforcement). Punishment is meant to decrease a behavior either by presenting something (in positive punishment) or by taking away something (in negative punishment). The words *positive* and *negative* mean the same things in both cases.

later. You might choose to enjoy yourself now in return for immediate small reinforcers, or you might opt to study hard in return for delayed stronger reinforcers such as good grades, admittance to professional school, and a better job.

Immediate Versus Delayed Punishment As with reinforcement, in most instances of research with lower animals, immediate punishment is more effective than delayed punishment in decreasing the occurrence of a behavior. However, also as with reinforcement, delayed punishment can have an effect on human behavior. Not studying at the beginning of a semester can lead to poor grades much later, and humans have the capacity to notice that this early behavior contributed to the negative outcome.

Immediate Versus Delayed Reinforcement and Punishment Many daily behaviors revolve around rewards and punishments, both immediate and delayed. We might put off going to the dentist to avoid a small punisher (such as the discomfort that comes with getting a cavity filled). However, this procrastination might contribute to greater pain later (such as the pain of having a tooth pulled). Sometimes life is about enduring a little pain now to avoid a lot of pain later.

How does receiving immediate small reinforcement versus delayed strong punishment affect human behavior? One reason that obesity is such a major health problem is that eating is a behavior with immediate positive consequences—food tastes great and quickly provides a pleasurable, satisfied feeling. Although the potential delayed consequences of overeating are negative (obesity and other possible health risks), the immediate consequences are difficult to override. When the delayed consequences of behavior are punishing and the immediate consequences are reinforcing, the immediate consequences usually win, even when the immediate consequences are minor reinforcers, and the delayed consequences are major punishers.

Smoking and drinking follow a similar pattern. The immediate consequences of smoking are reinforcing for most smokers—the powerful combination of positive reinforcement (enhanced attention, energy boost) and negative reinforcement (tension relief, removal of craving). The primarily long-term effects of smoking are punishing and include shortness of breath, a chronic sore throat and/or coughing, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), heart disease, and cancer. Likewise, the immediate pleasurable consequences of drinking override the delayed consequences of a hangover or even alcoholism and liver disease.

Now think about the following situations. Why are some of us so reluctant to take up a new sport, try a new dance step, run for office on campus or in local government, or do almost anything different? One reason is that learning new skills often involves minor punishing consequences, such as initially looking and feeling stupid, not knowing what to do, and having to put up with sarcastic comments from others. In these circumstances, reinforcing consequences are often delayed. For example, it may take a long time to become a good enough golfer or a good enough dancer to enjoy these activities, but persevering through the rough patches just might be worth it.

Applied Behavior Analysis

Some thinkers have criticized behavioral approaches for ignoring mental processes and focusing only on observable behavior. Nevertheless, these approaches do provide an optimistic perspective for individuals interested in changing their behaviors. That is, rather than concentrating on factors such as the type of person you are, behavioral approaches imply that you can modify even longstanding habits by changing the reward contingencies that maintain those habits (Craighead & others, 2013; Miltenberger, Miller, & Zenger, 2015).

One real-world application of operant conditioning principles to promote better functioning is applied behavior analysis. **Applied behavior analysis**, also called **behavior modification**, is the use of operant conditioning principles to change human behavior. In applied behavior analysis, the rewards and punishers that exist in a particular setting are carefully analyzed and manipulated to change behaviors (Horner & Sugai, 2015;

● **applied behavior analysis or behavior modification** The use of operant conditioning principles to change human behavior.



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test yourself

1. What is operant conditioning?
2. Define shaping and give two examples of it.
3. What is the difference between positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement? Between positive punishment and negative punishment?

Miltenberger, Miller, & Zerger, 2015). Applied behavior analysis seeks to identify the rewards that might be maintaining unwanted behaviors and to enhance the rewards of more appropriate behaviors. From this perspective, we can understand all human behavior as being influenced by rewards and punishments. If we can figure out what rewards and punishers are controlling a person's behavior, we can change them—and eventually the behavior itself.

A manager who rewards staff members with a casual-dress day or a half day off if they meet a particular work goal is employing applied behavior analysis. So are a therapist and a client when they establish clear consequences of the client's behavior in order to reinforce more adaptive actions and discourage less adaptive ones (Miltenberger, Miller, & Zerger, 2015). A teacher who notices that a troublesome student seems to enjoy the attention he receives—even when that attention is scolding—might use applied behavior analysis by changing her responses to the child's behavior, ignoring it instead (an example of negative punishment). These examples show how attending to the consequences of behavior can be used to improve performance in settings such as the workplace and a classroom.

Applied behavior analysis has been effective in a wide range of situations. Practitioners have used it, for example, to treat individuals with autism (McMillin & others, 2015; Otero & others, 2015), children and adolescents with psychological problems (Ahmann, 2014; Pelham & others, 2016), and residents of mental health facilities (Kahng & others, 2015); to instruct individuals in effective parenting (Phaneuf & McIntyre, 2007); to enhance environmentally conscious behaviors such as recycling and properly disposing of garbage (Geller, 2002; Norton & others, 2015); to get people to wear seatbelts (Streff & Geller, 1986) and speed less (Mullen, Maxwell, & Bédard, 2015); and to promote workplace safety (Geller & Robinson, 2015). Applied behavior analysis can help people improve their self-control in many aspects of mental and physical health (Levy, 2013; Mazur, 2013).

4. OBSERVATIONAL LEARNING

Would it make sense to teach a 15-year-old girl how to drive with either classical conditioning or operant conditioning procedures? Driving a car is a voluntary behavior, so classical conditioning would not apply. In terms of operant conditioning, we could ask her to try to drive down the road and then reward her positive behaviors. Not many of us would want to be on the road, though, when she makes mistakes. Consider, as well, how many things human beings do that are arbitrary but important. We wave to say hello or good-bye, we eat certain foods for breakfast and not others. These conventions are learned through observational learning (Lindström & Olsson, 2015).

