

The Cognitive-Behavioral Perspective. Nicholas Spanos was a prolific and well-respected behavioral scientist who has been missed greatly by his colleagues and by all those who learned and benefited from his work (see Baker, 1994, for a eulogy to Nick Spanos). And, clearly, his research legacy will be carried on by others. His work on hypnosis changed psychology in that he offered an experimentally based, alternative explanation for an aspect of human consciousness and behavior that was virtually unchallenged for nearly 200 years.

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Chapter

III

LEARNING AND CONDITIONING

- Reading 9 IT'S NOT JUST ABOUT SALIVATING DOGS!
 Reading 10 LITTLE EMOTIONAL ALBERT
 Reading 11 KNOCK WOOD!
 Reading 12 SEE AGGRESSION . . . DO AGGRESSION!

The area of psychology concerned with learning has produced a rather well-defined body of literature explaining the process underlying how animals and humans learn. Some of the most famous names in this field—names that are easily recognized by those both inside and outside the behavioral sciences, such as Pavlov, Watson, Skinner, and Bandura. Picking a few of the most significant studies from this branch of psychology and from these researchers is no easy task, but the articles selected here can be found in nearly every introductory psychology textbook and are representative of the enormous contributions of these scientists.

For Ivan Pavlov, we take a journey back to the early 1900s to review his work with dogs, metronomes, bells, salivation, and the discovery of the *conditioned reflex*. Second, John Watson, known for many contributions, is probably most famous (notorious?) for his 1920 ethically challenged experiment with Little Albert, which demonstrated for the first time how emotions could be shown to be a product of the environment rather than purely internal processes. For the third study in this section, we discuss B. F. Skinner's famous demonstration of superstitious behavior in a pigeon and his explanation for how humans become superstitious in exactly the same way. Fourth, we examine the well-known "Bobo Doll Study," in which Albert Bandura established that aggressive behaviors could be learned by children through their modeling of adult violence.

Reading 9: IT'S NOT JUST ABOUT SALIVATING DOGS!

Pavlov, I. P. (1927). *Conditioned reflexes*. London: Oxford University Press.

Have you ever walked into a dentist's office where the odor of the disinfectant made your teeth hurt? If you have, it was probably because the odor triggered an association that had been conditioned in your brain between that smell and

your past experiences at the dentist. When you hear "The Star Spangled Banner" played at the Olympic Games, does your heart beat a little faster? That happens to most Americans. Does the same thing happen when you hear the Italian national anthem? Unless you were raised in Italy, most likely it does not, because you have been conditioned to respond to one anthem but not to the other. And why do some people squint and become nervous if you inflate a balloon near them? It is because they have learned to associate the expanding balloon with something fearful (such as a loud *pop!*). These are just a few of countless human behaviors that exist because of a process known as *classical conditioning*.

The classical conditioning theory of learning was developed and articulated nearly a hundred years ago in Russia by one of the most familiar names in the history of psychology, Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849–1946). Unlike most of the research presented in this book, Pavlov's name and his basic ideas of learning by association are widely recognized in popular culture (even a Rolling Stones song from the 1970s contained the line "I salivate like a Pavlov dog"). However, how Pavlov came to make his landmark discoveries and the true significance of his work are not so widely understood.

Although Pavlov's contributions to psychology were among of the most important ever made, technically he was not a psychologist at all but, rather, a prominent Russian physiologist studying digestive processes. In 1904, his research on digestion earned him the Nobel Prize for science. Yet the discoveries that dramatically changed his career, and the history of psychology, began virtually by accident. In the late 1800s, psychology was a very young field of scientific study and was considered by many to be something less than a true science. Therefore, Pavlov's decision to make such a radical turn from the more solid and respected science of physiology to the fledgling study of psychology was a risky career move. He wrote about this dilemma facing a physiologist in the early 1900s whose work might turn to studying the brain and behavior:

It is logical that in its analysis of the various activities of living matter, physiology should base itself on the more advanced and more exact sciences, physics and chemistry. But if we attempt an approach from this science of psychology . . . we shall be building our superstructure on a science that has no claim to exactness . . . In fact, it is still open to discussion whether psychology is a natural science, or whether it can be regarded as a science at all. (p. 3)

Looking back on Pavlov's discoveries, it was fortunate for the advancement of psychological science and for our understanding of human behavior that he took the risk and made the change.

