Humanistic Behaviorism and Social Psychology

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and
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Dedicated to my wife Kay, whose inspiration and cooperation made much of this book possible.

FOREWORD

For the Instructor and Interested Student

In a sense, this book is science fiction. But it's different from most science fiction. Traditional science fiction is not constrained to respect the limits of **current** scientific knowledge, although it may tacitly remain consistent with the known laws of science. The present work, however, uses **only** the known concepts and principles of behavior, and in that sense it is science. It is also fiction, because informal, anecdotal, apocryphal, and blatantly fictional episodes are employed to illustrate the principles of the science of psychology.

This book is an extrapolation from rigorous laboratory work; but it goes far beyond our current, hard-core data base to situations which are amenable to a **conceptual** analysis in spite of the fact that they have not yet been subjected to an experimental analysis. This sort of extrapolation seems intellectually defensible on the grounds that it is possible to develop rigorous interpretations based on existing scientific knowledge, even though acceptance of the correctness of the interpretations must await the results of future experiments. This type of theoretical endeavor must be logically and empirically consistent — the episodes described must not be oversimplified or embellished to the point of falsification. In other words, the analysis must conform to the principles of behavior involved, and those principles should logically account for the events being analyzed. There is no guarantee, of course, that the analysis is empirically correct, but every effort has been made to insure that it is derived only from empirically sound principles of behavior.

As the scientific study of behavior continues to progress, increasingly complex forms of social behavior will be subjected to experimental analysis. Eventually, the kinds of extrapolations proffered in this book will be tested experimentally. At that time many of our interpretations will undoubtedly be shown to be wrong in detail. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the overall analysis of social phenomena in terms of reinforcing and punishing consequences, conditioned social reinforcement and punishment, and the relative effectiveness of immediate versus remote consequences will prove to be empirically useful in dealing with similar, complex sociopsychological processes occurring in the natural environment. For the time being, our efforts will have been reinforced if those broad-minded scholars who have a good understanding of the principles of behavior evaluate this book by saying that (1) the **presentation** of the principles of behavior is rigorously consistent with the known principles of behavior, and that (2) the **interpretations** of sociopsychological phenomena are both plausible and rigorously consistent with established scientific principles of behavior.
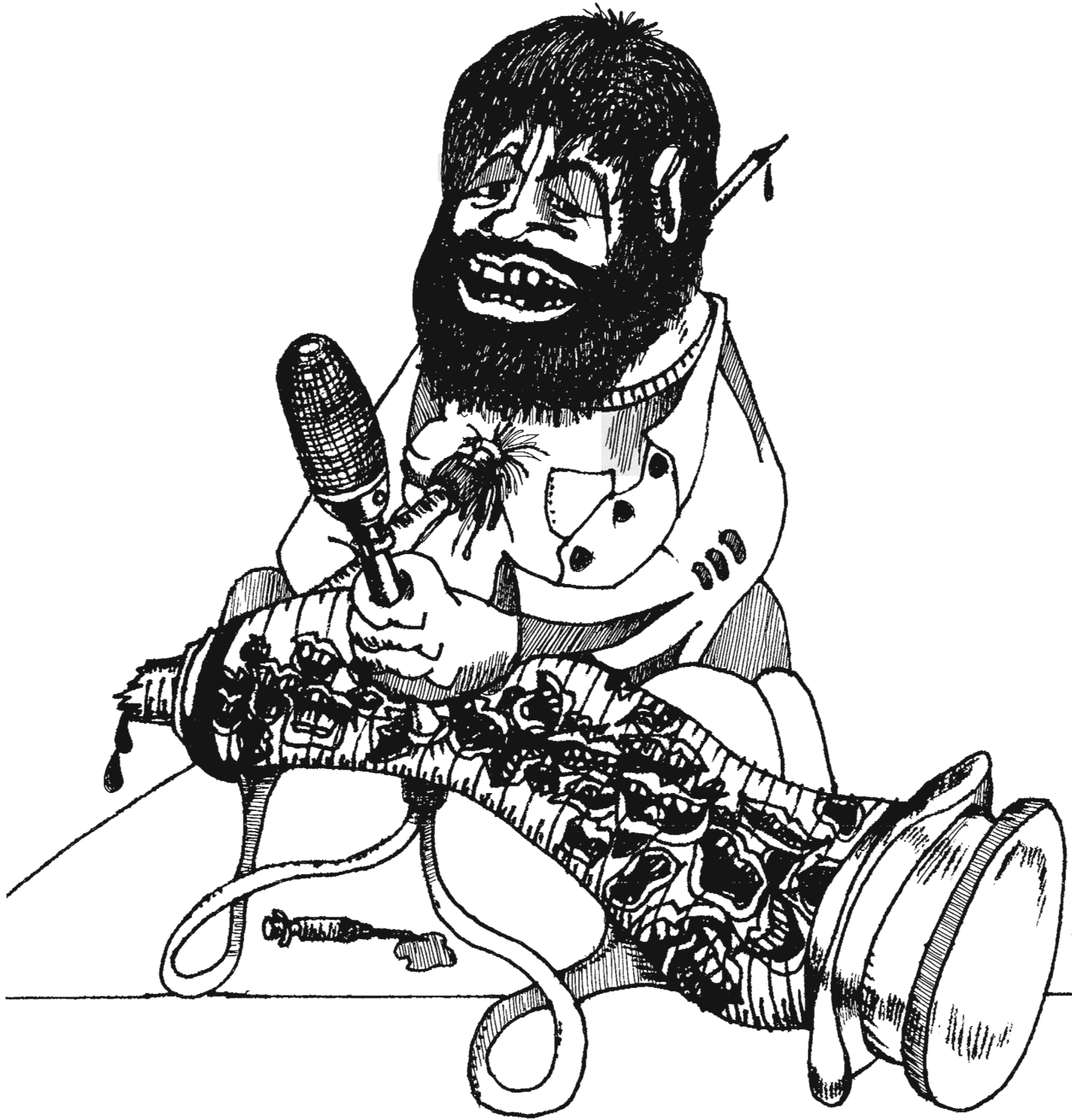
The Importance of
Social Reinforcement

SUMMER OF '52

Here I am, a member of the twenty-seven student Climax-Jackson Township High School graduating class of '54. I look pretty good. Pretty good, my ass; I look really sharp. A pork-pie hat just like Lester "Pres" Young, the tenor saxophonist with Jazz at the Philharmonic, wears. A duck's ass haircut that immediately lets people know I'm not to be messed with. A pair of Dizzy Gillespie shades and a Dizzy Gillespie goatee. A Mr. B (Billy X-Stein) rolled collar just like Louie Bellson wears. And that has to be cool because Louie Bellson is the only white musician in Duke Ellington's band, so you know how good he is. And if I wear the same kind of shirt Louie does, well, I gotta be pretty good too. A Slim-Jim tie, a one-button, rolled-collar sports coat, pegged pants with a 13" cuff (like some of the cats wear over at Marion High School where they're really hep). And a pair of rubber-soled white bucks that are kept in perfect condition with a white-powder bunny bag. Of course, the white bucks are just for casual wear; if I'm really dressing up, I put on the black loafers with the tassels and shiny 1952 penny in the strap across the front of each one.

All of the other guys in the class wear bib overalls, all except for Jazzbo Jones. He's cool too. We spend a lot of time listening to "Round About Moon" by Thelonious Assault and his Re-Bop All Stars.

It's 8:00 on Saturday night, and I've got dad's '49 DeSoto. That's not all I've got. I've also got Bottles Bartholomew with me in the front seat, and you can imagine what she's got. (She later went to Ball State Teacher's College where she was elected queen of the 1955 R.O.T.C.

Ball.) But to get right to the point, I scored. (I think I know how she later became queen of the Ball.)

Now, when you make out, what you do is get rid of the chick as fast as possible, but only after you steal her panties. You hang the panties from the aerial of your car, drive over to the county seat, Marion, Indiana, and take a few laps around the courthouse square. (Confession: Bottles wouldn't let me have the treasured memento of our brief encounter; so after I dropped her off, I stopped by my house and swiped a pair of my sister's to put on the aerial. But I don't think that's really lying, because I had *scored.)*

What do you do on Sunday afternoon in Climax, Indiana? You go over to the filling station and talk to the guys, what else?

"Hey Melvin, did ya' make out?"

"What da ya' mean, did I make out? Didn't you see what was on my aerial last night?"

"How was it?"

"I'd rather not talk about it."

"Come on, man; tell us about it."

"Nah, it's too personal."

"Come on, man."

"Ah, you know; it's just the same old thing."*

*Names were changed to protect the "innocent", though innocence was quite rare in the graduating class of '54. Otherwise, the events recounted here are true in essence and spirit if not in fact.

Sex is great.
Let's have a date,
And then give me a chance to relate.
(If not to you, at least to the guys at the filling station.)

Stimulation of the erogenous zones is a very powerful experience, so powerful that much of our culture is based on it and large chunks of our lives devoted to it. Given even a slight indication that our erogenous zones might be stimulated, we'll normally jump at the opportunity. Powerful experiences like sexual stimulation are usually reinforcing experiences. A REINFORCING EXPERIENCE is one that you'll repeat whenever the opportunity (or whatever) arises.

Sexual stimulation is essentially a universal reinforcer, a reinforcer for the beast in the field and the teenager in the automobile. Normally, sexual stimulation is *innately* reinforcing; it is not an acquired taste. If all goes well, the first experience of sexual stimulation is reinforcing and will increase the likelihood that individuals will attempt to receive similar stimulation in the future. An unlearned reinforcer, like sexual stimulation, food, or oxygen, is also called an UNCONDITIONED REINFORCER.

But as you might have expected, there is another type of reinforcer — the learned or CONDITIONED REINFORCER. One of the most powerful conditioned reinforcers for man is attention, or approval from others. Attention and approval are not necessarily reinforcers for the beast in the field, and they become reinforcers for you and me only after we've had some important contacts with other people. Let us examine the kinds of contacts which transform an initially *neutral* stim-

ulus — attention — into an extremely effective behavioral consequence.

There you are, as helpless as the day you were born; in fact, it *is* the day you were born. After you have been out in the harsh, cruel, and bewildering world for a brief time, you develop a nagging hunger, which means that mother's (or Borden's) milk will be a powerful reinforcer. But if mother is not paying attention to you, you won't get that reinforcer. Later, when your diapers are wet, the stage is set for another powerful learning experience. Wet diapers are irritating, and hence an *aversive stimulus*, or *negative reinforcer*. Now the *removal* of a negative reinforcer is very reinforcing, and anything that reliably signals the removal of a negative reinforcer acquires the capability to function as a reinforcer in its own right. Since you have not learned to change your own diapers, they won't get changed unless someone first notices you and then performs the reinforcing act. As a helpless baby, most of your reinforcers are dependent upon the attention of someone else — they follow only if someone first comes into contact with you.

What about when you're a little older? "Hey, mom, can I have a nickel, dime, candy bar, cookie, or whatever?" "Pardon me, sir, would you tell me what time it is, where the action is, how you get a date around here, etc.?" "Hey, man, would you give me a hand with this?" "Bottles, would you mind joining me in the back seat?" As social creatures, we are inescapably dependent upon the attention — and at least passive approval — of other similar social creatures. The sun never sets without our having received — and dispensed — some form of assistance, some form of attention which *preceded* a reinforcing experience. Attention and approval are *prerequisites* for an enormous range of reinforcing objects, events, and activities.

To summarize, attention and approval are associated with a great variety of reinforcers and thereby become very powerful reinforcers themselves. They are called conditioned reinforcers because their reinforcing effectiveness is not primarily intrinsic, but is derived from other reinforcers. *Attention and approval, like all other conditioned reinforcers, acquire their reinforcing properties through previous association with already established reinforcers, both unconditioned and conditioned.*

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Much of our behavior is strongly influenced by social, conditioned reinforcers, even when it may appear that unconditioned reinforcers, such as sex, are the main influences. "Making out" with Bottles in the back seat of the DeSoto resulted in abundant unconditioned sexual reinforcement. But it also provided the opportunity to secure various conditioned social reinforcers, because Melvin could then honestly display a pair of panties on the car aerial, knowing that his trophy would evoke admiring and approving looks from the other "cats" tooling around the square. And, needless to say, the main reinforcer for going to the filling station was not the quality of the *liquid* gas.

SEX IN THE CINEMA

I highly recommend the movie, *The Last Picture Show*. It's all about the conditioned reinforcers available to teenagers in a small Texas town in the 1950's. A young couple have been going steady. They now try to consummate their relationship in a motel room. Ah, but the humiliation and ignominy that ensue — they are unsuccessful! However, their main concern is not that they have failed to achieve unconditioned sexual reinforcement, it is that they may not achieve the conditioned reinforcement of social approval from their friends who are waiting in the motel parking lot to celebrate the romantic event.

Jules Feiffer, the social satirist, also appreciates the strong influence that conditioned reinforcement exerts on the sexual behavior of American males. This is poignantly depicted in his movie, *Carnal Knowledge*, which traces the sexual exploits of two men from the time they enter college until they reach middle age. During their sexual careers, these gentlemen manage to run through a large assortment of girlfriends, mistresses, and wives.

The principal factors controlling their sexual behavior do not seem to be the unconditioned sexual reinforcers, but rather a wide variety of conditioned social reinforcers. Each sexual conquest by one of the young men is reinforced by approval from the other. And of course, if one of them manages to seduce a woman, that surely must mean that she *approves* of him; furthermore, the more intelligent and sensitive she is (Candice Bergen), or the larger her mammary glands (Ann-Margret), then the more reinforcing will be the approval. Only minimal social approval will be accorded to sexual conquests made during pig night at the Alpha Cholera Fraternity.

Of course, there are still other forms that conditioned social reinforcement can take in determining the nature of sexual behavior. We are a very competitive society. It is almost impossible to grow up in our culture without "winning" becoming a powerful conditioned reinforcer. You can become the pinball wizard, or, better yet, you can defeat your fellow man. If you win, you get social approval. Since winning is nearly always followed by social approval, winning itself becomes a conditioned reinforcer. If there's not a contest around, organize one. Set one up so you'll have a chance to win, so you'll have a chance to be better than the other guy. Very reinforcing, indeed. And what better playing field for such games than the back seats of cars, or the bedroom. (America's generals were made on the playing fields of Desoto.)

In *Carnal Knowledge*, Jack Nicholson won the first round by seducing Art Garfunkel's girlfriend. What made that competitive social victory so smugly reinforcing was that Art never knew. If you can beat out your best friend and refrain from picking up the social reinforcement of watching him grovel as you apologetically tell him of your triumph, then you've really got it under control — you're so good, you can "waste" one.

There's also the male-female competition. The longer she can maintain his interest without actually dispensing the ultimate unconditioned sexual reinforcer, then the more he must really love her. And such an enduring, pure, and beautiful love is an excellent testimonial to the girl's virtues, a powerful conditioned social reinforcer.

But what about him? The quicker the seduction, the more irresistible a stud he is, and he has won the contest. He beat her; he seduced her. Of course, if she gives in too easily, then it wasn't really much of a contest and the winning of it may hardly have been worth the effort.

If you haven't seen *Carnal Knowledge*, I highly recommend that you do so, but beware: women leave the movie crying, and men leave the movie trying to justify themselves to their wives or dates.

Feiffer has done a cartoon which summarizes the movie very well. It goes something like this: Two guys are talking, and one says,

"I'm not going out with girls anymore."

"Why not?"

"I just had a terrible experience."

"What happened?"

"Well, I was sitting at home the other night and the phone rang. A chick was on the other end of the line, and she had the sexiest voice I'd ever heard. She said that she had just gotten into town and didn't know anyone, but my name had been mentioned by a mutual friend. She just called to say 'Hi'.

"Now I knew that anyone with a sexy voice like that had to be a dog. There couldn't be such a great voice and great looks in one person. But, I did the only polite thing I could — I invited her over for a drink. Well, let me tell you, I about fell over when she walked in the door. She was fantastic!

"After we'd had a couple of drinks, she offered to fix dinner. She was an excellent

cook. Throughout dinner, we continued our conversation. She had read all the same books, seen all the same movies, and dug all the same records that I did. She was very intelligent and had excellent taste, and we really related to each other. I don't know when I've ever communicated so well with another human being.

"Eventually we found ourselves in bed, and she was just as great there as she was in every other respect. It was a deeply moving experience, a beautiful relationship."

"So I don't see what was so terrible? Why are you turned off on chicks?"

"Because of what I was thinking all that time. During that entire night in my apartment, while we were talking and while we were in bed, I was constantly thinking, 'Wait until I tell the fellas about this one.'"

The sensitive young man in the above episode was unhappy with himself when he realized that so much of his enjoyment came from the "unworthy" anticipation of social approval. No doubt he had often been contemptuous of such base motives in others, and the evidence that he was similarly "programmed" was acutely embarrassing (although he probably recovered before very long).

If you're upset, for similar reasons, by our description of some of the social reinforcers that influence male-female relations, then you should rest assured that this is only satire. Naturally, we're just talking about a few perverts in Climax, Indiana and Hollywood, California. Still, you might find it interesting to observe your own behavior and that of others while keeping these reinforcement concepts in mind.

THE FALL OF '54

Well, I've come a long way from Climax, Indiana — 150 miles, to be exact. Now I'm a college freshman at Western Michigan College of Education. I'm big, I'm mean, I'm ten feet tall. When I walk down the street the sidewalks shake; women and children run for shelter. I'm one mean son of a gun. I'm one mean BEER-DRINKING son of a gun. Am I a beer drinker; Ha, is a pig's ass pork? If you don't believe I drink beer, just come up to my room in the ol' dorm, and I'll show you! I save all the beer cans, and I've got them arranged in an artistic pyramid. I'm a college freshman, I drink beer, and I'm tough. I don't know why those sorority chicks are still chasing around after the jocks now that I'm on campus, because I'm one mean beer-drinking son of a gun. Hey, baby, why don't you sneak into my room (Note: This was before the days of coeducational student housing.) and take a look at my collection of beer cans.

The alcohol in beer is an unconditioned reinforcer, even though you may have to fake it for a while before you develop a taste for the hops. But once again we shall see that conditioned social reinforcement is deeply involved. In fact, it may be involved from the very beginning. How many of you, after the first swig of beer, when you were a sophomore in high school, really meant it when you licked your lips and said, "Gag, gag, cough, this is the best stuff I've ever tasted. Beer, where have you been all my life?" In fact, if your cohorts in juvenile delinquency hadn't provided considerable social reinforcement for drinking the vile stuff, you'd never have taken the second swig. Until you've drunk a fair amount of beer, the taste of it may, in fact, be an unconditioned punisher, but the conditioned social reinforcement in the form of approval is enough to overcome it. Some guys collect panties, and some guys collect beer cans. Both are responses maintained by the conditioned social reinforcement of other guys.

But things are a little more complex than we've indicated. Suppose Melvin's father had decided to follow in his son's footsteps and drive around the courthouse square with a pair of panties dangling from the aerial. How much social reinforcement do you think he would get at the gas station the next day when he bragged to the fellows that he had seduced his wife, a lady with whom he had been happily married for eighteen years?

Similarly, we would anticipate that by the time Melvin graduates from college, he will have stopped displaying his beer-can collection and his beer drinking. By that time everyone he knows may drink an occasional beer; beer drinking will no longer be remarkable and will not be deemed worthy of any special social approval. We might even anticipate that Melvin will drink less beer as he matures, since the beer drinking will now be reinforced almost exclusively by the unconditioned reinforcing effects of alcohol ingestion and will not be an occasion for any lavish amounts of conditioned social reinforcement.

THE FALL OF '72

"Hi, there. I'm the son of Melvin Furd. I'm Melvin Furd, Jr. (If you count up the years, you'll see it's possible.) This is my first day at Western Michigan University. I guess my dad went here for a while, but then suddenly he decided to drop out of school and marry my mother, the former Bottles Bartholomew. But you don't care about all that. Here, my good man, let me turn you on to some grass."

"Far out, man; sure I'll have a toke. You're into grass, huh? That's pretty hip."

I wouldn't deny that marijuana is a

heavy unconditioned reinforcer. However, those who would deny that conditioned social reinforcement also plays a major part in marijuana consumption are fooling themselves. The Now Generation receives considerable conditioned social reinforcement for smoking grass and considerable conditioned social punishment for abstinence. Remember, social reinforcement and punishment can be subtle. Don't expect someone to slap you on the back and say you're the greatest thing going just because you puff a joint. You may only get a warm acceptance; but what more do you want? On the other hand, if you reject the generous offer of a toke, your companions will probably not call you an uptight, bourgeois pig. But you might notice a little coldness, and they might inquire about your abstinence in a manner implying that you're the type of animal that would vote for Spiro, and who knows, you may even be a "narc".

If you wish to abstain from dope and still maintain the conditioned social reinforcement of your friends, you have to do something much cooler than simply saying, "No thank you, my good sir; I get high on life itself." You might try something like this: "No man, I'm not into drugs (pause significantly, look down at your feet, and whisper) anymore." Now it's obvious you've been there many times. As a matter of fact, you've been even further. At the moment you're into much heavier things — macrobiotics, yoga, and Jesus. Yes, there are ways of getting more social reinforcement for not smoking marijuana than for smoking it, but those ways are not for the novice.

Dope is a powerful, unconditioned reinforcer, but the response of smoking dope on today's campus is *also* influenced by a heavy dose of conditioned social reinforcement. If you smoke dope, you are exceptionally hip. The problem is that soon everyone on campus will be smoking dope, then who can you be hipper than? At one point, just a few musicians, artists, and beatnik types smoked "reefers". Those people were hipper than 99% of the students on campus today. Then along came the hippies and freaks. They all smoked dope, which made them hipper than all the squares in the fraternities and sororities. Now even the few people remaining in the fraternities and sororities smoke dope, so what's a poor boy to do? There's hardly anyone left who you can be hipper than by smoking marijuana. Once everyone starts smoking marijuana, the conditioned social reinforcement for smoking it will decrease, just as it did for smoking straight cigarettes and drinking beer. Eventually, the only reinforcer left for the response of smoking marijuana may be the unconditioned reinforcing effects of the THC itself. What do you think, will a sizable portion of the campus population decrease their frequency of smoking once

the conditioned social reinforcement is no longer forthcoming?

Conditioned reinforcement has also played another important role in establishing and maintaining drug use. In the early days of the psychedelic movement, many people did a lot of talking and writing about the religious significance of psychedelic drugs. It's one thing to be a hedonistic joy tripper, simply out for a good time with drugs; but it's something else, man, to be a searcher in quest of spiritual beauty and truth. Surely the consumption of psychedelic drugs for the attainment of ultimate reality is deserving of considerable conditioned social reinforcement in the form of approving admiration. Karl Marx once said that religion is the opiate of the masses; in the late 1960's, it was beginning to look as if opiates were becoming the religion of the masses.

LENNY BRUCE — JUNKIE

If you've got a few bucks and a little time, you might drop down to your local record shop, pick up a few Lenny Bruce albums, sit back and listen to a perceptive, witty, articulate, social critic and satirist. Unfortunately, Lenny is dead now.

But Lenny Bruce, the junkie, was into heavy stuff. He was into mainlining drugs with a hypodermic needle. A mainlined drug produces a rush that is powerfully reinforcing. What happens when you mess around with powerful reinforcers? Well, any things associated with them become powerful conditioned reinforcers. This is particularly true of stimuli and events which *precede* the occurrence of the reinforcer. As with Lenny, it seems to be common for the ritual preceding the injection and the injection itself to become powerful conditioned reinforcers. Like the conditioned reinforcers surrounding sex, the conditioned reinforcers associated with the injection sometimes become so powerful that they override the unconditioned reinforcing effects of the drug itself. Lenny would rather shoot Dilaudid than take it orally where it is most effective. He also joked about shooting aspirin and did give himself penicillin injections. The conditioned reinforcers win out again.

Another ritual that precedes injection is scoring the drug on the street, a dangerous business; but although Lenny eventually had enough money and sufficient medical connections that it was unnecessary for him to go out on the street, he continued to occasionally do so. Scoring on the street was also a powerful conditioned reinforcer. These are dramatic illus-

trations of conditioned reinforcers, but they are not really social reinforcers, and since this book concerns social psychology, let's move on to Lenny Bruce and conditioned social reinforcement. Lenny Bruce, the junkie, Lenny Bruce, the con man. Lenny was very famous, Father Bruce, a god to a small group of hipsters and intellectuals of the 60's. Lenny Bruce was skilled at faking out the M.D.'s, particularly the young and progressive physicians.

Lenny Bruce, in person, sits down and has a nice long heart-to-heart chat with the humble physician. Lenny Bruce approves of the physician as a person and only wishes that he himself had entered such a worthwhile profession. The physician is swimming in a sea of conditioned social reinforcement spouting forth from Lenny's mouth, from Lenny's eyes, from Lenny's presence. The reinforcement is great. But Lenny does have these terrible migraine headaches; sometimes he used to take Dilaudid, and it worked pretty well. Of course Lenny doesn't ask for anything, but it's clear that if the doctor would be good enough to stretch things a bit and lay a prescription for say 100 pills on Lenny then those good old social reinforcers would just keep oozing out.

Suppose you want to train your pet dog to jump over a four foot hurdle, but it's clear that there's no way Spot is going to produce at this point. Then you use a method called shaping. You reinforce successive approximations to that terminal response. First you select some initial behavior that will occur fairly reliably, like jumping over a 6 inch hurdle. After you've got that one going well, you raise the hurdle to one foot and now reinforce jumps over this greater barrier. You successively approximate the four foot height and the terminal jumping response. You move gradually, and never faster than your dog can handle, continuing to abundantly reinforce the appropriate behavior. Before long, Spot is jumping like a champ; and you got him to do something he would not have done before the gradual shaping process.

Now suppose you're Lenny Bruce and you want your pet physician to make a response he would normally be reluctant to do. You use the shaping process. You keep those conditioned, social-approval reinforcers, going. And you gradually require responses which successively approximate the desired terminal response; first Demerol and Methedrine — that's the six-inch hurdle. You are also continuously shaping the doctor's verbal behavior, reinforcing statements that are more and more critical of "superfluous" drug regulations in the United States, until finally you've raised the hurdle to the four-foot mark. Will the doctor jump? If it's the right doctor, and if it's Lenny Bruce, and if he has taken his time and used the

shaping procedure with his conditioned social reinforcers skillfully enough, the doctor will write the ultimate defense: ". . . Any peace officer observing fresh needle marks on Mr. Bruce's arm may be assured that they are the result of Methedrine injections for therapeutic reasons." Arf, arf.

What does Lenny get out of programming the doctor's behavior? Drug, yes; protection, yes; ah . . . but there's something else. What would it be? Conditioned reinforcement. Influencing or controlling the world around us is a powerful conditioned reinforcer, particularly when that world consists of the behavior of other people.

The nature of the world is such that it's virtually impossible to avoid the power trip. You want a drink of water? Well, you have to influence your environment so that the unconditioned water reinforcer will be forthcoming. You must successfully remove a glass from the cupboard, hold it under the faucet, turn the knob, etc. If you can't get the cupboard door open, if you drop the glass, if you hold the glass under the wrong spigot, if you can't turn the knob, you don't get that unconditioned reinforcer. Control over all of those trivial aspects of your physical environment are powerful and all pervasive conditioned reinforcers. A person who becomes physically handicapped is perhaps in a better position to appreciate this. You don't get something for nothing. Obtaining almost all of our reinforcers, conditioned as well as unconditioned, depends on our ability to cause things to happen in the world around us. As a result, being able to deal effectively with that world inevitably becomes a powerful conditioned reinforcer. In general, the more complex the system we influence, the more powerful is the reinforcer of influence. Heaven help the person who learns how to program a computer, fix his car, fix his motorcycle, etc. He now has control over a complicated chunk of the world, and he is very liable to get hooked on it.

But are we likely to find any more complex systems to control or influence other than those involving other human beings? Probably not. It's one thing to cause a bike to run, but another thing to have an even slight, but observable, influence on another person.

And besides, we've already noticed that since we are social animals, many of our reinforcers are delivered to us by other people. In order to get those reinforcers, we have to be able to influence other people. "May I have a glass of water, please." Not, "Hey, you ugly pig, give me a glass a water." We gradually learn what to say and what not to say in order to get the desired response from those around us.

Not me. I think everybody should just do their own thing, and just be beautiful people, and just let everyone else do their own thing, man. I don't go around trying to influence people, man.

The hell you don't. There's nothing more reinforcing than turning people on. Turn them on to your favorite grass, turn them on to your favorite albums. You might not care if they have long hair or short hair, but it does sort of make you feel good, doesn't it, when someone says, "Hey, man, I like your hair; I think I'm goin' to wear mine like that."

It's only the most unsuccessful of fathers who doesn't want his son to follow in his footsteps. The preacher saves souls, but he is also influencing people; he is also controlling people, and he will forgo many other worldly reinforcers just for those reinforcers of influencing others (perhaps not *just* for those, but they help).

That's the preacher, what about the teacher?

"I don't care how you answer these essay questions on the final exam as long as you show understanding, insight, and intelligence." — Sound familiar?

But if you want to increase the likelihood of a good grade you'd do well to answer it as closely as possible in accord with the way the teacher would. You might also drop into his office and let him know you're seriously considering majoring in his field as a result of his inspiring course. While you're at it, you might ask him how he likes his car and mention that you're thinking about getting one just like it and would really value his advice.

Influencing others is a powerful conditioned reinforcer for us all. If you've grown up in a social environment this applies to you too. The person who denies this fact may suffer from a lack of true self-awareness.

So who can blame poor Lenny Bruce if he really gets off on conning the docs. Imagine a physician who has graduated not only from college but also from medical school being programmed by a poor boy from the Bronx. Very reinforcing indeed. And to add a little more reinforcement for the feat, why not tell the other guys about it. It's good for a few laughs, and they'll dig Lenny even more because everybody loves a good con artist.

If you want to read more about Lenny Bruce, you might try Albert Goldman's *Ladies and Gentlemen: LENNY BRUCE!!*, Random House.

AND THE BEAT GOES ON

"I got so excited I wet my pants."

"You did, that's funny; so did I."

Yes, folks, it's a behavioral fact; David Cassidy (of the Partridge Family) does a live concert, and dozens of little pre-teen girls get so excited that they lose their bladder control and leave behind an auditorium filled with sticky seats. What better conditioned, social-approval reinforcer can a young rock and roll superstar want?