Albert Bandura (2011a) believes that if all our learning were conducted in such a trial-and-error fashion, learning would be exceedingly tedious and at times hazardous. Instead, he says, many complex behaviors are the result of exposure to competent models. By observing other people, we can acquire knowledge, skills, rules, strategies, beliefs, and attitudes (Meltzoff & Williamson, 2013). The capacity to learn by observation eliminates trial-and-error learning, and often such learning takes less time than operant conditioning.

Bandura's *observational learning*, also called *imitation* or *modeling*, is learning that occurs when a person observes and imitates behavior. Perhaps the most famous example of observational learning is the Bobo doll study (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961). Bandura and his colleagues randomly assigned some children to watch an adult behaving aggressively and other children to watch an adult behaving nonaggressively. In the experimental condition, children saw the model hit an inflated Bobo doll with a mallet, kick it in the air, punch it, and throw it, all the while hollering aggressive phrases such as "Hit him!" "Punch him in the nose!" and "Pow!" In the control condition, the model played with Tinkertoys and ignored the Bobo doll. Children who watched the aggressive model were much more likely to engage in aggressive behavior when left alone with Bobo (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961).

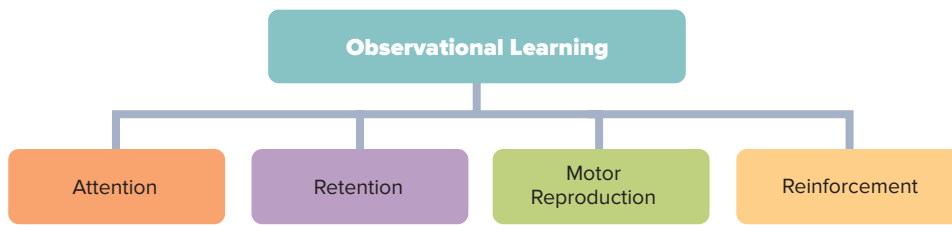


FIGURE 10 Bandura's Model of Observational Learning In terms of Bandura's model, if you are learning to ski, you need to attend to the instructor's words and demonstrations. You need to remember what the instructor did and said about how to avoid disasters. You also need the motor abilities to reproduce what the instructor has shown you. Praise from the instructor after you have completed a few moves on the slopes should improve your motivation to continue skilling.

Bandura (1986) described four main processes that are involved in observational learning: attention, retention, motor reproduction, and reinforcement. The first process that must occur is *attention* (which we considered in the chapter "Sensation and Perception" due to its crucial role in perception). To reproduce a model's actions, you must attend to what the model is saying or doing. You might not hear what a friend says if music is blaring, and you might miss your instructor's analysis of a problem if you are admiring someone sitting in the next row. As a further example, imagine that you decide to take a class to improve your drawing skills. To succeed, you need to attend to the instructor's words and hand movements. Characteristics of the model can influence whether we pay attention to him or her. Warm, powerful, atypical people, for example, command more attention than do cold, weak, typical people.

Retention is the second process required for observational learning to occur. Retention means you must hold the information in memory. To reproduce a model's actions, you must encode the information and keep it in memory so that you can retrieve it. A simple verbal description, or a vivid image of what the model did, assists retention. (Memory is such an important cognitive process that we devote the chapter "Memory" exclusively to it.) In the example of taking a class to sharpen your drawing skills, you will need to remember what the instructor said and did in modeling good drawing skills.

Motor reproduction, a third element of observational learning, is the process of imitating the model's actions. People might pay attention to a model and encode what they have seen, but limitations in motor development might make it difficult for them to reproduce the model's action. A 13-year-old might see a professional basketball player do a reverse two-handed dunk but be unable to reproduce the pro's play. Similarly, in your drawing class, if you lack fine motor reproduction skills, you might be unable to follow the instructor's example.

Reinforcement is a final component of observational learning. In this case, the question is whether the model's behavior is followed by a consequence. Seeing a model attain a reward for an activity increases the chances that an observer will repeat the behavior—a process called *vicarious reinforcement*. On the other hand, seeing the model punished makes the observer less likely to repeat the behavior—a process called *vicarious punishment*. Unfortunately, vicarious reinforcement and vicarious punishment are often absent in, for example, media portrayals of violence and aggression.

Observational learning has been studied in a variety of contexts. Researchers have explored observational learning, for example, as a means by which gorillas learn from one another about motor skills (Byrne, Hobaiter, & Klailova, 2011). They have also studied it as a process by which people learn whether stimuli are likely to be painful (Helsen & others, 2011) and as a tool individuals use to make economic decisions (Beshears & others, 2015).

Observational learning can be an important factor in the functioning of role models in inspiring people and changing their perceptions. Whether a model is similar to us can influence that model's effectiveness in modifying our behavior. The shortage of role models for women and minorities in science and engineering has often been suggested as a reason for the lack of women and minorities in these fields. After the election of Barack Obama as president of the United States, many commentators noted that for the first time, African American children could see concretely that they might also attain the nation's highest office some day. Figure 10 summarizes Bandura's model of observational learning.

test yourself

1. What are the four processes involved in observational learning?
2. What are two other names for observational learning?
3. What are vicarious reinforcement and vicarious punishment?

5. COGNITIVE FACTORS IN LEARNING

In learning about learning, we have looked at cognitive processes only as they apply in observational learning. Skinner's operant conditioning perspective and Pavlov's classical conditioning approach focus on the environment and observable behavior, not what is going on in the head of the learner. Many contemporary psychologists, including some behaviorists, recognize the importance of cognition and believe that learning involves more than environment–behavior connections. A good starting place for considering cognitive influences in learning is the work of E. C. Tolman.

