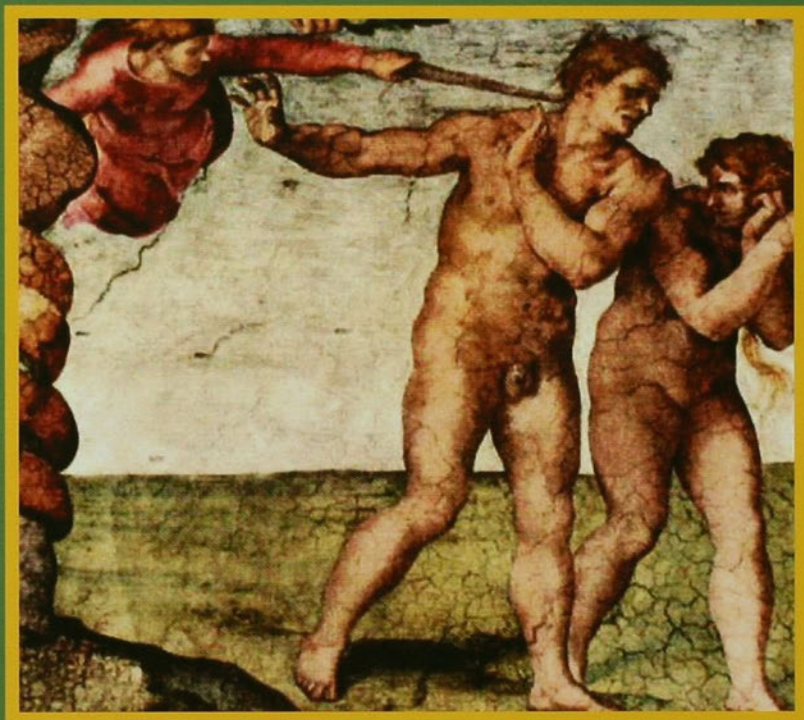
THE SYDNEY SYMPOSIUM OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

The Social Outcast

Ostracism, Social Exclusion, Rejection, and Bullying

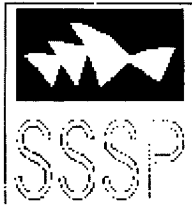


Edited by

KIPLING D. WILLIAMS
JOSEPH P. FORGAS
WILLIAM von HIPPEL

Psychology Press

THE SOCIAL OUTCAST



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Comments on The Social Self

*"Those of us who are fascinated with how the self is constructed, maintained, and its impact on our everyday lives will find this volume enlightening and 'must' reading." **E. Tory Higgins, Columbia University***

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Comments on Social Judgments

*"The editors should be congratulated for assembling in one volume an extraordinary range of perspectives from an outstanding set of authors. This is 'must' reading for all students and researchers interested in how people work together to make sense of the world in which they live" **E. Tory Higgins, Columbia University***

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Comments on Social Motivation

"The exceptional contributors to this volume address questions ranging from the nature and characteristics of conscious and unconscious social motivation to the effects of implicit and explicit motivational processes on prejudice, aversive racism, self-regulation, work, and reactions to exclusion. Students and scholars in the social, behavioral, and neurosciences will find these contributions compelling reading." ***John T. Cacioppo, University of Chicago***

"This wonderful book brings together chapters by leading researchers on two major forms of motivation -- conscious and unconscious. This book is a must-read for anyone interested in motivation." ***Ed Diener, University of Illinois***

"This remarkable volume provides an integrative review of recent work on conscious and unconscious motivation. The excellent contributions...present truly original theories and empirical discoveries. I congratulate the authors for their valuable contribution to the reemergence of human motivation as a core field of inquiry in psychology." ***Yaacov Trope, New York University***

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Ostracism, Social Exclusion, Rejection, and Bullying

Edited by

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Dick, Evie, and Jack – K.W.
To Letitia – J.F.
To Courtney – WvH

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Joseph P. Forgas is Scientia Professor of Psychology at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. He received his DPhil and subsequently a DSc from the University of Oxford. He has spent various periods of time working at the Universities of Giessen, Heidelberg, Stanford, Mannheim, and Oxford. His enduring interest is in studying the role of cognitive and affective processes in interpersonal behavior. His current projects investigate how mood states can influence everyday social judgments and interaction strategies. He has published some 16 books and more than 140 articles and chapters in this area. He has been elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Science in Australia, the American Psychological Society, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. He is recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award (Australian Psychological Society), the Alexander von Humboldt Research Prize (Germany) and a Special Investigator Award from the Australian Research Council.

William von Hippel received his BA from Yale University, and his PhD from the University of Michigan. He taught at Ohio State University for over a decade prior to coming to the University of New South Wales in 2001. He has published some forty papers and served as Associate Editor of *Psychological Science and Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. His main research areas include stereotyping and prejudice, social cognitive aging, and evolutionary psychology.

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Preface

Outcast. Exile. Banish. Pariah. Send to Coventry. Ignore. Snub. Recluse. The list of synonyms is seemingly endless, perhaps because the phenomenon is so important, so ingrained in society, so devastating to those who are targeted for such behavior, so powerful for those who use it.

In this book, we focus on four terms: ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying. One could argue that we have too many words, some might say we have too few. These terms envelop the burgeoning research area that directs attention to a fundamental social phenomenon that, until recently, has not enjoyed empirical investigation.

What does it feel like to be rejected by others, by family members, close friends, peers, and even others who are virtual strangers? Social psychology has long known that exclusion and rejection are such powerful fears that people will do all sorts of things to avoid them: they will conform to unanimous (but incorrect) others, they will refrain from helping someone in need, they will buy useless merchandise for which they had no desire, they will obey authorities to the point of harming others. But, what happens after the rejection, the exclusion, the ostracism, or the bullying? What does the person feel, think, and do then? This is what this volume is about.