"I wish," said David, "that anyone who has ever put down someone in my situation — the Beatles, or Presley, or anyone — I wish that they could be where I am, could jump into my white suit for just one day' It's such a rush, they'd never come down to think about it.

"It's a high going out on that stage. You look around and it's all there for you, people loving you like that. My friends are there with me, I'm doing what I love to do most, singing and I'm singing for people who would rather have me sing than anybody else in the world.

"There's one song I do, *I Woke Up in Love This Morning*, and I find a little place where I can sort of point to them. And they each think I mean *them*, and I do. Whew, I can't wait. Let me get out there. Let me do it!"

From "Naked Lunch Box: The David Cassidy Story", by Robin Green, Rolling Stone May 11, 1972.

Then there's Rod Stewart.

"Stephen Sondheim, the Broadway composer, came on the television. He began to talk about the difference between live theater and movies and television. Sondheim said that people laugh at something they see on their TV sets — but that they get no reaction from the set. He said that people are moved by what they see on a motion picture screen — but that the film keeps on rolling. Only in the theater, Sondheim said, can a performer sense how his audience feels, and react to that feeling.

"Stewart put his book down. 'Well, he's right about that,' he said to the television.

"Can Sondheim know? Sondheim talked about audience reaction, and certainly he has seen some in his day. But what would his reaction be to a big money rock and roll tour? What would he think if he could see the audiences at the Faces concert every night?

"From the moment Stewart comes on stage to sing the opening lines of *"It's All Over Now,"* the audiences are standing, trying to get to the stage. To be sure, by now it is largely a knee-jerk thing — the audiences know that when an international band comes to town, you get on your feet and try to make it to the front. But it goes beyond that; it is not as bloodless and contrived as it might be.

"But it goes so much further. Like after

Ronnie Lane has sung the opening lines of *"Maybe I'm Amazed,"* and then the spotlight shifts to the other end of the stage, and Stewart takes it with *"Maybe I'm a man, maybe I'm a lonely man who's in the middle of something . . ."* When that happens, and the people are up and hugging themselves and jumping and laughing, it's real.

"Or in the concert version of *"Maggie May,"* a speeded-up version of the single. They've all heard it a million times, it came through their car radios for an entire summer. But at that point in the song every night, when Kenny Jones bangs on his drums and Ron Lane flashes across the stage in his red jacket and hits a monster chord, and Stewart bites off *"Find myself a rock and roll band, that needs a helping hand . . ."* — then it all comes back to them again, and they forget that they've got to find their cars after the show and pay for parking and fight the traffic on the way home, all they care about is that they are here with the music and the traveling band.

"Maybe Stephen Sondheim understands all of that. It must be a thrill for the Broadway people to see a couple of hundred different bodies every night, smiling at their lines and nodding to their songs, and saying on the way out of the theater that it was a lovely performance.

"But can the feeling compare to a Faces encore, when 12,000 people are all jumping up and down, singing along with Stewart *". . . Stay with me, stay with me, 'cause tonight you're gonna stay with me, . . ."* and the Faces are jumping too, they're laughing with the kids, and Stewart drags the song out until everyone is exhausted but still giddy, and then finally the band runs off, and the people drag themselves out of the arena, their ears still buzzing, their mouths still going *"cause tonight you're gonna stay with me"*? Do you get the same thing anywhere else? Can you ever?

"The Tony awards were still on. Someone on the show said something about his kids wanting to know if David Cassidy would be there tonight.

" 'Who's David Cassidy?' Stewart said.

" 'Oh, come on,' Billy Gaff said. 'You know who he is.'

" 'No, who is he?' Stewart said.' "

From an article about Rod Stewart, Rolling Stone, June 5, 1972.

Two important things are going on there. First the successful performer is practically knocked down by the applause, the love, even if he doesn't have someone count the number of wet seats after each show. Like David Cassidy says, "if you haven't tried it, don't knock it." The conditioned reinforcers are so heavy that

musicians and other entertainers will undergo the extremely adverse conditions of one-night stands, of living on the road, end up broke at the end of the tour, only to contract to do it again the next time they have a chance; because that behavior was maintained by more conditioned social reinforcers during a few brief weeks than most of us get in a lifetime.

Then there's also another type of conditioned reinforcer available for many performers — the reinforcer of controlling the behavior of other human beings. That particular point when the spotlight shifts to Rod Stewart, that point when Kenny Jones bangs on his drums, when Ron Lane flashes across the stage with his jacket and his monster cord, each of those artistic instances produces a reliable and predictable response from every audience, every night, in every city.

Okay, here's where I place those three notes just right, just so, and watch the audience; they'll go wild. I push the button, and they shout with joy. Total control.

What about our old friend, the sick comedian, Lenny Bruce? "You've killed the people, wiped them out, realized your dream, *total power*. Every gag, every laugh has carried you higher and higher."

"Here it is man. Here's where I say the dirty word and watch the audience. They just flip out of their skulls. I just push that magic button, and it's an instantaneous, group-conscience, mind zap."

Catch the Ike and Tina Turner review, live; or if you can't, you might give a listen to their album, *"What You Hear is What You Get — live at Carnegie Hall."* There are thousands of people in the audience, the house lights are out, the stage lights are out, there's a small spotlight on Tina. She's making erotic sounds and motions with the microphone, while Ike is in the background. You can't see him, but you can hear him. That deep mellow voice comes out over that expensive high-fidelity P. A. system. "Baby, I ain't ever done anything like this before." Everytime, it gets a response, the audience goes wild, and Ike and Tina have perfect control over them; you don't believe it, wait until Tina says, "What you hear is what you get." If there are any seats that have been left standing in the auditorium, they'll be ripped loose now.

The Ike and Tina Turner review is like a solid-state, computerized soul machine, a precision instrument, perfect timing, calibrated to the nearest milli-second, based on years of feedback in the form of conditioned reinforcement from audience after audience, night after night. When you move this way, when you say it this way, when you do it at precisely this time, the audience goes wild, and you've got perfect control. If you're off a little bit, you may get a response, but nothing like what happens when you hit it right on the head.

The dog gradually learns to jump higher and higher through the shaping process, Lenny's physician gradually learns to behave in a more and more dubious manner through the shaping process, and the sensitive performer gets better and better through the shaping process.

In the 1950's many jazz musicians had been shaped by their audiences to honk and squeak. You're playing along on your tenor sax, you honk out a couple of low notes, then squeal. Your fellow musicians may frown and say that's poor music and cheap showmanship, but look at that audience screaming in ecstasy, and you become Illinois Jaquet, honking and squeaking your way from coast to coast and in all of the capitol cities of Europe, under the personal supervision of Norman Granz with Jazz at the Philharmonic.

The role of conditioned audience-approval reinforcement in the shaping of a bizarre performance was illustrated by the account of how the strip tease was born in the movie, *"The Night They Raided Minsky's."* The sweet, young thing from the Midwest walks on the burlesque stage in New York to begin her dance. The audience is responding as if they were at a funeral until she accidentally rips part of her dress and exposes a little flesh. The audience goes wild and she becomes more energetic, ripping a little more cloth and exposing a little more flesh. Her disrobing behavior is gradually shaped to the point where she eventually finds herself in a condition totally unacceptable to any decent young lady from the Midwest.

The same gradual audience shaping process can be observed in college — teachers and nationally renown lecturers. Over a period of years their lectures contain more and more behavior that produces observable audience reactions (usually laughs or startle responses) and less and less of that old boring content, those facts and figures that put people to sleep. (Note that there are some observable reactions, such as snoring, which are not positive reinforcers for a speaker.)

But surely one outgrows such immature reinforcers?

"Still — after nearly 60 years — Charlie Chaplin towers alone in the film world. At the New York film society gala and the Academy Awards in Los Angeles, Chaplin triggered an outpouring of authentic excitement, respect, affection that no other entertainment personality could possibly have commanded. The cheers were a tribute not only to him, but to the Little Tramp, the most famous and universal of all entertainment creations.

"Chaplin dreaded the U.S. trip, but it was an irresistible temptation to reap the applause one more time . . ."

And here's what Candice Bergen had to say in the same issue of *Life* magazine.

"It is tiring for Charlie to stand in the receiving line at a black-tie New York dinner and he is helped to a chair . . . Guests hang round him in busy clusters, jewels and teeth flashing . . .

". . . He is always interested, polite, almost ingenuous about 'so many famous people' — far more interested and enthusiastic, usually, than the people who come to meet him: Gloria Vanderbilt Cooper looking like a white swan in a rhinestone bib, Truman Capote in a pastel sweater set, Johnny Carson (of whom he had never heard) in a crushed-velvet tuxedo, George Plimpton, etc."

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"An old family friend took the Chaplins to lunch at '21'. As Charlie entered, the dining room burst into warm applause. He was thrilled, almost giddy, with the affection he received wherever he went.'

· · ·

"Later, he gave a wonderful imitation of Truman Capote, who had visited them in Vevey. He had everyone roaring, and was clearly delighted when asked to do it again. Which he did — almost immediately."

· · ·

". . . Charlie and Oona watched the Oscar show on TV backstage in a dressing room, pointing excitedly to friends in the huge audience. He was relieved. He had been afraid nobody would come."

Well, social approval is admittedly a powerful conditioned reinforcer for egomaniac young rock and roll stars and for old men who have spent years in exile, deprived of applause; but what about someone in between, someone who really has it together?

Life Magazine comes through again:

"On the set Elliott Gould fit right in: each morning he was totally prepared and took everything very seriously. Bergman always had a box of Droste's chocolates, and it was a little bit of an honor when he offered one. It became very special to Gould that after lunch he would get two or three pieces."

Ingmar Bergman is one of the best, most famous, most serious movie directors in the world. Elliott Gould could probably afford to buy his own chocolate, but then it wouldn't have all of that conditioned social approval, from a man whom Elliott Gould worshipped.

Movie actress Bibi Anderson says, "I love Ingmar. I've known him for 17 years . . . he's marvelous to have to your house because he *appreciates* everything."

Another example of the power of conditioned social reinforcers and punishers can be seen in the style of evangelist, faith-healer, Marjoe Gortner. He explains the technique he uses at rallies:

"It's very psychological, knowing how people react. I built up a reputation after a while that everyone I prayed for . . . falls down under the power of God. I built it up to such a point that if they *didn't* fall down, they'd be a sinner. When I touch you, you gotta go down. It's nothing to have 30 or 40 people lying in the aisles when I pray for them . . . with a matron right there to put a cloth over the women so you couldn't see any skin. A lot of it is hypnosis.

"There's always one women in every crowd who'll scream as soon as she sees a leg wriggle. And you single her out and say, 'Stand up, Sister! Is tonight *your* night?' And if she's at all hesitant, you just say, 'Sit down, there's nothing I can do for you.' So they have to stand and if they eventually don't fall down, they're really a sinner . . . heh . . . they fall down."

In this case, Marjoe very effectively used the powerful conditioned social reinforcers and punishers of the mass reaction of the people who attended the rally. If the people he prayed for fell down they were absolved of their sins in the eyes of the audience. But imagine the enormous conditioned social punishment for someone left standing, as the audience directs its collective gaze at him, and gasps at the sight of an unforgiven sinner.

Also, consider the strange case of Harvey Matusow, a multi-faceted individual who played the role of witness against suspected communists and communist sympathizers in the McCarthy Era of the 1950's. At that time, governmental organizations like the FBI and the House Un-American Acitvities Committee were very much concerned with smoking out all those even remotely associated with the "Red Menace". Additionally, people in these organizations would give much attention and approval to people who could point out the dirty commies and comsyms. Harvey's story:

"By 1955, Harvey was married to a rich Washington hostess, working for the Senate for a dollar a year and living high on the hog. Despite his avowed purpose of subverting the witch hunters, Harvey admits that he got pretty caught up in the game himself. 'Let's face it,' he says, 'this was a great scene. Here I was 22 or 23

years old (in 1953, Harvey was 26 years old), a kid from the Bronx, nothing more, living in a big house with a butler, an upstairs maid, a downstairs maid, a housekeeper, a full-time laundress, a full-time gardner, a cook, employing that many people just to take care of my house. And living next door was W. Averell Harriman. From time to time, we'd lean over the back fence and chat.'

"Not only that, Harvey says, but 'I'd have dinner at my house, and three US Senators, a Congressman and a member of Eisenhower's cabinet would show up and sit at my table. And here I am, the cockamamie kid from the Bronx, telling the men who are running the US government what I think is good for the government. And they're like a bunch of idiots listening to me.'

"Pretty heady stuff. But Harvey says he never really believed his own bulls___ that much. 'I used to laugh myself silly when I went to bed at night,' he says. 'How ludicrous can the world be?' But he adds: 'You ask me if I was caught up in it. Here I am, . . . broke, beat, hippie, freak, when at one time I was in intimate social situations with four men who have been presidents of the United States. I smoked pot in the same room with a man who's been in the White House. And that to me is ridiculous.' "

In effect, Harvey was programmed into making false accusations (which he later admitted) by the tremendous conditioned social reinforcers of the attention and approval of important men in government, so much the worse for those who eventually went to jail.

AWARENESS OF YOU AND YOUR WORLD

Yes folks, it's a psychological fact; our behavior is greatly influenced by its consequences. Behaving in particular ways results in reinforcement, and we'll be more likely to behave those ways in the future. Other behaviors result in punishment, and we will be much less likely to behave in those ways again. Still other behaviors have no consequences, and these behaviors undergo extinction — they will seldom occur in the future. Them's the facts, that's the way things are.

Reinforcement, punishment, and extinction are among the most important concepts of social psychology. We need not, however, be aware of these processes in order for them to affect our behavior. An apple doesn't have to be aware of the laws of gravity in order to hit Newton on the head. And Newton doesn't have to understand the laws of behavior in order to avoid any further interactions with the offending apple tree. We behave

according to the laws of reinforcement, punishment, and extinction regardless of our awareness of their existence or operation. Some people, at some times and in some places, are sensitive to the way they affect the world and the way it affects them. They may be aware of the operations of these laws of behavior; they may be able to tell us why they act as they do, why they are the kinds of people they are. But more often, we all go through life unaware of why we do what we do, frequently unaware of even what we do. This doesn't mean that we won't have plenty of answers, rationalizations and justifications for our actions. But it does mean that often our answers are apt to be wrong.

Occasionally, we are aware of the extent to which our behavior is influenced by conditioned social reinforcement; more often, we are not. Occasionally, we can recognize the extent to which our social approval is influencing and even controlling the behavior of others, more often we would be shocked to learn of such influences. We don't necessarily say to ourselves, "I'm going to do such and such so as to get social approval", or "If I approve and smile when a person does a particular thing, then he'll be more likely to do it the next time." Awareness of the principles of behavior as they relate to our own actions should help us deal more effectively with our social environment, but it is not a prerequisite for our being affected by that environment. In fact, social approval can be powerful enough to change our personality and subtle enough to go unnoticed, even by people who are self-proclamed, Certified Public Observers.

For example, I have recently observed that whenever I have the good fortune to be around my old college friend, Steve Kendall, I say many witty, funny things. I get elaborate sentences and paragraphs going that really hang together. Around other people, I seem to be more of a dullard.

Maybe Steve laughs a little more readily at my wit. Over the years, Steve may have unintentionally shaped my verbal behavior.

On the other hand I have noticed that I seem to be behaving like a pompous ass around a couple of newly acquired friends, Lloyd Homme and Don Tosti. They are two bright and creative psychologists for whom I have a great deal of respect. But unfortunately, I find myself making profound, pompous, earth-shaking, dogmatic pronouncements about the nature of the world when I'm in their presence. Once again, I'm not sure how this happened, though I prefer to believe that it was through no intention of theirs. Perhaps I got off one of my little bombs of profundity and they simply failed to punish it, or maybe nodded their heads in polite

acknowledgement. Now, even a gentle nod from two such brilliant psychologists can be a heavy reinforcer. That means that before long I will be likely to let fall another of these cultured pearls of wisdom. Not being argumentative, Homme and Tosti may again show an eye twinkle of agreement, and the shaping process spirals to the point where I'm emitting simulated profundities at a rate unbecoming to a humble, young scholar. Once again, I don't wish to imply that Homme and Tosti have created a monster, but merely to point out that they have had some inadvertent influence on my verbal behavior to the point where the perceptive observer might even say that my personality has changed somewhat in their presence.

This small example of a "split personality" or a "multiple personality" also indicates the concept of STIMULUS CONTROL. My friend, Kendall, is a stimulus in the presence of which my humor has been reinforced, while my friends Hommie and Tostie comprise a stimulus in the presence of which my profound statements have been reinforced. The technical term is DISCRIMINATIVE STIMULUS. In the presence of one discriminative stimulus one type of behavior is reinforced, in the presence of another discriminative stimulus another type of behavior is reinforced.

A DISCRIMINATIVE STIMULUS is a stimulus in the presence of which a particular response will be reinforced. STIMULUS CONTROL is said to occur when the reinforced response occurs at a higher rate in the presence of the appropriate discriminative stimulus than in its absence.

The Homme-Tosti shaping process may also be an example of what is called ACCIDENTAL CONDITIONING, and my personality change might be an example of what is technically called SUPERSTITIOUS BEHAVIOR. Being warm and accepting guys, Hommie and Tostie might tend to respond positively to nearly anything I would say as long as it wasn't completely foolish. It may have just accidentally happened that one of my opening remarks was a little bit on the profound side. Their approval not only reinforced more talking on my part, but accidentally reinforced profound talking. What they were doing was reinforcing talking, but since a profound verbal response had accidentally been included in the statements I was making, the class of profound verbal responses gradually became more and more frequent. The reinforcement of profundity was ACCIDENTAL, and the high rate of profundity was SUPERSTITIOUS because any other reasonable behavior would have achieved the same amount and frequency of social reinforcement.

ACCIDENTAL CONDITIONING is the delivery of reinforcers regardless of the nature of the ongoing behavior being re-

inforced. SUPERSTITIOUS BEHAVIOR is the increase in rate of some particular form of behavior resulting from the accidental conditioning procedure.

But let us conclude this analysis of the Kendall and Homme-Tosti episodes with a summary of our views on the relation between awareness and behavior. The personality shaping processes we discussed were already in operation before any of we Certified Public Observers were aware of what was happening. Our awareness of the behavioral processes was not necessary for our behavior to be influenced, or for us to influence the behavior of others. And this awareness, is indeed, very difficult to attain.

A MODERATE WORD ON MODERATION

In discussing this chapter with some young collegian dopers, I was told that I may have overemphasized the role of social, conditioned reinforcement in influencing the amount of marijuana smoking; the dopers felt that I had placed too little emphasis on the unconditioned reinforcing properties of the drug.

It is not my intention to underplay the important, unconditioned reinforcing nature of various drugs. But a tremendous amount of conditioned social reinforcement is currently associated with drug consumption among many colleagues, students, and members of the "counter-culture". Whenever a large amount of conditioned social reinforcement is floating around, it is going to end up influencing behavior. The big question is how much of the behavior associated with marijuana smoking is maintained by the unconditioned reinforcing effects of the drug, and how much of that behavior is maintained by the conditioned reinforcer of social approval? How much marijuana would would-be potheads among you smoke if you always had to do it in private, never in front of even your closest friend and if you could never even tell anyone about it? Perhaps the answer is that you you would smoke more than your parents do but a little less than you do now. However, without doing any elaborate scientific experiment we have no way of being certain of the answer.

The same considerations apply to the unconditioned reinforcers we have discussed such as sexual stimulation and beer. I am certainly not denying that these are solid, unconditioned reinforcers, but I am insisting that there is a good deal of conditioned social reinforcers associated with them, and that where there are conditioned reinforcers, there is undoubtedly behavior being influenced by these reinforcers. To realize this is to move to a greater level of self-awareness, in that the reinforcers influencing your behavior are clearly recognized.

SUMMARY

We have introduced several important psychological concepts in this chapter; they are:

REINFORCER

A stimulus or event that increases the likelihood of the future occurrence of a response it follows.

PUNISHER

A stimulus or event that decreases the likelihood of occurrence of a response it follows.

REINFORCEMENT

The process of presenting a reinforcer following a response with the resultant increase in the likelihood of that response.

PUNISHMENT

The process of presenting a punisher following a response with the resultant decrease in the likelihood of the response.

EXTINCTION

The withholding of reinforcing consequences with a resultant decrease in the likelihood of the behavior.

UNCONDITIONED REINFORCER

A stimulus or event that does not need to be associated with other reinforcers in order to be effective.

CONDITIONED REINFORCER

A stimulus or event that acquires its reinforcing properties through association with other reinforcers.

Note that the definitions of conditioned and unconditioned punishers are parallel to those above.

SHAPING

Differentially reinforcing successive approximations (gradual steps) toward some terminal behavior.

ACCIDENTAL CONDITIONING

The delivery of reinforcers regardless of the nature of the ongoing behavior that is being reinforced.

SUPERSTITIOUS BEHAVIOR

Behavior conditioned and maintained by accidental reinforcement.

STIMULUS CONTROL

When a higher rate of responding exists in the presence of a discriminative stimulus (S^D) than in its absence.

DISCRIMINATIVE STIMULUS

A stimulus in the presence of which a particular response will be reinforced.

SOCIAL REINFORCERS

Any stimulus events which have become conditioned reinforcers, through their previous association with other con-

ditioned or unconditioned reinforcers. For their presentation, they depend upon the behavior of others, such as attention, approval, recognition and praise.

There are also a few important psychological and social-psychological principles covered in this chapter. The first general principle is that nearly all of our behavior is strongly affected by its reinforcing and punishing consequences.

A second principle is that any event that immediately precedes a reinforcer or punisher will acquire some of those reinforcing or punishing properties; the event becomes a conditioned reinforcer or punisher.

The third important principle is that for social animals such as human beings, many of our reinforcers are presented to us by other human beings; therefore, their attention and approval are necessary prerequisites for receiving reinforcers from them and that attention and approval become important conditioned reinforcers.

The fourth principle is that, for nearly any organism, being able to effectively influence the environment is a necessary prerequisite to the delivery of reinforcers and the avoidance of punishers, therefore, influencing or controlling one's environment, whether it be human or otherwise, is a powerful conditioned reinforcer.

As a final "principle", we have tried to indicate that you need not be aware of the factors influencing your behavior in order for them to be effective.

Study Objectives

1. What is a reinforcing experience?

2. Define an unconditioned reinforcer.

3. What is a conditioned reinforcer?

4. What is one of the most powerful conditioned reinforcers known to man?

5. How do attention and approval acquire their reinforcing properties?

6. According to the author, what common factor influences sexual behavior, drinking alcohol, and smoking marijuana?

7. What is shaping?

8. How did Lenny Bruce use a shaping procedure to change his physician's behavior?

9. Since we are social animals, what do we have to do to receive many of our reinforcers?

10. Influencing others is an important reinforcer. What may a person who denies this suffer from?

11. Why do many performers repeatedly undergo the adverse conditions of one night stands?

12. How does the content of many college lectures change over time as a result of student shaping?

13. How did the evangelist, Marjoe Gortner, use social reinforcement and punishment at his rallies?

14. With regard to the strange case of Harvey Matusow, how was he programmed into making false accusations?

15. What three concepts are among the most important in social psychology?

16. How does our awareness of the laws of reinforcement, punishment, and extinction affect our behavior?

17. What behavioral concept was involved in the formation of the author's "split personality"?

18. Define a discriminative stimulus.

19. What is stimulus control.

20. Define accidental conditioning.

21. What is superstitious behavior?

22. If smoking marijuana always took place in private, and no one told others about it, the author feels that there would be much less use of the drug. Why?

Immediate vs. Long-Term Consequences

PART 1

FARLEY FART-BLOSSOM

"Hey, did you do that?"

"Do what, sniff, sniff; oh my God, no."

"I know who did it; look at him sitting there smugly smirking. Farley Fart-Blossom did it."

"Now Farley, cut that out."

"Gee fellas, I can't help it. It must have been what I had for dinner."

"Well, that must be your prime source of nourishment 'cause you're always doing it."

"If you don't quit it, either you're going to have to leave the room, or everyone else is going to be forced to."

Flatulation is a response maintained by its reinforcing consequences. There are conditioned, as well as unconditioned, consequences for farting. The removal of aversive stimulation that results from passing gas is, no doubt, an unconditioned negative reinforcer. However, in polite society a conditioned punisher may also follow that response. For most of us, the disapproval of our fellow man is sufficient to suppress the farting. But there is one problem. In order to disapprove of someone's behavior, you must pay attention to it, and as we have seen, attention by itself is a powerful, positive conditioned reinforcer. So you have those two consequences working against each other — disapproval, a conditioned punisher decreasing the likelihood of a response, and attention, a conditioned reinforcer increasing the likelihood of a response.

Which consequence will be the more effective for the individual involved depends upon his history of conditioned reinforcement and punishment for the farting behavior. Whether the punishment or reinforcement will win out also depends on the number of other responses in the individuals repertoire that may result in, not only, attention, but also, the approval by others. In other words, someone who has many more pleasant behaviors that are adequately maintained by social approval will probably not resort to farting to get attention.

It might be suggested that some people simply don't have sufficient autonomic control to withhold those little social embarrassments. But observation of the accompanying behavior of chronic farters may frequently get to the bottom of the matter. If the offender first goes into a slight stiffening and body contortion, then farts, then looks around the room at his captive audience, and perhaps even lets slip a faint smile, it probably does not require too great a leap of faith to assume that the embarrassed, but pained, look and unobtrusive sniffing responses of the innocent victims of this social outrage is the conditioned positive reinforcer for the perpetration of the act. If further evidence is needed, you might observe that such people frequently seek out a room with at least one other person in it and enter the room on some shallow pretext before discharging their fetid fumes.

Lest you think that public farting is a delinquency restricted to chronological juveniles, let me assure you that the above dialogue is essentially real, and took place among a half dozen responsible and respected Ph.D. psychologists at a departmental executive committee meeting. In addition, I have known at least two university departmental chairmen for whom the above description would be adequate, and I have been assured by a usually reli-able source that flatulation is also a major pastime of many captains of industry.

There was a gentleman who entertained past generations in France with his stage presentations of various farting techniques and styles. I understand that his creations were wonderous to behold, providing both unusual auditory and olfactory stimulation. But normally even the man who can produce the simulated John Phillip Sousa Triple Tongue over a two octave range will find such skills more of a liability than an asset in obtaining both social and professional success. However, it seems safe to speculate that the aforementioned gentlemen rose to success in education and industry in spite of, rather than because of, their flagrant fragrance.

All things being equal, would you find it more reinforcing being in the presence of a man who does or who does not? Suppose you invite two people to your home; one of them frequently and obviously farts, and the other doesn't. You will probably pay more attention to the uncouth guest than the polite guest if only to make sure you stay out of range. On the other hand, unless you're more than a little weird, you'll be more likely to invite back the less offensive of the two guests. And there is the dilemma. The farter will get more immediate attention but fewer repeated invitations. But pity the farter, the hapless victim of an unfortunate history of reinforcement. The farter got a little attention for farting in grade school and this was maintained, and perhaps even accentuated, in the boy or girl scouts, then on up into high school and of course, dormitory life in college. In all cases, farting was the sure-fire attention-getter. Now the poor wretch may be doomed to a life of the social isolate who does a gross-out

at every opportunity for interaction with his fellow man.

It might also be the case that Farley Fart-Blossom is just a natural man, unconstrained by the uptight, middle class, bourgeois values of our society. Yo ho and blow the man down, let the tight asses beware. There may be such unconstrained individuals, such spontaneous, devil-may-care, loveable characters, but I don't think you should count Farley Fart-Blossom among their numbers. He is much too insistent in his attempts to get attention from the rest of us poor, bourgeois. No, Farley is as hung up on middle class values as the rest of us. It's just that one aspect of his behavior got shaped in the wrong direction.

But it should be emphasized that we are not saying the only reinforcer for farting is the conditioned reinforcer of attention. Clearly there is also a powerful unconditioned negative reinforcer involved in this act. As we mentioned earlier, passing gas is negatively reinforcing. But in most adult social settings the response usually receives sufficient conditioned, social punishment that it occurs at a reasonably low rate. As anyone who has ever practiced Yoga exercises will know, the response of farting sometimes almost seems to have the properties of an unconditioned reflex as well. But remember, that wherever you find a behavior that will result in attention of others, you may find a behavior that is potentially controllable by that attention.

The problem is that our behavior is so much more strongly influenced by immediate and definite consequences than it is by distant and vague consequences. There is no doubt about it, if you fart now with sufficient energy, people will pay attention to you, a potentially reinforcing consequence. The punishing consequence of not being invited back will be long delayed and besides, it's not really definite that your hosts were so offended that they will refuse you future admission to their home. Immediate, positive reinforcers may grab hold of that behavior and not let loose, particularly if the opposing punishers are a long time coming and may never even get there.

Why is it that the immediate and often trivial consequences such as an embarrassed look of annoyance exerts more control over farting behavior than does the more distant but more important decreased frequency of social invitations? Is it because Farley Fart-Blossom is unaware of the consequences of his behavior and the effect they have on that behavior? That may be part of the problem. You'll probably have a hard time convincing Farley that his farting is being maintained by positive social consequences and that it is not the result of an unfortunate gastrointestinal system. But even if Farley is

honest and perceptive with himself, he may still have problems.

Knowing that your behavior is being controlled by relatively trivial, but immediate, consequences and that you're missing out on much more important things in the long run, will not necessarily eliminate the effectiveness of the immediate consequences, or enhance the effectiveness of the distant consequences. Telling people that smoking may cause them to eventually get cancer usually does not free them from the trivial but death-defying effects of the immediate reinforcers provided by the nicotine drug. Most fat people realize that if they stopped overeating they would lose weight. Few fat people want to be fat, but simply knowing that they are hooked on the immediate reinforcers associated with just one more bite of food that adds a few more calories does not result in weight reduction. They keep on getting fatter and fatter, and talking more and more about how they wish they could stop eating. Awareness of the consequences of your behavior, and how those consequences influence your behavior, will usually not decrease the effectiveness of those factors in determining your behavior. But such an awareness may allow you to establish some sort of program so that you can eventually escape the control of inappropriate consequences. More on that later; now let's take a look at another common but tragic example of the powerful effect of immediately reinforcing consequences for inappropriate behavior.

TOMMY TERRIBLE, AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL

Hi, I'm Tommy Terrible. I'm a member of the first-grade class of the Anytown-U.S.A. Public School. This reading sure is dumb; I'll be glad when recess comes. Wow! Look at that! There are two dogs playing together out there in the schoolyard. I'll just walk over to the window and take a peak.