Purposive Behavior

E. C. Tolman (1932) emphasized the *purposiveness* of behavior—the idea that much of behavior is goal-directed. Tolman believed that it is necessary to study entire behavioral sequences in order to understand why people engage in particular actions. For example, high school students whose goal is to attend a leading college or university study hard in their classes. If we focused only on their studying, we would miss the purpose of their behavior. The students do not always study hard because they have been reinforced for studying in the past. Rather, studying is a means to intermediate goals (learning, high grades) that in turn improve their likelihood of getting into the college or university of their choice. To understand human behavior, we sometimes need to place it in a larger context.

We can see Tolman's legacy today in the extensive interest in the role of goal setting in human behavior (Berson & others, 2015; Stetler & Magnusson, 2015). Researchers are especially curious about how people self-regulate and self-monitor their behavior to reach a goal (Bridgett & others, 2015).

EXPECTANCY LEARNING AND INFORMATION

In studying the purposiveness of behavior, Tolman went beyond the stimuli and responses of Pavlov and Skinner to focus on cognitive mechanisms. Tolman said that when classical conditioning and operant conditioning occur, the organism acquires certain expectations. In classical conditioning, the young boy fears the rabbit because he expects it will hurt him. In operant conditioning, a woman works hard all week because she expects a paycheck on Friday. Expectancies are acquired from people's experiences with their environment. Expectancies influence a variety of human experiences. We set the goals we do because we believe that we can reach them.

Expectancies also play a role in the placebo effect, described earlier. Many painkillers have been shown to be more effective in reducing pain if patients can see the intravenous injection sites (Price, Finniss, & Benedetti, 2008). If patients can observe that they are getting a drug, they can harness their own expectations for pain reduction.

Tolman (1932) emphasized that the information value of the conditioned stimulus is important as a signal or an expectation that an unconditioned stimulus will follow. Anticipating contemporary thinking, Tolman believed that the information that the CS provides is the key to understanding classical conditioning.

One contemporary view of classical conditioning describes an organism as an information seeker, using logical and perceptual relations among events, along with preconceptions, to form a representation of the world (Rescorla, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2009).

A classic experiment conducted by Leon Kamin (1968) illustrates the importance of an organism's history and the information provided by a conditioned stimulus in classical conditioning. Kamin conditioned a rat by repeatedly pairing a tone (CS) and a shock (US) until the tone alone produced fear (CR). Then he continued to pair the tone with the shock, but he turned on a light (a second CS) each time the tone sounded. Even though he repeatedly paired the light (CS) and the shock (US), the rat showed no conditioning to the light (the light by itself produced no CR). Conditioning to the light was

blocked, almost as if the rat had not paid attention. The rat apparently used the tone as a signal to predict that a shock would be coming; information about the light's pairing with the shock was redundant with the information already learned about the tone's pairing with the shock. In this experiment, conditioning was governed not by the contiguity of the CS and US but instead by the rat's history and the informational value of the stimuli it encountered. The rat already possessed a good signal for the shock; the additional CS was not useful.

LATENT LEARNING

Experiments on latent learning provide other evidence to support the role of cognition in learning. **Latent learning** or **implicit learning** is unreinforced learning that is not immediately reflected in behavior.

In one study, researchers put two groups of hungry rats in a maze and required them to find their way from a starting point to an end point (Tolman & Honzik, 1930). The first group found food (a reinforcer) at the end point; the second group found nothing there. In the operant conditioning view, the first group should learn the maze better than the second group, which is exactly what happened. However, when the researchers subsequently took some of the rats from the nonreinforced group and gave them food at the end point of the maze, they quickly began to run the maze as effectively as the reinforced group. The nonreinforced rats apparently had learned a great deal about the maze as they roamed around and explored it. However, their learning was *latent*, stored cognitively in their memories but not yet expressed behaviorally. When these rats were given a good reason (reinforcement with food) to run the maze speedily, they called on their latent learning to help them reach the end of the maze more quickly.

Outside a laboratory, latent learning is evident when you walk around a new setting to get “the lay of the land.” The first time you visited your college campus, you may have wandered about without a specific destination in mind. Exploring the environment made you better prepared when the time came to find that 8 A.M. class.

Insight Learning

Like Tolman, the German gestalt psychologist Wolfgang Köhler believed that cognitive factors play a significant role in learning. Köhler spent four months in the Canary Islands during World War I observing the behavior of apes. There he conducted two fascinating experiments—the stick problem and the box problem. Although these two experiments are basically the same, the solutions to the problems are different. In both situations, the ape discovers that it cannot reach an alluring piece of fruit, either because the fruit is too high or because it is outside of the ape's cage and beyond reach. To solve the stick problem, the ape has to insert a small stick inside a larger stick to reach the fruit. To master the box problem, the ape must stack several boxes to reach the fruit (Figure 11).

According to Köhler (1925), solving these problems does not involve trial and error or simple connections between stimuli and responses. Rather, when the ape realizes that its customary actions are not going to help it get the fruit, it often sits for a period of time and appears to ponder how to solve the problem. Then it quickly rises, as if it has had a sudden flash of insight, piles the boxes on top of one another, and gets the fruit. **Insight learning** is a form of problem solving in which the organism develops a sudden insight into or understanding of a problem's solution.

The idea that insight learning is essentially different from learning through trial and error or through conditioning has always been controversial (Spence, 1938). Insight learning appears to entail both gradual and sudden processes, and understanding how these lead to problem solving continues to fascinate psychologists (Chu & MacGregor, 2011; Weisberg, 2015).

Research has documented that nonhuman primates are capable of remarkable learning that certainly appears to be insightful (Manrique, Völter, & Call, 2013). In one study,

● **latent learning or implicit learning**
Unreinforced learning that is not immediately reflected in behavior.

● **insight learning** A form of problem solving in which the organism develops a sudden insight into or understanding of a problem's solution.