Arguably, human beings are among the most socially dependent creatures. Our evolutionary success owes much to our ability to cooperate and collaborate with each other. It seems reasonable to argue that the need to interact with others, and the ability to form and maintain complex and rewarding social relationships are among the most fundamental human needs. Modern industrial mass societies with their fragmented social networks and often-superficial relationships present a particularly challenging social environment for many people. To be excluded, rejected, or ostracized is thus among the most devastating experiences a person can endure.

The contributors to this volume represent the top researchers in the field who are examining the psychology of the social outcast. Whereas they all share in common the appreciation for empirical research to help uncover answers to their questions, they come at their questions from a variety of perspectives and use a variety of

research tools. Surveys, interviews, random assignment to experimental treatments within laboratories, role play, physiological and cognitive neuroscience measures combine to form a comprehensive and persuasive monograph that points to what we know, and what we need to know in the future about the social outcast.

No single volume could contain everything there is to know about a topic, but we believe we have assembled a uniquely important group of researchers here. Some are known for their research in this particular area, while others are better known more for their work in other domains that touch on the psychology of exclusion. We think this brings two advantages to this volume: core researchers who have developed over-arching theories to explain and understand the phenomena of ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying, and researchers whose expertise in developmental psychology, groups, relationships, personality, and physiological psychology offer complementary approaches that allows them to explore the relevance of being outcast to their particular domains of interest.

The chapters are arranged into five sections that deal with (1) theoretical foundations, (2) the neuropsychological substrates of isolation and exclusion, (3) individual and population differences and the impact of social exclusion and bullying, (4) the influence of rejection on emotion, perception, and cognition, and (5) effects of social exclusion on pro- and anti-social behavior. The introductory chapter presents a historical overview of research on the psychology of the social outcast, and outlines the goals we had and the chapters that are included to achieve these goals. We were especially fortunate to have Marilynn Brewer write a compelling and provocative summary integration chapter that examines themes and gives researchers a new charge for future investigations.

The chapters in Part I discuss the theoretical foundations of ostracism (Williams & Zadro), rejection (Leary), and exclusion (Baumeister & DeWall). These chapters present overarching theoretical perspectives on why and how being outcast has powerful effects on individuals. These chapters contain some points of commonality (being outcast threatens a need to belong) and points of contention (whether loss of control is a necessary aspect of being outcast).

In Part II, MacDonald, Kingsbury, and Shaw draw important similarities between the pain of exclusion and physical pain. The pain of isolation is further discussed by Cacioppo and Hawkley, who examine its chronic form: loneliness. Finally, Eisenberger and Lieberman consider the neuropsychological substrates of exclusion, how the brain reacts when excluded, and concomitant cognitive and affective responses by the individual. This research, too, demonstrates a strong link between the neuropsychology of social pain of rejection and that of physical pain.

In Part III, our contributors examine different reactions to being socially outcast. Not everyone reacts in the same way to being excluded, rejected, and bullied. A variety of factors play a role, such as rejection sensitivity levels in the individual (Romero-Canyas & Downey), developmental differences (Juvonen & Gross), self-esteem levels (Sommer & Rubin), and culture (Fiske & Yamamoto).

In Part IV, our contributors explore the ways that being socially outcast affects our emotions, perceptions, and cognitions. Our world changes once we

are outcast; we feel differently, we see things differently, and we think differently. Twenge focuses on our emotions, Pickett and Gardner (and Gardner, Knowles, & Pickett) examine our perceptions and sense of self, Hogg considers its affect on our social self (or social identity), and Fitness discusses its effects on our emotions and cognitions especially within close relationships.

In Part V, our volume shifts toward one of the most important consequences of being socially outcast—how it makes us behave in our social world. As Steinbeck wrote in Cannery Row in 1945, "... there are two possible reactions to social ostracism — either a man emerges determined to be better, purer, and kindlier or he goes bad, challenges the world and does even worse things." Empirical research by social psychologists, although fifty years late, has arrived at the same conclusion. Whereas some research suggests pro-social reactions after being socially outcast (Lakin & Chartrand, Ouwerkerk, van Lange, Gallucci, & Kerr; see also Williams & Zadro in Chapter 2), others show an anti-social, even violent reaction to apparently the same cause (as discussed in this volume by Tice, and Gaertner & Iuzzini).

Finally, Brewer concludes the volume with a thoughtful integration and call for further research.

THE SYDNEY SYMPOSIUM OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY SERIES

This book is the seventh in the Sydney Symposium of Social Psychology series, held every year in beautiful Coogee Bay, in Sydney, Australia. The University of New South Wales, Macquarie University, and the Australian Research Council sponsor the series, and we are very grateful for their support. We want to emphasize that this is not simply an edited book in the usual sense. Perhaps a few words are in order about the origins of this volume, and the Sydney Symposium of Social Psychology series in general. The objective of the Sydney Symposia is to provide new, integrative understanding in important areas of social psychology by inviting leading researchers in a particular field to a three-day residential Symposium in Sydney. Draft papers by all contributors were prepared months in advance and were made available to all participants before the March meeting in Sydney.

The critical part of the preparation of this book has been the intensive 3-day face-to-face meeting between all invited contributors (and several audience members). Sydney Symposia are characterized by open, free-ranging, intensive, and critical discussion between all participants, with the objective of exploring points of integration and contrast between the proposed papers. A further revision of each chapter was prepared soon after the symposium, incorporating many of the shared points that emerged in our discussions. Thanks to these collaborative procedures, the book does not simply consist of a set of chapters prepared in isolation (as apropos as that might be in for this particular volume). Rather, this Sydney Symposium volume represents a collaborative effort by a leading group of international researchers intent on producing a comprehensive and up-to-date review of research on the social outcast. We hope that the chapters will succeed

in conveying some of the sense of fun and excitement we all shared during the symposium. For more information on the Sydney Symposium series and details of our past and future projects please see our Web site (www.sydneysymposium.unsw.edu.au). Six previous volumes of the Sydney Symposium series have been published. All Sydney Symposium books feature original contributions from leading international researchers on key issues in social psychology. Detailed information about our earlier volumes can be found on the series page in this book and on our Web site.