"Tommy Terrible, get back in your seat this instant."

"Yes, Ma'am."

"Psst, hey, Hermann, did you see those two dogs?"

"Now Tommy, turn around and face the front; and let me see you put your nose in that book. You're the biggest nuisance I've ever had."

"Yes, Ma'am."

Tommy at home:

"Hey Dad, can I go over to Hermann's and play?"

"Not now; it's too near your bedtime."

"Hey Dad, do you want to play catch?"

"Stop bothering me; can't you see I'm

trying to read the newspaper? Why don't you just sit there quietly on the floor and play with your Hot Squeals demolition-derby set?"

A few minutes later, "Ehh, ehh, ehh, er, er, er, vroooom, crash . . . bam . . ."

"Now, Tommy, can't you keep that noise down? Can't you play without all of your silly sound effects? You were playing so quietly for a few minutes that I was actually getting to read my paper. Now shut up or I'll send you to bed."

Attention is a powerful reinforcer. What is the best way to get a little attention in the classroom or at home? Misbehave and pester. They may be putting you down, but at least they're paying attention. A little negative attention is better than no attention at all. If you sit there quietly studying at school or quietly playing at home, you're sure to be ignored. As far as immediate social reinforcement goes, studying and playing quietly are on the way to extinction. So what's a poor kid to do? The behavior of being a nuisance is always immediately reinforced, while scholarly behavior is extinguished.

But what about the teacher? And what about mom and dad? This is where the cycle really gets vicious. Tommy misbehaves; that's a negative reinforcer. You tell Tommy to stop misbehaving in the classroom or at home, and he will stop. That's immediate negative reinforcement for paying attention to Tommy and telling him to stop, and the parents' behavior and the teacher's behavior are maintained by that immediate reinforcer. But now watch out. The attention Tommy received was also a positive reinforcer for Tommy's misbehavior, so within a few minutes Tommy will be creating disruptions again, since disruptive behavior has just been reinforced. But what will the adult do? The adult will also make the response that has just been reinforced; he'll tell Tommy to cool it again.

If the adults were to extinguish inappropriate behavior by ignoring it and to reinforce quiet study behavior at school and quiet play behavior at home, then Tommy would be a "model" child. That's a fact; several people have done this sort of thing with problem and normal children. It really works.

So why doesn't everyone extinguish inappropriate behavior. Maybe they don't realize what's going on.

Unfortunately, it's true that most teachers and parents are never even aware that their telling a child to stop misbehaving is, in fact, a positive reinforcer for misbehaving. They are unaware that although their telling the child to stop is reinforced immediately by the child's stopping, in the long run it maintains the problem behavior. Their attention increases the prob-

ability that the child will soon misbehave again. Unfortunately, this situation describes many of our human relationships. If we attend to aversive, irritating behavior on the part of a child, a student, a friend, a husband, a wife, or anyone, the behavior may stop for the moment, but it will be even more likely to occur again in the future. However, merely being aware of these facts does not automatically change the situation. The teacher's or parents' reprimand is still immediately reinforced by the cessation of the negatively-reinforcing disruptive behavior. Furthermore, if the teacher or parent has to interrupt his own activities in order to show a little interest in what the quiet child is doing in his studies or play, that is a punisher for the adult; it is so much more reinforcing to read the headlines of the paper than to comment favorably to your quietly playing child.

Awareness of the consequences affecting your behavior and awareness of the effects of your behavior on others may be useful. This awareness may allow you to develop systems that free you from the dictatorial control of inappropriate consequences; But, once again, awareness by itself is rarely sufficient.

The result of all this is that the world is full of classrooms with children who are not achieving anything resembling their intellectual potential. The world is full of homes where the relation between parent and child is characterized more by nagging than by love.

Now it may be argued that the child should be free to do his own thing, and if he doesn't feel like studying, but instead feels like looking out the window or talking to a friend, then he should be allowed to do so. The problem is that the child is like all the rest of us, and his own thing really consists of getting a little encouragement, approval, and love from the people he admires. But if he can't get these important things, he'll simply have to settle for attention. One way to demonstrate this is to ignore these disruptive behaviors. There are considerable data indicating that disruptions will greatly decrease when the teacher or parent does not reinforce it by paying attention to the child. What I'm saying is that being a pain-in-the-ass is not anyone's own thing, but merely a desperation response resulting from the failure of the social environment to provide immediate reinforcement for more worthwhile behavior.

THE SAD, BUT REASONABLY TRUE, CASE OF ANDREW AVERSIVE

Hi there! I'm Andrew Aversive and I really get it off by putting people down. The way I see it, the good Lord placed me on this earth to make sure that people are fully aware of their shortcomings. If

you see somebody who doesn't have it together, you really owe it to that person to tell him so. If you don't, you're just being a hypocrite.

"You speak rather well for someone who has such a tremendous overbite."

"That talk you gave the other night was pretty good, but you did make a number of unfortunate errors..."

"Well, you certainly can't expect me to agree with that; only an idiot would think that..."

Of course, Andrew Aversive doesn't have many friends. When he talks to people they listen to him. If you want to get someone's attention, call him an idiot, he'll listen. He may even talk back to you. He'll pay attention, and that's reinforcing to you. But the response of getting away from you as fast as he can will be negatively reinforcing to him.

Saying aversive, unpleasant things to people may receive immediate reinforcement. If a person has had an unfortuante history of shaping on this sort of behavior, he may find himself more skilled at maintaining the attention of an audience through thinly veiled insults than through more productive conversation. But the problem is that, in the long run, he will have trouble keeping an audience around him.

What about self-awareness? Well, the same as usual. If you tell Andrew about it, he probably won't believe you and argue that he is giving entirely honest, straight forward feedback to the people. He's the last honest man. But if he does believe you, he will still find he has a lot of trouble controlling his own behavior because those immediate reinforcers of attention from his audience have got him hooked. Once again, awareness can be the first, but not the final, step to the solution.

INGRID INADEQUATE

Hi there, I'm Ingrid Inadequate. I have a Ph.D. in nuclear-physics, I teach at one of the most prestigious universities in the country, I've received thousands of dollars in federal research grants. I've been on the cover of several national magazines, and my home (which I designed and decorated) has been inside the covers of some of those same magazines. But basically, I'm worthless; I can't do anything right.

"Oh no, Ingrid, you're really great. You're the best physicist at the university."

"Maybe, but I've never won a Nobel Prize, and besides, I'm inadequate as a woman."

"What do you mean, inadequate as a woman? Only last month, you were on the centerfold in Plaything *magazine. I wish you would quit running yourself down."*

"Okay, but I feel so inadequate. By the way, I wonder if you would mind looking over this article I've written and tell me what you think of it."

"Sure, Ingrid, I'd be honored."

"You're such a good writer that I respect your opinion."

"Thanks."

"And I'm really a mediocre writer."

"Now damn it, Ingrid, there you go again, running yourself down. You should know by now that you're a marvelous writer."

It's very reinforcing to have someone tell you how good you are, and one of the best ways to receive these compliments is to put yourself down. It would seem that the only decent response the listener could make would be to kindly reassure you of your outstanding virtues. Self-effacing verbal behavior that presents a negative self-image is shaped and maintained through the immediate positive reinforcement of reassurance and approval from your audience. But it's a drag to be around someone who's always running himself down. Just like some of the others considered in this chapter, Ingrid may have to work pretty hard to compensate for this aversive behavior.

HOW WE PROGRAMMED OUR TEENAGE DAUGHTER TO RUN AWAY FROM HOME

"I wish you'd sit up straight like a lady instead of slouching around like that all the time."

"Oh, Mom, can't you ever stop nagging at me?"

"Well, you know your father and I only have your best interest at heart."

"Big thrill."

"How was school?"

"The same old thing."

"Why won't you discuss your schoolwork with me."

"Oh, Mom, give me a break."

"I just want to help."

"Your dinner's getting cold. How many times do I have to call you for dinner?"

"Can't you get off my back? I'll be down in a minute."

"Will you quit fooling around and eat your dinner."

"Some dinner. I thought they'd passed meat inspection laws."

"When I was your age, I would have been thankful to have good wholesome food like this."

"Now where are you off to?"

"Oh, no place."

"You're not going out looking like that are you?"

"What's so bad about the way I look?"

"That skirt's so short, it's indecent. You just march upstairs, young lady, and put on something sensible."

"Sensible, sensible, sensible. Jesus, get off my back!"

"Watch your language, young lady."

"You shouldn't be going out anyway. You should stay home and study. Your grades are nothing to be proud of."

"How do you ever expect to make something of yourself?"

"Who wants to."

"I've had just about as much lip from you as I'm going to take."

"You show a little respect for your father, young lady."

"Who are you going out with?"

"No one."

"Yes she is; she's going out with that young punk with the long greasy hair. What's his name? You know, the one that never takes a bath."

"Don't you call Melvin, Jr. a young punk. He's just as clean as you are, and his hair isn't greasy; it's beautiful."

"Do you kids smoke any of that marijuana when you go to those rock and roll concerts?"

"No, Mama."

"Are you sure you don't?"

"What's so bad about marijuana anyway? You and daddy are always boozing it up."

"If you ask me, all these drugs are is a plot to corrupt the youth of this country. It's because of all those Jews, and Catholics, and colored people in New York City."

"Oh daddy, use your brain for once, can't you. After all, in our social science class, Teacher McFeature said . . ."

"What they should do is drop a bomb on New York City and just clean out that cancer before this great country of ours is eaten up by it."

"Good grief, daddy, you're crazy."

"You come back here young lady. And don't you slam that door in my face. When will you be getting in tonight? I don't want you staying out later than 10:00."

"I'll be home when I get here."

"Where do you think you're going anyway?"

"That's none of your business."

SLAM!!

"I don't know what's wrong with that girl. She never listens to us."

"No, she's a real disappointment. I always thought that my daughter and I would be just like sisters together. I've tried to talk to her, but somehow it never seems to work out."

Seeing the turned-on, where-it's-at teenage generation is very aversive for mom and dad. The drugs of today's youth may be even more aversive to today's parents than were their drugs (alcohol and tobacco) to yesterday's parents.

In any case, it seems to be a psychological fact that when any organism, human or sub-human, is aversively stimulated, that organism will become aggressive. In other words, if an organism is confronted with something that functions as a punisher or as a negative reinforcer, then the act of aggressing against some other organism will be very reinforcing. If you've just been hurt, either physically or psychologically, it will be reinforcing to hurt someone else. A large part of the appearance and behavior of teenage America is aversive to mom and dad. Therefore, it is reinforcing for mom and dad to aggress against teenage America. If you're hurt, hurt someone in return. But what happens when Teenage America gets aversively stimulated? Why, it aggresses against mom and dad. It says nasty things right back to mom and dad; it hurts mom and dad. Now mom and dad are not only hurt by the appearance and general behavior of teenage America, they are also hurt by what teenage America just said; mom and dad are even more aversively stimulated, and so they fire back with some additional aggression which is increasingly aversive to teenage America. And back and forth they go, spiraling lower and lower into incessant bickering.

I think there may be another process at work in addition to all this aggression. Maybe the response of the person being bugged and nagged at is an extra source of reinforcement for the nagging behavior. In other words, mom and dad may say how terrible your hair looks, but the reinforcement for their criticism is nothing so obvious as your running off to the barber or beauty shop to get the Spiro-Agnew special. Instead, the reinforcer may be your verbal response to them. In some way you do pay attention to them when they tell you you look like a dirty hippie. You tend to show somewhat more interest, although it may be of a negative sort, when they nag at you than when they talk about the weather. I don't know of any data to support this contention, but I think that social reinforcement provided by the nagged maintains the nagger's aversive verbal responses. Suppose we had teenage twins who were identical in appearance, dress, and behavior, except that one was an expert at extinction while the other one always bit the bait. My guess is that Ezekiel Extinction, who kept chatting innocently about the weather when his parents tried to bug him, would soon find that most of their hostility had turned to his twin brother, Bobby Baitbiter, who continued to reinforce their nagging with his sarcastic, wisecracking rejoinders.

You should note that this sort of nagging tends to be different in nature than that of young Tommy Terrible. When the teacher or parent told Tommy to stop pestering, Tommy would obey for a few seconds. That was the immediate negative reinforcer. But when mom and dad nag at the teenager, they are much less likely to be successful at getting compliant behavior for even such a brief period. Therefore, momentary compliance is probably not acting as a negative reinforcer to maintain the parent's nagging behavior. It is more likely that the nagging of teenagers is reinforced simply because aversive-stimulation-elicited aggression is reinforcing and because the teenager usually responds by being more attentive to the nagging parent.

But remember that it takes two to tango and two to tangle. I don't wish to imply that teenage America is the innocent victim of parental brutality. If teenage America could restrain from responding to provocation, then the spiraling aggression would be nipped in the bud and there would also be no possibility of the teenager inadvertently providing social reinforcement for the parents' nagging. But, unfortunately, very few parents or teenagers are skilled at behavior analysis, and all too often a serious case of parent-child alienation results from this vicious cycle of negativity and bickering. The problem is that the nagging and counter-nagging responses are immediately reinforced, and the verbal behavior of parent and child fall into the aggressive spiral. Unfortunately, the long-range punishing consequences of the disintegration of the family have little effect in controlling the immediate, on-going verbal behavior. As with the other social interactions in this chapter, we see that serious problems can develop when the immediate consequences control behavior and prevent more distant, but major, positive reinforcers or cause more distant, but major, punishers.

Study Objectives — Part 1

1. What type of reinforcer is flatulation?

2. What two conditioned consequences affecting farting behavior are working against each other?

3. What factors determine whether conditioned reinforcement or conditioned punishment for farting will be the more effective consequence?

4. What is the relationship between awareness of the consequences of behavior and the effectiveness of the behavioral consequence?

5. What often happens to children's quiet study and play behaviors?

6. How is the child's behavior of being a nuisance often maintained?

7. What is the technical term for Tommy's misbehavior as it affects his partents?

8. How did the vicious cycle operate during interactions between Tommy and his parents?

9. What two-part solution was there for the vicious cycle between Tommy and his parents?

10. Why do many teachers and parents fall into the vicious cycle?

11. What does considerable data show about the rate of disruptions when misbehavior is ignored?

12. From what do "pain-in-the-ass desperation" responses result?

13. How are aversive verbal behaviors often maintained?

14. How are self-effacing verbal behaviors often maintained?

15. What happens to any organism when it is aversively stimulated?

16. What often maintains nagging behavior?

17. How do nagging and counter-nagging responses fall into an aggressive spiral?
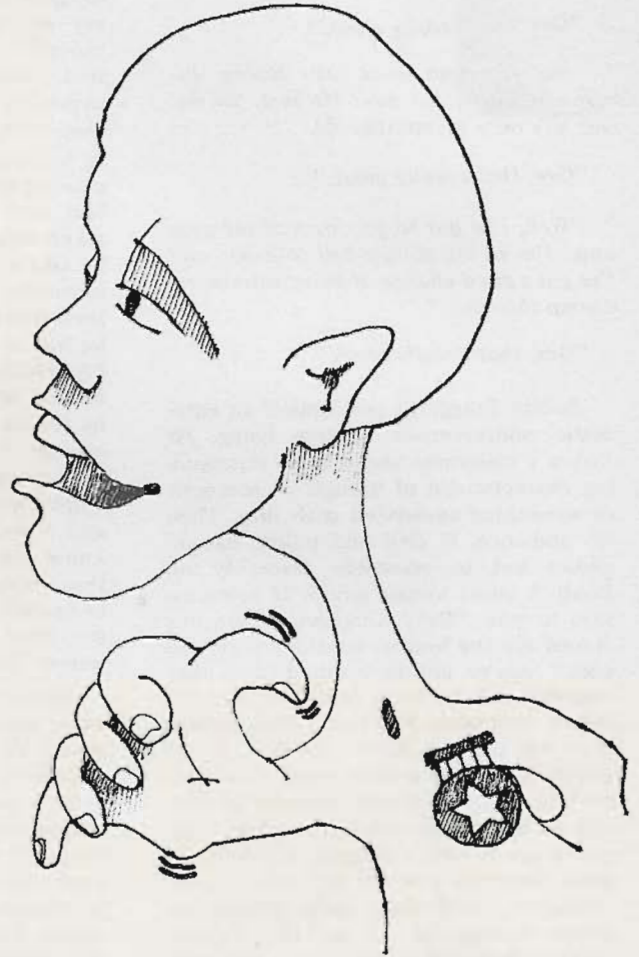
PART 2
Bobby Braggart

BOBBY BRAGGART

"Hey, man, you should see my new car. It'll turn a quarter mile in 11 seconds."

"Gee that's really great."

"Did you hear what my kid did? He scored 25 points in the county tournament last weekend."

"Gee, that's really great."

"Did you hear what little Bobby Junior said the other day? He said, 'da da' and he's only 37 months old."

"Gee, that's really great."

"Well, I've got to go down to the gym now. I'm in the paddle-ball tourney, and I've got a good chance of being intramural champ this year."

"Gee, that's really great."

Bobby Braggart's got himself an automatic reinforcement system going. He makes a statement about some outstanding characteristic of himself or someone or something associated with him. Then his audience, if civil and polite, has no choice but to comment favorably on Bobby's latest annunciation. If someone says to you, "Say, I just set the world's record for the longest continuous potato peel," you've got to respond. And that response has to be a favorable and admiring comment. You can't simply ignore it or ask the guy what time it is. To do anything but lay a little social reinforcer on that response would normally be considered borish and rude. The blatant braggart brags in such a manner that he is almost coercing you to lay on a social reinforcer. And since most people are polite enough to do so, the blatant-bragging behavior is reinforced, and continues at a high rate.

On the other hand, Sammy Subtle has a slightly different style of bragging. He would say, "Boy, I just finished winning the world's record potato peeling contest, and I'm really worn out." That kind of strenuous competition is too exhausting for me. I don't think I'll participate in competitive sports in the future."

Now Sammy Subtle set it up so that you don't have to respond with an overt reinforcing compliment, and you have to be much more clever to detect the fact that he is bragging. On the face of it, it would seem that he is simply complaining about how exhausted he is; but to make such a complaint, he wouldn't have had to mention that he won the world's record. In fact, the complaint is merely a clever disguise for getting across the fact that he is now the record holder, and the reinforcement involved for this type of

subtle bragging is even trickier than for blatant bragging. The audience doesn't have to say anything; they just acknowledge that "sure enough, Sam must be pretty tired". But Sammy knows that they're impressed. Who wouldn't be impressed with the world's champion potato-peeler and Sammy has his own little self-reinforcement system going.

There is an even more insidious form of bragging but few people are into it. During my second year in graduate school, I moved to a new university and during that summer took a graduate course in psychology. I noticed a dignified-looking, grey-haired gentlemen who did not seem to be your typical down-at-the-heels graduate student. One day I happened to meet him, and we walked to class together. I asked him what he was majoring in, and he said he wasn't a student but was in the university administration. He started to leave it at that, but he wasn't cool enough; he had to lay the big one on me, "I'm the *PRESIDENT* of the university." Now, if he had been a really cool braggart, what he would have done would have been to arrange it so that I would have accidentally found out of his prestigious attainment. I would know that he was president, and I would be impressed, and he would know that I knew, and he would know that I would be impressed, and that might be mildly reinforcing for him. But, as I say, very few people, even presidents of universities, are that cool.

Once again we see that a major feature of a person's personality can be determined by seemingly innocuous little consequences such as approval by others. Over a period of years, a person can be shaped into becoming a gross and boring braggart, or perhaps a more subtle, and even witty, braggart as the result of various sequences of social reinforcement. Once again, the long range consequences may occasionally be disasterous. If the individual becomes too persistent in his bragging and is not clever and witty about it, he may develop into such a miserable bore that he is avoided whenever possible. The immediate social reinforcers may shape a behavioral style or personality that reduces the total amount of social reinforcement that the individual will eventually receive on a long term basis.

FANNY FASHIONABLE

Fanny Fashionable wears far out clothes. Here comes Fanny Fashionable now, and she has on a short, short, bright, bright, mini skirt. The mini skirt cries out, "reinforce me please".

With something so blatant as that mini skirt, you have no choice but to say, "Oh, I see you've got a new outfit on there."

"Yes, it's a little something I picked up in Chicago last weekend."

And you certainly can't leave her hanging like that, so you must say, "Well, it really looks good."

The next day Fanny Fashionable has on a pair of dayglow-orange, hot pants and a heliotrope, see-through blouse with the imperative "Chase me boys, I am a butterfly," hand embroidered across the back in three-inch gothic. So what do you do? Recommend that she return to her cocoon? Of course not. It's "Gee, that's an attractive outfit you have on today." Before long, Fanny's friends have inadvertently shaped up a modern Lady Godiva, and even her tailor won't tell her.

Outlandish clothing and hair styles almost always receive attention; and attention is reinforcing, even when the attention is slightly negative. But most of the time, in polite society, the attention consists of positive social approval. These immediate social consequences are so powerful that they can program people into clothing and hair fashions of questionable taste for which their friends have low regard. This process seems to apply to men and women, young and old.

And once again we see how the immediate consequences of attention and simulated social approval can sometimes be more powerful than the more distant consequences of honest and genuine social approval.

WHY I BOUGHT AN EDSEL

I'm not an adequate American male; I know nothing about cars. I'm at a complete loss when trying to explain an automotive problem to a garage mechanic. And needless to say, I would not dream of fixing the car myself. My inadequacies are so great that I always ask my wife to take the car to the garage to be repaired. It is less humiliating for an American woman to be automotively ignorant than for her husband to be so afflicted.

But going to the garage to have a car repaired may be more demanding than going to the used car lot to buy a "new" automobile. Hopefully, it will be a little easier to fake it under the latter conditions.

. . . . .

"Can I help you, sir?"

"Oh, I'm just browsing around."

"I noticed that you seem to be admiring this car."

"Yes, General Motors always turns out a good product."

"You're sure right about that, sir, and this Edsel you've been admiring is an excellent example of their superb automotive design as you are, no doubt, aware."

Slam.

"Oh, I see you know the door-slamming

technique for evaluating automotive craftsmanship. Are you, by chance, an automotive engineer from Detroit?"

"No, I'm just a college teacher."

"Well, from the way you've been examining this Edsel, it's obvious that you're a man of outstanding education and excellent tastes."

"I notice that this car doesn't have any miles recorded on the thing that counts the mileage."

"Oh yes, this Edsel was owned by an eccentric millionaire who had it displayed in his museum of award-winning cars."

"Well, why does the driver's seat look so worn out?"

"I believe that's because tourists frequently sat in the driver's seat while the car was on display in the museum. I must say, you certainly do know your cars and all the right questions to ask. No salesman could ever pull a fast one on you. Here are the papers to sign for this excellent piece of precision engineering. It's sure a pleasure to deal with a man who knows his mind and knows as much about automobiles as you do. You might not believe this, but many of our customers come in here and walk right past the Edsel."

"Well, to tell you the truth, I was just kind of browsing and did want to look around some of the other lots before I made my final decision."

"Oh sure, take your time. But, by the way, I should mention that an unidentified racing enthusiast is reported to be considering purchasing this automobile to have it converted for next year's Indy 500. But, of course, it must be obvious to you that a machine like this is not going to sit around here very long."

I have to admit that I was a little suspicious when the salesman told me I could have this classic for only $7,000. I felt somewhat uncomfortable and wanted to consult my wife who actually knows much more about automobiles than I do. But the truth is, I'd rather buy a junker than look like an ignorant, wishy-washy layman in front of this perceptive used-car dealer. By the way, would anyone like to buy a slightly used Edsel?

Here we see an excellent, though insidious, example of the use of conditioned social reinforcement to control behavior. The used-car salesman programmed the college professor into making a very expensive check-signing response. This also illustrates the powerful impact of immediate, though trivial, consequences when compared with the long-range, indefinite consequences of a much larger magnitude. Appearing ignorant and wishy-washy in the eyes of the used-car salesman is not nearly as important as spending $7,000 on a lemon. But it will be a while before we have to deal with the fact that we've

bought a lemon, and it's also possible that it isn't a lemon. It may really be a good car. And besides, that used-car salesman is standing right in front of me, right now, and staring very intently at me. If I as much as bat an eyelash at that $7,000 price, I may blow my whole cover as an automotive expert and a super-American male.

AN EXAMPLE FROM THE RESEARCH LABORATORY

When we analyze everyday situations, it is frequently impossible to rule out alternative interpretations. For that reason, most of the efforts to develop basic principles of behavior have taken place in the research laboratory. Under laboratory conditions, it is usually possible to get a little closer to the truth about what's really going on in any behavioral situation. Therefore, I think you will find it interesting to look at a laboratory study of the battle between immediate, conditioned reinforcers and distant, unconditioned reinforcers.

In this laboratory experiment, a pigeon was trained to peck a small disk or key on the wall of an enclosed chamber. It was not only trained to peck the key, it was trained to peck it at a low rate. If it pecked the key too rapidly, the response would not be followed by presentation of an unconditioned food reinforcer. However, if it waited at least 35 seconds after the last lever press before responding again, the response would be reinforced by a four-second access to grain. The result of this phase of the experiment is that the pigeon learned to press the lever at a reasonably low rate. Sometimes the pigeon would respond prematurely, but it waited for 35 seconds before responding, at least, occasionally. The low-rate pattern of responding was maintained with an occasional unconditioned reinforcer.

Then, a small light was turned on for a fraction of a second, just before the pigeon had access to the food. What do you think happened to that light flash? You're right. Since the light preceded the unconditioned reinforcer, it became a conditioned reinforcer.

And now the experimental design really thickens. After every fifth response, the light was flashed regardless of whether the pigeon had been responding at a low rate. These flashes, however, were not followed by a pellet of food unless the pigeon had paused for 35 seconds before the fifth response. In other words, a fixed-ratio of 5 responses was required for the delivery of each conditioned light-flash reinforcer. Concurrently, if the bird paused for at least 35 seconds before it responded, that low-rate response would be reinforced with both the conditioned light-flash reinforcer and the unconditioned food reinforcer.

When a fixed-ratio schedule of reinforcement is used, an animal typically pauses briefly after the delivery of the reinforcer, and then responds at the highest rate possible until the next reinforcer is delivered. As you can see, the two schedules of reinforcement are in competition since they assert opposite influences on the behavior. The unconditioned reinforcer will tend to cause the behavior to occur at a low rate, but the conditioned reinforcer will tend to cause the behavior to occur at a high rate. What happens if the conditioned reinforcer wins out and the behavior occurs at a high rate? The animal may rarely pause long enough between responses to obtain many of the unconditioned food reinforcers that require the low response rate.

So what does the bird do? Responding at the high rate which would normally result from a fixed-ratio schedule of reinforcement requiring 5 responses per reinforcer will produce several conditioned reinforcers per minute. And that is exactly what happens. The pigeon responds at a high rate and produces a high frequency of conditioned reinforcers, but a very low frequency of unconditioned reinforcers. The reinforcement for responding at a high rate on the fixed-ratio schedule was much more immediate than the reinforcement for responding appropriately to the low rate schedule. And, of course, the immediate reinforcement wins out embarrassingly often. Note that the light flash, the conditioned reinforcer, has practically no intrinsic value. Nearly all of its reinforcing power was acquired through association with the unconditioned food reinforcer. When compared on equal grounds, the conditioned light-flash reinforcer would be much weaker, much less powerful, than the unconditioned food reinforcer on which it was based. But when given a slight edge, such as one in which the conditioned light-flash reinforcers occur more immediately than the food reinforcers, the conditioned reinforcers win. The schedule of conditioned reinforcement ends up exerting more control over the animals' behavior than does the schedule of unconditioned reinforcement. This is true even though the conditioned reinforcer would mean nothing without occasional pairings with the unconditioned reinforcer.

And there we have a little laboratory model of our everyday lives. Much of our behavior is being controlled by immediate, conditioned reinforcers in such a way that we are not getting as many of the more distant, but more "valuable", unconditioned reinforcers.

JACK HEADSTRONG, THE ALL AMERICAN ARGUER

TIME — Mid-Fall 1954

PLACE — Western Michigan College of Education

HERO — Melvin Furd

Wow I just met this far-out guy. He sits right in front of me in French class. And he's an intellectual! Like he's so far out he doesn't even wear the white bucks and pegged pants with the thirteen inch cuffs. He wears khaki pants and a proletarian-blue, working-man's shirt! And not only does he wear glasses, but they're horned-rimmed glasses! Wow, that's really far out. He's a bohemian, and an atheist, and a communist, and he lived in Detroit City for a year by himself, and he's even 20 years old. Man that really is far out. He's lived life to the fullest. And he's an artist and a writer. Wow! And he said he had smoked some marijuana when he was at an art institute in Detroit City, but I don't think I believe him because he's not that far out. He doesn't look like a drug addict to me; he doesn't wear shades.

"Hey, Jack. I've been reading the psych book, and the guy is telling about a fella named Skinner. He's called a behaviorist, and he claims that there are behavioral principles that tell us why we act the way we do. Man that really seems interesting to me."

"Sure, Melvin, I know all about that facist stuff. Don't you know that those behaviorists are trying to turn you into an animal like a rat or pigeon?"

"But gee Jack, I don't see what's wrong with studying the behavior of animals. After all biologists study lower animals and learn more about the biology of human beings."

"I'm sure you don't see what's wrong with it, but then I wouldn't expect you to. I'll just tell you this; the behaviorists are out to get your soul, and if you mess around with 'em, you're going to end up being just like a machine."

"But gee, Jack, I was even thinking about maybe majoring in psychology."

"Sure, you just go ahead and do that and you'll end up without any freedom and spontaneity. You won't be creative; you'll be turned out just like a little cookie-cutter mold."

"Wow, Jack, I'm sure glad you set me straight on that, before it was too late."

"Who was that young lady I saw you with the other night?"

"That was no lady, that was my fiance, Bottles Bartholomew."

"Not very funny I'm afraid."

"Sorry, Jack. You know we do it all the time in the back seat of my De Soto."

"Big deal; she does it with everyone in the back seat of your De Soto."

"Now don't say that Jack."

"Why does it get you upset if you know I'm just kidding? See, if you weren't so hung-up with middle class values, you could take that kind of joke."

"I'm sorry Jack."

"So you do it, but do you say it?"

"What do you mean 'say it', Jack?"

"You know, everyone does it with chicks, but do you actually say that word in front of her."

"What word?"

"You know, the big word, the big F."

"Gosh Jack, you mean say *that* in front of a girl?"