FIGURE 11 Insight Learning Sultan, one of Köhler’s brightest chimps, was faced with the problem of reaching a cluster of bananas overhead. He solved the problem by stacking boxes on top of one another to reach the bananas. Köhler called this type of problem solving “insight learning.” (all) © SuperStock

researchers observed orangutans trying to figure out a way to get a tempting peanut out of a clear plastic tube (Mendes, Hanus, & Call, 2007). The primates wandered about their enclosures, experimenting with various strategies. Typically, they paused for a moment before finally landing on a solution: Little by little they filled the tube with water that they transferred by mouth from their water dishes to the tube. Once the peanut floated to the top, the clever orangutans had their snack. More recent research shows that chimps can solve the floating peanut task through observational learning (Tennie, Call, & Tomasello, 2010).

Insight learning requires that we think “outside the box,” setting aside previous expectations and assumptions. One way to enhance insight learning and creativity in human beings is through multicultural experiences (Leung & others, 2008). Correlational studies have shown that time spent living abroad is associated with higher insight learning performance among MBA students (Maddux & Galinsky, 2007). Experimental studies have also demonstrated this effect. In one study, U.S. college students were randomly assigned to view one of two slide shows—one about Chinese and U.S. culture and the other about a control topic. Those who saw the multicultural slide show scored higher on measures of creativity and insight, and these changes persisted for a week (Leung & others, 2008).

Importantly, we can gain the benefits of multicultural exposure even without travel abroad or particular slide shows. One of the most dramatic changes in U.S. higher education is the increasing diversity of the student body. Might this growing diversity benefit students? Research suggests that it does. For instance, in a study of over 53,000 undergraduates at 124 colleges and universities, students’ reported interactions with individuals from other racial and ethnic backgrounds predicted a variety of positive outcomes, including academic achievement, intellectual growth, and social competence (Hu & Kuh, 2003).

Many universities recognize that as U.S. society becomes more multiculturally diverse, students must be prepared to interact in a diverse community as they enter the job market. Participation in diversity courses in college is related to cognitive development (Bowman, 2010) and civic involvement (Gurin & others, 2002), with outcomes especially positive for non-Latino White students (Byrd, 2015; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Diverse groups provide broader knowledge and more varied perspectives than do homogeneous groups, to the positive benefit of all group members. As university communities become more diverse, they offer students an ever-greater opportunity to share and to benefit from those differences.

test yourself

1. What did Tolman mean by the purposiveness of behavior?
2. How do expectancies develop through classical and operant conditioning?
3. Define latent learning and insight learning and give an example of each.

6. BIOLOGICAL, CULTURAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN LEARNING

Albert Einstein had many special talents. He combined enormous creativity with keen analytic ability to develop some of the twentieth century's most important insights into the nature of matter and the universe. Genes obviously endowed Einstein with extraordinary intellectual skills that enabled him to think and reason on a very high plane, but cultural factors also contributed to his genius. Einstein received an excellent, rigorous European education, and later in the United States he experienced the freedom and support believed to be important in creative exploration. Would Einstein have been able to develop his skills fully and to make such brilliant insights if he had grown up in a less advantageous environment? It is unlikely. Clearly, both biological *and* cultural factors contribute to learning.

Biological Constraints

Human beings cannot breathe under water, fish cannot ski, and cows cannot solve math problems. The structure of an organism's body permits certain kinds of learning and inhibits others. For example, chimpanzees cannot learn to speak human languages because they lack the necessary vocal equipment. In animals, various aspects of their physical makeup can influence what they can learn. Sometimes, species-typical behaviors (or instincts) can override even the best reinforcers, as we now consider.

INSTINCTIVE DRIFT

Keller and Marion Breland (1961), students of B. F. Skinner, used operant conditioning to train animals to perform at fairs and conventions and in television advertisements. They applied Skinner's techniques to teach pigs to cart large wooden nickels to a piggy bank and deposit them. They also trained raccoons to pick up a coin and drop it into a metal tray.

Although the pigs and raccoons, as well as chickens and other animals, performed most of the tasks well (raccoons became adept basketball players, for example—see Figure 12), some of the animals began acting strangely. Instead of picking up the large wooden nickels and carrying them to the piggy bank, the pigs dropped the nickels on the ground, shoved them with their snouts, tossed them in the air, and then repeated these actions. The raccoons began to hold on to their coins rather than dropping them into the metal tray. When two coins were introduced, the raccoons rubbed them together in a miserly fashion. Somehow these behaviors overwhelmed the strength of the reinforcement. This example of biological influences on learning illustrates **instinctive drift**, the tendency of animals to revert to instinctive behavior that interferes with learning.

Why were the pigs and the raccoons misbehaving? The pigs were rooting, an instinct that is used to uncover edible roots. The raccoons were engaging in an instinctive food-washing response. Their instinctive drift interfered with learning.

PREPAREDNESS

Some animals learn readily in one situation but have difficulty learning in slightly different circumstances (Garcia & Koelling, 1966, 2009). The difficulty might result not from some aspect of the learning situation but from the organism's biological predisposition (Seligman, 1970). **Preparedness** is the species-specific biological predisposition to learn in certain ways but not others.

Much of the evidence for preparedness comes from research on taste aversion (Garcia, 1989; Garcia & Koelling, 2009). Recall that taste aversion involves a single trial of learning the association between a particular taste and nausea. Rats that experience low

- **instinctive drift** The tendency of animals to revert to instinctive behavior that interferes with learning.

- **preparedness** The species-specific biological predisposition to learn in certain ways but not others.



FIGURE 12 Instinctive Drift This raccoon's skill in using its hands made it an excellent basketball player, but because of instinctive drift, the raccoon had a much more difficult time dropping coins into a tray. Cute. © JP Laffont/Sygma/Corbis

levels of radiation after eating show a strong aversion to the food they were eating when the radiation made them ill. This aversion can last for as long as 32 days. Such long-term effects cannot be accounted for by classical conditioning, which would argue that a single pairing of the conditioned and unconditioned stimuli would not last that long (Garcia, Ervin, & Koelling, 1966). Taste aversion learning occurs in animals, including humans, that choose their food based on taste and smell. Other species are prepared to learn rapid associations between, for instance, colors of foods and illness.