Given its comprehensive coverage, the present book should be useful both as a basic reference book and as an informative textbook to be used in advanced courses dealing with the social aspects of the individual, within relationships and groups. The main target audience for this book comprises researchers, students, and professionals in all areas of the social and behavioral sciences, such as social, cognitive, clinical, counseling, personality, organizational, and applied psychology, as well as sociology, communication studies, and cognitive science. The book is written in a readable yet scholarly style, and students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels should find it an engaging overview of the field and thus useful as a textbook or ancillary text in courses dealing with groups, close relationships, and social psychology. The book should also be of particular interest to people working in applied areas where acts of exclusion are not only common, but have profound consequences, as in industries, schools, institutions, clubs, and other organizations, and in areas of health psychology and counseling.

We want to express our thanks to people and organizations who helped to make the Sydney Symposium of Social Psychology series, and the seventh volume in particular, a reality. Producing a complex multi-authored book such as this is a lengthy and sometimes challenging task. We have been very fortunate to work with such an excellent and cooperative group of contributors. Our first thanks must go to them. Because of their help and professionalism, we were able to finish this project on schedule. Past friendships have not frayed, and no one has been ostracized. We hope that working together on this book has been as positive an experience for them as it has been for us.

The idea of organizing the Sydney Symposia owes much to discussions with and encouragement by Kevin McConkey and subsequent support by Chris Fell, Mark Wainwright, Peter Lovibond, and numerous others at the University of New South Wales. At Macquarie University, we appreciated the financial and social support of Judy Ungerer, Anne Burns, and John Loxton. And finally we would like to thank the Australian Research Council for their support. Our colleagues at Macquarie University and Purdue University, Nickie Newton and Kim Parish —have helped with advice, support, and sheer hard wotk to share the burden of preparing and organizing the symposium and the ensuing book. We also thank Paul Dukes at Psychology Press and Lynn Goeller at EvS Communications. Most of all, we are grateful for the love and support of our families, who have put up with us during the many months of work that went into producing this book.

Kipling Williams, Joseph Forgas, and William von Hippel, April 2005

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The Social Outcast

An Overview

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LISA ZADRO

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INTRODUCTION

We are essentially social creatures. Throughout most of our evolutionary history, we lived, loved, and labored within the confines of small, intimate *groups* where we knew, and were known by, each member. Within these groups, we were sheltered from the elements, protected from predators, and

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ultimately given the opportunity to propagate and prosper. To be rejected and excluded from the group, and thus from all the benefits of membership, would have been a death sentence—left alone without food, shelter, and vulnerable to outside attack, the life of a social outcast would have been brutal and brief. Hence our survival would have depended on our ability to detect imminent rejection and thereby act—cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally—to regain our membership in the group.

As technology advanced and our civilization evolved, the dynamics of our day-to-day existence changed, and our social ties to those around us gradually became more complex and impersonal. Yet, despite this shift from face-to-face communities to sprawling metropolises, the potential for rejection and exclusion continues to permeate our society. Every aspect of our day-to-day lives contains the potential for some form of ostracism—for instance, in the workplace, our colleagues may deliberately or inadvertently fail to answer our e-mails, or may exclude us from after-hours social gatherings; in the home, our loved ones may punish us for some misdemeanor by leaving the room when we enter and refusing to meet our gaze over the dinner table; even in public transport, we may sit in such close proximity to a fellow passenger that we are forced to spend the entire journey uncomfortably wedged against one another, yet we will sit in silence and act as though we are traveling alone. Thus, it seems that regardless of whether it is socially sanctioned or personally directed, exclusion and rejection have remained a fundamental part of our social existence, as too has our very primitive and automatic adaptive sensitivity to even the slightest hint of social exclusion.

Understanding how people relate to each other, why they choose to exclude and ignore others, and what determines their response to rejection and exclusion has never been of greater importance than today. Recent research has linked being excluded to aversive psychological effects (e.g., depression, alienation, suicide), as well as to aversive behavioral outcomes (e.g., mass killings such as the shootings at Columbine High School; see Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003). Yet despite the far reaching implications of social exclusion on both the social outcast and on society as a whole, it was only in the last decade that social psychology began to regard social exclusion as an area worthy of investigation rather than merely an outcome to be avoided.

This book represents the culmination of a little more than a decade's worth of research, bringing together researchers across allied fields to understand more about the antecedents and consequences of social exclusion and rejection, and about the processes involved when they occurred. The subtitle of this book reflects the fact that as yet, four conceptually related topics exist that tap into the experience of being a social outcast: ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying. Not only are we not certain about the extent to which these phenomena overlap (see Leary, this volume, for an integrative attempt), but precise definitions for each are lacking. Generally speaking, ostracism refers to being ignored and excluded (Williams, 1997; 2001). Social exclusion refers to not being included within a given social network (but not necessarily ignored). Rejection is usually an explicit

verbal or physical action that declares that the individual is not wanted as a member within a relationship or group. Bullying usually involves others' aversive focus on an individual, and often is accompanied by physical, verbal and nonverbal abuse of an individual.

THE BACKGROUND

Throughout the centuries, poets, writers, philosophers, and social commentators have often debated the nature of rejection and social exclusion, particularly when manifested through tactics such as the "silent treatment." Silence, when communication is expected, is inextricably tied to the act of ostracism. But it is clear from literature and science that silence, by itself, can mean many things. To some, silence is a noble act (e.g., "speech is silvern, silence is golden," [Swiss Inscription]; "nothing is more useful than silence," [Menander]; "well-timed silence has more eloquence than speech" [Martin Farquhar Tupper]), whereas others view silence as petty or malicious (e.g., "silence is the virtue of fools"[Sir Francis Bacon]; "in the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends, " [Martin Luther King Jr.]). Silence has been conceived as an act of kindness toward others (e.g., "if you have nothing nice to say, say nothing at all," [Anonymous]; "a good word is an easy obligation; but to not speak ill requires only our silence which costs nothing," [John Tillston]), or as a deliberate and effective act of cruelty (e.g., "silence is the most perfect expression of scorn," [George Bernard Shaw]; "the cruelest lies are often told in silence," [Robert Louis Stevenson]). Thus, silence is ambiguous, and perhaps contributes to the difficulty people have coping with ostracism. On the one hand, targets of silence can pretend it is not happening, and can bask in the ambiguity by denying that they are being excluded. On the other hand, if individuals are "cast out" through silence, they may lack vital information they could use to correct their behavior, or to cope with their exclusion.