"Yeah man. If you're really cool, you say that a lot in front of girls."

"Gosh, Jack, do you say it in front of girls?"

"Of course, all the time. You know Melvin, I think your problem is that you're afraid you're a faggot."

"A what?"

"A faggot, a pansy, a homosexual. Now I'm not saying you are; in fact, I suspect you're not. But your problem is that you're afraid that you are."

"Well gosh, Jack, I don't think . . ."

"I'm sure you don't."

"But, Jack, I didn't know . . . I . . . had . . . a . . . problem . . ."

"Well you do now, I just gave you one."

Jack Headstrong was very impressive. Not only did he impress teenage college students from Climax, Indiana; he also impressed his college teachers. His behavior was locked into social reinforcers in a number of ways. For example, it was impossible for anyone to make a statement with which Jack would agree. Jack took exception to everything everyone said and always argued them down. In that way, Jack always maintained the attention of his audience; and the world was his audience. But, of course, in arguing with people, Jack was fairly aversive. And he got into the "short-term versus long-term consequence" problem with which we are now so familiar. He maintained the attentions of his audience while the audience hung around, but they usually departed as soon as possible to avoid the aversive stimulation of being proven not only wrong, but stupid, by Jack Headstrong, all-American arguer.

Not only did Jack disagree with everything his audience said, but he also took exception and argued with everything they failed to say as well. The members of his audience were middle class capitalists, so he was viewed as a communist (non-card carrying). He was the misunderstood intellectual pitted against the omnipotent bourgeoisie. It is tempting to speculate that his adoption of a political-economic philosophy, quite unpopular in 1954, was, to some extent, under the control of his audience's reaction when it learned that he was a communist.

THE BIG, BAD, BEHAVIORIST SYNDROME

Inappropriate, public relations behavior may often be seen if you'll observe famous behavioral psychologists in their interactions with the general public. These psychologists would, undoubtedly, analyze their own behavior differently; it is actually an excellent example of the control of immediate social consequences, and the lack of control by more distant, and important consequences. To be completely honest, I should point out that I am also subject to control by immediate social consequences which generate poor public relations behavior.

Here's how it works: Behavioral psychologists have a number of ideas about the nature of man which may initially sound foolish, and seem to diminish the dignity of man. Consequently, it is usually more reinforcing to an audience to reject the behavioral point of view, presented in this manner, than to accept it. Behavioral psychologists have had a hard time getting reinforcing acceptance and approval for their ideas. Most of the time they get reactions of utter disbelief, shock, and moral outrage. But criticism from an irate audience is more reinforcing than no reaction at all. Therefore, many behavioral psychologists have had their behavior shaped into "the easy way out", the lazy man's way of getting some form of obvious social recognition from audiences. Their presentations to the public have been gradually shaped. Now they state behavioral positions in a manner that almost guarantees rejection. The psychologist's own mother has rejected not only his behavioral ideas and positions, but also the psychologist himself.

We use words which are technically correct, but are loaded with all sorts of aversive connotations that are sure to trigger violent, emotional rejections. For instance, we find ourselves using the word "control" which, to many people, implies some sort of a fascist, totalitarian controller. Words like "influence" and "cause" would be as technically correct, and much less misleading.

Similarly, we talk about "manipulating independent variables" with the connotation of some evil Orwellian "thought police" "manipulating" our minds without our consent, awareness, or our best interests at heart. Instead we might use words which do not have this misleading, negative, and emotional impact. Words such as "change" or "vary" instead of "manipulate" would be accurate and more palatable.

We say things like the concept of "freedom" is causing more harm than good in our modern society. It is not too hard to see that this can very easily be misunderstood by an already hostile audience. It can be taken to mean that the members of our society have been naughty boys and girls and have abused the privilege of freedom. Therefore, we're going to have all our freedom taken away from us. We're going to be told exactly what to do by some all-knowing, dictatorial psychologist who is very reluctant to give us a second chance to misuse our freedom. Nazi Germany and its ilk is often envisioned. While the behavioral psychologist is technically correct, his use of the word "freedom" is far removed from the audience's use of that word. The behavioral psychologist has reduced the word "freedom" to the logically absurd definition that says an event or phenomenon can be said to be free if, and only if, it is uncaused, providing there are no reasons for the event or phenomenon to occur. The audience is usually using the word "freedom" to mean "political freedom" or the absence of tyranny. When the behavioral psychologist says that the concept of "freedom" is now getting our society into trouble, he means that unplanned chaos will not work. He is not advocating any sort of benevolent despotism.

Once again, let's look at the source of confusion between the behavioral psychologist and his audience. It is very reinforcing to have an enthusiastic audience shout "right on". But if you can't get that reaction, the second choice is usually the set of reinforcers associated with being a controversial figure. If you're controversial, at least your audience is listening and responding to you; that's a lot better than yawns and blank stares. Presumably, the long-range reinforcer for the psychologist's presentation of his views to an audience is its positive response. In other words, the audience should come to correctly understand and appreciate those views and even make use of any practical implications. The problem is that those sorts of reinforcers are sometimes a long way off, particularly if the psychologist is going to have to go through considerable effort to develop a presentation of his behavioral views that will not be misinterpreted, yet will be interesting enough to merit attention.

Now you should understand that the behavioral psychologist does not say to himself, "Since these idiots are having a little trouble understanding what I'm saying, I'll just say a few things that'll really shock 'em. Then I'll just sit back and watch their eyes pop out." On the contrary, while most psychologists lecture about the factors controlling human behavior, they are quite unaware of the specific processes controlling their own behavior. They would say that they are giving a straight-forward and honest presentation of behavioral concepts. They have no desire to create controversy. They just want to tell it like it is; and hand out the raw, undiluted truth. Unfortunately, the behavioral psychologist's behavior is hooked onto the immediate, but trivial, reinforcer of audience-reaction. The more distant reinforcers have only minimal influence on the psychologist. The audience's understanding and effective use of the principles of behavior are ineffective reinforcers when contrasted with their immediate outrage.

A TENTH ANNIVERSARY REUNION OF THE NON-GRADUATING CLASS OF '58

"Jack, Jack Headstrong, is that you?"

"Is what me? Of course I'm me, but who are you?"

"Well, I don't blame you for not recognizing me. I guess I've put on a little of that middle-age spread. I'm Melvin Furd."

"Melvin Furd?"

"Yes, you remember, the kid that sat behind you in French class in college."

"Oh, yeh, the kid who thought he was a homosexual."

"Ah now, come on Jack, don't bring that up again for goodness sake. I'm married and have three kids."

"Of course you are, but that doesn't mean a thing."

"Now cut that out."

"You know, the more I talk to you, the more I remember about you. Now I recall that you were infatuated with that behaviorism stuff."

"Oh, I got over that right after you set me straight about how the behaviorists were out to rule the world."

"Well, I can hardly believe that you understood what I was talking about, but you got free of their clutches. The behaviorists try to take all of the poetry, all of the magic, out of life. If it were up to them, life would be bereft of all human freedom and dignity."

"Well, what ever happened to you Melvin? It seems like I lost touch with you before our first year was out."

"Yeh, that's right. I quit school during my freshmen year because I decided I could make a more meaningful contribution to society by opening up a franchised Bio-Degradable Condom Retail Store in Paw Paw, Michigan."

"Oh, now I remember, you knocked-up that chick."

"Well, there was also that factor to consider."

"So how is your franchise doing?"

"Oh, it petered out after a few months."

"Of course, any idiot could've predicted that. You were too far ahead of the ecology and population control fads."

"So what happened to you Jack? I suppose you graduated with flying colors and went on to get your Ph.D. like you'd planned."

"Well, not exactly, I thought that my economics professors were putting too much emphasis on capitalism and not enough emphasis on the peoples' economics. I felt like they were trying to brainwash us all so that we could be cogs in the wheels of General Motors. And besides, I had picked up a few incompletes in the courses where I was supposed to write term papers; so I quit school during my senior year."

"Yeh, Jack, I guess those economics profs probably were pretty conservative."

"Conservative? I don't think you know what the word means. How could you since you didn't even last a year in college. The term "conservative" is a very precise technical term that defines a well thought out and carefully analyzed political and economic theory. As a matter of fact, if anything is going to get us out of this godless, socialistic state that the Democrats have gotten our country into, it's going to be conservativism. Our only hope lies in William F. Buckley, Jr."

"But I thought you were a communist?"

"Were is right, but I was a mere child then, and I wasn't actually an official member."

"So what did you do after you quit school?"

"I went to work for General Motors here in Detroit."

"But I thought . . ."

"Did you really. I took a job at GM in order to organize the workers so that they could throw off the chains of capitalism. I brought my guitar and Wobblies song book and started trying to organize."

"But Jack, that must have been in 1958, and GM's workers had been organized in labor unions long before that."

"I found that out."

"So what did you do then?"

"I got myself fired and went on welfare."

"Gee, that's too bad."

"Too bad! Not at all. That just shows the limits of your intellectual horizons don't extend much past Paw Paw. You see that gave me the freedom I needed. I was free to spend all of my time doing what I really wanted to do. I had several

books I planned to write. And this left me free to concentrate my creative energies where they really belonged.

"I'm glad to hear you got your books written. I know you were always talking about them, even back in college."

"Yeah, well actually, I did get several of them started, but I didn't get 'em finished. The futility of it all became apparent to me almost as soon as I started. The number of readers that would understand the true meaning of my works was too small to justify the effort I would have to put into them."

"So what happened then?"

"I tried to commit suicide."

"No!"

"Yeah, I talked to a lot of people about it over a period of almost a year, and they all said that I shouldn't. They were quite sympathetic with my problems and the more I talked and argued with them, the clearer it became that suicide was the only way out."

"I'm glad to see that you weren't successful."

"I'm not so sure. My life is, as they say, in shambles. You should meet this woman I'm married to. She doesn't understand me. All she does is bitch. As a matter of fact why don't you come over for dinner tonight, and see what misery I have to put up with."

"Gee I don't know, I'd hate to intrude on a family squabble, and I've got to get headed back down I-94 to Paw Paw sometime tonight."

"Ah, come on Melvin, it's not that often that you get to see your old friends."

Jack Headstrong was right. His wife was a bitch, and so was he. They had absolutely no respect for each other. They were constantly nagging, complaining, belittling and berating. And when Jack and his wife were not fighting, he and I were debating one topic or another. Although he had made a dramatic shift from communism to conservatism, I felt that he really hadn't changed at all.

The account of Jack Headstrong is essentially true. But, as usual, the names and details have been changed to protect the guilty. Jack's inability to produce the great book when he was capable and actually free to do nothing but be creative is a common phenomenon. The world is full of writers, and artists, and painters, and poets, etc., outside of formalized educational settings who have managed to get themselves into what they had thought would be an enviable position, where all they had to do was blissfully create, and no one would bug them. But all too frequently, people in these situations find themselves producing very little. Eventually they rationalize their non-produc-

tivity by saying, either, that they have no talent, or have nothing to say; or that it's not really worth it after all. In fact, it is frequently the case that they do have something to say, and it is worth while. But the immediate reinforcers for the hard work of creative behavior may not be effective enough to maintain that behavior. It is easy to develop the misconception that there is some mysterious sort of innate creative urge within us which cries out for self expression. It is almost assumed to have the properties of an unconditioned reflex; creativity is the response to a stimulus provided by the muse. I would suggest, as you might suspect, that this is not the case. Creative behavior is no different from most other types of behavior in that it is a product of its consequences. The creative artist, philosopher, or scientist, who locks himself in isolation and waits for the creative urge to strike, may be very disappointed after he has sat there for several months with no Godot in sight. From such experiences, most people tend to develop a very negative image of themselves as creative people, when, in fact, the only flaw may be that they are not aware of behavioral principles and their application. Perhaps one of the best conditions for creative behavior is a deadline contingency or an aversive consequence for failing to deliver the creative product on time, and a positive consequence for successfully accomplishing the creative task. To facilitate creative behavior, what is needed is some sort of formalized arrangement, not an absence of these arrangements.

One example of this type of system is used by Director Larry McMurtry:

"He was sipping iced tea in the afternoon — through a straw — and describing the plot of The Streets of Laredo, the new movie he's writing with Peter Bogdanovich...McMurtry keeps the afternoon free for relaxing, minding the store, and talking to friends who call or drop by. He works mornings and nights on the script, he said, taking another sip of tea, and it's going very well. Very well indeed. He'd have a rough draft by the first of April, a production draft by the first of June, and they'll be ready to start filming in Texas by late summer."

From "It Won't Be His Last Picture Show" by Richard Lee, Rolling Stone, April 27, 1972.

Other creative writers who are also highly productive usually develop some sort of routine during which they write for a certain number of hours or produce a certain number of pages every morning, come hell or high water with no excuses. (Incidentally, for some reason or other, these writers usually go for a walk either just before they start to write or just after they've finished writing.)

Like his inability to produce "the great book", Jack's contemplation of suicide follows certain basic patterns. It seems to be the case that many suicides and attempted suicides occur after the individual has spent a good deal of time contemplating this act. In addition to private rumination over the to-be or not-to-be question, the potential suicide may discuss it frequently with friends or relatives. Now this could eventually develop into a very vicious trap. If someone begins to discuss suicide, the average response would be to spend a considerable amount of time consoling that individual and assuring him that he's a wonderful person and loved by all. In other words, few people will not lay a lot of heavy, positive social reinforcement on an individual who talks of committing suicide. Of course, the more positive reinforcement that is layed on, the more the individual belittles the affirmative statements of his audience.

"Man, I'm really worthless. I think I'm going to rub myself out."

"Now don't talk that way, you're a great guy and we all really love you."

"Ah, it's awfully nice of you to say that, but you know it's not true. You're just trying to make me feel better, and I can tell you it's not working."

But, of course, it is working in the sense that this attention and approval is a positive reinforcer for talking about suicide and for belittling that attention and approval. Now it may also be the case that the more the person talks about suicide, the more probable suicide becomes. Eventually, he may end up programming himself into actually performing that unfortunate act.

But who can be so cold and heartless as not to listen sympathetically to a friend or relative in obvious psychological distress who needs to talk about his problems. The general assumption is that if you let the person know you really love and care about him; and if you listen and let him talk it out of his system, then he'll be healthier and happier. This does work in an immediate sense; after the person has a cathartic talk, he feels a lot better. But what was the actual chain of events? The person was upset; he talked about it; he got a lot of warm social approval; and he felt better. The social approval and resultant good feeling will undoubtedly reinforce the response of discussing and talking out the emotional problems when they occur. That's fine. The problem is that they may also reinforce the emotional problems. (Perhaps you recall the childhood joke: Why did the little moron beat his head against the wall? Because it felt so good when he stopped.)

This notion that there are things inside you that must be expressed can not only lead to a misunderstanding of such things

as creativity, emotions, depression, and suicide, but also to a disintegration of your interpersonal relations. Through a far too common process of escalating martial marital relations, Jack Headstrong and his wife had created a living hell for each other. When Jack doesn't do what his wife wants, she gives him hell. He in turn ignores her, and she gives him more hell. Finally, he does, or at least he agrees to do, what she wants. But since she's been laying it on him so hard, he zaps her a few times with the same aversive control techniques in an attempt to get her to do what he wants. Generally, they spend most of their life together bitching at each other. The underlying problem of this situation has to do with a mistaken conception of "self expression". This is the notion that if someone displeases you, you have the moral right to express your displeasure to that person. Furthermore, you have an ethical obligation to the other person to be honest with him and keep him continually informed of your state of displeasure at his existence. Not to constantly remind him of his offensiveness would be hypocritically deceptive. You've got this thing inside you that must be expressed, this disgust for your fellow man, your spouse, your neighbor. Of critical importance is the fact that

expressing such contempt is reinforced. The spouse pays attention to you. That's reinforcing. And perhaps there may also be reinforcement in the fact that your spouse has been hurting you; because then it will be reinforcing to watch him, or her, suffer.

Again, part of the problem may be that the reinforcement for saying negative things about someone, when you actually feel them, may also reinforce your negative feeling about that person. In other words, tomorrow you may be even more likely to feel negatively about the person, because the last time you had the feeling, you told him so, and that was mildly reinforcing.

The primitive state of the art of contingency management has almost reached a point where it can be of considerable help to people like Jack Headstrong. It is distressing to see him holding onto mythical conceptions about the role of freedom and dignity in life, and to see them flounder in a sea of inappropriate contingencies, when the life raft of contingency management is near at hand. Now it must be admitted that contingency management is still a leaky, life raft, but it is much, much better than the sinking ship of psuedo-spontaneity.

SUMMARY

The examples in this chapter have illustrated the overwhelming power of immediate, conditioned social consequences in shaping and maintaining behavior. Unfortunately, the behavior that is shaped and maintained by such consequences is often inappropriate and aversive to others. Although the immediate consequences are the ones that have the greatest influence on behavior, they do not necessarily shape and maintain behavior that will produce the greatest amount of reinforcement that is possible in our social relationships.

We have also tried to show that simply being aware of the operation of behavioral principles in social environments is seldom enough to correct the behavior problem. For a solution, we must turn to systems analysis and contingency management presented in chapter three.

REFERENCE

Stubbs, Alan. "Competitive Conditioned Reinforcement and Efficient Differential Reinforcement of Low-Rate Performance." *Psychonomic Science*, 1967. Vol. 8 (7). pp. 299-300.

Study Objectives — Part 2

1. How is bragging behavior maintained by polite audiences?

2. What maintains the behavior of wearing outlandish clothing?

3. How long did the pigeon have to wait before responding to receive food reinforcement?

4. What did the light act as?

5. When was the light flashed?

6. On what type of reinforcement schedule was the light presented?

7. How did the fixed-interval and the fixed-ratio schedules compete in their affects on key-pecking?

8. How did the pigeon respond in the situation in which conditioned and unconditioned reinforcers were both available?

9. How is this laboratory model applicable to our everyday lives?

10. How did Jack Headstrong maintain the attention of his audience?

11. How are many behavioral psychologists programmed into presenting their case to generate poor public relations?

12. How might many behavioral psychologists change their verbal approach to ensure better audience reception?

13. How does the behavioral psychologist interpret the word "freedom"?

14. Why is creative behavior seldom maintained?

15. What is one way to encourage creative behavior?

16. How are suicide-related behaviors unwittingly reinforced by those who wish to help?

17. How can the notion that there are things inside you which must be expressed lead to deterioration of interpersonal relationships?

Contingency Management, or How to Get Things to be the Way They Should

PART 1

We've seen in previous chapters how inappropriate ways of behaving can be influenced by immediate social consequences. The result is that more appropriate behaviors are not greatly swayed by more distant, but more important, consequences. Now we'll look at some ways of dealing with this problem.

When you have two people interacting, you have a **minimal** social system: Person A responds and his behavior is a stimulus for the response of person B. The behavior of person B acts as a reinforcer or punisher for the behavior of person A. The behavior of person B may also act as a stimulus for more behavior from person A, and that, in turn, may now act as a reinforcer or punisher for behavior from person B. And around and around we go. As we have seen, however, many social systems end up with undesirable results. The question then becomes, how do we design better social systems? For our purposes, we will use an approach called Systems Analysis, which we will divide into six phases. Let's see how they might be applied to the problem of Tommy Terrible.

TOMMY TERRIBLE
Phase 0 — A Behavioral Analysis

Before we actually begin designing the social system we should analyze it. This analysis will include the following questions. What are the behaviors currently occurring in the social system? What are the reinforcers and punishers involved? Why is the social system functioning the way it is?

Let's take another look at Tommy Terrible at school. We assume that the long-range consequences of Tommy's studying would be the achievement of good grades, and success later in life. However, we noted that Tommy's teacher paid no attention to him when he sat quietly at his desk and studied. On the other hand, when Tommy stopped studying and became disruptive, the teacher did pay attention to him. But goofing off results in poor grades. As we can see, Tommy's responses of studying do not produce the immediate reinforcement of attention; but it does produce the distant reinforcer of good grades. On the other hand, disruptive responses, other than studying, produce the immediate reinforcer of attention, and do not produce the distant reinforcer of good grades.

Now we can do a similar analysis of the teacher's behavior. Tommy's creating a disruption and not studying is a negative reinforcer. The teacher pays attention to Tommy by telling him to get back to his studies. This recognition is reinforced by Tommy's following her directions for a short period of time. The immediate consequences are reinforcing, but the long-range consequences are punishing to the teacher's behavior since Tommy will be disruptive in the future in order to gain attention. The problem is that the punishing consequences are so greatly delayed. A delay of only a few minutes can be fatal when competing with the immediate effect of Tommy's settling down to study. On the other hand, when Tommy is studying, the teacher's behavior of responding to him has no immediate consequence for the teacher. Therefore, her behavior of recognition when he studies is extinguished, it occurs so rarely. Unfortunately, failing to pay attention is punished, once again, by the long-range consequence that Tommy will eventually start disrupting the class.

Phase 1 — State the Behavioral Objectives

What sorts of behavior would we like to see in an improved social system? Well, we're most concerned with Tommy Terrible's behavior. Therefore, our most important behavioral objective would be to increase the amount of Tommy's study behavior and decrease the amount of disruptive behavior. The question is how do we accomplish this?

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

The first step is to specify the exact behavior of interest which is, obviously, Tommy's studying behavior. Next, we specify the consequences to be applied to that behavior. The teacher's attention can be a powerful reinforcer, so we'll use that attention as the reinforcing social consequence. Finally, we need to specify the contingency or relationship between the behavior and the consequence. In this case the contingency should be a positive reinforcement contingency. In other words, when study behavior occurs, it is specified that the teacher should pay attention.

Now that we've designed the social system, and specified the behavior, contingencies, and consequences, we're ready for the next phase.

Phase 3 — Implement the New Social System

Whenever feasible, all of the members of a social system should participate in all of the phases of redesigning that social system. At the very least, it is advisable to explain the new design of the system to all participants before the system is actually implemented. This means that

Tommy should be made aware of the behavior, contingencies, and consequences with which you're dealing.

Then you actually get it on. You arrange for the teacher to periodically observe Tommy's behavior. When he's studying appropriately, the teacher should compliment him. However, when he's goofing off, the teacher should ignore him. Once you've implemented the system and have it running smoothly for a while, you're ready for the next phase.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

There are at least three levels at which you can evaluate your social system:

A. Evaluation of the Procedure. You have specified the behavior of interest, the contingency, and the consequences; but has the teacher actually carried out the procedures? Is she, in fact, paying attention to Tommy only when he's studying, and not when he isn't studying. If the teacher is like most of us she'll have a hard time putting this procedure into effect. She will tend to continue to ignore Tommy when he's studying. And it's extremely difficult to avoid paying attention to a child when he is being disruptive. So there is a good chance that your social system has broken down in the implementation of the procedure. If that's the case, then you can be pretty sure of what will happen when you move on to the second evaluation stage.

B. Evaluation of the Specific Behaviors. Has the study behavior increased in frequency? If your projected procedures were not actually put into effect then it will be no surprise that Tommy continues to be a major nuisance. And, of course, you might readily expect to find that the final evaluation phase will give you similar negative results.

C. Evaluation of the Performance of the Overall Behavioral Objectives. Are Tommy's grades improving? If Tommy continues to be a goof-off and not study, then he is probably not getting good grades. But don't be discouraged for now we are ready for Phase 5, the so-called "final" phase of the system.

Phase 5 — Recycle Through the Phases of Systems Analysis

If your overall behavioral objectives weren't being obtained then you need to start over again. Furthermore, if your social system is at all complex, new, or unusual, you should not expect it to work perfectly, if at all, the first few times. So now you back track as far as it seems necessary. Where did things break down in your evaluation? They probably broke down at the very beginning. In your evaluation of the procedure, the teacher was

not actually implementing the system you had specified. What went wrong? In outlining the system you had discussed your procedure with both Tommy and the teacher and they had agreed that it was a good idea and worth trying. The teacher said that she would pay attention when he was studying, and ignore him when he wasn't, yet she failed to do so.

Before we can bring about any changes in Tommy's behavior, we must figure out how to change the teacher's behavior. Simply identifying the problem behavior will usually be insufficient. You will need to arrange for immediate reinforcing and punishing consequences for that behavior. Perhaps we'd better go back to Phase 0 and do a more detailed analysis of the teacher's behavior.

Phase 0 — A Behavioral Analysis

We want the teacher to pay attention to Tommy only when he is studying, but not otherwise. We thought that if she were aware of the long-range consequences of her behavior, she might be able to control this behavior. But it turns out that simple awareness is not enough to turn the trick. So now we need to do a more detailed behavioral analysis of our first, experimental, social system.

What were the immediate consequences of the teacher's paying attention to Tommy when he studied? The immediate consequences were that she had to interrupt whatever she was doing, thus punishing herself by paying attention to him. There might have been some slight, positively reinforcing consequences of doing what had been specified in the positive reinforcement contingency, but evidently these were not sufficient to maintain the behavior of paying attention to Tommy when he was studying.

What were the consequences of paying attention to Tommy when he was disruptive? There were still the negative reinforcing consequences of the termination of Tommy's disruptive consequences resulting from emitting behavior not in accord with the design of the system. Again, these punishing consequences were evidently not sufficient to eliminate the teacher's inappropriate behavior.

We can probably by-pass Phase 1, the statement of the behavior objectives, and go on to Phase 2.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

We need to get some effective consequences to follow the teacher's behavior so that she will consistently reinforce Tommy's studying behavior, and ignore his disruptive behavior. We must take her behavior more into consideration in the design of the system. Each time she appropriately reinforces Tommy's positive be-

havior, explicit reinforcing consequences should occur. And each time she appropriately extinguishes Tommy's negative behavior, an explicit reinforcing consequence should occur. It may also be desirable to arrange for immediate, though mild, punishing consequences when she reinforces Tommy's inappropriate behavior. Generally, in situations such as this, it is not necessary to do anything too elaborate. Perhaps, the simplest procedure is to have the teacher record her own behavior. She should make a plus mark every time she reinforces appropriate behavior and a minus mark every time she catches herself reinforcing inappropriate behavior. Those marks may serve as sufficiently adequate positive reinforcers and punishers in enabling her to get her own behavior under control. If not, she may need a little help. For example, you might act as an observer and record the number of appropriate and inappropriate instances of reinforcement and extinction in every ten-minute period. At the end of each ten-minute period, you could show your results to the teacher and possibly point out the specific instances where she had failed to respond appropriately. (But you should be very gentle in doing this if you expect to remain a guest in her classroom.) In addition, you should emphasize the instances where reinforcement and extinction were appropriately used.

After you've implemented the system and it has worked for a while, you're ready for the fourth phase.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

By this time, the evaluation of the procedure may show that it is being carried out with considerable accuracy, and you can move into the second evaluation with more confidence.

If you record the amount of time that Tommy is studying, versus the amount of time he is goofing off, you will probably find that he is now studying ninety to ninety-five percent of the time. Now you're ready for your final evaluation step.

You look at the overall behavioral objectives. Are they being accomplished? Are Tommy's grades improving? Although Tommy is sitting intently at his desk and staring faithfully at his books, his grades may not have improved. If that's the case then you better recycle back through your social system.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

Although Tommy is now sitting quietly at his desk and staring intently at his books, his behavior does not seem to result in an academic performance that produces good grades. Perhaps there is a

missing link. We might try to move closer to what we would consider study behavior. Every few minutes the teacher might check with Tommy to see how he's doing. She could ask him how far he had studied, and perhaps, ask a question to see how well he had understood what he was studying. Now we are specifying additional behavior: the behavior is progressing through the assignment and comprehension of that assignment. Again, the consequences could be social approval and the contingency could be one of positive reinforcement. It no longer suffices for Tommy to simply sit there studying quietly; that is not enough behavior to produce reinforcement. Now he must study quietly as well as answer occasional questions over the material. After this system is implemented you can go on to evaluate it.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

If you have continued your procedure of reinforcing the teacher's behavior, your evaluation of the procedure should yield positive results, and you should find that the teacher is periodically asking Tommy questions, and giving reinforcing attention, only when he is in his seat studying quietly and answering questions correctly.

In evaluating the specific behavior of answering the questions, you will probably find that Tommy is now answering the questions correctly. And finally, when you evaluate his overall academic performance, and his grades, you may find that the overall behavioral objectives have been accomplished — Tommy is now a model student.

CONTINGENCY MANAGEMENT

We have been using a general behavioral technology in designing and implementing our experiemntal social systems to try to help Tommy and his teacher get it together. That technology is called *contingency management*. This may not be the best label, but we're stuck with it. A contingency is a sequential relation between two events, and contingency management is concerned with arranging the contingencies between behavior, and the consequences of behavior. This generally means the addition of immediate consequences to help increase appropriate behavior and decrease inappropriate behavior when the existing consequences are insufficient. We have seen that the three basic phases of contingency management are (1) specification of the behavior, consequences, and contingencies; (2) observation of the behavior; and (3) consequation of the behavior (i.e., delivery of the reinforcing and punishing consequences).

Here is a little guideline that is helpful in designing and operating a contingency-management system: *Nothing in modera-*

tion. Once you've got your social system designed, stick unflinchingly with that design. If a teacher is supposed to check every five minutes to see how Tommy's doing, she should never make an exception. Even if the superintendent of schools has called her out into the hall to discuss her activity in organizing the teachers' union, she should excuse herself for a few moments and go back to check on Tommy at the appropriate time. The problem is that if you're reasonable and make an exception for the superintendent, then the next time you will make an exception for the principal, the time after that for another teacher, and so on. Before long, you will find that you have trouble getting around to Tommy more than once an hour, and eventually, the system will fall apart altogether. Similarly, you should not make any exceptions in the rule of not paying attention to disruptive behavior. Anything short of tearing the building down should be extinguished.

TOMMY TERRIBLE
SIX MONTHS LATER

How does it feel to have successfully designed an improved social system? Pretty good, huh? Well, six months have gone by. Let's take a look at Tommy and his teacher now.

Much to our dismay, we see no evidence of the improved, social system we had so laboriously designed. Tommy is goofing off just as much as ever. When we asked the teacher what happened, she says that things went all right, but she found that she really didn't have time to pay that much attention to Tommy. It just seems to be easier to do it the old way. Incredulous, you point out to her that she is now spending more time chasing him than the time demanded to implement your new improved contingency-management system. She says, yes, that may be true; and she wouldn't mind trying it again; but some how it was so hard to keep going.