Another example of preparedness comes from research on conditioning humans and monkeys to associate snakes with fear. Susan Mineka and Arne Öhman have investigated the fascinating natural power of snakes to evoke fear in many mammals (Mineka & Öhman, 2002; Öhman & Mineka, 2003). Many monkeys and humans fear snakes, and both monkeys and humans are very quick to learn the association between snakes and fear. In classical conditioning studies, when pictures of snakes (CS) are paired with electrical shocks (US), the snakes are likely to quickly and strongly evoke fear (CR). Interestingly, pairing pictures of, say, flowers (CS) with electrical shocks produces much weaker associations (Mineka & Öhman, 2002; Öhman & Soares, 1998). More significantly, pictures of snakes can serve as conditioned stimuli for fearful responses, even when the pictures are presented so rapidly that they cannot be consciously perceived (Öhman & Mineka, 2001).

The link between snakes and fear has been demonstrated not only in classical conditioning paradigms. Monkeys that have been raised in the lab and that have never seen a snake rapidly learn to fear snakes, even entirely by observational learning. Lab monkeys that see a videotape of a monkey expressing fear toward a snake learn to be afraid of snakes faster than monkeys seeing the same fear video spliced so that the feared object is a rabbit, a flower, or a mushroom (Öhman & Mineka, 2003).

Mineka and Öhman (2002) suggest that these results demonstrate preparedness among mammals to associate snakes with fear and aversive stimuli. They suggest that this association is related to the amygdala (the part of the limbic system that is related to emotion) and is difficult to modify. These researchers suggest that this preparedness for fear of snakes has emerged out of the threat that reptiles likely posed to our evolutionary ancestors.



On the Indonesian island of Bali, young children learn traditional dances, whereas in Norway children commonly learn to ski early in life. As cultures vary, so does the content of learning.

(first) © Paul Chesley/Stone/Getty Images; (second) © Paul A. Souders/Corbis

Cultural Influences

Traditionally, interest in the cultural context of human learning has been limited, partly because the organisms in those contexts typically were animals. The question arises, how might culture influence human learning? Most psychologists agree that the principles of classical conditioning, operant conditioning, and observational learning are universal and are powerful learning processes in every culture. However, culture can influence the *degree* to which these learning processes are used (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). For example, Mexican American students may learn more through observational learning, while non-Latino White students may be more accustomed to learn through direct instruction (Mejía-Arauz, Rogoff, & Paradise, 2005).

In addition, culture can determine the *content* of learning (Mistry, Contreras, & Dutta, 2013; Zhang & Sternberg, 2013). We cannot learn about something we do not experience. The 4-year-old who grows up among the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert is unlikely to learn about taking baths and eating with a knife and fork. Similarly, a child growing up in Chicago is unlikely to be skilled at tracking animals and finding water-bearing roots in the desert. Learning often requires practice, and certain behaviors are practiced more often in some cultures than in others. In Bali, many children are skilled dancers by the age of 6, whereas Norwegian children are much more likely to be good skiers and skaters by that age.

Psychological Constraints

Are there psychological constraints on learning? For animals, the answer is probably no. For humans, the answer may well be yes. This section opened with the claim that fish cannot ski. The truth of this statement is clear. Biological circumstances make it impossible. If we put biological considerations aside, we might ask ourselves about



CRITICAL CONTROVERSY

Do Learning Styles Matter to Learning?

The term *learning styles* refers to the idea that people differ in regard to which method of instruction will be most effective for them. You may have heard, for example, that someone can be a visual learner (he or she learns by seeing), an aural learner (the person learns by listening), or a kinesthetic learner (the individual learns through hands-on experience).

The notion that people have different learning styles is extremely popular. Many educational training programs and school districts advise teachers to take such differences into account in the classroom, tailoring their methods to fit students' learning styles. This advice is, of course, based on the assumption that individuals will learn better when instructions are targeted to their particular learning style.

Is there sound evidence for this assumption? Does tailoring instruction to different learning styles improve learning? A number of experts have examined research on this question (Pashler & others, 2008; Rohrer & Pashler, 2012), and their answer might surprise you. The scientific evidence shows that although children and adults report consistent preferences for particular learning styles, there is no evidence that tailoring instructional methods to “visual,” “auditory,” or “kinesthetic” learners produces better learning (Pashler & others, 2008).

Consider one study, in which researchers first measured whether participants were verbal or visual learners and then had them study a list of words presented verbally or visually. This study period was followed by a memory test. Results showed that all participants did better in the visual condition, and there was no relationship between preferred learning styles and memory for the material (Constantinidou & Baker, 2002).

In another series of studies, participants who identified themselves as visual or verbal learners were given the option to use visual or verbal help materials as they completed a computer-based learning unit. Although learning styles predicted the kind of materials participants preferred, the match between a person's learning style and the mode of instruction was unrelated to learning (Massa & Mayer, 2006). The investigators concluded that there was no evidence that different



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instructional methods should be used for different learners (Massa & Mayer, 2006). Based on these and other studies, Harold Pashler, an expert on human learning, and his colleagues concluded that the disconnect between the popularity of the learning styles approach within education and the lack of credible evidence for its usefulness was both “striking and disturbing” (2008, p. 117).

The notion of learning styles is appealing at least in part because it reflects something we know to be true: People learn differently. However, the different ways humans learn do not seem to be well captured by learning styles (Willingham, 2011). The effectiveness of particular methods of teaching may depend more on the material to be covered, a student's prior knowledge, motivation, and other factors. Coming at any topic from many different angles may improve student learning. Teachers may reach more students more effectively when they try different ways of approaching material—for instance, coming up with a hands-on tool to demonstrate a problem—but that is just good instruction, not instruction that is tailored to particular styles. Our senses work together to connect us to the external world. The brain and our sensory organs are not specialized to learn in specific ways.