Pavlov's physiological research involved the use of dogs as subjects for studying the role of salivation on digestion. He or his assistants would introduce various types of food or nonfood substances into a dog's mouth and observe the rate and amount of salivation. To measure salivation scientifically, minor surgery was performed on the dogs so that a salivary duct was redirected through an incision in the dog's cheek and connected to a tube that would collect the saliva. Throughout this research, Pavlov made many new and fascinating discoveries. For example, he found that when a dog received

moist food, only a small amount of saliva would be produced, compared with a heavy flow when dry food was presented. The production of saliva under these varying conditions was regarded by Pavlov as a reflex, that is, a response that occurs *automatically* to a specific stimulus without the need for any learning. If you think about it, salivation is purely reflexive for humans, too. Suppose I ask you, as you read this sentence, to salivate as heavily as you can. You cannot do it. But if you are hungry and find yourself sitting in front of your favorite food, you will salivate whether you want to or not.

As Pavlov continued his research, he began to notice strange events that were totally unexpected. The dogs began to salivate *before* any food reached their mouths and even before the odor of food was present. After a while, the dogs were salivating at times when no salivary stimulus was present at all. Somehow, the reflexive action of the salivary glands had been altered through the animals' experience in the lab: "Even the vessel from which the food has been given is sufficient to evoke an alimentary reflex [of salivation] complete in all its details; and, further, the secretion may be provoked even by the sight of the person who has brought the vessel, or by the sound of his footsteps" (p. 13).

This was the crossroads for Pavlov. He had observed digestive responses occurring to stimuli seemingly unrelated to digestion, and pure physiology could not provide an explanation for this. The answer had to be found in *psychology*.

THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

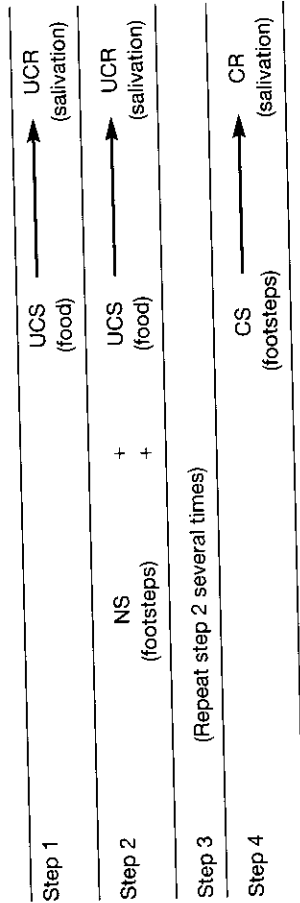
Pavlov theorized that the dogs had learned from experience in the lab to expect food following the appearance of certain signals. Although these *signal stimuli* do not naturally produce salivation, the dogs came to associate them with food, and thus responded to them with salivation. Consequently, Pavlov determined two kinds of reflexes must exist.

Unconditioned reflexes are inborn and automatic, require no learning, and are generally the same for all members of a species. Salivating when food enters the mouth, jumping at the sound of a loud noise, and the dilation of your pupils in low light are examples of unconditioned reflexes. *Conditioned reflexes*, on the other hand, are acquired through experience or learning and may vary a great deal among individual members of a species. A dog salivating at the sound of footsteps, or you feeling pain in your teeth when you smell dental disinfectant, are conditioned reflexes.

Unconditioned reflexes are formed by an *unconditioned stimulus* (UCS) producing an *unconditioned response* (UCR). In Pavlov's studies, the UCS was food and the UCR was salivation. *Conditioned reflexes* consist of a *conditioned stimulus* (CS), such as the footsteps, producing a *conditioned response* (CR), salivation. You will notice that the response in both these examples is salivation, but when the salivation results from hearing footsteps, it is the *learning*, and not the dog's natural tendencies, that produced it.

Pavlov wanted to answer this question: Conditioned reflexes are not inborn, so exactly how are they acquired? He proposed that if a particular stimulus in the dog's environment was often present when the dog was fed, this

stimulus would become associated in the dog's brain with food; it would signal the approaching food. Prior to being paired with the food, the environmental stimulus did not produce any important response. In other words, to the dogs, it was a *neutral stimulus* (NS). When the dogs first arrived at the lab, the assistant's footsteps might have produced a response of curiosity (Pavlov called it the "What is it?" response), but hearing the footsteps certainly would not have caused the dogs to salivate. The footsteps, then, were a neutral stimulus. However, over time, as the dogs heard the same footsteps just prior to being fed every day, they would begin to associate the sound with food. Eventually, according to the theory, the footsteps alone would cause the dogs to salivate. Pavlov proposed that the process by which a neutral stimulus becomes a conditioned stimulus could be diagrammed as follows:



Now that he had a theory to explain his observations, Pavlov began a series of experiments to prove that it was correct. It is commonly believed that Pavlov conditioned dogs to salivate at the sound of a bell, which was true of his later studies. But as you will see, his early experiments involved a metronome.