You may have learned a valuable lesson; perhaps it should be called the first rule of social-systems engineering. *You must design your social system explicitly for survival.* Just because your new experimental system is better, doesn't mean that it will survive. Just because the people participating in your social system are happier and more productive doesn't mean that it will survive. Just because Tommy's learning more, and teacher's teaching more, and being "bugged" less, doesn't mean that she will continue using your contingency-management system. Why not? Well we need to go back to Phase 0 to answer that.

Phase 0 — A Behavioral Analysis

Suppose we left the teacher with a sys-

tem in which she was to record all of the instances where she correctly or incorrectly, reinforced, or extinguished, Tommy's various behaviors. One might suggest that seeing a large number of correct responses would be reinforcing to her, while a large number of incorrect responses would be punishing. That, in turn, would cause her to maintain her appropriate response to Tommy. But we must remember that actually making the marks or tallies on the paper is a behavior. What is the reinforcement for that behavior? We might think that being able to see how well she is doing would be sufficient enough reinforcement to maintain her keeping track of her own behavior toward Tommy.

As it turns out, this is usually not a sufficient reinforcer for maintaining much effort on anyone's part. This sort of record-keeping is the first thing that falls apart in a behavioral system that hasn't been designed for survival, and the rest of the system gradually follows that path of deterioration. In any given instance, it's easier to postpone going over and talking to Tommy when he's quietly studying than it is to "follow through" and deliver reinforcing consequences. Similarly, it's easier to tell Tommy to shut-up when he's creating a disturbance than it is to sit there and go through a fairly aversive process of extinction. And so it goes. Awareness of the long range consequences of our behavior, and even participation in an excellent contingency-management system, does not insure the survival of that system.

But let's back up a bit. The system did work for a while. Why was that? The teacher did record her behavior for awhile; what, then, was the reinforcer present at that time that was missing later? Ah! You little dickens, you were there. Every few minutes, she would show you her record, and you would comment favorably, not only on her performance but on how well she was, in fact, keeping track of her behavior. When you left, so did the social reinforcement. Your social reinforcement was maintaining the entire system. You may have thought it was a two person system — the teacher and Tommy; but it was a three person system, and you were an important component of that system. So it's back to the drawing board once again.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

Good grief, does this mean you have to stay in the classroom with the teacher for the rest of your life in order to help her to do a good job? Not exactly, but you are going to have to arrange for some sort of additional reinforcement to be contingent upon her maintenance of the social system. In essence you have to design a contingency-management system to maintain the contingency-management system. You must specify the behavior,

contingency, and consequences.

Your design of the final classroom social system contains a good specification of the desired behavior on the part of the teacher, but we must add some special consequences for the occurrence of that behavior. We have already seen one consequence that worked pretty well; namely, social approval. Of course you would also want to use a positive reinforcement contingency. Further, whenever she does the job correctly, someone should lay a little social approval on her. And if the job is done poorly perhaps you might sparingly use social disapproval.

But before we rush off to implement the system, you'd better figure out how to accomplish the "observing consequations". Empirically speaking, how often will it be necessary to observe the teacher's behavior? It may turn out that the longer the teacher maintains the system, the less often it will be necessary to observe and consequate in order to maintain behavior. But we don't have adequate data on this. With most teachers, and most contingency-management-instructional systems a weekly report would probably suffice. The teacher might arrange to meet with several other teachers, supervisors, or friends also interested in contingency-management social systems. Approval from such people would probably be sufficient to maintain appropriate contingency-management behavior on her part.

But there's another problem. Can you guess what it is? It's one stage removed from the last problem we solved. Before you leave the drawing board, you've got to consider another behavior. What additional response, that the teacher must make in order to gain the social approval of her friends, have we put into the system? That's right she must attend the weekly meeting.

I can hear you now asking whether or not I'm really serious. Do we actually have to be concerned with whether or not the teacher will attend the meetings? Yes, we do. Although the reinforcement she will receive for having done a good job may be sufficient to maintain her good teaching behavior, it is not sufficient to maintain her attendance at such meetings. Why is that? Well, frankly, attending meetings "is a pain in the tail", or whatever the most sensitive part of your particular anatomy is. It's much easier to stay home, or go shopping, or finish grading some homework, than it is to go to a meeting. This seems to be true no matter where or when the meeting is held. You can try to schedule it for five minutes before school starts or five minutes after school's out or during a lunch hour, but I can assure you that eventually the various participants in the meeting will start finding other activities that are more important. It's not that they plan to stop going to the meetings.

They do intend to come. As a matter of fact, they'll come next week, but this week they've got "this emergency that has suddenly arisen and it's necessary etc., etc."

So what do you do about that? If you wish to keep the system intact you are going to have to add a special contingency on meeting attendance. I have personally been involved with a large number of different groups, both formal and informal, that have had periodic meetings. In, essentially, all cases where there was not some sort of special contingency for attendance, the groups eventually fell apart for lack of attendance. This is true of Boy Scout meetings, Undergraduate Psychology Club meetings, and meetings of Ph.D. faculty members gathered to discuss their research, and other intellectual interests.

The only meetings that seem to be maintained, with a frequency of more than once a year are those associated with a college class where one meets three times a week for a semester. Job involvement where a meeting of the employer and employees is part of the process which may result in reliable meetings. However, even in the case of classes and jobs special contingencies are needed to insure that steady attendance.

Now it may be argued that if people stop attending the meetings, it's because the meetings have served their purpose and it's no longer of value to attend those meetings. But I think that that's a cop-out rationalization. The problem is that the response of not attending the meetings gets more immediate reinforcement than does the response of going to all the trouble of attending the meeting. Anyone who has ever been an officer in a club that has regular meetings probably appreciates the difficulty of maintaining attendance. The usual reaction is to develop an extreme pessimism about the nature of mankind, or, at least, that portion of mankind that constitutes the membership of the club or organization. You can imagine the embarrassment of the club officers when they have invited special guests to come from out of town to make a presentation to the club and the only members who show up for a meeting are those same officers. Well, weren't the members interested in what the speaker had to say? Yes, they were, and they had all agreed earlier that it would be a great idea to invite the speaker. However, so many things came up for so many people that night, that the response of not going was, again, more reinforced than that of going.

So what's the solution for our teacher? Well the simplest solution is to have the teacher incorporate her contingency-management project with a part of some course she's taking, or within an explicit area of her job. For example, many teach-

ers take graduate courses while they are teaching. If such a course were devoted to a contingency management in education, then all of the participating teachers could present their classroom data on a weekly basis. This procedure has been used and found to work very well. In other words the normal contingencies for course attendance will usually be sufficient to maintain the teacher's attendance at these meetings.

The other easy solution is to incorporate meeting attendance as part of the job. For example, in many states, in-service training is required of all public schools. Usually this consists of several hours of workshop attendance two or three times a year. If, instead, a teacher attended a meeting for twenty minutes, each week, such a meeting could be very valuable in maintaining the behavior for continuing a contingency-management classroom project.

But suppose neither of those solutions is feasible? Then your teacher is going to have to set up a special little club of perhaps three or four teachers who are actively using contingency-management procedures in their classrooms. Once you have a minimal number of teachers participating, then you can begin to think about how to maintain a regular weekly meeting. Here are a few suggestions, untried, but worth considering. You could use "positive reinforcement" by having each teacher contribute five dollars to a "kitty". At the end of the year the teacher who has attended the greatest number of meetings would get the entire "kitty". If more than one of the teachers attended the same number of meetings, then the "kitty" would be divided evenly. Another suggestion is to have every one contribute five dollars to the "kitty", and anyone who missed more than three meetings would have to forfeit her five dollars. In both cases the strategy behind the procedure is to add a special consequence for attending the meeting. In the first case attending the meeting may keep the individual in competition for the attendance prize. In the second case missing the fourth meeting will have the obvious and immediate consequence of a five-dollar loss. I'll wager that this latter procedure will be the more effective of the two.

Do we really have to go to all of this trouble just to help Tommy Terrible? It seems that if the teacher is at all conscientious, she'll do "what's best" for Tommy Terrible without all of these special inducements. Yes, it does seem that way, and most people would agree with you, that's one of the major reasons why traditional, social systems are so crummy. It is always assumed that simply doing the right thing is sufficiently reinforcing. All you have to do is point out to the participants what is right, and the problem is

solved. I'm sorry, but it's not that way. You know you should quit smoking, and you really want to, but you don't. You know you shouldn't eat so many carbohydrates, or so much cholesterol, but you continue indulging in high-caloric sinning. You know you should exercise more, but you don't. You know you should write home more often, but you don't. And you know that you should study at least five times as much as you do. In all cases, you mean to do well, you mean to do the right thing, you know what the right thing is, but the immediate consequences of doing something else are right there and exert more control over your behavior. Many of the world's problems are due to the fact that the immediate consequences have more control over our behavior than do the distant consequences, and awareness of the correct behavior is rarely a solution by itself.

Study Objectives — Part 1

1. What constitutes a minimal social system?

2. What is done in Phase 0 of systems analysis?

3. What immediate reinforcer did Tommy's disruptive behavior produce?

4. Why did Tommy's teacher fail to pay attention to him when he was studying?

5. What occurs in Phase 1 of systems analysis?

6. What was the behavioral objective with regard to Tommy?

7. What occurs during Phase 2 of systems analysis?

8. What was the contingency decided upon for Tommy's behavior?

9. What is involved in Phase 3 of systems analysis?

10. Who should participate in the redesign (and design) of a social system?

11. What three components are involved in Phase 4 of systems analysis?

12. What occurs during Phase 5 of systems analysis?

13. Before bringing about change in Tommy's behavior, what must be done first?

14. What procedure was used to get the teacher to reinforce Tommy's study behavior, and extinguish his disruptive behavior?

15. How did the teacher attempt to improve Tommy's academic performance?

16. Define a contingency.

17. What are the three *basic* phases of contingency management?

18. How does the "nothing in moderation" principle apply to designed social systems?

19. Define the rule that was violated (after six months) in the design of the social system to improve Tommy's studying.

20. Why wasn't record-keeping successful in maintaining the teacher's behavior?

21. How might the teacher's report at a weekly meeting maintain her behavior?

22. What are two simple solutions to maintain meeting attendance?

23. Describe the procedure in which contributions to a "kitty" could maintain meeting attendance.

24. According to the author, what causes many of the world's problems?

25. What might be one possible positive consequence of our marriage laws and traditions?

26. Of the murders in this country, how often do the victim and murderer know each other?

PART 2

Melvin Furd, Jr.
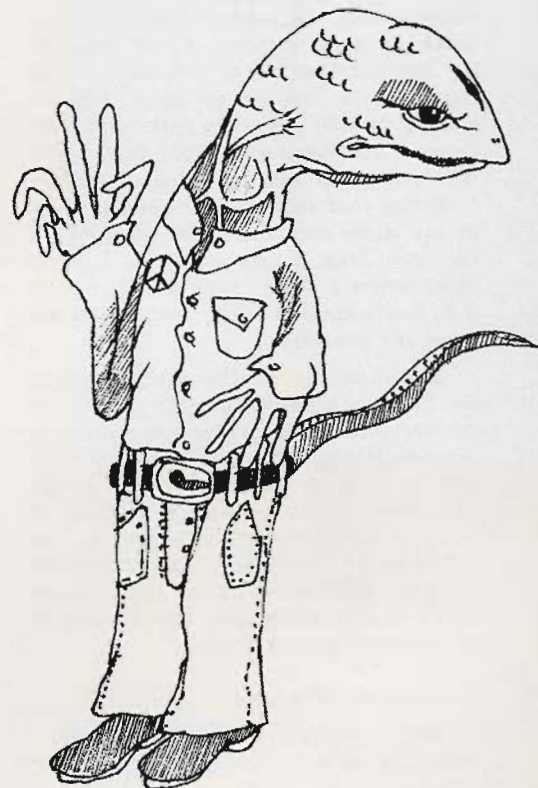
1972: A SPACED-OUT ODYSSEY FROM DORMITORY TO MARRIAGE

Hi there, remember me, Melvin Furd, Jr.? Well, when I went to college I moved into the dorm because all freshmen are required to live in the dorm. Since I didn't know too many of the kids here at school, I thought it'd be a good chance to get acquainted. But let me tell you about my roommate; he's somethin' else. He leaves his crap laying all over the room. He's a slob. His bed is never made, and he's got a pile of dirty clothes in the middle of the floor that's attracting rodents. I don't want you to think that I'm the neatest guy in the world, but this guy I room with is a complete slob. Now another thing; my desk is next to the door and the first thing he does when he comes in is put his books down on my desk.

And another thing, I admit that I don't study too much; but when I do, you'd think he'd be considerate enough to keep the noise down but he's got his quadraphonic tape recorder going twelve hours a day — wall-to-wall Johnny Cash. And the other night when I was planning an all-nighter for a mid-term exam, he and a bunch of his imbecilic friends decided to have a beer blast in our room.

And another thing, we don't have maid service. We're supposed to keep our own rooms clean. Like I said, I'm not the neatest guy in the world, but it does seem like we should clean things up once in a while. Do you think he'd help? Not that lazy slob!

Well you can imagine, I was almost ready to flip out, until I figured how to break my dorm contract. I told the housing director that I had to move out and live with a relative in town because making dormity payments was creating an extreme economic hardship. I don't think that impressed him as much as when I told him that there wasn't enough space in my dormitory room for me to keep the iron lung, which I had to have at night when I slept. Then I did a little faint-o-wheeze-o routine, and he let me break the contract.

Now here's what I'm really going to do. There're a bunch of really great guys, and we're all going to share an apartment over on Hippy Hill. Now these guys are really good guys. They're what you would call really beautiful people. I guess if you're going to live with someone, they've got to be nice guys, guys who look at life the same way you do. They can't be just a bunch of random slobs that happen to get assigned to your room.

Three months later:

Well, it started out pretty good. There were four of us — two of us in each bedroom — and we shared the living room and kitchen. We all agreed to chip in ten dollars a week for food and take turns cooking and doing the dishes. Well, that worked all right for about a week, but then it became clear that Herman Hungry could eat about twice as much as any of the rest of us. Now that's okay once in a while; but every night? And then Gus Gregarious started bringing his friends in for midnight snacks on our food. And Larry Lazy wouldn't get the dishes washed from one meal to the next so that when I cooked dinner, I had to use dirty pots and pans. And frequently, I needed to study for a class the next day; and it seems to me that's what we're here for is to study and go to school; and so these guys would get up tight if I was a little late getting dinner fixed. It seems like they could be a little more understanding. And talk about understanding, they really got up tight when I was unable to come up with the coin for my share of the food costs for a couple of weeks. Gus Gregarious had plenty of money and could have covered me without any trouble if he'd wanted to. And Herman Hungry is always bitching because he's always the guy who ends up doing most of the grocery shopping.

Well, our co-operative dining arrangement fell apart pretty fast. Now we all keep a little food and a lot of beer in the ice box, and do our own cooking and dish-washing. But to tell you the truth, Herman Hungry is still snitching other people's food. And Larry Lazy leaves the kitchen so cluttered with dirty dishes and pans that I've just about stopped going in there. I guess I was a McDonalds-hamgurger man anyway.

I thought I had it bad in the dormitory with that quadrophonic-sound system, but now we have two quadrophonic-sound systems. I guess that makes it octrophonic. It's impossible to study in my own home. On those rare occasions when I do try to book it, I have to go to the library, and you know no one can study in the library. And wouldn't you guess it, everybody and his brother thinks my desk is a storage table, and my bed is a coat rack and dirty clothes hamper. I don't know what's wrong with people; these guys all seemed like really great guys, but now I can hardly stand to be with 'em. Each guy is inconsiderate of anyone but himself.

Well, I'm getting out of here, and I'm gettin' out fast. You see, I've found this great chick, Lucrecia Van Thigh, and like we really relate to each other and so we're going to get an apartment together. Only, I'm going to have to tell mom and dad that I'm still living here with the boys. I'll have to drop in now and then to pick up my mail. There's just one problem, I'm having trouble breaking my lease with the landlord. I told him I couldn't get along with my roommates and wanted to move out, but he said I'd have to find someone to take my place, the dirty facist, capitalist pig. It seems like he could be a little more understanding of us students. He thinks he's got me by the _ _ _ _ _ _ because he has my advance deposit. But I'm just not going to pay my last months' rent, and then split, and not say a word to him. Besides I don't want to be around when the landlord sees the hole in the living room wall where Jocko Jones put his fist through it the other night when he got tanked up.

Two months later:

Man would you believe that chick? Do you know what she did after all of this talk about sharing an apartment together and not being hung up on a bunch of out-of-date, middle-class values? She insisted that we get married before I could move in. What a downer, but I didn't have any choice, I was practically standing in the street with my suitcase. I had gotten into one hell-of-a fight with my roommates the day before I was going to leave, and there was no way I could stay in the apartment. So here I am, a married man, of all things.

Well, I really didn't mind too much because she is such a groovy chick. And I would a-hell-of-a-lot rather be living with her than Herman, Gus and Larry. Besides I really do love her, and she loves me, and I figure if two people love each other enough, everything else will take care of itself.

Well, maybe that's the way it should be, but I've never run into anyone who's more inconsiderate than Lucrecia Van Thigh Furd. I thought that an octrophonic hi-fi system was bad — she's got something going that's even worse. There I am, sitting at my desk in the living room, trying to study (well actually, thinking about trying to study), and everything's perfectly quiet, see, and then all of a sudden, there's this click. Well, I ignore it, and about ten seconds later there's another click, and then another. And so finally I turn around and look. And there she is, sitting in the middle of the goddamn floor trimming her goddamn toenails, click, click, click. Well, the sound was bad enough, but there's nothing more disgusting than to have to watch someone trim her goddamn toenails. And so I told her about it. And she said I didn't have to look. And I tried not to, but there I was, and there was that click, click, click, and I had to look. It's like trying to stand in the corner, and intentionally not think of a white polar bear, you can't do it. Now I was really nice about it, see, and I was really polite, but she said I shouldn't be so up tight; and so I had no choice but to go to the library and think about studying.

Now we've got this bathroom, see, and it seems to me, it's just as much mine as

it is hers. But I can never go in there, but what she's got her underwear and panty-hose drying on the shower curtain rod. Now I don't have anything against wo-men's underwear, understand, but there's a time and place for everything. And when-ever I try to talk to her about it, she says I'm just too up tight, and neatness is my hang-up, not hers.

Now she's into Women's Lib, see; and she thinks that we should share the house-hold duties equally. Now I think that's a lot of crap, but what can I do. She talks faster than I do, and she screams louder. Just because she pays a larger portion of the rent, and is taking more classes than I am, there's no reason why she can't keep a clean house, do the laundry, and serve me a couple of hot meals a day. But I don't know, I guess I must be a push-over; 'cause I agreed to do the dishes. But I've been getting pretty busy lately, what with the spring riots beginning on cam-pus; and sometimes I don't have time to do the dishes for a couple of days. And boy does that make her mad, when she has to wash dishes before she can fix my dinner. I asked her what's more impor-tant, the demonstration for student rights or doing the dishes. But she doesn't under-stand. And on Friday night, when I've come home from a hard and frustrating day of trying to set the ROTC building on fire, she expects me to help her clean up the apartment. Well, I'll tell you I'm get-ting out of this scene, and fast.

One week later:

Well, we've got a minister on campus who I thought was pretty hip. So I check-ed with him about getting an annulment and he said it couldn't be done. He said a lot of other things too. The hell with him. When I checked with an attorney to find out about getting a divorce, it became clear that I had become the victim of a middle-class conspiracy to keep me from splitting from Lucrecia's pad.

And my dad said if I didn't go back and make a go of our marriage, he'd take my new Corvette Stingray away from me, and cut off my allowance . . .

Consider these facts on divorce rate:

"We marry in America with less know-ledge of what we are doing than when we buy a car. And a little knowledge goes a notably short way. According to the latest report on marriage issued by the National Center for Health Statistics in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 455 out of every 1,000 marriages made in this country last year are destined to wind up in the bitter and unhappy toils of the divorce court."

From "A Radical Guide to Wedlock", Norman Sheresky and Marya Mannes. Saturday Review. P. 33. July 29, 1972.

"In Los Angeles 85 percent of all peo-ple renting their dwellings move each year. In that same area there are currently eight divorces for every ten marriages."

From "The Moving Van Camp" by Harriet VanHorne ("A Re-view of A Nation of Strangers" by Vance Packard) in Saturday Review. Sept. 9, 1972.

Dormitory housing and apartment con-tracts are difficult to break, but it may be fortunate that marriage contracts are even more difficult to terminate. Many students change roommates and apartments as of-ten as they can — once every semester or year — each time with the notion that the problem is the fault of the particular peo-ple they are living with, or the particular apartment they are living in, always with the idea that the next time, things are really going to work out better. But they never do.

It's probably the case that if marriages were a little easier to escape from, people would change marriage partners with a similar frequency. That might be the rea-son that our marriage customs and laws have evolved somewhat differently than our housing customs and laws. There are reinforcers resulting from close social rela-tionships that have been maintained over a period of years; some of those reinforcers might not be available to people who change partners every six months. Perhaps our marriage laws and traditions increase the number of people who will make con-tact with the reinforcers associated with long and meaningful interpersonal rela-tionships.

But speculation aside, there are some universal problems associated with living with other people, about which we are rarely forwarned. These problems almost always involve such areas as slovenliness, noise, space-sharing, and equal contribu-tion to the group effort. If unchecked, or not dealt with in some way or another, these problems in interpersonal relation-ships sometimes deteriorate until . . .

"In the middle of an argument at 165 Lenox Avenue in Harlem, Josephine La-taillaof stabbed Alice Marshall fatally in the back and head. Two and a half hours later, twelve blocks away on 125th Street, Clemmon Pettway Jr. picked up a kitchen knife during another argument and killed his father, Clemmon Pettway Sr. . . Off and on all day, a barber named Phillip Monk, who no longer worked at the shop, had been arguing with Winston Clarke, a West Indian who was considered the top barber. Cadillac is the kind of shop where each barber rents his chair, and Monk had not been making his rent. Several times that evening Monk had tried to get in to see Clarke, but the door was kept locked. He managed to slip in around 11 p.m. Shortly after, Clarke was dead, his chest pierced

by a barber's scissors. . .A neighbor found 84-year-old Marcula Carrillo lying face down at the door of her apartment, in a tenement at 216 East 119th Street, beaten and stabbed twice in the chest. The police found Daniel Martinez, her 39-year-old son, asleep in the bedroom and charged him with the murder."

Statistically:

"In the country as a whole, the mur-derer and victim know each other in three out of four cases; they are related by blood or marriage in one out of four cases."

From "Seven Days of Killing" by Peter Hellman, New York, July 14, 1972.

Marriage relationships are certainly not exempt from problems that lead to these consequences. You might think that the husband and wife wouldn't be concerned about which partner is making an adequate contribution to their marriage, or about who's doing the most work, but that's not the case. Generation after generation have been entertained with folk songs about this problem. Usually the song involves a husband who complains that he spends all day working in the field while the wife just sits around the house. She suggests that if he's got such a rough deal perhaps they should switch jobs, and he readily agrees. The consequence is that, after one day of the drudgery of cleaning house, washing the clothes, and preparing the meals, the husband grudgingly admits that he has had the better of the two worlds.

Equinoxal swore by the green leaves on
  the tree
That he could do more work in a day
  than Phoebe could in three, three
That he could do more work in a day
  than Phoebe could in three, three

If that be true the old woman said, then
  this you must allow
You come do the work in the house and
  I'll go follow the plow.

And you must milk the brindle cow for
  fear she would go dry.
It's you must feed the little pig that stands
  in yonder sty.

And you must churn that crock of cream
  that I left in the frame.
You must watch the fat in the pot or it'll
  all go in a flame.

He went to milk the brindle cow but she
  wrinkled up her nose,
She give him a dip upon the lip and the
  blood run to his toes.

He went to churn the crock of cream that
  she left in the frame
And he forgot the fat in the pot, and it all
  went in a flame.

He looked to the east, he looked to the
  west, and saw the setting sun
He swore to himself it had been a long day
  and Phoebe hadn't come.

Presently little Phoebe came and saw him
    looking sad
She clapped her hands upon her sides and
    swore that she was glad.

Then Equinoxal swore by all the stars in
    heaven
That she could do more work in a day
    than he could do in seven

*Pete Seeger, "Equinoxal" from
the album* With Voices Together
We Sing. *Folkways Records Al-
bum No. FA2452. Copyright
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As tradition becomes less important in defining the roles of the husband and wife, and their contribution to the household and family, the problem seems to be getting more difficult to resolve. It is, in fact, a frequent source of marital friction. Achieving a satisfactory and lasting interpersonal relationship is hard work. Producing a successful marriage is an up-hill effort, but one that can be accomplished through, you guessed it, the design of the experimental social systems based on CONTINGENCY MANAGEMENT.

Too much? You bet your sweet kazanpzakis, but it seems to work. The problem with most traditional, social systems is that the various rolls are not clearly enough defined. Nor are they, once defined, necessarily agreed upon. It seems that the most honest way to deal with people is to lay the situation out in front of them. This is sometimes called contingency contracting. And that's just another name for contingency management but it emphasizes the notion that all of the parties involved should sit down, talk it through, come to an agreement, and then write that agreement down. Let me sight a personal example.

While I am in agreement with most of the tenets of the Women's Liberation movement, I am also very lazy; and as long as my wife, Kay, is willing to work full time, bring home a good salary, and manage the household, you can be certain that I will take advantage of her generosity. However, in an effort to make a symbolic contribution to the running of our household, I agreed to do the dishes. After completing a cost-benefit analysis of the traditional dish-washing system I quickly concluded that my time was much to valuable to be spent actually washing and drying the dishes, so we stocked up on paper plates and cups. But before long we were up to our kazanpzakis in used paper plates and cups. So I did another cost-benefit analysis, and it turned out that actually it would be cheaper to have an electric dishwasher than to go through so many paper dishes and cups. Now, it turns out that the engineers who designed the automatic dishwashers have made a ser-

ious error. The dishwashers are not really automatic. Much to my dismay, I found that dishes have to be picked up off of the table, carried into the kitchen, scraped and loaded into the dishwasher before the washing process becomes automatic.

Well, if you're an important and busy man like me, you don't always have time for such household tasks.

"So what do you do that's so important and keeps you so busy?"

"A lot of things."

"Name one."

"Oh, I'd rather not."

"Come on, just one."

"Well, I spend a lot of time standing around the ROTC building with a fire extinguisher. It seems there's some nut who keeps driving by in a white Corvette Stingray, tossing fire bombs into the front door and shouting, 'Down with the military-industrial-educational complex!'"

"But the ROTC moved out of there years ago. They're up in that new five-sided building on the top of the hill."

"Yes, I know that."

"As a matter of fact the old ROTC building is being used as the local Boy Scout Headquarters."

"I know that, but a uniform is a uniform to some people."

(Could that be an example of stimulus generalization?)

In any case, Kay became very unreasonable when two or three days of dirty dishes had accumulated in the kitchen. In an effort to help her control her unreasonableness, we designed a contingency-management system to help me get the dishes done in spite of my busy schedule of more important duties. The ROTC-Boy Scout building might burn to the ground, but I'd get those dishes done.

In designing this little behavioral system, we specified the behavior, namely, doing the dishes; and we specified the consequences — Kay would fix dinner. Then we specified the reinforcement contingency — when I did the dishes, she would make dinner.

We then moved into the implementation of this little social-behavior system. It was easy enough for her to observe whether or not I had done the dishes, but sort of a pain-in-the-neck because if she didn't fix dinner, I wasn't the only one who failed to get something to eat — she went hungry as well.

A good rule of thumb to keep in mind is that the contingency manager should not be punished by the specified consequences of the behavior of the individual being managed. If the contingency manager is punished, he is less likely to ar-

range the same manner of behavioral consequences for the other person.

However, in this case, when we went into Phase 4 — further evaluation of the system — we found that our evaluation of the procedure was reasonably positive. Usually she wouldn't fix dinner if I hadn't washed the dishes but she wasn't too consistent with that behavior. The specific and general overall behavioral objectives were essentially being accomplished. I was doing a pretty good job of getting the dishes done, but Kay was still pretty unhappy with my output. It turns out that we had failed to specify the behavior that she really wanted. Although I would get the dishes done, frequently I would get them done late. This meant that dirty dishes would sit around the house all day and that she might have to put off fixing dinner for a longer time than she wanted to wait. And, strange as it may seem, it also meant that my dinner was served later than I normally wanted it even though the lateness was due to my own procrastination.

So, of course, we went into Phase 5 and recycled through the design. This time we cycled back to Phase 1 and restated the behavioral objectives. The dishes for one day's meals were to be done before 10 a.m. of the next day.

On into Phase 2 — The Design of The Social System. The behavior is still doing the dishes. The consequences were made a little more specific, however; if I didn't perform the behavior on time I had to provide the dinner; and the contingency was a deadline contingency. Reinforcement (Kay's making dinner) was contingent on my making the proper response (doing the dishes) before the deadline (10 a.m.). In addition to the positive reinforcement contingency there was also the slight punishment contingency: if I didn't make the deadline, for whatever reason, I had to provide dinner. Presumably that would be a mild punisher.

We moved next to Phase 3 — Implementation of the System and Phase 4 — Evaluate the System. It worked pretty well. Again Kay had little difficulty in observing whether or not I had committed the proper behavior — washing the dishes on time. And on those occasions when I failed to get them done she had little difficulty in bringing the punishing consequences to bear by insisting that I provide the dinner. She, in turn, was pretty good about delivering the reinforcing consequences, putting the food on the table when I had finished the dishes on time.

As far as the procedure was concerned it was satisfactorily implemented. What about my behavior? Sure enough I became a model dishwasher; loading the machine, tossing in the soap, and pushing the button before 10 A.M., almost every

morning. Only on rare occasions, did I have to bring home a bucket of Colonel Squander's, Michigan-Boiled (crunchy or slushy because whatever Paw Paw — Kalamazoo — Ostemo wants Paw Paw — Kalamazoo — Ostemo gets; signed Colonel Squanders) Cod-Fish Tongues. Basically we may conclude that this little behavioral-social system worked pretty well; I'm getting the dishes done, and Kay is a much more reasonable person to live with.

But there is one problem: whereas she always prepares dinner, it isn't always on time. Now it seems to me, that if man comes home from a hard day's work of locking students out of the administration building in an attempt to demonstrate faculty power, the least we can expect is to have dinner at a reasonable hour, not whenever the little lady gets around to it. It seems that my wife felt that our evenings were too often marred by my grumpiness which could be attributed to the lateness of my dinner.