Is there any harm in our trying to determine our preferred learning style? Perhaps, if the

outcome constrains learning—if we assume, for example, that our personal learning style tells us what we cannot do or should not try. Sometimes the most meaningful learning experiences are those that push us beyond our comfort zone. Teachers and topics that challenge us to put in extra effort, to see the world and ourselves in different ways, may be the key to meaningful learning. Sometimes the easiest path is not the one most likely to lead to life-changing learning.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

- Do you think that you have a particular learning style? If so, how does it influence your learning?
- Even if evidence supported the effectiveness of tailoring teaching methods to specific types of learning styles, how would we implement a program based on these ideas?

times in our lives when we feel like a fish trying to ski—when we feel that we just do not have what it takes to learn a skill or master a task. Some people believe that humans have particular learning styles that make it easier for them to learn in some ways but not others. To read about this possibility, see the Critical Controversy.

Carol Dweck (2006; Rattan & others, 2015) uses the term *mindset* to describe the way our beliefs about ability dictate what goals we set for ourselves, what we think we can learn, and ultimately what we *do* learn. Individuals have one of two mindsets: a *fixed*

mindset, in which they believe that their qualities are carved in stone and cannot change; or a *growth mindset*, in which they believe their qualities can change and improve through their effort. These two mindsets have implications for the meaning of failure. From a fixed mindset, failure means lack of ability. From a growth mindset, however, failure tells the person what he or she still needs to learn. Your mindset influences whether you will be optimistic or pessimistic, what your goals will be, how hard you will strive to reach those goals, and how successful you are in college and after.

Dweck (2006) studied first-year pre-med majors taking their first chemistry class in college. Students with a growth mindset got higher grades than those with a fixed mindset. Even when they did not do well on a test, the growth-mindset students bounced back on the next test. Fixed-mindset students typically read and re-read the text and class notes or tried to memorize everything verbatim. The fixed-mindset students who did poorly on tests concluded that chemistry and maybe pre-med were not for them. By contrast, growth-mindset students took charge of their motivation and learning, searching for themes and principles in the course and going over mistakes until they understood why they made them. In Dweck's analysis, "They were studying to learn, not just ace the test. And, actually, this is why they got higher grades—not because they were smarter or had a better background in science" (Dweck, 2006, p. 61).

Dweck and her colleagues have continued to explore ways to improve students' motivation to achieve and succeed (Rattan & others, 2015). In one study, they assigned two groups of students to eight sessions of either (1) study skills instruction or (2) study skills instruction plus information about the importance of developing a growth mindset (called *incremental theory* in the research) (Blackwell, Trzesniewski, & Dweck, 2007).

One of the exercises in the growth-mindset group was titled "You Can Grow Your Brain," and it emphasized that the brain is like a muscle that can change and grow as it gets exercised and develops new connections. Students were informed that the more they challenged their brain to learn, the more their brain cells would grow. Prior to the intervention, both groups had a pattern of declining math scores. Following the intervention, the group that received only the study skills instruction continued to decline, but the group that received the study skills instruction *plus* the growth-mindset emphasis reversed the downward trend and improved their math achievement.

Following are some effective strategies for developing a growth mindset (Dweck, 2006):

- *Understand that your intelligence and thinking skills are not fixed but can change.* Even if you are extremely bright, with effort you can increase your intelligence.
- *Become passionate about learning and stretch your mind in challenging situations.* It is easy to withdraw into a fixed mindset when the going gets tough. However, as you bump up against obstacles, keep growing, work harder, stay the course, and improve your strategies; you will become a more successful person.
- *Think about the growth mindsets of people you admire.* Possibly you have a hero, someone who has achieved something extraordinary. You may have thought his or her accomplishments came easily because the person is so talented. If you find out more about this person, though, you likely will discover that hard work and effort over a long period of time were responsible for his or her achievements.
- *Begin now.* If you have a fixed mindset, commit to changing now. Think about when, where, and how you will begin using your new growth mindset.

Dweck's work challenges us to consider the limits we place on our own learning. Our beliefs about ability profoundly influence what we try to learn. As any 7-year-old with a growth mindset would tell you, you never know what you can do until you try.

test yourself

1. What are two biological constraints on learning?
2. How does culture influence learning?
3. What is the difference between a fixed mindset and a growth mindset?

7. LEARNING AND HEALTH AND WELLNESS

In this chapter, we have examined the main psychological approaches to learning. In this final section, we consider specific ways that research on learning has shed light on human health and wellness. We examine in particular the factors that animal learning models

have identified as playing an important role in the experience of stress—which, as you will recall from the chapter “Biological Foundations of Behavior”, is the organism’s response to a threat in the environment. A great deal of research in learning has relied primarily on models of animals, such as rats, to examine the principles that underlie human learning. Research on the stress response in rats provides useful insights into how we humans can deal with stress.

STRESS AND PREDICTABILITY

One very powerful aspect of potentially stressful experiences is their predictability. For a rat, predictability might depend on getting a warning buzzer before receiving a shock. Although the rat still experiences the shock, a buzzer-preceded shock causes less stress than a shock that is received with no warning (Abbott, Schoen, & Badia, 1984). Even having good experiences on a predictable schedule is less stressful than having good things happen at random times. For example, a rat might do very well receiving its daily chow at specific times during the day, but if the timing is random, the rat experiences stress. Similarly, when you receive a gift on your birthday or a holiday, the experience feels good. However, if someone surprises you with a present out of the blue, you might feel some stress as you wonder, “What is this person up to?”