METHOD AND RESULTS

Pavlov was able to build a special laboratory at the Institute of Experimental Medicine in Petrograd (which became Leningrad following Lenin's death and has now returned to its original name of St. Petersburg) with funds donated by a philanthropic businessman from Moscow. This soundproof lab allowed for complete isolation of the subjects from the experimenters and from all extraneous stimuli during the experimental procedures. Therefore, a specific stimulus could be administered and responses could be recorded without any direct contact between the experimenters and the animals.

After Pavlov had established this controlled research environment, the procedure was quite simple. Pavlov chose food as the unconditioned stimulus. As explained previously, food will elicit the unconditioned response of salivation. Then Pavlov needed to find a neutral stimulus that was, for the dogs, completely unrelated to food. For this he used the sound of the metronome. Over several conditioning trials, the dog was exposed to the ticking of the metronome and then was immediately presented with food. "A stimulus which

was neutral of itself had been superimposed upon the action of the inborn alimentary reflex. We observed that, after several repetitions of the combined stimulation, the sounds of the metronome had acquired the property of stimulating salivary secretion" (p. 26). In other words, the metronome had become a conditioned stimulus for the conditioned response of salivation.

Pavlov and his associates elaborated on this preliminary finding by using different unconditioned and neutral stimuli. For example, they presented the odor of vanilla (NS) to the subjects prior to placing a lemon juice-like solution in the dog's mouth (the UCS). The juice caused heavy salivation (UCR). After 20 repetitions of the pairing, the vanilla alone produced salivation. For a visual test, the dogs were exposed to an object that began to rotate just prior to the presentation of food. After only 5 pairings, the rotating object by itself (CS) caused the dogs to salivate (CR).

The importance and application of Pavlov's work extends far beyond salivating dogs. His theories of classical conditioning explained a major portion of human behavior and helped to launch psychology as a true science.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

The theory of classical conditioning (also called Pavlovian conditioning) is universally accepted and has remained virtually unchanged since its conception through Pavlov's work. It is used to explain and interpret a wide range of human behavior, including where phobias come from, why you dislike certain foods, the source of your emotions, how advertising works, why you feel anxiety before a job interview or an exam, and what arouses you sexually. Several later studies dealing with some of these applications are discussed here.

Classical conditioning focuses on reflexive behavior: those behaviors that are not under your voluntary control. Any reflex can be conditioned to occur to a previously neutral stimulus. You can be classically conditioned so that your left eye blinks when you hear a doorbell, your heart rate increases at the sight of a flashing blue light, or you experience sexual arousal when you eat strawberries. The doorbell, blue light, and strawberries were all neutral in relation to the conditioned responses until they somehow became associated with unconditioned stimuli for eye blinking (e.g., a puff of air into the eye), heart rate increase (e.g., a sudden loud noise), and sexual arousal (e.g., romantic caresses).

To experience firsthand the process of classical conditioning, here is an experiment you can perform on yourself. All you will need is a bell, a mirror, and, to serve as your temporary laboratory, a room that becomes completely dark when the light is switched off. The pupils of your eyes dilate and constrict reflexively according to changes in light intensity. You have no voluntary control over this, and you did not have to learn how to do it. If I say to you "Please dilate your pupils now," you would be unable to do so. However, when you walk into a dark theater, they dilate immediately. Therefore, a decrease in light would be considered an unconditioned stimulus for pupil dilation, the unconditioned response. In your temporary lab, ring the bell and, immediately after, turn off the light. Wait in the total darkness about 15 seconds and turn the light back on.

Wait another 15 seconds and repeat the procedure: bell . . . light off . . . wait 15 seconds . . . light on . . . Repeat this pairing of the neutral stimulus (the bell) with the unconditioned stimulus (the darkness) 10 to 20 times, making sure that the bell *only* rings just prior to the sudden darkness. Now, with the lights on, watch your eyes closely in the mirror and ring the bell. You will see your pupils dilate slightly even though there is no change in light! The bell has become the conditioned stimulus and pupil dilation the conditioned response.