Of course, not all acts of rejection and social exclusion involve silence. Some forms of rejection involve hurtful words and explicit derogation; and at other times involve physical abuse. When being socially outcast is more explicit (and hence, less ambiguous) as is often the case in rejection and bullying, targets can at least *know* for certain that they are indeed being outcast. Whereas this prevents the ability to deny the experience, they may be better able to cope with it. They also know that they are not invisible and unworthy of attention, but instead, are important enough to be the objects of inattention and abuse.

Whether presented as an act of good or evil, virtue or sin, social exclusion is a complex phenomenon that, in its many guises, has transcended time, and has a place in our day-to-day lives from our first breath to our last gasp. Our experiences with social exclusion begin early in life. For most of us, we have some experience with being teased, bullied, silenced, excluded, and rejected by our peers from infancy (e.g., Barner-Barry, 1986; Sheldon, 1996) to adolescence (Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, & Ferguson, 1989). As we grow older, the prevalence of ostracism

is such that all individuals will be both a victim (i.e., a target) and a perpetrator (i.e., a source) of some form of social exclusion and rejection within almost all of their relationships, whether with loved ones, colleagues, or strangers. In our day-to-day lives, apparently innocuous episodes of ostracism in which we ignore and are ignored by strangers on the street or fellow passengers on elevators, buses, and trains are interwoven with more emotionally grueling episodes in which we choose to ignore or are ignored by those we love. In fact, 67% of a representative U.S. sample admitted using the silent treatment (deliberately not speaking to a person in their presence) on a loved one, and 75% indicated that they had been a target of the silent treatment by a loved one (Faulkner, Williams, Sherman, & Williams, 1997).

Even if our experience with ostracism in our personal life is minimal, we are bound to encounter other forms of ostracism in societal institutions, such as schools (e.g., time-outs, expulsion), the workplace (e.g., in the ostracism of "whistleblowers" by co-workers; Faulkner, 1998), the legal system (e.g., placing those guilty of a crime in prison; Lynn & Armstrong, 1996), and the church, where almost all religions punish non-compliance to ecclesiastical law with some form of excommunication (Zippelius, 1986).

The prevalence of ostracism throughout all aspects of our day-to-day life has led to a body of research that explores ostracism from various perspectives. Anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, physiologists, ethnologists, zoologists, and legal experts among others (see Gruter & Masters, 1986), have all examined the phenomenon across different cultures and species. Yet, it is surprising that there has been little *psychological* investigation into the nature, causes, or consequences of ostracism. Indeed, until the last decade, there were only a handful of studies that explicitly examined the consequences of being ignored, excluded or rejected, and most of these were stand-alone studies that were generally atheoretical, and varied in their conceptual and operational definitions of ostracism.

Many of the early studies typically focused on *physical isolation* to understand the psychological effects of exclusion. For instance, in what is probably the most radical of the studies examining the potential consequences of social exclusion, Schachter (1959) isolated five volunteers in a windowless room for as long as they could possibly endure being separated from others and found considerable individual differences in the amount of time participants tolerated the isolation.

Subsequent studies tended to study *psychological* rather than physical isolation. The underlying notion in these studies was that individuals could feel isolated even when in the presence of other people. These studies achieved psychological isolation through rejection, exclusion, or being ignored by others. In general, researchers tended to manipulate these forms of ostracism using a group social interaction, consisting of one participant (the target of social exclusion) and two or more confederates (the sources of exclusion).

These studies of psychological isolation varied in the way in which social exclusion was conceptualized. Some of these studies focused on examining the ef-

fects of being explicitly *rejected* from participation in a group activity (e.g., Dittes, 1959), whereas others conceptualized psychological isolation as being *ignored* (Geller, Goodstein, Silver, & Sternberg, 1974). Other researchers combined forms of social exclusion with other types of interpersonal rejection (e.g., argument or abuse). For instance, Mettee, Taylor, and Fisher (1971) examined "being shunned" in terms of physical avoidance and verbal abuse. Regardless of the nature of the paradigm used to induce ostracism, these studies have typically found that being rejected, excluded, and ignored had detrimental effects on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of targets (see also, the more general feeling of being lonely, as discussed by Cacioppo and Hawkley, this volume).

In addition to examining the psychological effects of ostracism on targets several of the early studies also investigated targets' thoughts and feeling toward their ostracizers. In some studies, participants who had been rejected rated the sources as less likeable (Pepitone & Wilpizeski, 1960), or less favorably (Geller et al., 1974) than those who were not ignored. Social exclusion was also found to affect the desire of targets to affiliate with their ostracizers. However, the findings on this point are somewhat contradictory. In some studies, targets preferred to avoid, or not work with, the ostracizers in the future (e.g., Mettee et al., 1971; Pepitone & Wilpizeski, 1960) whereas in other studies, targets expressed a desire to be with, or work with, those who had ostracized them (Snoek, 1962). These contradictory reactions are reflected in the various chapters in this book (see for instance, Williams & Zadro; Baumeister & DeWall; Twenge; Sommer, & Rubin, and Gaertner & Iuzzini; this volume).