"So what's a reasonable hour? Well, I don't know. That should be fairly obvious."

"Well, when do you want dinner?"

"I want dinner when I'm hungry."

"When are you hungry?"

"Well, you know."

That's a good example of the relationship between many people. *A* assumes that *B* knows what reasonable behavior is and will behave reasonably. Furthermore, if *A* has to tell *B*, then *B* is somehow socially defective. And if *B* fails to behave reasonably, the consequence is that *A* will be grouchy and picky. In other words a very common social system is one where the behavior is poorly specified. The consequence for the correct behavior is inconsistent, if not absent, and the consequence for improper behavior is usually vague, general nagging and irritation from the other member of the social system. The contingency is usually one of erratic delivery of the consequences. In many instances, what is needed is simply to get it all out in the open in a very explicit manner — in a word, a CONTINGENCY-CONTRACT.

Laying all the issues on the table, and attempting to deal with them in a non-accusatory, non-moralistic, and non-aversive manner is a big, and sometimes, sufficient enough step in the right direction.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

There seems to be no trouble in specifying the behavior for serving dinner. And Kay reluctantly agrees that the consequence for failing to serve dinner on time will be that she has to do the dishes that day, while I freeload. But she becomes a bit obstinant when we get around to specifying the contingency. There should be a deadline contingency, but what should the deadline be? I get home from the University at 5:10 p.m., and I would like to have dinner at 5:15. It seems only fair to me. But she insists that she also gets home from the University at about 5:10 and there is no way that she's going to have dinner ready at 5:15. Being, basically, an easy-going pushover, I agree with her suggestion that the deadline should be 6:00 p.m. Then we go into Phase 3, the next day we implement the system. After a couple of weeks we're ready for the next phase.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

First we evaluated the procedure, and I'm afraid that there were some problems. In the first place the definition of serving dinner at 6 o'clock was unclear. Did it mean that, if the table were set by 6 o'clock, but the food not actually on the table until 6:15, that the dinner had been served on time? Suppose she were only five minutes late, surely five minutes didn't matter? Suppose that she had to stop by the store to pick up a few groceries, surely that's a justifiable reason for a late dinner? It turned out that there was more hassle than before, in simply trying to interpret the rules of our contingency contract. To hell with evaluating whether the behavioral objectives were being obtained, this is a drag. Let's get on to Phase 5 and recycle as fast as possible.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

First let's specify the behavior a little more precisely. "Serving dinner means, not only that the table is set, but also that the food is on the table. Agreed?"

"Agreed."

"And a deadline of 6 o'clock means 6 o'clock not 6:01 p.m. Agreed?"

"Not agreed."

"Why not?"

"I would just like to have a little leeway."

"What do you mean?"

"Let's have a five-minute leeway."

"You mean that dinner must be served no later than 6:05 when we say 6:00?"

"That's what I mean."

"Well that seems a little silly. We're just changing the deadline by five minutes."

"Yes, but I would like it better."

"Well it seems silly."

"Yes, but I'd still like it better."

"What if dinner isn't served until 6:06?"

"Then I haven't met the deadline."

"Okay, if that's the way you want it."

"That's the way I want it."

"And what constitutes a reasonable excuse?"

"Well, anything that's reasonable."

"Meaning, like shopping at the grocery store?"

"Yes, I have to do that."

"Why can't you do it some other time?"

"Well, it's awfully inconvenient."

"Oh, how about this. Suppose you need to go shopping or something of that sort. If we agree in advance to postpone dinner to some other specified time, then we're cool."

"Fine."

"So that means that if you're going shopping, and we say dinner is postponed to 7:00 then you have to have the food on the table at 7:00."

"No, by 7:05."

"That sure seems awfully silly."

"But that's the way I want it."

"Okay."

"But what if something unavoidable happens."

"Like what?"

"Like suppose the car breaks down?"

"I think the consequences should still be in effect, and if we haven't agreed in advance, then the unavoidable will not constitute a legitimate excuse for failing to have dinner on time."

"That doesn't seem fair."

"Yeh, but otherwise we're going to get into a hassle over avoidable."

"But, but, can't we just be reasonable?"

"Well, you see, if the car ran out of gasoline I'd say that was avoidable; but you might not. So there'd be a hassle."

"Ok. I'll go along with that. If a particular reason is not laid out in advance, it doesn't constitute a legitimate excuse."

"Excellent."

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

Evaluation of both the procedure and the behavior are quite positive. After several months of this procedure, dinner has, with few exceptions, been ready on time; and when it hasn't been, I have had no trouble observing the fact, and effecting the consequences. I simply don't do the dishes. This works out pretty well because Kay is so bugged by having the dirty dishes around that she usually gets them washed, at least, before she fixes dinner.

You have to be careful in specifying punishing consequences in a contingency management contract. BE SURE THAT THE PUNISHING CONSEQUENCES CAN BE EASILY, OR AUTOMATICALLY, DELIVERED. A SPECIAL CONTINGENCY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM MUST NOT REQUIRE THE INDIVIDUAL TO SELF-ADMINISTER HIS PUNISHMENT. The punishing consequence of dirty dishes was good in that it worked automatically.

These two contingency-management systems, the one to get me to wash the dishes on time, and the other to get Kay to fix dinner on time, may seem like excessively elaborate systems for such trivial events, but it is just this sort of trivial event and irritation that can cause the quality of social systems to deteriorate seriously. Once the bugs are out of the contingency-management systems, they work almost automatically because one person is always there to maintain the system for the other.

It may also seem that the punishing consequences were trivial, particularly in my case, where all I would have had to do would have been to stop at the friendly, neighborhood, emporium and pick up a hot something-or-other for dinner. It might have been easier than doing the dishes. All I can say is that my consequence worked as an effective punisher. Simply agreeing to do the dishes by such-and-such a time did not work. Perhaps, in a sense, my having to "bring home the bacon" was more a symbolic or conditioned punisher rather than an actual unconditioned punisher. Whatever the reason, it worked.

A common theme for magazine and newspaper cartoons involves a husband and wife preparing to go to a party. The husband is usually fully dressed, looking at his watch, and champing at the bit, while the wife, sitting at her dressing table putting on makeup, has only just begun to get ready. It is indeed a common situation.

If we're invited to a party that starts at 9 o'clock, it seems to me that we should leave the house no later than 8:30 p.m., and, hopefully, arrive at the party a few minutes before nine. On the other hand, to Kay it means that at approximately 9 o'clock she should begin to get ready for the party. Only then will she begin to think about taking a shower, brushing her hair, ironing some clothes, etc. During the first ten years of our marriage, this was a major source of aversive stimulation. About an hour after the party was scheduled to start I would begin to nag Kay and with just cause, I thought; and she would become unreasonably snappish. By the time we got to the party, (at 11 o'clock) we wouldn't be speaking to each other. You might say that I'm too up-

tight. How can two sensible adults who love each other, get into that kind of silly hassle repeatedly. Well, believe me, it happens, and it happens in many households.

Once again we see a familiar model of the typical dysfunctional, social relationship where poorly specified behavior is erratically punished. The results are very unpleasant for all involved parties. As a result, after years of participating in that particularly ineffective, traditional, social system, we set up a new experimental system.

Phase 1 — State the Behavioral Objectives

From my point of view, the desired behavior was that Kay be ready on time; whereas, from her point of view, I was to get off her back.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

The specified behavior was a deadline contingency (hopefully of a punishing nature). In other words, she was to be dressed to go by a specified time; and if she wasn't ready, then a punishing consequence occurred. The consequence on which we decided was that I would drive to the party by myself and she could follow, in our second car, whenever she got ready. This was a consequence which she indicated would very probably be punishing. We implemented the system and proceeded to Phase 4.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

As it turns out, we had a little difficulty in putting the procedure into effect. How do we specifically and workably define the behavior of "being ready"? Is it saying, "Yes, I'm ready", and then spending ten more minutes picking up your hat, coat, and purse? And at what time do we specify the deadline? It seems to me that, if the party starts at 9 o'clock, it would be very reasonable to leave at quarter of nine; and if, at 8 o'clock, I specified the deadline, that, I reasoned, should be sufficient. However, that wasn't satisfactory to Kay. So it's recycling time and back to Phase 1.

Phase 1 — State the Behavioral Objectives

The new, clearly-specified behavior of "being ready" was defined as being in the car and on our way down the driveway.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

With the behavior clearly outlined, we

were ready to improve the specification of the contingency. I agreed that we should decide at least two hours before it was to go into effect, on a deadline. Once again, we implemented the system.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

Over the year we have usually managed to agree, allowing at least two hours for getting ready, on a deadline for departure. Only once have I actually had to deliver the punishing consequences of going by myself and leaving Kay to follow a few minutes later. Now it must be admitted that a few times I have gotten into the car, turned it around very, very slowly, and very, very slowly started down the drive. Except for that one time, we've gone to the parties together and, usually, still speaking to each other.

The last three examples of experimental social systems (dishes, dinner, and departure) are dealing with specific sources of aversive social interactions within the family unit. However, there are a host of less frequent sources of aversive interaction too numerous to be dealt with on an individual basis. In such cases, it may be more expedient to simply design a system for controlling the aversive social interactions themselves. I've known situations in which married couples, both psychologists, have attempted to deal with this and its complement — the absence of pleasant social interactions. Our first attempt was typical of the failures many others have experienced in trying to implement such a contingency management system.

Phase 0 — A Behavioral Analysis

"How do you like dinner?"

"Huh, oh, it's fine."

"Is that all you have to say?"

"Well, what else do you want me to say? It's okay, it's good."

"You know, I came home an hour early to fix this dinner; it seems like you could show a little genuine appreciation."

"Oh, yeah, I really do appreciate it."

. . . .

"How do you like the car?"

"It's okay, I guess."

"But do you notice anything different about it?"

"I guess it's running more smoothly."

"No, damn it, I just spent three hours washing and waxing this thing."

"Oh, yes, I guess I noticed it, it looks real nice."

"Thanks a lot."

. . . . . .

"You know, I don't think you appreciate anything I do around here. I never get a 'thank you' that I haven't pried out of you."

"Well, that's not quite true."

"Maybe it's not. I guess if I screw up a dinner once in a while, you notice it and are quick to comment."

"Well, it just seems to me that it's part of your job. You fix dinner, you do your job, you shouldn't have to get a special commendation for it. I do dishes as part of my job and I don't expect special thanks."

. . . .

Maybe people should get a "thank you" now and then just for doing their job satisfactorily. Maybe we shouldn't wait until they've done the most outstanding job in the history of man before we say "thank you".

. . . .

"You know, I feel so much better about doing my work around here if I think someone gives a damn."

"Well, suppose I do say 'thank you', and let you know that I appreciate what you're doing. Are you sure you won't accuse me of trying to control your behavior?"

"What do you mean?"

"Well, you might think I'm into my male chauvinist role trying to reinforce the traditional-housewife, domestic-type behavior at the expense of your professional behavior as a psychologist."

"No, not unless that really was what you were trying to do, I don't think I'd accuse you of it. Reinforcement can do two things. On the one hand, you can increase the rate of behavior with reinforcement; and on the other, you can simply use reinforcement to maintain behavior. I'm not asking you to lay on the social reinforcement so heavily that I suddenly find myself spending sixteen hours a day in the kitchen. But I would like enough positive reinforcement so that my behavior in the kitchen starts being maintained more for its positive consequences."

"What do you mean?"

"Well, I mean that I'd rather my cooking behavior be maintained by positive social reinforcers than by an avoidance schedule. I don't like to cook dinner simply to avoid having you bitch at me."

"You got me there. I'll have to go along with that analysis."

"And it's not just me. The same thing is true of your undergraduate and graduate assistants at school. They work their tails off doing a good job for you, and the only time you ever say anything to them is when they make a mistake."

"Well, nobody ever reinforces my behavior."

"Does that mean you're some sort of magic organism that works without reinforcement?"

"No."

"People are always laying social reinforcers on you, and as a matter of fact, you're very skilled at putting yourself into situations where you'll get those reinforcers."

"Gee, thanks, it's reinforcing to hear that."

"Very funny."

"But I bet I dish out as many social reinforcers to you as you do to me."

"Well, there's something else involved too. There should be more social reinforcers floating around this household just so it'll be a nicer place to be."

"You want to be loved for yourself and not for how well you cook dinner?"

"Yeah, I guess that's it. But I also want to be loved for myself and not for how I'm doing as an experimental psychologist. Being loved and receiving genuine expressions of that love is very reinforcing."

"What does it reinforce?"

"Probably just hanging around."

"Yeah, I guess you're right. Just being around someone who lays a lot of heavy social reinforcers — love — on you makes you want to be around that person more. The response of being with the other person is what's reinforced. But you know to be loved you've gotta be lovable."

"Hum."

"And it's a little hard for me to be laying kind and loving verbal responses on you when you're bitching at me."

"Well, I probably wouldn't bitch at you if you wouldn't be so grumpy with me."

"Hum."

"What we've got to do is up the positives and down the negatives."

"The problem is that there's not much immediate reinforcement for making positive remarks to people."

"That's right. If I do happen to say something nice to you, you probably won't stop and say 'Gee, I appreciate your

saying that to me. It really makes me feel good.' And, of course, I'm the same way. We tend to ignore and extinguish positive remarks from other people even though we're quietly digging them."

"And, on the other hand, we always get some sort of response when we bitch at each other. And I guess that response must be positively reinforcing because we sure do bitch at each other a lot."

"Not anymore than most other married couples."

"Well, most married couples bitch at each other too much and have too few good things to say to each other."

"So the problem, as always, is that our behavior is being too strongly controlled by the immediate consequence. The distant consequences of a happy home life don't have much impact on us."

"That is, indeed, the problem."

Phase 1 — State the Behavioral Objectives

So our objective becomes pretty clear. Our long-range goal is to have a happy home life. Our immediate behavioral objectives are to increase the rate of positive things we say, and to decrease the rate of negative things that we say to each other.

"I'd like to expand that a little bit. I'd like to increase the rate of positive things and decrease the rate of negative things that I say to everyone. I'd like to make myself a more reinforcing person to be around. Also, I guess, I just find it reinforcing to be more of a source of positive reinforcement, than punishment, for my associates."

"If that's possible."

"Yes, if that's possible."

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

"So, what'll we do?"

"Well, the normal contingencies in our environment are not sufficient to keep up a high rate of desirable behavior or to keep down a low rate of undesirable behavior."

"As usual, the problem is that the normal environment has the contingencies poorly arranged. Inappropriate behavior receives immediate reinforcement, and appropriate behavior is extinguished."

"So we need to set up a special experimental contingency-management system. We may need to add some special, immediate reinforcers to increase the rate of positive behavior. And we need to add some

special immediate punishers to decrease the rate of negative behavior."

"What sort of consequences do you suggest?"

"Well, let's start out by simply recording the positive and negative behavioral interactions. Many people find that if they simple record the occurrences of a particular behavior of interest that behavior will increase, or decrease, in rate depending on what they want it to do?"

"Magic?"

"I'm not sure exactly what's going on. In fact, I'm not too sure what the results will be. But it does seem to work, sometimes. Sometimes, the magic works, and sometimes it doesn't. But it's probably not magic. Maybe when you start recording your own behavior, you become more aware of it. Being aware of the occurrence of the desired response acts as an immediate mild reinforcer for that response, while being aware of the occurrence of an undesirable response acts as an immediate mild punisher for that response. The important thing is that these little awareness consequences are sufficiently immediate to possibly gain control over the behavior. These awarenesses may turn your behavior in the desired direction if there are not, other, more powerful, immediate consequences working against you."

"How are we going to record our positive and negative behaviors?"

"First, we could pick up a few golf counters down at the local sporting goods store. We've used these to record our behavior for other contingency-management projects and they seem to work fairly well. Each of us could use one to record our positive behavior and a second to record our negative behavior. Then we'll plot the results on a graph and hang it on our bathroom wall."

"Contingency-management graffiti?"

"Well, I had more in mind than just taping a piece of graph paper up on the wall."

"The behaviors we're trying to control are our positive and negative remarks to others. And the only consequences we'll work with are the presumed reinforcing and punishing consequences of recording these remarks. The contingencies will be the immediate, positive reinforcement and punishment."

"Also, once a day we'll record the results on our own sheets of graph paper and take a look at each other's results."

"I'll show you mine if you'll show me yours?"

"Some people feel that plotting the data on a graph so that you and everyone else can see the progress you're making is an important part of the punishing and reinforcing effects of recording these

data."

Phase 4 — Evaluate the System

"How do you think it's been going so far?"

"I'm not too sure about this positive statement system, I feel a little hypocritical whenever I say something nice to someone and then click it on my counter. And I think that the people who know the system don't find it particularly reinforcing when I say something nice to them, and then go click, click. I don't think I've really been increasing my positives all that much. What do you think?"

"I'm inclined to agree with you. As a matter of fact, I think I've pretty well extinguished working on that problem."

"So what about the negatives?"

"I think it's been working very well."

"So do I. We've both got our negative remarks down to between three and six a day, and that's not bad."

"But there've been a couple of times when it hasn't worked out. Remember the other day when you were really mad at me and I suggested that you click the negative remark on your counter? You said, 'I don't give a damn how many negative remarks I record, and you can go to hell.' You just kept laying it on me."

"I wasn't too cool."

"But otherwise it works well. It prevents our bitching from getting out of hand."

"Yeah, it used to be that if I zapped you, then you would lay one on me, and I would lay one on you again, and we would really let some trivial incident blow way up."

"But now, if one of us says something unpleasant to the other, we're simply reminded to record it on our golf counter. The exchange stops at that point."

"Yes, usually. But there are times when I need to tell you about something you're doing wrong. We should be able to give each other negative feedback when it seems reasonable."

"Remember the all important rule of contingnecy management: NOTHING IN MODERATION."

"Yeah, I guess we would have been getting into more hassles about when it's reasonable to give negative feedback and when it's not."

"We may as well be extremists and say that our role is to eliminate all negative remarks."

"But there are still some things that could be considered negative that I want to discuss with you from time to time. We need to work something out to deal with that."

"We had better recycle. Back to the drawing board."

Phase 2 — Design the Social System

"What do we do about this positive stuff?"

"The consequences of simply recording the positive remarks are not sufficient to get the rate up. We need to have stronger positive consequences."

"Okay, how about this? Whenever one of us makes twenty-five positive comments then he gets five dollars to spend on records, clothes, or the riotous living of his choice."

"Fine. What about the times when we really should discuss something that may be negative?"

"Perhaps we should save it and do it just once a week. Maybe we can have a little 'encounter' session every Saturday morning. At that time, we can make all the negative comments that we want to each other."

"That's not a bad idea. There's not much that won't keep for a week. And it will restrict all the downers to one brief period each week. I like that."

"We need a special contingency and consequence when someone really blows his cool and says to hell with the contingency system. It's going to have to be something pretty aversive and heavy."

"Let's try this one: If someone really loses his cool, then the person also permanently loses his favorite item of clothing. Then we give it to Goodwill."

"Isn't that a little heavy?"

"Yeah, but we really want to eliminate those strong outbursts, even though they're pretty rare even now."

"Okay, but I wish we didn't have to do it that way."

"You know, this business of monitoring your own and other people's behavior can get pretty tricky. Like sometimes you get clever with your negative remarks, and it takes me five minutes to figure out whether that was really a put-down or not. And I'll have to admit sometimes I'm not too sure myself whether some of my own remarks are negative."

"Well, as always we should follow the all-important rule of contingency management: NOTHING IN MODERATION. If there's any question, we'll call it negative, and zap it."

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System

"So how do you think it's going?"

"Well, I see that we both dropped out on that positive reinforcement of positive remarks system."

"Yeah, I seem to end up buying a record when I see one, regardless of whether or not I've earned it with my twenty-five positive remarks. And you also seem to live riotously regardless of your positive behavior."

"Tsk, tsk. Sometimes these contingency-management systems work when you control your own consequences, and other times they don't."

"Right, the danger of reinforcing yourself is, obviously, that you may end up cheating, by delivering that reinforcer even when it hasn't been earned. I'm afraid that's what's happening to us."

"How do you feel about the negative remarks system?"

"I feel very positive about the negatives. We've really managed to keep them at a very low and tolerable level for over a year. And some of my friends tell me that I really am a lot less negative than I used to be; and maybe even easier to get along with."

"You know I think our weekly encounter sessions really do the trick. I've found that many of the week's aversives somehow don't seem worth commenting on when Saturday morning rolls around. It's almost as if talking about them makes them more aversive. So I simply ignore them."

"Yeah, I think that's right. I used to look forward to Saturday mornings when I could tell you about all the stupid things that the various members of our faculty had done. But lately, it just hasn't been that much of a gas to gloat over other people's screw-ups. I feel that I'm getting a much more positive outlook on things simply by reducing my negative comments. I'm also beginning to find other people's negative comments a little more aversive and a little less amusing than I used to. But that's a price I'm certainly willing to pay."

"That heavy aversive contingency of losing a favorite piece of clothing seems to work pretty well. In the last six months you've really only blown your cool once. And you've only lost one shirt."

"So we haven't had that much luck with the positives but we've done pretty well with the negatives. Win one lose one. Fifty-fifty; not a bad batting average for the behavioral sciences. And I'll have to say that the overall quality of our marriage really seems to have improved as a result of our various little contingency-management games."

A common interpersonal problem is that everybody gets into his own thing. I've got one thing going, my old lady's got something else going. I want to tell her about my ideas, she wants to tell me about hers. But the result is that nobody tells nobody about nothing. Once again, struc-ture may be the solution. Okay, you talk for 15 minutes every morning, and I'll talk for 15 minutes every morning, and we'll respond. We'll have a half-an-hour conversation; you determine the contents of the first 15 minutes and I'll have the second 15. Often mere physical proximity may not suffice to get certain types of conversation going. You may spend several hours a day with a person, but because you're tied up doing other things, you don't get a chance to sit down and talk. The long-range consequences for that behavior are too far off. So you may have to put aside a period every day, or every week, when those sorts of behavior occur. Generally speaking, if there are some behaviors that you would like to see happen but that aren't happening, you may need to be more specific about those behaviors. Set up the occasions when those behaviors can occur. According to old naive moralities, those things which are valuable will just occur spontaneously, but when spontaneity fails, contingency management moves in.

All this may seem like a lot of unnecessary structure 'cause, 'All ya' need is love, love, love. Love is all ya' need.' Well, it may be that love is all ya' need, but it has to occur at a reasonably high rate and you can't let it get wiped out by a lot of petty bickering. Our country has a tremendously high divorce rate and I would suspect that a major reason for this is not that the couples weren't in love, but rather that the behavior was under the control of, and led astray by, the immediate consequences. The presence of negativism, compounded by the absence of positivism, is the major source of family strife.

But, you ask, is a marriage worth saving if you have to use all of that elaborate contingency management? The hassle of setting up and debugging a little experimental social system is much less than the hassle of emotional upset and heartache involved when a marriage goes by the boards. Any long-lasting, close relationship is difficult to maintain. It requires intelligent and sensitive thought and action. You'll have to work to make it work. If you enter such a relation thinking that things will take care of themselves naturally, you may be greatly disappointed. But, as a matter of fact, the effort involved in setting up, debugging, and maintaining the little experimental, social systems within our marriage have been slight, and actually have been fairly fun and interesting.

The field of contingency-management, or contingency-contracting, or experimental social systems in marriage is comparatively new. There are little data available at this time. Perhaps in a few years, however, we will be able to confidently say: THE FAMILY THAT CONTINGENCY-CONTRACTS TOGETHER STAYS TO-GETHER.

This sort of experimental social-system building is very difficult. The one thing you can be sure of is that it probably won't work the first few times you try it. We've been playing around with little contingency-management systems to get rid of negativism for several years, and we're just beginning to make headway. We still haven't developed anything that's noticeably effective in increasing positiv-ness, but we'll keep working.

I'm not sure about the extent to which these little family, experimental, social systems are self-maintaining and the extent to which they are dependent upon social approval from the outside world. In other words, a lot of people know about some of our efforts to eliminate negativism. When they visit our home, have a few beers, and then take the inevitable trip to the john, they see the graphs on the walls and never fail to comment on them. The comments may not be favorable, intelligent, nor even intelligible; but at least, they are comments. And that may be a large part of what maintains our behavior.

The next two contingency-management projects have already been described in *Contingency Management in Education and Other Equally Exciting Places; or I've Got Blisters on My Soul and Other Equally Exciting Places*; but should also be mentioned in the present context. The first contingency-management program is an attempt to control my beard-stroking. Anyone with a beard spends a fair amount of time fondling and stroking it. Some people even get to the point of plucking out beard hairs. (Incidentally, since the time we wrote that chapter on beard-molesting, several people have indicated that they are secretly into pulling hairs out of their heads or eyebrows. We have found that this disgusting behavior is sufficiently reinforcing to have resulted in a surprising number of closet hair-pullers. We've hit on a more universal reinforcer than we had realized.) Basically, the contingency-management procedure we used was to daily record each beard stroke on a little golf counter and then plot the total number on a graph on the bathroom wall. This worked quite well in controlling the beard-stroking for about a year, but the control weakened as the beard got longer, and perhaps, more reinforcing to stroke. It turns out that recording the strokes on the counter still has some punishing effects; when I don't use the counter at all, my beard stroking is at an even higher rate. But still, with the counter, the rate is much higher than desirable. Therefore, we decided to put in a more powerful consequence — a mild electric shock.

How does this fit into social psychology and marriage. Well, one of the conse-

quences of my excessive beard-stroking was that it really bugged Kay, who was constantly reminding me that I should record each beard stroke. She provided the impetus for me to order a handy little electric-shock device which can be worn in a shirt pocket and attached to a couple of electrodes taped to my arm. Each time I stroke my beard, I push a little button and deliver a mild aversive electric zap.

The other aspect of the social system involved with this is as follows: not only did Kay arrange our environment so that I ordered this fifty-dollar device, but she also makes sure that I wear it. How well does it work? Fairly well. My beard-pulling rate is still higher than I'd like, but when I wear the electric shocker it is lower than otherwise. We've succeeded in bringing a punishing consequence sufficiently close to the response that it does lower the rate of that response.

So why don't you cheat and stroke your beard and not push the shocker? It beats me. Perhaps, it's that I really don't want to stroke my beard, and I really believe that if I push the shocker each time I stroke my beard and then push my counter, that I'll stroke my beard less. And that's what happens. True, however, using self-punishment in contingency-management often does encounter the problem of cheating.

There's another little social systems aspect of this. I'm an advocate of the use of contingency management to solve many of the world's ills. I have published a book that contains an example of a contingency-management system for solving one minor ill, beard-stroking. It's one thing for the specific system to fail, and it's another thing if I'm able to change some feature of the system, such as the aversiveness of the punisher, so that I can get my behavior back under my own control. In other words, there are two consequences of my development of a contingency-management system that has some effect in controlling my beard-stroking. One consequence is that I'll get Kay off my back. The other is that I'll be able to maintain what little professional integrity that I have left. I can still say, sure enough, the combination of systems analysis and contingency management did solve the problem *almost*, as advertised in our book, *Contingency Management, etc.* In other words, to some extent I'm working for an external audience, the readers of our books. I'm attempting to maintain their approval or, at least, avoid their disapproval. This is much like the situation where the teacher in the grade school may need to set up an audience of her peers to help maintain her objective, good teaching.

Another contingency-management program with which we dealt in *Con Man* was a weight-reduction, and maintenance

program. Both Kay and I like to keep our weight within a specified limit. Now, I really don't care how much she weighs, and she doesn't care how much I weigh. But we're willing to work together to help obtain each of our goals. It turns out that dieting and maintaining that diet is a hell of a lot easier if you have a little social system set up to help you manage the relevant contingencies influencing eating behavior. We've been maintaining our weight within the desired limits for a couple of years now, and the system works pretty well.

At the moment, the design of the system is generally this: The behavior specification is vague. It is simply that you shouldn't eat more than your relative exercise demands so that you don't become over-weight. The consequence of being over-weight is that we lose an item of clothing. The contingency is a punishment contingency. The weight specification, however, is a little tricky. A desirable weight for me is 158 pounds. If I'm over-weight, then I have to lose a half a pound each day until I get down to my ideal weight. On any day that I fail to be at, or below, my specified weight, I still have one day's grace. If I'm back on schedule the next day, everything's okay. But if I'm not, then I lose one piece of clothing, each day, until I get down to my desired weight, 158 pounds. Now, if I'm cooking along at 158 pounds and all of a sudden I pig-out and shoot up to 162 pounds, that's all right; there's no punishment contingency. But now I have to start dropping the weight at a half a pound a day.

The contingencies on my wife's weight are similar. Basically, we have both been able to keep within two to three pounds of the desired weights without too much effort. By the way, the clothing that we lose on each occasion has to be a very useful or favorite item.

A traditional goal might suggest that a person be able to go through some kind of therapy so that for the rest of his life, he no longer has the desire to over-eat, and will be able, without any effort, to maintain a desirable weight. I don't believe that such a therapy exists or ever will exist. The immediate reinforcing consequence of a little bit of high caloric food is almost always more powerful than the long-range aversive consequence of obesity. You need to bring some more, immediate, aversive or punishing consequences to bear on the over-eating behavior; that's what the contingency-management procedure is all about.

Kay and I have also set up a variety of little, social systems to help us manage the contingencies dealing with our professional work. Usually, this deals with reading and writing behavior. Writing, even post-cards, is probably the most difficult work

to get under control. For example, this summer we are camped in the middle of beautiful, northern Arizona doing things like writing books on social psychology. Now, after we've been here several weeks, it's clear that, without special contingencies, we aren't going to get any letters, or even post cards, written to various friends and relatives. We enjoy writing post cards. We love our friends and relatives. We really want to get the cards off. But somehow, we never get around to it. So we set up this special contingency-management system to help us do what we really wanted to do. I indicated that I would like to write some post cards; that was a specified behavior. I also know that I would need a deadline, and the best thing would be to set aside some time. So I specified the contingency that the behavior had to occur between 8:00 and 9:00 on Tuesday morning. Furthermore, I had to write ten postcards during that hour. The basic contingency, then, was an avoidance contingency. If I did this I would avoid an aversive consequence. The aversive consequence was that I would have to spend fifteen minutes raking leaves and junk away from the campsite. That system, and a similar one imposed on Kay, was effective in helping us maintain contact with a few friends and relatives back in the mid-west.