RELATED RESEARCH AND RECENT APPLICATIONS

Two other studies presented in this book rest directly on Pavlov's theory of classical conditioning. In the next article, John B. Watson conditioned 11-month-old Little Albert to fear a white rat (and other furry things) by employing the same principles Pavlov used to condition salivation in dogs. By doing so, Watson demonstrated how emotions, such as fear, are formed. Later, Joseph Wolpe (see Chapter IX on psychotherapy) developed a therapeutic technique for treating intense fears (phobias) by applying the concepts of classical conditioning. His work was based on the idea that the association between the conditioned stimulus and the unconditioned stimulus must be broken in order to reduce the fearful response.

This line of research on classical conditioning and phobias continues to the present. For example, studies have found that children whose parents have phobias may develop the same phobias to objects such as snakes and spiders through "vicarious" conditioning from mom and dad without any direct exposure to the feared object (Fredrikson, Annas, & Wik, 1997). The countless applications of Pavlov's theory in the psychological and medical literature are far too numerous to summarize in any detail here. Instead, a few additional examples of the more notable findings are discussed.

A common problem that plagues ranchers around the world is that of predatory animals, usually wolves and coyotes, killing and eating their livestock. In the early 1970s, studies were conducted that attempted to apply Pavlovian conditioning techniques to solve the problem of the killing of sheep by coyotes and wolves without the need for killing the predators (see Gustafson et al., 1974). Wolves and coyotes were given pieces of mutton (meat from sheep) containing small amounts of lithium chloride (UCS), a chemical that if ingested, makes an animal sick. When the animals ate the meat, they became dizzy, with severe nausea and vomiting (UCR). After recovering, these same hungry predators were placed in a pen with live sheep. The wolves and coyotes began to attack the sheep (CS), but as soon as they smelled their prey, they stopped and stayed as far away from the sheep as possible. When the gate to the pen was opened, the wolves and coyotes actually ran away from the sheep! Based on this and other related research, ranchers commonly use this method of classical conditioning to keep wolves and coyotes away from their herds.

Another potentially vital area of research involving classical conditioning is in the field of behavioral medicine. Studies have suggested that the activity of the immune system can be altered using Pavlovian principles. Ader

and Cohen (1985) gave mice water flavored with saccharine (mice love this water). They then paired the saccharine water with an injection of a drug that weakened the immune system of the mice. Later, when these conditioned mice were given the saccharine water but no injection, they showed signs of immunosuppression, a weakening of the immune response. Research is underway (primarily within a psychology subfield called *psychoneuroimmunology*) to study if the reverse is also possible, if immune *enhancing* responses may be classically conditioned. Overall, research is demonstrating that classical conditioning may indeed hold promise for increasing the effectiveness of immune system responses in humans (Miller & Cohen, 2001). Just imagine: in the future, you may be able to strengthen your resistance to illness by exposing yourself to a *nonmedical* conditioned stimulus. For example, imagine you feel the beginnings of a cold or the flu, so you tune into your special classically conditioned "immune response enhancement music" on your iPod. As the music fills your ears, your resistance rises as a conditioned response to this stimulus and stops the disease in its tracks.

As a demonstration of the continuing impact of Pavlov's discoveries on today's psychological research, consider the following. Since 2000, more than a thousand scientific articles have cited Pavlov's work that forms the basis for this discussion. One especially fascinating recent study demonstrated how your psychological state at the time of conditioning and extinction may play a part in the treatment of classically conditioned irrational fears, called phobias (Mystkowski et al., 2003). Researchers used desensitization techniques to treat participants who were terrified of spiders. Some received the treatment after ingesting caffeine, while others ingested a placebo. A week later, all participants were retested—some receiving caffeine and others a placebo. Those who were given the placebo during treatment, but received real caffeine at the follow-up, *and* those who had received real caffeine during treatment, but received a placebo at the follow-up, experienced a relapse of the fear response. In other words, changing the characteristics of a stimulus situation lessens the effect of extinction. However, those who were in the same drug condition, either caffeine or placebo, at treatment *and* follow-up, continued to experience a lowered fear response to spiders. This finding implies that if a classically conditioned behavior is successfully placed on extinction, the response may return, if the conditioned stimulus is encountered in a new and different situation.