Overall, these studies provide invaluable information about the nature of social exclusion. However, because many of these early studies were preliminary in nature, they present several limitations. The primary limitation is that the majority of these studies did not adequately acknowledge the complexity of ostracism. Hence, many of the early studies employed forms of social exclusion that may be phenomenologically different, yet treated them as equivalent (e.g., physically moving away versus ignoring the target) and thus did not ascertain whether different types of exclusion have different effects on the target. Second, these studies typically focused on the effects of social exclusion on targets, and thereby failed to explore the potential effects (beneficial or detrimental) of being a source of exclusion. Without an understanding as to why people use forms of ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying, there is little chance that we will be able to determine strategies that can be used to help individuals cope with these aversive experiences or for individuals who habitually use these aversive techniques to consider the benefits of using alternative constructive techniques. Finally, the early studies centered on examining the self-reported psychological effects of being excluded and ignored. Although this is an important first step, further research was clearly necessary to examine the effects of social exclusion on emotional, cognitive, and physiological processes in order to ascertain the range of potential consequences of social exclusion. These goals are now being realized in the work represented in

this book. Physiological and social cognitive neuroscience paradigms are prevalent in the work of Eisenberger and Lieberman and MacDonald, Kingsbury, and Shaw. Emotional impact forms the substantial focus of Baumeister and DeWall, Twenge, Sommer and Rubin, and of Fitness.

Despite the limitations, the early studies provided a solid foundation for future social exclusion research. Yet amazingly, research in this area ground to a halt as social psychologists failed to acknowledge the importance of this complex phenomenon. It is only during the last decade that social exclusion research has experienced a renaissance of sorts, resulting in a surge of new theories on the nature of social exclusion, new models on which to base experimental research, and new paradigms that provide ingenious ways to explore the effects of being a target and/or source of social exclusion. Unlike the single-study approach of early research, current exclusion researchers often used a multi-method approach to conduct systematic programs of research into the nature, causes, and consequences of social exclusion. Moreover, these studies have aimed to broaden our understanding of the consequences of this phenomenon by examining not only the self-reported effects of exclusion, but also the behavioral, cognitive, and physiological effects of being excluded, rejected, and ignored.

This brings us to the organization of this book. Although the field of social exclusion is still in its infancy, the main objective of this book is to explore our current understanding of the powerful consequences of social exclusion, at the neurophysiological, emotional, cognitive, and behavioral levels. Part I will put forward grand integrative models and theories that try to encapsulate the experience of rejection and exclusion. As sweeping as these conceptualizations are, we also recognize that some individuals are more susceptible to acts of exclusion than are others, hence Part II will explore and explain these individual differences. Part III will examine how, once excluded, individuals perceive and respond to their social environments differently, leading them to interpret and attend to particular information that may help them cope, or often, that may perpetuate their state of exclusion. Part IV will discuss the nature and antecedents of adaptive and maladaptive reactions to social exclusion. Finally, Part V will report several research programs aimed at extricating the links between social exclusion and pro-social or anti-social behavior.

PART I: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In Chapter 2, Kip Williams and Lisa Zadro put forth a revised model of ostracism (originally developed by Williams, 1997), and summarize a program of research in their labs that seeks to describe the temporally changing reactions to ostracism. They begin by asserting that a considerable number of studies have now been conducted that appear to demonstrate that ostracism—being ignored and excluded—is immediately experienced as painful. They also argue that factors that ought to moderate

this painful experience are inconsequential. For example, individuals report lower moods, threatened needs, and register physiological responses regardless of whether the ostracism is done by ingroup members or outgroup members, a computer or humans, or even by despised others. Additionally, individual differences such as social phobia, narcissism, self-esteem, and collectivism do not moderate the painful immediate experience. Williams and Zadro argue that reactions to ostracism follow three stages. In Stage 1, they propose an adaptive early indiscriminate detection system that warns individuals of the potential survival threat of being ignored and excluded. In Stage 2, individuals respond and cope with ostracism according to individual differences and moderating situational factors. For individuals who continue to be ostracized over the course of their life, the authors propose Stage 3, in which individuals are overly sensitized to detecting ostracism and whose resources to cope with it are depleted.

In Chapter 3, Mark Leary notes that several researchers have studied many different phenomena that involve, in one way or another, real, implied, or imagined interpersonal rejection, including exclusion, ostracism, stigmatization, bullying, childhood peer rejection, unrequited love, and jealousy. In his chapter, Leary offers an overarching conceptualization of interpersonal rejection that both identifies the common features of all rejecting events and that accounts for differences among different kinds of rejections. In addition, data are presented to demonstrate the utility of this conceptualization for understanding emotional responses to rejecting events. According to the proposed conceptualization, all rejection episodes involve the perception that one or more individuals do not value their relationships with the rejected person as much as the person desires. Two lines of research are described that examined the role of low perceived relational evaluation in the experience of rejection. One line suggests that low relational evaluation is the source of hurt feelings in response to rejecting events, but that other emotions that often accompany rejection (e.g., sadness, anger) spring from other factors. The other line of research shows that the strength of people's reactions to perceived rejection is directly related to the degree to which they feel that the perpetrator does not value their relationship.

In Chapter 4, Roy Baumeister and C. Nathan DeWall describe their (and their colleagues') original intent to study the effects of thwarting the need to belong, in which they predicted that rejection would cause strong emotional reactions that would, in turn, produce behavioral changes. They found plenty of behavioral changes but they were not mediated by emotion. Hence they had to reconsider what inner processes are changed in the wake of rejection. In this chapter, Baumeister and DeWall provide evidence that rejection impairs cognition and self-regulation. That is, intelligent thought is impaired among rejected people, though the impairments are specific to the more complex and volitional forms of thought (i.e., automatic processes seem unaffected). Furthermore, rejected subjects show impaired self-regulation, which could explain the rise in both selfish, impulsive actions and in self-defeating behavior.

PART II: DEEP ROOTS OF EXCLUSION: NEUROPSYCHOLOGICAL SUBSTRATES OF ISOLATION AND EXCLUSION

The detection of imminent or actual rejection is vital to survival in social beings such as humans, and early detection of exclusion allows us to take steps to be re-included in the group. Hence, it is not surprising that researchers have examined deeper processes involved in the detection of exclusion and rejection in their examination of the potency of this phenomenon, including physiological and dispositional bases.