Kay had a couple of research articles which had been hanging over her head for some time. They needed to be written and submitted to a professional journal for publication. After several weeks of procrastination, we eventually started to design a contingency-management system. The first design stated that she was supposed to work eight hours a day on the papers, and have her work completed by five p.m. After several days, the evaluation of this was quite negative. We hadn't specified what constituted the work. Therefore, we broke the task down into smaller units. She was supposed to work on specific sections: one day prepare the outline, the next day the introduction, etc. At the end of each day she was to give me the material she had completed. This was, again, an avoidance contingency. The aversive consequences for her failure to make a deadline was that she had to do the dishes for a week (providing me with a week's vacation). In spite of my many efforts to lead her astray, she only did the dishes once. A final consequence topping the whole system was that the article was to be submitted for final typing by a certain deadline. When the deadline was reached, the piece would be submitted to the secretary, and then to the journal, ready or not. The result was that, with occasional re-negotiating, she finished both articles on time.

As the summer began to draw to an end, I had not made much progress on the book you are now reading. It became

apparent that we would have to set up a little social system to help me be more productive. This particular system involved Pat and Stu Hartlep, a couple of Behaviordelia staff members who were with us. The design of the system was as follows: The behavior was my work on the book. The contingency was an avoidance contingency. If I failed to perform the specified work, I would pay the two a generous, one dollar to be divided as they saw fit. The required behavior was four hours of work. I had had sufficient experience with my procrastinating ways in the past and put a deadline on the four-hour limit. This deadline was specified in advance each day: Today I have to have my four hours of work done by four o'clock, etc.

After implementing the system for a couple of days, I found the evaluation just so-so. The problem was that the desired behavior was, again, not adequately specified. I'm perfectly capable of sitting and staring at the wall while engaging in non-productive fantasies for a two-hour period. Therefore, we recycled and specified the behavior a little more precisely. During the four-hour work period I had to dictate forty minutes of material, as indicated by the accumulative-time recorder on my dictating machine.

Thus far the evaluation of the procedure has been positive. I have lost only one buck. That was due to what I diagnosed as the six-hour flu. You can hardly expect a person to be productive when he is that ill. But of course, being the good contingency manager that I am, I didn't cop out. I gave the dollar to the hungry artists. If this book you are now reading has a 1972 publication date, then you will know that these contingency-management procedures were indeed successful.

In designing social systems of which you are a member, it is important to realize that you and the other participants are human beings. You are biological organisms. The way you are, the way you act, the way you think, the way you feel, is a result of your biological makeup, your past experiences, and the current reinforcing and punishing contingencies. If you, or other members of the social system, don't behave in what you would consider an appropriate manner, this is not cause for anger, retribution, put-down, or scorn. You are honorable people not tin gods. When we people aren't functioning in a desirable manner within a social system, it's not the fault of the people, it's the fault of the system and its contingencies. You will not change the nature of man, but you can change the nature of the system. Buckminster Fuller says, reform the environment, not the man.

Now when people behave in a manner that is disappointing to you, it's an aversive event for you. The consequence is

that you're liable to be very aggressive and aversively stimulate them. It may be a gross reaction; you may overtly call them names. Or your reaction may manifest itself in a more subtle manner — you may just become cooler toward them. But any sort of negative condemnation on your part is not morally justified. It will probably have little beneficial long-term consequences. Putting people down is probably not an effective behavior modification technique, except in modifying the behavior of people around you who will probably begin to avoid you. Don't get angry; just re-design the system.

Frequently, all you will have to do is sit down and discuss the undesirable behaviors that are occurring, and the desirable behaviors that aren't occurring. Simply specifying these behaviors may suffice. Don't say, "It should be obvious. He should know that picking his nose at the dinner table is unpleasant to watch." Maybe he should know it, and maybe he does know it, but sometimes simply reminding him of it will do the trick. Even if that fails, you do not become upset. Sit down and once again ask him if you can work together to set up a contingency-management system. This may involve some sort of punishment contingency to be administered when the undesired behavior occurs. However, you can use a differential-reinforcement-of-other-behavior contingency. For example, every day that passes without nose-picking occurring at the dinner table, could be rewarded with an extra dessert. You have, thus, reinforced non-nose-picking behavior. If that doesn't work, there is still no reason to be upset. Just recycle: re-design the system and try again.

I don't mean to imply that you will be able to solve all of your interpersonal difficulties this way. But I do mean to imply that just because you and the other members of your social system are not expert social engineers there is no reason to become moralistically arrogant.

Laboratory researchers working with animals rarely become morally indignant when the animals fail to behave as the researcher had hoped they would. The researchers know that the animal's behavior is lawful. Therefore, they re-design the behavioral system and re-arrange contingencies. Teachers and therapists working with children and retarded adults are a little less successful in interpreting inappropriate behavior as a result of a poorly designed contingency-management system.

There are very few people, even experimental psychologists, who can always maintain a moral neutrality when dealing with college students. If the college student cheats, lies, goofs-off or behaves in some other undesirable way, there are few professors who are able to say, "Well, we simply need to re-design the social

system. The reinforcement and punishment contingencies are not working like we had hoped." And it's even more difficult to maintain a detached neutrality when you are dealing with a higher organism whom you love, your spouse. You should keep this in mind in designing social systems for adults such as roommates, apartment mates, or spouses. It is difficult to be as detached and analytical as is sometimes necessary in order to understand behavior, and to design social systems in which people will enjoy their interactions with others.

Another way that may help the participants to maintain a moralistic and emotional neutrality is to arrange for a weekly meeting where all of the problems of the systems are discussed and debugged, and the system is redesigned. This works much better than trying to deal with the problem in the heat of the conflict of the moment. As you can imagine, it is also necessary to keep your cool during these weekly meetings. They can sometimes really spiral into unpleasant affairs if you insist on dwelling on all of the injustices you have suffered during the past week. That's not nearly as effective as calmly specifying those behaviors, on your part, and the part of others, that you would like to eliminate, and those that you would like to increase. Give-and-take works quite well.

Another advantage of the weekly meetings is that it may increase the likelihood that you will actually get around to setting up systems that will help you do what you want to do. For example, if I want to get a few post cards written, I can always say, "Well tomorrow I'll sit down and set up a contingency-management system for my post-card writing." But tomorrow never comes. However, if there is an official time for the design of such systems, then it is more likely that I'll say, "Okay, now, what behavior do I wish to bring about, and what do I want to put off for another week." If I do put it off, then it's a little clearer that I'm copping out; therefore, I'll be more likely to actually get on with the post-card writing, contingency-management system.

DELEGATORY TECHNOLOGY: Or How To Get Things Done Without Really Trying

One year I actually got it together to the point of putting our Christmas-tree lights on the evergreens outside our house. As a matter of fact, I didn't get it together enough to emit all of that yuletide behavior until about midnight the night before my parents were due to arrive to spend a couple of days during the Christmas holidays. I didn't want them to think their son was a lazy or scrooge-like degenerate. I managed to get the Christmas tree lights taken down just before Easter

vacation, when my parents were once again coming to visit us. And, of course, the same avoidance contingencies were responsible for my little burst of home-maintenance behavior.

Now basically, most of my classes, research projects, experimental education projects, and publishing activities work pretty well. That's because almost all the work is done by other people. Once in a while, something doesn't get done, or gets done later than it should have. This invariably occurs because the activity has run into a bottle-neck, namely me.

One of the reasons most of my projects involving other people work well is because Kalamazoo, Michigan has a lot of good, hard-working, responsible people, and a few of them work with me. Another reason these projects go as well as they do is because I am a master of Delegatory Technology and the contingency management that is necessary to make it work. And if things do go wrong, it is usually because I don't have someone managing the contingencies on my own behavior.

And how, you ask, does this Delegatory Technology work? First, you have to have a little social system that consists of at least two people. For example, let's take myself and the Introductory Psychology teaching assistant. To keep the course running smoothly, a considerable amount of work is involved on the part of the staff. Some types of activities will require only a minimal amount of contingency management: if an assistant is supposed to be on duty at a given time in the office, that behavior will occur fairly reliably. Staff meeting attendance, generally, also occurs fairly reliably. The difficulty arises in preparation for next semester. With a large course, such as ours, it is necessary to start working and planning well in advance of the new semester. The problem is that it can always be put off for another day. It's a perfect example of the long-range reinforcers versus a host of short-range, immediate punishers.

At our weekly meeting, we list the jobs that need to be done. Then assistants either volunteer for various jobs, or are assigned to them according to their experience or current work load. If the job doesn't have any specific deadline obviously associated with it, the assistant is asked when he can reasonably expect to get it done. If the assistant estimates a week, the wise contingency manager will then reply, "Fine, let's make it two weeks instead, that way you will be sure to have enough time." Now here comes the crucial part. Both the assistant and the contingency manager must write down the behavioral contract. The contingency manager has a sheet of paper for each assistant on which he records the nature of the job and the deadline. Usually new assis-

tants think that they can remember things well enough and won't bother to record such information. However, in only a few weeks the value of adding this little stimulus to their own personal, behavior-control system becomes quite apparent. At the next meeting everyone checks his assignment book to see what projects were due and to give a report on whether or not the assignments were completed. Lest you think this problem is some strange quirk restricted to undergraduate teaching assistants, consider film director Stanley Kubrick:

"But no man, not even one with Kubrick's inexhaustible energy, can do everything himself. Even he must delegate some authority. 'I'm distrustful in delegating authority and my distrust is usually well-founded,' he says. 'I especially don't trust people who don't write things down. With those who do write things down, I'm very interested in what they write things in. If it's one of those chic little Fifth Avenue notebooks with those expensive gold pencils I'm more suspicious than ever. Many people feel it's beneath their dignity to take notes and try instead to trust their memories. I don't work with them."

From Newsweek, *January 3, 1972. pp. 28-33.*

However, we are somewhat more lenient than Kubrick in that if an assistant fails to accomplish a job by the time he has agreed to do so, he receives a minus one beside that assignment, and a new deadline is negotiated. If he fails to meet the new deadline, the minus points are doubled. He now receives a minus two, or a total of three minus points. If he fails to meet the deadline a third time, the minus points are again doubled. This time he receives a minus four, now a total of seven minus points. By the time the deadline has been missed three times in a row, a fair amount of good-natured uptightness has been generated within the system. On the other hand, if the assistant gets the job done on time the task is crossed off the contingency manager's list. Therefore, the assistants are working on an avoidance schedule.

Occasionally, however, the contingency manager may reinforce the industrious assistant with a simulated smile of warm sincerity. If the contingency manager is feeling particularly generous, and if the assistant has accomplished some horrendous task in half the time that any other living human being could possibly have done it, and is particularly pushy, the contingency manager might actually write a plus ".1" beside the task before he crosses it off.

But what do the minus one points mean? The points don't mean anything except how well a person is accomplishing a promised task. In addition, the number of minus points he accumulates over a

semester figures into the evaluation of the assistant. This is desirable for two reasons. Sometimes it appears that an assistant isn't doing his job, when, in fact, if you look at the data, it becomes apparent that he is far above average in terms of the number of minus points he has accumulated. On the other hand, pointing out the large number of minus points that he has accumulated in a semester may serve as an effective source of negative feedback to improve his subsequent performance.

The more traditional approach to delegatory technology is for the faculty member, while walking down the hall, to run into the assistant, and say, "By the way, will you take care of such and such?" The assistant says, "Sure thing." Then a couple of weeks later the faculty member says, "Hey, how's it going with such and such?" And the assistant says, "I'm going to get right on that." Then a couple of weeks later the faculty member asks, "Have you got that old such-and-such done?" The assistant replys, "Oh, I forgot all about it; I'll get that done right away." Before long, the assistant is studiously avoiding his office, the halls, the restroom, any place he might run into the faculty member, because more than two months have elapsed and he still hasn't got around to completing the task. If it's worth doing, it's worth putting into writing, and specifying a deadline.

This delegatory technology works both ways. Even the most shrewd faculty member may find himself in a position where he actually has to do some of the work. Should such an embarrassing occasion arise, the assistants are quick to point out to the faculty member that he has a job to do. The job is then written down and a deadline specified.

I've found that one of the most valuable things my secretary can do for me is to function as a contingency manager. Once a week we have a meeting during which we list all of the jobs that I need to get done and their deadlines. Any day that I fail to make a deadline, my secretary gets a half-day vacation with pay. In other words, I'm also working to avoid an aversive consequence (aversive for me). The system has the advantage of a certain amount of reinforcement (positive or negative?) for my secretary in monitoring my behavior to make sure the tasks are done. Over the last year and a half she has probably received three or four half-day vacations due to my failure to meet a deadline.

RULES, RULES, RULES

Do we have rules? You bet your kazanpzakis, we do. Rules *per se*, aren't bad; b.s. rules, rules people hide behind, and archaic rules that no longer serve a useful function, are bad. It's important to clarify relationships to help everyone know where he stands with regard to others and the

physical environment. It's important to know this rule: if you stick your finger in the fire, you may burn the little devil off.

Rules, regulations, codes, mores are, moreover, useful in helping people relate to each other. If you behave in such-and-such a manner toward me, then here's how I'll behave toward you. Many interpersonal problems may be considered a result of unfair rules. "I just assumed he shouldn't do that." Assume it if you like, but if it turns out that so-and-so behaves in an inappropriate manner, don't get bussed; just modify the environment; just change the system. If you take a moralistic position and assume that people should know how to behave appropriately, considerately, conscientiously, honorably, then you will be in for continual disappointment, irritation, frustration. Instead, you should be prepared to clarify the relations between you and others, and the environmental contingencies, whenever their behavior seems inappropriate to you.

Be prepared to set up a contingency contract, a behavioral contract. Here's what I expect from you, would you agree that that would be a reasonable behavior on your behalf? If you'll do that, then here's what I will do. Is that reasonable? Of course, it works both ways. You must first ask, "What do you expect from me?" Whenever you hear someone make the statement, "Well, they should want to do it anyhow; we shouldn't have to go through this; it seems like all we would have to do is . . .", then you're dealing with someone who has an ineffectual, archaic morality. The response should always be, "What behavior do we want? Can we get general agreement that this is worthwhile behavior? How do we go about getting it? We'll do what it takes."

Many humanists are convinced that individuals should set their own goals, goals should not be imposed from the outside. The notion of self-selected goals is fundamental to Summerhill, free schools, and others of that ilk. It is, also, compatible with contingency management. A group of students from a free-school-type experimental college attended one of our workshops on contingency management in education. They were quite quick to see the compatibility, and even the necessity for contingency management in a self-selected-goal-type free school. The problem was that although the individual students might select goals which would be important to them, they did not have sufficient enough self-management skills to achieve those goals. The notion that if one selects his own goals it follows that he will then have sufficient motivation to achieve them, turns out, generally, to be incorrect.

The notion that simply by being tossed into an unstructured environment after one has selected his own goals will result in one's learning to manage his own behavior, so as to achieve these goals, is equally fallacious. A more optimal system would be one in which the student selects his goals, and then says, "Now, I'm going to need some contingency-management help to achieve those goals." Then a friend, parent, or teacher skilled in this management can help the individual set up contingency contracts so that he will achieve those goals.

A traditional humanistic position seems to be that the individual has an innate right to select his own goals, and an innate ability to do a better job at selecting than the experts. The problem may be that, in fact, there are few, if any, experts. The advice that the expert may give as to appropriate goals for individuals may be based more on convenience for the expert, than on reliable data about desirable past and future functional goals. At this point, the optimal solution might be that several experts provide some evidence of their expertise, and make suggestions available to the individual, who is free to select among them. In many situations, the individual is in closer contact than anyone else with his past sources of reinforcement; he may be better able to predict what will be the reinforcing and functional goals for himself in the future. On the other hand, if the individual has not been trained to be fairly perceptive about the nature of his activities up to that point, and has not sampled a sufficient number of behaviors and reinforcers, he may not be in the best position to predict the best goals for himself.

There is also the possibility that the objectives the individual will select will be based more on short-range expedience rather than long-range functionality. This, in fact, does not seem to be a major problem. The selection of objectives and goals can be fairly well controlled by long-term consequences. The behavior involved in achieving those goals is the thing that may be screwed up by short-term consequences. However, the expert's goal-specifying behavior hardly seems to be controlled by long-term consequences for those individuals.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have presented a number of concepts which include:

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Phase 0 — Behavioral Analysis. Analyze the existing social system in terms of behavioral principles.

Phase 1 — State the Behavioral Objectives. Specifically define the desired behaviors of those within the social system.

Phase 2 — Design the Social System. Specify the behavior of interest, the consequences that can be applied to the behavior of interest, and the contingency or relationship between the behavior and the consequences.

Phase 3 — Implement the Social System. Put the newly designed social system into operation, making sure that all those affected have consented to, or have had a voice in, the design of the social system.

Phase 4 — Evaluate the Social System.
A) Evaluate the procedure by determining if the design has been properly and consistently implemented.
B) Evaluate the specific behaviors by determining if the behavior of interest has increased or is appropriate to the design of the social system.
C) Evaluate the performance of the overall behavioral objectives by determining if the long-range goals are being, or eventually will be, fulfilled.

Phase 5 — Recycle Through the Phases of Systems Analysis. If the overall behavioral objectives are not being accomplished, change some aspect of, or redesign the social system to be more successful in accomplishing those objectives.

BEHAVIORAL CONTINGENCY

An "if — then" sequential relation between a behavior and its consequences.

CONTINGENCY MANAGEMENT

The systematic arrangement of contingencies in order to achieve specified behavioral objectives.

CONTINGENCY CONTRACT

An agreement between the members of a social system, which arranges and designates specific contingencies in order to achieve behavioral objectives.

In addition to these concepts, there are also a few principles of systems analysis useful in contingency management and contingency contracting. First, NOTHING IN MODERATION (be consistent). It is important to consistently implement the specified contingencies, or they will not effectively influence behavior. In addition, it is also important to DESIGN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM FOR SURVIVAL. Any social system that is not self-maintaining will eventually fail, and the overall behavioral objectives will not be accomplished.

Study Objectives — Part 2

1. What does contingency contracting emphasize?

2. What was the initial contingency involving dinner and dishes?

3. What is a good rule of thumb to keep in mind in the design of social systems?

4. What was wrong with the initial contingency between the author and his wife? What new contingencies were used to rectify this?

5. Why was the definition of a six o'clock dinner unclear?

6. What contingency was implemented to get Kay to get ready for parties on time? What was wrong with this system?

7. How were the behavioral objectives defined so as to produce a happy home life?

8. What were the consequences for the positive and negative behaviors?

9. What difficulty did the author and his wife experience with regard to positive statements?

10. What was the contingency established for positive comments?

11. Why was the Saturday encounter system set up?

12. What was the contingency for really blowing his or her cool?

13. How was the "nothing in moderation" rule applied to prevent clever negative comments?

14. What is a major source of family strife?

15. What is one factor that maintains experimental family social systems?

16. What was the *more powerful* consequence used to control beard-stroking?

17. What problem is often encountered when using self punishment?

18. What was the contingency for being overweight?

19. How was the author's postcard-writing behavior increased?

20. What was the consequence for Kay's failure to meet the *intermediate* research article deadlines?

21. What problem did the author encounter in setting aside four hours per day to work on his book? How was this alleviated?

22. When an individual finds the behavior of others aversive what consequence does this produce?

23. Why is it sometimes necessary to be detached and analytical toward behavior?

24. What might be done at a weekly meeting to improve a social system?

25. What is another advantage of a weekly meeting?

26. How is delegatory technology used at weekly introductory psychology meetings?

27. What is the consequence for failure to meet a deadline? A second failure? Additional failures?

28. How might negative points function to improve an assistant's performance?

29. What consequence is there for the author's failure to make a deadline?

30. What important purpose do rules serve?

31. What seems to be a traditional humanistic position?
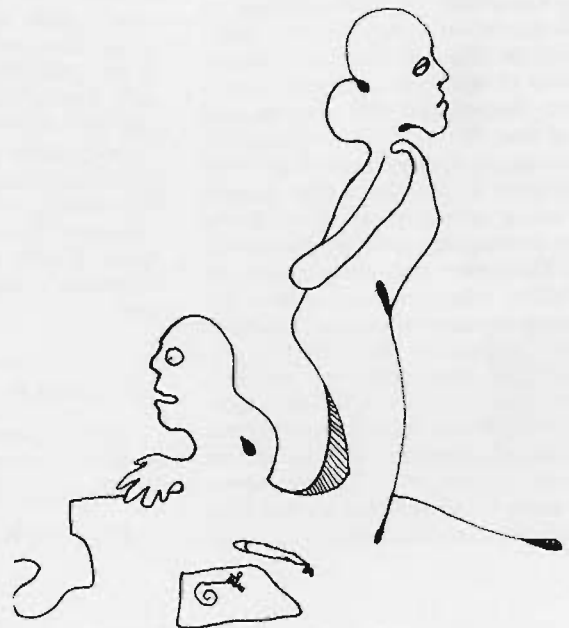
The Design of Social Systems

PART 1

In the previous chapter, we saw examples of the design of the "improved" social system for small groups, such as the nuclear family. It is my assumption that planned social systems, planned societies, may result in an improved quality of life over that engendered by social systems that are produced by historical accident, superstition, and momentary convenience. The miniature systems analyzed in the previous chapter were attempts to illustrate this point. It would seem that a combination of humanism, behaviorism (contingency contracting, etc.) and systems analysis might result in greatly improved social systems.

It turns out that a lot of work has been done in the area of experimental social systems, particularly in the United States, during the nineteenth century. These experimental communities have been described in a very informative, and even inspirational, book, called *The Communistic Societies of The United States*, by Charles Nordhoff. The book was originally published in 1875 and was re-published by Dover Publications in 1966. What I would like to do now is to present relevant excerpts from that book along with an occasional comment. It should be kept in mind that the word "communistic" did not have the implications of Russian or international communism common today; but rather, had the more literal meaning of "commune", where the participants shared more or less equally in the ownership of their farms, factories, homes, etc. The general Marxist notions were not implied by Nordhoff's use of the word "communistic".

"I desired to discover how the successful Communists had met and overcome the difficulties of idleness, selfishness, and unthrift in individuals, which are commonly believed to make Communism impossible, and which are well summed up in Mr. Mills' chapter on Communism: . . . 'But how small a part of all the labor performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit. From the Irish reaper or hodman to the chief justice or the minister of state, nearly all the work of society is remunerated by day wages or fixed salaries. A factory operative has less personal interest in his work than a member of a Communist association, since he is not, like him, working for a partnership of which he is himself a member. . .And though the "master's eye", when the master is vigilant and intelligent, is of proverbial value, it must be remembered that in a Socialist farm or manufactory, each laborer would be under the eye, not of one master, but of the whole community. In the extreme case of obstinate perseverance in not performing the due share of work, the community would have the same resources which society now has for compelling conformity to the necessary conditions of the association. . .I am not undervaluing the strength of the incitement given to labor when the whole or a large share of the benefit of extra exertion belongs to the laborer. But under the present system of industry this incitement, in the great majority of cases, does not exist. If communistic labor might be less vigorous than that of a peasant proprietor, or a workman laboring on his own account, it would probably be more energetic than that of a laborer for hire, who has no personal interest in the matter at all. . .Undoubtedly, as a general rule, remuneration by fixed salaries does not in any class of functionaries produce the maximum of zeal; and this is as much as can be reasonably alleged against communistic labor.' "

Mills shows considerable insight into the nature of contingencies of reinforcement for effective work behavior. If there is any weakness in his understanding of human nature, it may be that he did not place sufficient emphasis on the importance of contingency management to help people be productively engaged even when they are working for themselves, since work for themselves may still be under the control of other long-range contingencies of reinforcement. In the next quote, Mills shows an interesting insight into the role that aversive control, exerted by members of a commune, can have on birth rate.

" 'Another of the objections to Communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if Communism provided no motives to restraint, equivalent to those which it would take away. But Communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association — inconvenience which could not then be im-

puted to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-population, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.' "

Nordhoff asks whether other sources of reinforcement began exerting influence on a behavior once some of the basic unconditioned reinforcers had been readily taken care of.

"Finally, I wished to see what the successful Communists had made of their lives; what was the effect of communal living upon the character of the individual man and woman; whether the life had broadened or narrowed them; and whether assured fortune and pecuniary independence had brought to them a desire for beauty of surroundings and broader intelligence: whether, in brief, the Communist had any where become something more than a comfortable and independent daylaborer, and aspired to something higher than a mere bread-and-butter existence."

The first community Nordhoff deals with is the Amana Community, which still exists as a corporation in Iowa. Have you ever heard of Amana hams?

"The 'True Inspiration Congregations', as they call themselves ('*Wahre Inspiration's Gemeinden*'), form a communistic society in Iowa, seventy-four miles west of Davenport.

"The society has at this time 1450 members; owns about 25,000 acres of land; lives on this land in seven different small towns; carries on agriculture and manufactures of several kinds, and is highly prosperous.

"Its members are all Germans.

"The base of its organization is religion; they are pietists; and their religious head, at present a woman, is supposed by them to speak by direct inspiration of God. Hence they call themselves 'Inspirationists'."

An important feature of any viable social system is that the leaders of that system get some sort of feedback from the other members of the system in a manner that will effectively influence their own behavior.

"...the congregations did not hesitate to criticise, and very sharply, the conduct of their spiritual leaders; and to depose them, and even expel them for cause. Moreover, they recount in their books, without disguise, all their misunderstandings. Thus it is recorded of Barbara Heynemann that in

1820 she was condemned to expulsion from the society, and her earnest entreaties only sufficed to obtain consent that she should serve as a maid in the family of one of the congregation; but even that it was forbidden her to come to the meetings. Her exclusion seems, however, to have lasted but a few months. Metz, in his 'Historical Description', relates that this trouble fell upon Barbara because she had too friendly an eye upon the young men,...."

As we have seen, any behavioral system needs intermittent maintenance in the form of contingent social reinforcement and punishment.

"The congregations were much scattered in Germany, and it appears to have been the habit of the 'inspired instruments' to travel from one to the other, deliver messages from on high, and inquire into the spiritual condition of the faithful."

The Lyman Family, a prominent contemporary hippy commune, feels that it frequently has problems with frivolous and unproductive dinner table conversation; so did the Amanaites. Their solution was segregation at meal time.

" 'Why do you separate men from women at table?' I asked.

" 'To prevent silly conversation and trifling conduct,' was the answer."

One of the problems in designing any social system is to make sure that the resources are put where they are needed, when they are needed; and the most important resource may be the human resource.

"Each business has its foreman; and these leaders in each village meet together every evening, to concert and arrange the labors of the following day. Thus if any department needs for an emergency an extra force, it is known, and the proper persons are warned."

It may be that scheduling a variety of activities throughout the day may make a fairly heavy work regime more reinforcing than a constant diet of the same thing over the course of the day.

"The children are kept at school between the ages of six and thirteen; the sexes do not sit in separate rooms. The school opens at seven o'clock, and the children study and recite until half-past nine. From that hour until eleven, when they are dismissed for dinner, they knit gloves, wristlets, or stockings. At one o'clock school reopens, and they once more attend to lessons until three, from which hour till half-past four they knit again."

Some communes have attempted to share, having group ownership of everything, including clothing and small personal items. A problem of this type, experienced by the communards living in the Israeli kibbutz, is that the contingencies of reinforcement for proper care of this clothing are considerably less effective; since, if you damage your clothes, all you have to do is toss them into the community laundry and grab a better pair next time. The Amanaites dealt with this very effectively, yet, within a general communal framework.

"They have contrived a very simple and ingenious plan for supplying their members with clothing and other articles aside from food. To each adult male an annual allowance is made of from forty to one hundred dollars, according as his position and labor necessitates more or less clothing. For each adult female the allowance is from twenty-five to thirty dollars, and from five to ten dollars for each child.

"All that they need is kept in store in each village, and is sold to the members at cost and expenses. When any one requires an article of clothing, he goes to the store and selects the cloth, for which he is charged in a book he brings with him; he then goes to the tailor, who makes the garment, and charges him on the book an established price. If he needs shoes, or a hat, or tobacco, or a watch, every thing is in the same way charged. As I sat in one of the shops, I noticed women coming in to make purchases, often bringing children with them, and each had her little book in which due entry was made. 'Whatever we do not use, is so much saved against next year; or we may give it away if we like,' one explained to me; and added that during the war, when the society contributed between eighteen and twenty thousand dollars to various benevolent purposes, much of this was given by individual members out of the savings on their year's account."

A concern of our contemporary ecology consciousness is that we not be wasteful of our natural resources. Perhaps our most valuable natural resource, once again, is human energy. For that reason, we need to design social systems that are efficient in the use of human energy as well as physical resources. Communes can lend themselves to this sort of efficiency.

"They have not many labor-saving contrivances; though of course the eating in common is both economical and laborsaving. There is in each village a general wash-house, where the clothing of the unmarried people is washed, but each family does its own washing."

A major problem encountered by contemporary hippy communes is the large number of visitors and crashers. The contingencies of reinforcement that generate this problem in the 20th century were also operating in the 19th century:

"They have much trouble with applicants who desire to join the society; and receive, the secretary told me, sometimes dozens of letters in a month from persons of whom they know nothing; and not a few of whom, it seems, write, not to ask permission to join, but to say that they are coming on at once. There have been cases where a man wrote to say that he had sold all his possessions, and was then on the way, with his family, to join the association."

The Amanaites may also have discovered an effective reinforcer for religious behavior.

"The members do not work hard. One of the foremen told me that three hired hands would do as much as five or six of the members. Partly this comes no doubt from the interruption to steady labor caused by their frequent religious meetings; but I have found it generally true that the members of communistic societies take life easy."

Social systems that have eliminated class, sex and race prejudice will frequently end up as "meritocracies", that is a system where those with merit (according to some criterion) end up in positions of responsibility. Probably being in a position of responsibility, and making decisions which influence the nature of the social system, may be sufficient reinforcers in maintaining a fair amount of meritorious behavior.

"Here, as in other communistic societies, the brains seem to come easily to the top."

In spite of an attempt to develop egalitarian societies, where no man is a servant for another, it would seem that most successful social systems do have different orders or classes. In one successful contemporary hippy commune, prospective members form the lower class and live in the commune for a considerable period of time before they can become members of the higher class, that is, permanent members of the commune. In another contemporary commune, the classes are distinguished as knights, lords, ladies, etc.

"The society consists of three of these orders — the highest, the middle, and the lower, or children's order. In the latter fall naturally the youth of both sexes, but also those older and married persons whose religious life and experience are not deep enough to make them worthy of membership in the higher orders."