CONCLUSION

These examples demonstrate how extensive Pavlov's influence has been on many scientific and research disciplines. For psychology in particular, few scientists have had as much impact in any single discipline. Classical conditioning is one of the fundamental theories on which modern psychology rests. Without Pavlov's contributions, behavioral scientists still might have uncovered most of these principles over the decades. It is unlikely, however, that such a cohesive, elegant, and well-articulated theory of the conditioned reflex would ever have existed if Pavlov had not made the decision to risk his career

and venture into the untested, uncharted, and highly questionable science of nineteenth-century psychology.

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Reading 10: LITTLE EMOTIONAL ALBERT

Watson, J. B., & Rayner, R. (1920). Conditioned emotional responses. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 3, 1-14.

Have you ever wondered where your emotions come from? If you have, you're not alone. The source of our emotions has fascinated behavioral scientists throughout psychology's history. Part of the evidence for this fascination can be found in this book; four studies are included that relate directly to emotional responses (Chapter V, Harlow, 1958; Chapter VI, Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Chapter VIII, Seligman & Meier, 1967; and Chapter IX, Wolpe, 1961). This study by Watson and Rayner on conditioned emotional responses was a strikingly powerful piece of research when it was published nearly a century ago, and it continues to exert influence today. You would be hard pressed to pick up a textbook on general psychology or on learning and behavior without finding a summary of the study's findings.

The historical importance of this study is not solely due to the research findings but also to the new psychological territory it pioneered. If we could be transported back to the turn of the century and get a feel for the state of psychology at the time, we would find it nearly completely dominated by the work of Sigmund Freud (see the reading on Anna Freud in Chapter VIII). Freud's psychoanalytic view of human behavior was based on the idea that we are motivated by unconscious instincts and repressed conflicts from early childhood. In simplified Freudian terms, behavior, thoughts, and emotions are generated internally through biological and instinctual processes.

In the 1920s, a new movement in psychology known as behaviorism, spearheaded by Pavlov (as discussed in the previous study) and Watson, began to take hold. The behaviorists' viewpoint was radically opposed to the psychoanalytic school and proposed that behavior is generated *outside* the person through various environmental or situational stimuli. Therefore, Watson theorized, emotional responses exist in us because we have been conditioned to respond emotionally to certain stimuli that we encounter. In other words, we learn our emotional reactions. Watson (1913) believed that all human behavior

was a product of learning and conditioning, as he proclaimed in his famous statement:

Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own special world to bring them up in, and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select—doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief, and, yes, beggarman and thief.

This was, for its time, an extremely revolutionary view. Most psychologists, as well as public opinion in general, were not ready to accept these new ideas. This was especially true for emotional reactions, which seemed to be generated from within the person. Watson set out to demonstrate that specific emotions could be conditioned without regard for any internal forces.

THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

Watson theorized that if a stimulus automatically produces a certain emotion in you (such as fear) and that stimulus is repeatedly experienced at the same moment as something else, such as a rat, the rat will become associated in your brain with the fear. In other words, you will eventually become conditioned to be afraid of the rat (this view reflects Pavlov's theory of classical conditioning). He maintained that we are not born to fear rats but that such fears are learned through conditioning. This formed the theoretical basis for his most famous experiment, which involved a participant named "Little Albert."

METHOD AND RESULTS

The participant, Albert B., was recruited for this study at the age of 9 months from a hospital where he had been raised as an orphan from birth. The researchers and the hospital staff judged him to be very healthy, both emotionally and physically. To see if Albert was naturally afraid of certain stimuli, the researchers presented him with a white rat, a rabbit, a monkey, a dog, masks with and without hair, and white cotton wool. Albert's reactions to these stimuli were closely observed. Albert was interested in the various animals and objects and would reach for them and sometimes touch them, but he never showed the slightest fear of them. Because they produced no fear, these are referred to as *neutral stimuli*.

The next phase of the experiment involved determining if a fear reaction could be produced by exposing Albert to a loud noise. This was not difficult, because all humans, and especially infants, will exhibit fear reactions to loud, sudden noises. Because no learning is necessary for this response to occur, the loud noise is called an *unconditioned stimulus*. In this study, a steel bar 4 feet in length was struck with a hammer just behind Albert. This noise startled and frightened him and made him cry.

Now the stage was set for testing the idea that the emotion of fear could be conditioned in Albert. The actual conditioning tests were not done until the child was 11 months old. The researchers were hesitant to create fear reactions