In Chapter 5, Geoff MacDonald, Rachell Kingsbury, and Stephanie Shaw present evidence to connect detection of social pain with the detection of physical pain. According to social pain theory (MacDonald & Leary, 2005), the experience of social exclusion triggers painful feelings, and thus activates the physiological system that functions to protect individuals from physical threats. The authors present three studies supporting this view. In the first, they show that chronic pain patients report higher sensitivity to rejection than do controls, and that the relation between sensitivity to rejection and outcomes such as anxiety is partially mediated by reports of physical pain. In the second, they present evidence that individuals higher in rejection sensitivity are more vigilant for physical threat. In the third, they demonstrate that rejection sensitive individuals respond to social exclusion with decreased sensitivity to physical pain, a common response to physical injury. They conclude by discussing the implications of social pain theory for anti-social behavior such as relationship aggression.

In Chapter 6, John Cacioppo and Louise Hawkley present a model of the effects of loneliness on health and well being that emphasizes the mediational role of social perception and cognition. Specifically, lonely, compared to nonlonely, individuals are more likely to construe their world (including the behavior of others) as punitive or potentially punitive. Consequently, lonely individuals are more likely to be socially anxious, hold more negative expectations for their treatment by others, and adopt a prevention focus rather than a promotion focus in their social interactions. Relatedly, lonely, relative to nonlonely, individuals are more likely to appraise stressors as threats rather than challenges, and to cope with stressors in a passive, isolative fashion rather than an active fashion that includes actively seeking the help and support of others. Together, these differences in social cognition predictably result in an increased likelihood of lonely individuals acting in self-protective and, paradoxically, self-defeating ways.

In Chapter 7, Naomi Eisenberger and Matthew Lieberman begin by asserting that being socially excluded has damaging psychological, behavioral, and physiological effects. Being excluded, rejected, or separated from others is such a wounding experience that it is often described colloquially as "hurting" or "being painful." However, the neural systems underlying the pain associated with social separation ("social pain") have not yet been investigated. Because social distance

from others is just as dangerous as hunger, thirst, or physical injury for mammalian species, Panksepp (1998) suggested a possible overlap between the systems that regulate social pain and the systems that regulate physical pain. In other words, the importance of regulating social distance led to the evolution of a social pain system that piggybacked onto the physical pain system, with the goal of minimizing social distance. Thus, the anticipation, experience, and recovery from physical and social pain may rely on the same neural machinery. Though provocative, there has been little empirical support for this overlap. Here the authors review several neuroimaging studies that provide evidence showing that the same neural circuitry plays a role in both physical and social pain. They also posit several novel hypotheses regarding how the same social factors that influence social pain would likely influence physical pain as well.

PART III: INDIVIDUAL AND POPULATION DIFFERENCES AND THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND BULLYING

Although it appears that almost everybody reacts negatively to being cast out of their social network, research has also examined the extent to which some people are more likely to experience such social exclusion more negatively than others.

In Chapter 8, Geraldine Downey and Rainer Romero assert that it is not surprising that rejection by significant individuals and social groups triggers a variety of maladaptive reactions, including depression, suicidal behavior, and violence. Yet, they contend that although everyone experiences rejection at various points in their lives, such extreme responses are relatively uncommon. Why do some people respond to rejection in ways that compromise their well-being and relationships, whereas others do not? To help explain variability in people's responses to rejection, Downey and Romero propose a specific cognitive-affective processing disposition, rejection sensitivity (RS). They review the literature, and then describe their efforts to understand more fully why people who anxiously expect rejection behave in ways that lead to the realization of their worst fears. First, they describe research testing their guiding assumption that RS is a defensively-motivated system that gets elicited by rejection-relevant stimuli. Second, they describe the effects of being in this defensive state on the perception of rejection. Third, they describe laboratory research supporting the prediction that being in this defensive state triggers strenuous efforts to prevent rejection that involve over-accommodation, self-silencing, and excessive solicitousness. In the final section of the chapter, they discusses how the knowledge gained from this research program can potentially guide the development of interventions aimed at reducing the personal and interpersonal difficulties in which RS is implicated, including depression and interpersonal violence and hostility.

In Chapter 9, Jaana Juvonen and Elisheva Gross turn our attention to the very real and alarming phenomenon of bullying, specifically how it has been examined

within the developmental psychology literature. The study of social outcasts has a long tradition in developmental psychology. This topic has received a great deal of attention in light of the robust empirical evidence showing that rejected and bullied youth are at high risk for adjustment problems. Juvonen and Gross provide insights from developmental research on the complex array of intrapersonal and interpersonal difficulties that both lead to and result from peer rejection. After a brief comparison of the last decade of relevant research published in developmental and social psychology's leading journals, they analyze the social function of rejection for the group. They then examine the personal consequences of rejection by focusing on the role that individual differences and social-contextual factors (e.g., witnessed incidents of bullying) play in moderating the association between rejection and social pain. They end the chapter by proposing a general conceptual model of the intrapersonal and group-level processes by which peer rejection places youth at risk for long-term maladaptive outcomes.

In Chapter 10, Kristin Sommer and Yonata Rubin begin by observing that rejection may cause people to question their overall desirability to others. Social expectancies, in turn, predict the cognitive and behavioral strategies that people employ to cope with rejection. Specifically, when people believe that others will like and accept them, they respond to rejection by reinforcing and strengthening their relationships. However, if they believe that others will not like and accept them, they respond by withdrawing from and devaluing their relationships. In support of this, Sommer and Rubin cite evidence showing that responses to rejection often depend on trait self-esteem, which reflects the extent to which people feel generally accepted by others. The authors also present recent experimental data showing that negative social expectancies following interpersonal rejection cause people to behave in ways that jeopardize their future attachments. Finally, they discuss how the emotional detachment and interpersonally-destructive behaviors of rejected people may reflect efforts to protect the self from additional harm.