Also relevant is classic research by Judith Rodin and her colleagues. In this study, nursing home residents showed better adjustment if they experienced a given number of visits at predictable times rather than the same number of visits at random times (Langer & Rodin, 1976).

STRESS AND CONTROL

Feeling in control may be a key to avoiding feelings of stress over difficulties (Carver & Scheier, 2013). Specifically, once you have experienced control over negative events, you may be “protected” from stress, even during trying times.

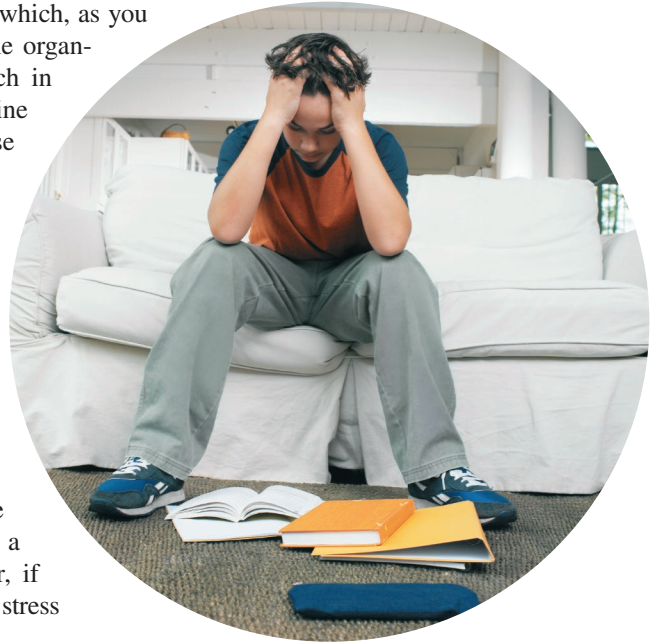
Returning to an animal model, suppose that a rat has been trained to avoid a shock by pressing a lever. Over time, even when the lever is no longer related to the shock, the rat presses it during the shock—and experiences less stress. We might imagine the rat thinking, “Gee, it would be really worse if I weren’t pressing this lever!” Researchers have also found links between having control and experiencing stress in humans. For example, as mentioned above with the nursing home study (Langer & Rodin, 1976), residents are more likely to thrive if they receive visits at times they personally choose. In addition, simply having a plant to take care of is associated with living longer for nursing home residents.

A lack of control over aversive stimuli can be particularly stressful. For example, individuals exposed to uncontrollable loud blasts of noise show lowered immune system function (Sieber & others, 1992). One result of exposure to uncontrollable negative events is *learned helplessness*, which we examined earlier in this chapter. In learned helplessness, the organism has learned through experience that outcomes are not controllable. As a result, the organism stops trying to exert control.

Research has shown that, to break the lock of learned helplessness, dogs and rats have to be forcibly moved to escape an aversive shock (Seligman, Rosellini, & Kozak, 1975). From such animal studies, we can appreciate how difficult it may be for individuals who find themselves in situations in which they have little control—for example, women who are victims of domestic violence (Walker, 2009)—to take action. We can also appreciate the helplessness sometimes experienced by students with learning difficulties who withdraw from their coursework because they feel unable to influence outcomes in school (Gwernan-Jones & Burden, 2010).

STRESS AND IMPROVEMENT

Imagine that you have two mice, both of which are receiving mild electrical shocks. One of them, Jerry, receives 50 shocks every hour, and the other, Chuck-E, receives 10 shocks every hour. The next day both rats are switched to 25 shocks every hour. Which one is more stressed



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test yourself

1. Based on research involving animal models, what are four ways in which human beings can reduce stress?
2. What is the main effect of learned helplessness on an organism?
3. Why do individuals who are experiencing domestic violence often have difficulty in overcoming their troubles?

out at the end of the second day? The answer is that even though Jerry has experienced more shocks in general, Chuck-E is more likely to show the wear and tear of stress. In Jerry's world, even with 25 shocks an hour, *things are better*. The perception of improvement, even in a situation that is objectively worse than another, is related to lowered stress (Sapolsky, 2004).

OUTLETS FOR FRUSTRATION

When things are not going well for us, it often feels good to find an outlet, such as going for a run or, perhaps even better, taking a kickboxing class. Likewise, for a rat, having an outlet for life's frustrations is related to lowered stress symptoms. Rats that have a wooden post to gnaw on or even a furry little friend to complain to are less stressed out in response to negative circumstances.

Although studies using rats and dogs may seem far afield of our everyday experiences, researchers' observations provide important clues for avoiding stress. When we cultivate predictable environments and take control of circumstances, stress decreases. Further, when we can see improvement, even in difficult times, stress is likely to diminish. Finally, when we have an outlet for our frustrations in life—whether it is physical exercise, writing, or art—we can relieve our stress. When it comes to stress, humans have a lot to learn from rats.

AP summary

VI. LEARNING

Learning is a systematic, relatively permanent change in behavior that occurs through experience. Associative learning involves learning by making a connection between two events. Observational learning is learning by watching what other people do. Conditioning is the process by which associative learning occurs. In classical conditioning, organisms learn the association between two stimuli. In operant conditioning, they learn the association between behavior and a consequence.

VI.A. CLASSICAL CONDITIONING

Classical conditioning occurs when a neutral stimulus becomes associated with a meaningful stimulus and comes to elicit a similar response. Pavlov discovered that an organism learns the association between an unconditioned stimulus (US) and a conditioned stimulus (CS). The US automatically produces the unconditioned response (UR). After conditioning (CS–US pairing), the CS elicits the conditioned response (CR) by itself. Acquisition in classical conditioning is the initial linking of stimuli and responses, which involves a neutral stimulus being associated with the US so that the CS comes to elicit the CR. Two important aspects of acquisition are contiguity and contingency.

Generalization in classical conditioning is the tendency of a new stimulus that is similar to the original conditioned stimulus to elicit a response that is similar to the conditioned response. Discrimination is the process of learning to respond to certain stimuli and not to others. Extinction is the weakening of the CR in the absence of the US. Spontaneous recovery is the recurrence of a CR after a time delay without further conditioning. Renewal is the occurrence of the CR (even after extinction) when the CS is presented in a novel environment.

In humans, classical conditioning has been applied to eliminating fears, treating addiction, understanding taste aversion, and explaining different experiences such as pleasant emotions and drug overdose.

VI.B. OPERANT CONDITIONING

Operant conditioning is a form of learning in which the consequences of behavior produce changes in the probability of the behavior's occurrence. Skinner described the behavior of the organism as

operant: The behavior operates on the environment, and the environment in turn operates on the organism. Whereas classical conditioning involves respondent behavior, operant conditioning involves operant behavior. In most instances, operant conditioning is better at explaining voluntary behavior than is classical conditioning. Thorndike's law of effect states that behaviors followed by pleasant outcomes are strengthened, whereas behaviors followed by unpleasant outcomes are weakened. Skinner built on this idea to develop the notion of operant conditioning.

Principles of reinforcement include the distinction between positive reinforcement (the frequency of a behavior increases because it is followed by a rewarding stimulus) and negative reinforcement (the frequency of behavior increases because it is followed by the removal of an aversive, or unpleasant, stimulus). Positive reinforcement can be classified as primary reinforcement (using reinforcers that are innately satisfying) and secondary reinforcement (using reinforcers that acquire positive value through experience). Reinforcement can also be continuous (a behavior is reinforced every time) or partial (a behavior is reinforced only a portion of the time). Schedules of reinforcement—fixed ratio, variable ratio, fixed interval, and variable interval—determine when a behavior will be reinforced.

Operant, or instrumental, conditioning involves generalization (giving the same response to similar stimuli), discrimination (responding to stimuli that signal that a behavior will or will not be reinforced), and extinction (a decreasing tendency to perform a previously reinforced behavior when reinforcement is stopped).

Punishment is a consequence that decreases the likelihood that a behavior will occur. In positive punishment, a behavior decreases when it is followed by a (typically unpleasant) stimulus. In negative punishment, a behavior decreases when a positive stimulus is removed from it. Applied behavior analysis, or behavior modification, involves the application of operant conditioning principles to a variety of real-life behaviors.

VI.C. COGNITIVE PROCESSES

Tolman emphasized the purposiveness of behavior. In studying purposiveness, Tolman went beyond stimuli and responses to discuss

cognitive mechanisms; he believed that expectancies, acquired through experiences with the environment, are an important cognitive mechanism in learning.

Latent learning is unreinforced learning that is not immediately reflected in behavior. Latent learning may occur when a rat or a person roams a particular location and shows knowledge of the area when that knowledge is rewarded.

Köhler developed the concept of insight learning, a form of problem solving in which the organism develops a sudden insight into or understanding of a problem’s solution.

VI.D. BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Biology restricts what an organism can learn from experience. These constraints include instinctive drift (the tendency of animals to revert to instinctive behavior that interferes with learned behavior), preparedness (the species-specific biological predisposition to

learn in certain ways but not in others), and taste aversion (the biological predisposition to avoid foods that have caused sickness in the past). Although most psychologists agree that the principles of classical conditioning, operant conditioning, and observational learning are universal, cultural customs can influence the degree to which these learning processes are used. Culture also often determines the content of learning.

VI.E. SOCIAL LEARNING

Observational learning occurs when a person observes and imitates someone else’s behavior. Bandura identified four main processes in observational learning: attention (paying heed to what someone is saying or doing), retention (encoding that information and keeping it in memory so that you can retrieve it), motor reproduction (imitating the actions of the person being observed), and reinforcement (seeing the person attain a reward for the activity).

AP *key terms*

• Use the **boldfaced** terms below to focus your study of AP Psychology key concepts and terms in this chapter.

acquisition
 applied behavior analysis or **behavior modification**
associative learning
aversive conditioning
avoidance learning
behaviorism
classical conditioning
conditioned response (CR)
conditioned stimulus (CS)
counterconditioning
discrimination (in classical conditioning)

discrimination (in operant conditioning)
extinction (in classical conditioning)
extinction (in operant conditioning)
generalization (in classical conditioning)
generalization (in operant conditioning)
habituation
insight learning
instinctive drift

latent learning or implicit learning
law of effect
learned helplessness
learning
negative punishment
negative reinforcement
observational learning
operant conditioning or instrumental conditioning
positive punishment
positive reinforcement

primary reinforcer
punishment
preparedness
reinforcement
 renewal
schedules of reinforcement
secondary reinforcer
shaping
spontaneous recovery
unconditioned response (UR)
unconditioned stimulus (US)

AP *test practice*

MULTIPLE CHOICE

- Kevin always enjoyed eating at his favorite restaurant until he once he had a salad there and later become nauseated from contaminated ingredients. Now whenever he even passes by the restaurant, he feels nauseated again. Seen as an example of classical conditioning, what is the conditioned stimulus in this scenario?
 - The restaurant
 - The contaminated food
 - The entire salad
 - The first episode of nausea
 - The later episodes of nausea
- Every school day Jopet rode the school bus from his home to school. When he was old enough to drive himself to school, he had no trouble taking the same route the bus took, since he had ridden on that route for years in the bus. His ability to drive the route without a map or directions is likely a result of which of the following?

- Insight learning
- Discrimination
- Meditative learning
- Latent learning
- Operant conditioning

FREE RESPONSE

- Ms. O’Grady wants to motivate her third-graders to do better on their spelling tests. Explain how each of the following concepts could be part of her strategy and provide a specific example that illustrates use of each concept.
 - fixed ratio reinforcement
 - negative reinforcement
 - token economy
 - fixed interval reinforcement
 - negative punishment