In Chapter 11, Susan Fiske and Mariko Yamamoto examine reactions to rejection across cultures, but they begin by asserting that regardless of culture, a few core social motives are used to explain why people respond to others as they do. Chief among these is the motive for belonging. People live happier, healthier, longer lives if they are accepted by at least a small group of other people. From this follows two relatively cognitive motives, the need for a socially shared understanding, to coordinate with others, and the need for controlling, to influence one's outcomes that are contingent on others. Two more affectively focused motives are enhancing self, maintaining the feeling that one is worthy or at least improvable, and trusting, the comparable feeling about ingroup others. The BUCET (belonging, understanding, controlling, enhancing, trust) framework of motives organizes a range of research in social psychology. Fiske and Yamamoto present their explorations into the interplay of various core social motives in people's responses to rejection. They find that whereas American and Japanese college students both found rejection to be unpleasant, the Japanese responded with more emphasis on restoring harmony, whereas the Americans responded with more efforts at self-enhancing and

understanding. They interpret their results in light of greater Japanese focus on the belonging self and trust in a long-term, focused ingroup. In comparison, Americans focus more on the individual self that maintains many positive but flexible social ties. If broad-brush cultural differences between American and Japanese responses depend on a more inflated or more modest sense of self in social belonging, these differences appear to be mirrored in American data on people with low and high self-esteem, such that low self-esteem participants who have been rejected respond in more socially desirable directions, whereas high self-esteem participants respond more negatively. The authors expand on these preliminary findings by examining people's meta-expectations and conscious motives concerning relationships and rejection as a function of culture and self-views.

PART IV: INFLUENCES OF REJECTION ON EMOTION, PERCEPTION, AND COGNITION

Not only does being a social outcast affect behavior, it also affects emotion, perception, and cognition. The chapters in this section are devoted to exploring these types of reactions.

In Chapter 12, Jean Twenge asks, does social rejection lead to a negative emotional state? She acknowledges that this should have been the easiest question to answer in our field of research, but it has turned out to be one of the most difficult. She describes two research groups (Williams and Leary) that have consistently found that rejection and/or ostracism causes negative emotions, whereas in her (and Baumeister's) labs, they have consistently found a null effect for emotion after rejection and exclusion. This, she suggests, could be because of differences in method and theory. Ostracism, for example, is a different experience than rejection, involving being ignored rather than explicit rejection. Participants in her experiments always meet their rejectors in person, but those in the Leary experiments typically do not. In her other technique, participants hear that they will be alone later in life, an ostensibly unchangeable condition that may create defensiveness. All labs have found that mood does not mediate effects of rejection on behavior. She presents experiments exploring the role of emotion after social rejection. She finds that excluded participants avoid emotion, regulate their mood, and although mood is sometimes affected, it does not mediate subsequent behaviors. Last, she presents new data in which she explores the effect of rejection severity on mood and aggression.

In Chapter 13, Cynthia Pickett and Wendi Gardner ask what are the processes and mechanisms that contribute to individuals' ability to recover from and avoid rejection? Pickett and Gardner provide a potential answer to this question by describing a model for the regulation of belonging needs. In this model, they propose that deficits in belonging will activate a mechanism (the social monitoring system) designed to attune individuals to social information and social cues in their environment. By noticing opportunities for social interaction and the

contingencies of acceptance and rejection, individuals should be more successful at navigating their social world. They begin by describing the components of the model and the model's relation to other known processes involved in detecting and responding to social exclusion. They then summarize the evidence collected to date in their lab that bears upon various aspects of the model and discuss avenues for future research.

In Chapter 14, Wendi Gardner, Megan Knowles, and Cynthia Pickett assert that belonging needs are not always easily fulfilled through direct and positive social interaction. Actual physical distance from loved ones, psychological feelings of isolation, or even daily time demands may all set obstacles on the straightest path to social connection. In this chapter, they explore the more circuitous routes we may take in these circumstances by describing several indirectly social strategies used as fallbacks when direct social opportunities are temporarily thwarted. Some, such as using tangible social symbols, may be relatively common. Others, such as attachment to fictional social surrogates, may be better characterized as the belonging tactics of last resort. Importantly, all may hold important places within the broad portfolio of coping strategies that serve the regulation of belonging needs.

In Chapter 15, Michael Hogg discusses the paradox that, on the one hand, groups accentuate commonalities among members and are about fairness, equality, and inclusion; but, on the other hand, they are intolerant of diversity, contain sharp divisions that identify some members as marginal and of less worth than others, and engage in social exclusion. This paradox is also the background to Orwell's novel *Animal Farm* which is an attack on what he saw as the hypocrisy of Soviet communism, which he believed was actually a reincarnation of Tsarist Russia (inequality, privilege, and exclusion) merely under the guise of socialism (equality, tolerance, and inclusion). Hogg adopts a broad social identity perspective to discuss various aspects of social exclusion in groups. In addition to placing group prototypicality center stage, he develops ideas on uncertainty reduction motivation in groups to address the dynamics of marginal membership. There is a particular focus on deviates and deviant subgroups, and on extremist/pariah groups. One key idea in this chapter is that deviance processes are influenced by which group motivations are contextually prevalent—in particular, enhancement versus epistemic motivations. Hogg also discusses the role of leadership in marginalization processes—deviants and deviant groups are often highly functional for effective leadership, and therefore leaders engage in strategic marginalization processes. He reports current studies from his lab on deviance, leadership, and extremist groups, and make suggestions about positive aspects of deviance. Deviance can be re-characterized as diversity, and diversity has a number of distinct advantages for group functioning.

In Chapter 16, Julie Fitness asserts that families are fundamental to human existence and constitute the primary social group to which humans belong from birth. Further, she says that social psychologists know remarkably little about the causes and consequences of rejection in families. Following a discussion of laypeople's implicit theories about the "rules" of appropriate family conduct, Fitness

presents the findings of two, exploratory studies of hypothetically unforgivable rule violations within parent–child, child–parent and sibling relationships—the kinds of violations considered by laypeople to be so serious as to warrant rejection or expulsion from the family. She discusses a variety of structural and dynamic features of families that may contribute to the rejection of children and siblings, including perceived viability, gender, birth order, degree of genetic relatedness, and scapegoating. Finally, Fitness presents the results of a recent study on family favorites and "black sheep" and proposes an agenda for future research.

PART V: EFFECTS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION ON PRO- AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

One particular question has become a central focus of many researchers interested in the behavior of social outcasts: do they behave pro-socially or anti-socially? The following chapters shed new light on this important theoretical and social question.

In Chapter 17, Jessica Lakin and Tanya Chartrand note that behavioral mimicry research suggests that mimicking others creates liking and rapport, which means that it may be one way for excluded people to affiliate with others. To explore this idea, Lakin and Chartrand excluded participants in a simulated ball-tossing game and then completed an ostensibly unrelated task with a confederate. In Experiment 1, they demonstrated that people who were excluded during the ballgame mimicked the behaviors of the confederate more than people who were included. In Experiment 2, they extended this finding by showing that participants excluded by an ingroup mimicked an ingroup member more in the subsequent interaction than participants who interacted with an outgroup member or those who were excluded by an outgroup. This effect was mediated by belongingness threat. They suggest that people may be able to address belongingness needs that have been threatened by exclusion by mimicking the behaviors of others, even though mimicry happens without intention, awareness, or conscious control.

In Chapter 18, Kathleen Catanese and Dianne Tice present research demonstrating that social exclusion and rejection can lead to aggressive and anti-social behavior. Excluded people issued a more negative job evaluation against someone who insulted them, and blasted a target with higher levels of aversive noise, both when the target had insulted them, and when the target was a neutral person and no interaction had occurred. However, excluded people were not more aggressive toward someone who issued praise. Not all bad news produced aggression. In their Misfortune Control group in one study, participants were told they would be prone to accidents and would suffer many injuries later in life. This forecast did not produce any perceptible rise in aggression. Apparently social exclusion is not just another kind of personal misfortune. Being alone is in some respects worse than having your bones broken. Aggressive responses were specific to social exclusion (as opposed to other misfortunes) and were not mediated by emotion.

Additional studies varied the exclusion status of the target of the aggression. Excluded participants were given an opportunity to aggress against another person who was described as also excluded by the same group that excluded the participant, excluded by another group, accepted by the group that excluded the participant, or control (not associated with the excluding group in any way). Aggressiveness varied with the exclusion status of the target.

In Chapter 19, Lowell Gaertner and Jonathan Iuzzini examine the possibility that social rejection and perceived entitativity (i.e., groupness) synergistically affect mass violence such that perpetrators are likely to harm multiple persons when rejection emanates from an entity-like group. Gaertner and Iuzzini present a laboratory experiment and a questionnaire study to provide evidence of this synergistic effect. The experiment manipulated whether a 3-person aggregate appeared to be an entity-like group crossed with whether a member of the aggregate rejected the participant. A noise-blast task revealed the predicted interaction: Participants issued the loudest noise against the aggregate when a member of the aggregate rejected the participant and the aggregate appeared to be an entity-like group. A questionnaire study conducted in a high school replicated the Rejection × Entitativity effect by demonstrating that the tendency for rejection to spawn fantasies about harming a social group increased with the perceived entitativity of the group. The authors discuss potential mediators and moderators of the synergistic effect.

And, in Chapter 20, Jaap Ouwerkerk, Paul van Lange, Marcello Gallucci, and Norbert Kerr argue that a threat of ostracism (as well as actual ostracism episodes) may have an important function—suppressing uncooperative behavior that is harmful to a group and its members. For this purpose, they review two of their research programs that demonstrate positive effects of (the threat of) ostracism on cooperative behavior in social dilemmas. More specifically, they show that a threat of ostracism attenuates the so-called "bad apple effect" in a public good dilemma. That is, it reverses the tendency to follow the behavior of a single non-cooperative group member rather than that of a single cooperative group member. Furthermore, a threat of ostracism strengthens our tolerance for multiple bad apples. They conclude with discussing the possible crucial role of ostracism in the evolution of cooperation.

INTEGRATION AND SYNTHESIS

Clearly, while research on the social outcast is burgeoning, conflicting results, differences in conceptualizations, and different foci for examinations of this phenomenon abound. Thus, even at this relatively early stage, it is important to attempt to synthesize that which can be synthesized, to find underlying themes, and overarching questions that should guide future research. Marilynn Brewer superbly handles this task of integration in the final chapter.

Her discussion draws on the conceptual framework of optimal distinctiveness theory of inclusion and belonging. The concept of optimal distinctiveness provides

a motivational theory for understanding why social isolation has such powerful psychological effects and how members of groups might use exclusion of others as a mechanism for meeting their own needs for inclusion. A second conceptual framework for discussion is the distinction between interpersonal rejection/ostracism and group exclusion/ostracism. Social deprivation in the form of isolation or ostracism from a relationship partner and deprivation in the form of isolation or exclusion from a large social group may implicate different needs, motives, subjective experience, and reparation strategies. Brewer suggests that the different research paradigms for studying ostracism and its consequences can be examined in terms of this fundamental distinction between two types of social deprivation.

SUMMARY

Social exclusion, in its many forms and facets, permeates all of our relationships and almost every aspect of our lives. The chapters in this book highlight that social exclusion is a complex phenomenon—in many ways, still a mystery. However, the research evident in this book clearly details the deleterious emotional, cognitive, and physiological effects of even short episodes of exclusion and rejection, and hence goes a long way in changing the common perception that "silence is golden." With a phenomenon so ubiquitous, research into its nature and its social, physical, and economic cost is vital. For otherwise, our innate fear of being excluded and rejected, coupled with the rise of an increasingly automated and impersonal society, will ensure that social exclusion will continue to exert a significant personal, social, and economic toll—the extent of which has still to be fully explored.

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