Their contingency management was certainly not without its aversive control aspects.

"'Inspiration sometimes directs us to . . . expel an unworthy member. Inspiration discovers hidden sins in the congregation.' . . . When any member offends against the rules or order of life of the

society, he is admonished (*ermahnt*) by the elders; and if he does not amend his ways, expulsion follows; and here as elsewhere in the communities I have visited, they seem vigilantly to purge the society of imporper persons . . .'Rules for Daily Life: XXI. Constantly practice abstinence and temperance, so that you may be as wakeful after eating as before.'"

The notion of using aversive control to shape and maintain more appropriate interpersonal interactions, and moral behavior, seems to be an important part of all successful social systems, whether this be in the form of a confessional, an encounter group, a sensitivity session, a self-criticism session, or all of the above.

"At least once in every year there is a general and minute 'Untersuchung', or inquisition of the whole community, including even the children — an examination of its spiritual condition. This is done by classes or orders, beginning with the elders themselves; and I judge from the relations of this ceremony in their printed books that it lasts long, and is intended to be very thorough. Each member is expected to make confession of his sins, faults, and shortcomings; and if any thing is hidden, they believe that it will be brought to light by the inspired person, who assumes on this occasion an important part, admonishing individuals very freely, and denouncing the sins and evils which exist in the congregation. At this time, too, any disputes which may have occurred are brought up and healed, and an effort is made to revive religious fervor in the hearts of all."

Frequent meetings of the group seem to be an important feature in maintaining the viability of many experimental communities.

"On Saturday, all the people of a village assemble together in the church or meeting-house; . . ."

Most contemporary hippy communes have serious problems with crashers who come in and expect to be housed, fed, and taken care of while contributing very little. Communes which have allowed themselves to be imposed upon without restraint have almost always collapsed. Other communes have instituted "no-crasher" policies. But a few have set up provisions so that crashers can visit temporarily, either paying their own way with cash or staying in a special dwelling for crashers. It would appear that the members of the Harmony Society used the latter procedure to deal with this problem.

"As I sat before the fire in my own room after supper, I heard the door-bell ring with a frequency as though an uncommon number of travelers were applying for lodgings; and going down into the sitting-room about seven o'clock, I dis-

covered there an extraordinary collection of persons ranged around the fire, and toasting their more or less dilapidated boots. There were men in all degrees of raggedness; men with one eye, or lame, or crippled — tramps, in fact, beggars for supper and a night's lodging. They sat there to the number of twenty, half naked many of them, and not a bit ashamed; with carpet-bags or without; with clean or dirty faces and clothes as it might happen; but all hungry, as I presently saw, when a table was drawn out, about which they gathered, giving their names to be taken down on a register, while to them came a Harmonist brother with a huge tray full of tins filled with coffee, and another with a still bigger tray of bread . . . A constant provision of coffee and bread is made for them, and the house set apart for their lodging has bed accommodations for twenty men. They are expected to wash at the stable next morning, and thereupon receive a breakfast of bread, meat, and coffee, and are suffered to go on their way. Occasionally the very destitute, if they seem to be deserving, receive also clothing."

Being a member of a persecuted minority seems to be a reinforcing state of affairs for many people, not only today, but also yesterday.

"George Rapp, founder and until his death in 1847 head of the 'Harmony Society', was born in October, 1757, at Iptingen in Wurtemberg . . . He became dissatisfied especially with the lifeless condition of the churches; and in the year 1787, when he was thirty, he had evidently found others who held with him, for he began to preach to a small congregation of friends in his own house on Sundays. The clergy resented this interference with their office, and persecuted Rapp and his adherents; they were fined and imprisoned; and this proved to be, as usual, the best way to increase their numbers and to confirm their dislike of the prevailing order of things. They were denounced as 'Separatists', and had the courage to accept the name."

Self-sufficiency has been an important reinforcer for communes in both this century and the last, though the rationalization for this reinforcer may, from time to time, vary.

"It was a principle with Rapp that the society should, as far as possible, produce and make every thing it used; and in the early days, I am told, they bought very little indeed of provisions or clothing, having then but small means."

It would appear that "self-management" may be facilitated by a communal setting where there are large numbers of observers and consequators present.

"During the year 1807, however, a deep religious fervor pervaded the society; and

a remarkable result of this 'revival of religion' was the determination of most of the members to conform themselves more closely in several ways to what they believed to be the spirit and commands of Jesus. Among other matters, they were persuaded in their own minds that it was best to cease to live in the married state . . . This determination to refrain from marriage and from married life originated among the younger members . . . 'The burden was easier to bear, because it became general throughout the whole community, and all bore their share alike.' . . . At the same time that the celibate life was adopted, the community agreed to cease using tobacco in every form — a deprivation which these Germans must have felt almost as severely as the abandonment of conjugal joys."

In his utopian novel, *Walden Two*, Skinner suggests that the planners and managers of his community should participate equally with other members of the community in the work. This increases the likelihood that the reinforcing and punishing features of the community will also make contact with the planners and managers, and increases the likelihood that they will plan, and manage, with the people's immediate reinforcement in mind. This was also practiced by the 19th century Shakers:

"Ministers, elders, and deacons, all without exception, except in the time taken up in the necessary duties of their respective duties of their respective callings."

As with other communities the "Shakers" did not toil severely. We have indicated in another chapter that it is important to have a specified meeting time for family communication and we have seen that the Amanaites have periodic meetings. So do the Shakers. Their family meets every evening.

The Shakers have also found the value of confession. If you sin, you must be punished; if only through social disapproval.

". . . the neophyte shall make a complete and open confession of the sins of his whole past life to two elders of his or her own sex . . . 'As all the secret actions of men are open and known to God, therefore a confession made in secret, though professedly made to God, can bring nothing to light; and the sinner may perhaps have as little fear of God in confessing his sins in this manner as he had in committing them. And as nothing is brought to the light by confessing his sins in this manner, he feels no cross in it; nor does he thereby find any mortification to that carnal nature which first led him into sin; and is therefore liable to run again into

the same acts of sin as he was before his confession. But let the sinner appear in the presence of a faithful servant of Christ, and there confess honestly his every secret sin, one by one, of whatever nature or name, and faithfully lay open his whole life, without any covering or disguise, and he will then feel a humiliating sense of himself, in the presence of God, in a manner which he never experienced before. He will then, in very deed, find a mortifying cross to his carnal nature, and feel the crucifixion of his lust and pride where he never did before, He will then perceive the essential difference between confessing his sins in the dark, where no mortal ear can hear him, and actually bringing his evil deeds to the light of one individual child of God; and he will then be convinced that a confession made before the light of God in one of his true witnesses can bring upon him a more awful sense of his accountability both to God and man than all his confessions in darkness had ever done.' "

The Shakers also found self-sufficiency very reinforcing.

"For his part, he would like to make a law for the whole country, that every man should own a piece of land and work on it. Moreover, a community, he said, should, as far as possible, make or produce all it uses. 'We used to have more looms than now, but cloth is sold so cheaply that we began to buy. It is a mistake; we buy more cheaply than we can make, but our home-made cloth is much better than that we can buy; and we have now to make three pairs of trousers, for instance, where before we made one. Thus our little looms would even now be more profitable — to say nothing of the independence we secure in working them.' "

The Shakers make extensive use of contingency management to facilitate proper interpersonal relations.

" 'For instance, suppose one of the members to possess a hasty temper, not yet under proper curb; suppose he or she breaks out into violent words or impatience, in a shop or elsewhere; the rest ought to and do tell the elder, who will thereupon administer reproof. But also the offending member ought not to come to meeting before having made confession of his sin to the elder, and asked pardon of those who were the subjects and witnesses of the offense.' . . . One of the older Shakers, a man of seventy-two years, and of more than average intelligence, said to me, in answer to a direct question, that he had for years lived a sinless life. 'I say to any who know me, as Jesus said to the Pharisees, "which of you convicteth me of sin." '

The aesthetic principles describing what was visually reinforcing to the average United States citizen in the 19th century

are somewhat different than those of the 20th century. The Shaker furniture and architecture is now quite fashionable, as is the energy-conserving orientation of their physical systems.

"Considering the homeliness of the buildings, which mostly have the appearance of mere factories or human hives, I asked Elder Frederick whether, if they were to build anew, they would not aim at some architectural effect, some beauty of design. He replied with great positiveness, 'No, the beautiful, as you call it, is absurd and abnormal. It has no business with us. The divine man has no right to waste money upon what you would call beauty, in his house or his daily life, while there are people living in misery.' In building anew, he would take care to have more light, a more equal distribution of heat, and a more general care for protection and comfort, because these things tend to health and long life. But no beauty. He described to me amusingly the disgust he had experienced in a costly New York dwelling, where he saw carpets nailed down on the floor, 'of course with piles of dust beneath, never swept away, and of which I had to breath;' and with heavy picture-frames hung against the walls, also the receptacles of dust. 'You people in the world are not clean according to our Shaker notions. And what is the use of pictures?' he added scornfully."

There seem to be very few successful communities based on anarchy. The Shakers certainly had a well-ordered social structure.

"There is no servant class . . . 'Members also stipulate themselves by this signature to yield implicit obedience to the ministry, elders, deacons, and trustees, each in their respective departments of authority and duty.

'The Shaker government, in many points, resembles that of the military. All shall look for counsel and guidance to those immediately before them, and shall receive nothing from, nor make application for any thing to those but their immediate advisers. For instance: No elder in either of the subordinate bishoprics can make application for any amendment, any innovation, any introduction of a new system, of however trivial a nature, to the ministry of the first bishopric; but he may desire and ask of his own ministry, and, if his proposal meet their concurrence they will seek its sanction of those next higher . . .' "

The Shakers also had to deal with the fact that it's very reinforcing to get on a negative downer and put people down. But they also set up a system that made it a little easier to leave that sinless life, with a little help from your friends.

Contemporary hippy communes have considerable trouble in preventing sexual

reinforcers from destroying other means of interpersonal relations within the community. Evidently the Shakers were also concerned with this problem.

" 'The name of a person shall never be used to designate a dumb beast. No one is allowed to play with or handle unnecessarily any beast whatever. Brethren and sisters may not unnecessarily touch each other. If a brother shakes hands with an unbelieving woman, or a sister with an unbelieving man, they shall make known the same to the elders before they attend worship. Such salutes are admissible, for the sake of civility or custom, if the world party first present the hand — never without.' "

The Lama Foundation is a spiritual commune in New Mexico that seems to be having some impact on the outside world. It publishes books and has Sunday open-house, much as the Shakers did in the last century. Another similarity is that of dancing. On Sundays the Lama Foundation has its guest participate in "sufi" dancing, while other communes "boogie". The Shaker congregation indulged in this pastime by "marching with clapping hands and skipping feet".

Many hip communes have a hard time dealing with drugs. (I did not say dealing drugs.) General laissez-faire, anarchic, do-your-thing hippy philosophy, prevalent in many contemporary communes, results in very little negative sanction being applied to people who are constantly involved in chemical recreation. Unfortunately, the constant use of drugs does not seem to facilitate getting the leaks in the roof fixed and the garden hoed or even the poem written. One way to deal with the problem of drugs may be to ritualize their use. For example, it's okay to get drunk on Saturday night, but not Tuesday afternoon. Many American Indian tribes seem to control the correct use by involving it only in specified religious rituals while punishing it's use during other times. The hippies have picked up on the notion that the American Indians use drugs, but perhaps not for the same purposes; or perhaps the hippies are having a continuing religious experience. Another way to practice effective contingency management is "nothing in moderation". So some communes have banned the use of drugs altogether. The Shakers also have their problems with drugs and here is an example of the use of stimulus control in behavior modification.

"In *A Selection of Hymns and Poems for the Use of Believers*, printed at Watervliet, in Ohio, 1833, one can trace some of the earlier trials of the societies, and the evils they had to contend with within themselves.

'From all intoxicating drink
    Ancient Believers did abstain;
Then say, good brethren, do you think

That such a cross was all in vain?

'Inebriation, we allow,
    First paved the way for am'rous deeds;
Then why should poisonous spirits now
    Be ranked among our common needs?

'As an apothecary drug,
    Ist wondrous virtues some will plead;
And hence we find the stupid *slug*
    A morning dram does often need.

'Fatigue or want of appetite
    At noon will crave a little more,
And so the same complaints at night
    Are just as urgent as before.

'By want of sleep, and this and that,
    His thirst for liquor is increased;
Till he becomes a bloated sot —
    The very scarlet-colered beast.

'Why, then, should any soul insist
    On such pernicious, pois'nous stuff?
Malignant *spirits,* you're dismissed!
    You have possess us long enough.'

"As a note to this temperance rhyme, stands the following:

'Ch. Rule — All spirituous liquors should be kept under care of the nurses, that no drams in any case whatever should be dispensed to persons in common health, and that frivolous excuses of being unwell should not be admitted. Union Village, 1826.'

" 'Slug', in the third of the preceding verses, seems to have been a cant term among the early Shakers for a sluggard and selfish fellow, a kind of creature they have pretty thoroughly extirpated; and presumably by such free speech as is used in the following amusing rhymes:

'The depth of language I have dug
To show the meaning of a Slug;
And must conclude, upon the whole,
It means a stupid, lifeless soul,
Whose object is to live at ease,
And his own carnal nature please;
Who always has some selfish quirk,
In sleeping, eating, and at work.

'A lazy fellow it implies
Who in the morning hates to rise;
When all the rest are up at four,
He wants to sleep a little more.
When others into meeting swarm,
He keeps his nest so good and warm,
That sometimes when the sisters come
To make the beds and sweep the room,
Who do they find wrap'd up so snug?
Ah! who is it but Mr. Slug.

'A little cold or aching head
Will send him grunting to his bed,
And he'll pretend he's sick or sore,
Just that he may indulge the more.
Nor would it feel much like a crime
If he should sleep one half his time.

'When he gets up, before he's dress'd
He's so fatigued he has to rest;
And half an hour he'll keep his chair
Before he takes the morning air.
He'll sit and smoke in calm repose

Until the trump for breakfast blows —
And he must wait another blast;
So at the sound of the last shell,
He takes his seat and all is well.'

" 'Slug' at work, or pretending to work, gets a fling also:

'When call'd to work you'll always find
The lazy fellow lags behind —
He has to smoke or end his chat,
Or tie his shoes, or hunt his hat:
So all the rest are busy found
Before old Slug gets on the ground;
Then he must stand and take his wind
Before he's ready to begin,
And ev'ry time he straights his back
He's sure to have some useless clack;
And tho' all others hate the Slug,
With folded arms himself he'll hug.

'When he conceits meal-time is near,
He listens oft the trump to hear;
And when it sounds, it is his rule
The first of all to drop his tool;
And if he's brisk in any case,
It will be in his homeward pace.'

"Here, too, is a picture of 'Slug' shirking his religious duties:

'In his devotions he is known
To be the same poor lazy drone:
The sweetest songs Believers find
Make no impression on his mind;
And round the fire he'd rather nod
Than labor in the works of God.

'Some vain excuse he'll often plead
That he from worship may be freed —
He's bruis'd his heel or stump'd his toe,
And can not into meeting go;
And if he comes he's half asleep,
That no good fruit from him we reap:
He'll labor out a song or two,
And so conclude that that will do;
[And, lest through weariness he fall,
He'll brace himself against the wall],
And well the faithful may give thanks
That poor old Slug has quit the ranks.

'When the spectators are address'd,
Then is the time for Slug to rest —
From his high lot he can't be hurl'd,
To feel toward the wicked world;
So he will sit with closed eyes
Until the congregation rise;
And when the labor we commence,
He moves with such a stupid sense —
It often makes spectators stare
To see so dead a creture there.'

"Following these verses are some reflections, concluding:

'Away with the sluggard, the glutton, and beast,
    For none but the bee and the dove
Can truly partake of this heavenly feast,
Which springs from the fountains of love.' "

Here is an interesting account which might be interpreted as an example of social reinforcement, the absence of aversive contingencies (normally present), reinforcing value of aggression, and the importance of imitative stimuli. Of course the

Shakers had a different analysis.

" 'Shrieks of some one, apparently in great distress, first announced a phenomenon, which caused the excitement. The screeching proceeded from a girl of but thirteen years of age, who had previously among the Shakers been a clairvoyant, and who has since been a powerful medium for spiritual manifestation elsewhere. She soon fell upon the floor, uttering awful cries, similar to those we had often heard emanating from instruments groaning under the pressure of some hidden abomination in the assembly. She plucked out entire handfuls of her hair, and wailed and shrieked like one subjected to all the conceived agonies of hell. The ministry and elders remarked that they believed that something was wrong; something extremely heinous was covered from God's witnesses somewhere in the assembly. All were exhorted to search themselves, and see if they had nothing about them that God disowns. The meeting was soon dismissed, but the medium continued in her abnormal and deplorable condition. Near the middle of the succeeding night we were all awakened by the ringing of the alarm, and summoned quickly to repair to the girls' apartments. We obeyed. The same medium lay upon a bed, uttering in the name of an apostate from the Shaker faith, and who was still living in New England, tremendous imprecations against himself, warning all to beware of what use they make of their privilege in Zion, telling us of his awful torments in hell, how his flesh (or the substance of his spiritual body) was all to strings and ringlets torn, how he was roasted in flames of brimstone and tar, and, finally, that all these calamities were caused by his doleful corruptions and pollutions while a member, and professedly a brother to us. This, it was supposed by many, was by true revelation the anticipation of the future state of this victim of apostasy and sin. Two or three more girls were soon taken in the same manner, and became uncontrollable. They were all instruments for reprobated spirits, and breathed nothing but hatred and blasphemy to God. They railed, they cursed, they swore, they heaped the vilest epithets upon the heads of the leaders and most faithful of the members, they pulled each other's and their own hair, threw knives, forks, and the most dangerous of missiles. When the instruments were rational, the elders entreated them to keep off such vile spirits. They would weep in anguish, and reply that, unless they spoke and acted for the spirits, they would choke them to death. They would then suddenly swoon away, and in struggling to resist them would choke and gasp, until they had the appearance of a victim strangled by a rope tightly drawn around her neck. If they would then speak, the strangulation would cease. In the mean time two females of adult

age, and two male youths, were seized in the same manner. Unless confined, they would elope, and appear to all intents the victims of insanity.' "

The members of the Oneida community were called "Perfectionists". Like many other communes, past and present, the Perfectionists had an active press that published books and magazines expousing their views.

The Perfectionists practiced a form of community marriage called "common marriage". In other words, any pair of consenting adults could have sexual intercourse. Many communes that have attempted this procedure in the 20th century have found it very difficult, as did the Perfectionists of the 19th century.

"Finally, they find in practice a strong tendency toward what they call 'selfish love' — that is to say, the attachment of two persons to each other, and their desire to be true to each other; and there are here and there in their publications signs that there has been suffering among their young people on this account. They rebuke this propensity, however, as selfish and sinful, and break it down rigorously."

They also have their "encounter" sessions.

"On Sunday the first work is to sort and send away to the laundry the soiled clothing of the week. After this comes the regular weekly meeting of the Business Board; and thereafter meetings for criticism, conducted in rooms apart.

"The institution of Criticism, a description of which I have reserved for this place, is a most important and ingenious device, which Noyes and his followers rightly regard as the corner-stone of their practical community life. It is in fact their main instrument of government; and it is useful as a means of eliminating uncongenial elements, and also to train those who remain into harmony with the general system and order.

"I am told that it was first used by Mr. Noyes while he was a divinity student at Andover, where certain members of his class were accustomed to meet together to criticise each other. The person to suffer criticism sits in silence, while the rest of the company, each in turn, tell him his faults, with, I judge, an astonishing and often exasperating plainness of speech. Here is the account given by Mr. Noyes himself:

'The measures relied upon for good government in these community families are, first, *daily evening meetings*, which all are expected to attend. In these meetings, religious, social, and business matters are freely discussed, and opportunity given for exhortation and reproof. Secondly, *the system of mutual criticism*. This system takes the place of backbiting in or-

dinary society, and is regarded as one of the greatest means of improvement and fellowship. All of the members are accustomed to voluntarily invite the benefit of this ordinance from time to time. Sometimes persons are criticised by the entire family; at other times by a committee of six, eight, twelve, or more, selected by themselves from among those best acquainted with them, and best able to do justice to their character. In this criticism the most perfect sincerity is expected; and in practical experience it is found best for the subject to receive his criticism without replying. There is little danger that the general verdict in respect to his character will be unjust. This ordinance is far from agreeable to those whose egotism and vanity are stronger than their love of truth. It is an ordeal which reveals insincerity and selfishness; but it also often takes the form of commendation, and reveals hidden virtues as well as secret faults. It is always acceptable to those who wish to see themselves as others see them.

'These two agencies — daily evening meetings and criticism — are found quite adequate to the maintenance of good order and government in the communities. Those who join the communities understanding their principles, and afterward prove refractory and inharmonic, and also those who come into the communities in childhood, and afterward develop characters antagonistic to the general spirit, and refuse to yield to the governmental agencies mentioned, either voluntarily withdraw or are expelled. Only one case of expulsion is, however, recorded.'

"They depend upon criticism to cure whatever they regard as faults in the character of a member; for instance, idleness, disorderly habits, impoliteness, selfishness, a love of novel-reading, 'selfish love', conceit, pride, stubbornness, a grumbling spirit — for every vice, petty or great, criticism is held to be a remedy. They have even a 'criticism-cure', and hold that this is almost as effective as their 'prayer-cure'.

"On Sunday afternoon, by the kindness of a young man who had offered himself for criticism, I was permitted to be present. Fifteen persons besides myself, about half women, and about half young people under thirty, were seated in a room, mostly on benches placed against the wall. Among them was Mr. Noyes himself, who sat in a large rocking-chair. The young man to be criticised, whom I will call Charles, sat inconspicuously in the midst of the company. When the doors were closed, he was asked by the leader (not Mr. Noyes) whether he desired to say any thing. Retaining his seat, he said that he had suffered for some time past from certain intellectual difficulties and doubts — a leaning especially toward positivism, and lack of faith; being drawn

away from God; a tendency to think religion of small moment. But that he was combating the evil spirit within him, and hoped he had gained somewhat; and so on.

"Hereupon a man being called on to speak, remarked that he thought Charles had been somewhat hardened by too great good-fortune; that his success in certain enterprises had somewhat spoiled him; if he had not succeeded so well, he would have been a better man; that he was somewhat wise in his own esteem; not given to consult with others, or to seek or take advice. One or two other men agreed generally with the previous remarks, had noticed these faults in Charles, and that they made him disagreeable; and gave examples to show his faults. Another concurred in the general testimony, but added that he thought Charles had lately made efforts to correct some of his faults, though there was still much room for improvement.

"A young woman next remarked that Charles was haughty and supercilious, and thought himself better than others with whom he was brought into contact; that he was needlessly curt sometimes to those with whom he had to speak.

"Another young woman added that Charles was a respecter of persons; that he showed his liking for certain individuals too plainly by calling them pet names before people; that he seemed to forget that such things were disagreeable and wrong.

"Another woman said that Charles was often careless in his language; sometimes used slang words, and was apt to give a bad impression to strangers. Also that he did not always conduct himself at table, especially before visitors, with careful politeness and good manners.

"A man concurred in this, and remarked that he had heard Charles condemn the beefsteak on a certain occasion as tough; and had made other unnecessary remarks about the food on the table while he was eating.

"A woman remarked that she had on several occasions found Charles a respecter of persons.

"Another said that Charles, though industrious and faithful in all temporalities, and a very able man, was not religious at all.

"A man remarked that Charles was, as others had said, somewhat spoiled by his own success, but that it was a mistake for him to be so, for he was certain that Charles's success came mainly from the wisdom and care with which the society had surrounded him with good advisers, who had guided him; and that Charles ought therefore to be humble, instead of proud and haughty, as one who ought to look outside of himself for the real sources of his success.

"Finally, two or three remarked that he had been in a certain transaction insincere toward another young man, saying one thing to his face and another to others; and in this one or two women concurred.

"Amid all this very plain speaking, which I have considerably condensed, giving only the general charges, Charles sat speechless, looking before him; but as the accusations multiplied, his face grew paler, and drops of perspiration began to stand on his forehead. The remarks I have reported took up about half an hour; and now, each one in the circle having spoken, Mr. Noyes summed up.

"He said that Charles had some serious faults; that he had watched him with some care; and that he thought the young man was earnestly trying to cure himself. He spoke in general praise of his ability, his good character, and of certain temptations he had resisted in the course of his life. He thought he saw signs that Charles was making a real and earnest attempt to conquer his faults; and as one evidence of this he remarked that Charles had lately come to him to consult him upon a difficult case in which he had had a severe struggle, but had in the end succeeded in doing right. 'In the course of what we call stirpiculture,' said Noyes, 'Charles, as you know, is in the situation of one who is by and by to become a father. Under these circumstances, he has fallen under the too common temptation of selfish love, and a desire to wait upon and cultivate an exclusive intimacy with the woman who was to bear a child through him. This is an insidious temptation, very apt to attack people under such circumstances; but it must nevertheless be struggled against.' Charles he went on to say, had come to him for advice in this case, and he (Noyes) had at first refused to tell him any thing, but had asked him what he thought he ought to do; that after some conversation, Charles had determined, and he agreed with him, that he ought to isolate himself entirely from the woman, and let another man take his place at her side; and this Charles had accordingly done, with a most praiseworthy spirit of self-sacrifice. Charles had indeed still further taken up his cross, as he had noticed with pleasure, by going to sleep with the smaller children, to take charge of them during the night. Taking all this in view, he thought Charles was in a fair way to become a better man, and had manifested a sincere desire to improve, and to rid himself of all selfish faults.

"Thereupon the meeting was dismissed.

"All that I have recited was said by practiced tongues. The people knew very well how to express themselves. There was no vagueness, no uncertainty. Every point was made; every sentence was a hit — a stab I was going to say, but as the sufferer was a volunteer, I suppose this would be too strong a word. I could see, however, that while Charles might be benefited by the 'criticism', those who spoke of him would perhaps also be the better for their speech; for if there had been bitterness in any of their hearts before, this was likely to be dissipated by the free utterance. Concerning the closing remarks of Noyes, which disclose so strange and horrible a view of morals and duty, I need say nothing."

Study Objectives — Part 1

1. Why does Mills feel that a factory worker would not be as productive as a worker in a communistic society?

2. What one criticism does Mills make concerning the salary system of communistic labor?

3. What sort of aversive consequences does Mills suggest to reduce the birthrate (self-indulgence)?

4. In behavioral terms, what is Nordhoff saying when he wonders whether the communist would become "something more than a comfortable and independent day-laborer, aspiring to something higher than a mere bread-and-butter existence"?

5. How did the Amana community use a feedback system to influence and monitor the behavior of their leaders?

6. When in Germany, how did the Amana communities use social reinforcement for religious behavior?

7. How did the Amanites and the Lyman Family arrange the mealtime environment to promote productive conversation?

8. How did the Amanites schedule the children's work day to make it more reinforcing?

9. What problem did community ownership of material goods present?

10. How did the Amanites deal with the problem of community ownership of material goods?

11. How was religious behavior increased among the Amanite workers?

12. Do most successful social systems have different orders or classes?

13. What two aversive consequences did the Amanites provide for rulebreakers?

14. What type of aversive control was used by the Amanites to encourage "moral" behavior?

15. What procedure did the Harmony Society use to deal with crashers?

16. What is an important reinforcer that many communes have tried to attain both in this century and the last?

17. Why would "self-management" seem to be facilitated by a communal setting?

18. What was the rationale behind having the communal leaders participate equally with the other members of the community in the work?

19. How did the Shakers punish "sinful" behavior?

20. How did the Shakers observe and consequate violent and impatient verbal behavior?

21. Did the Shakers have a social structure under which no man possessed any more authority than the next?

22. What problem do contemporary hippy communes have involving sexual behavior?

23. How do many American Indian tribes deal with the problem of drugs?

24. How did the Shakers restrict the use of alcoholic reinforcers?

25. At the Shaker's spiritual meetings, there was an absence of aversive consequences for what behavior?

26. What difficulty did the Perfectionists have with "common marriage"?

27. How did the Perfectionists use the "system of mutual criticism"?

PART 2
Communal Living
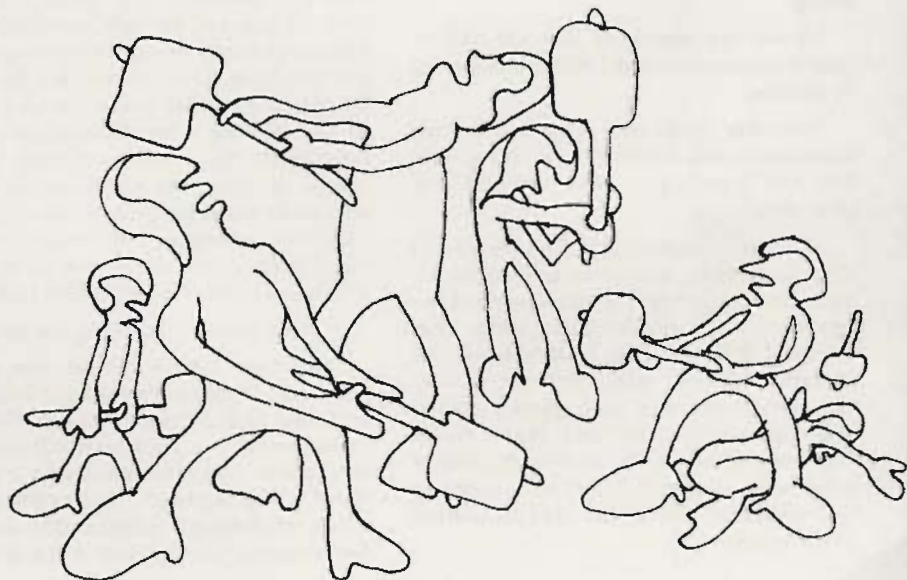
Finally, Nordhoff draws some general conclusions about communal life:

"The common assertion that a commune must break up on the death of its founder would thus appear to be erroneous."

"It is not an exaggeration to say that almost the whole of this wealth has been created by the patient industry and strict economy and honesty of its owners, without a positive or eager desire on their part to accumulate riches, and without painful toil."

"Moreover — and this is another important consideration — I am satisfied that *during its accumulation* the Communists enjoyed a greater amount of comfort, and vastly greater security against want and demoralization, than were attained by their neighbors or the surrounding population, with better schools and opportunities of training for their children, and far less exposure for the women, and the aged and infirm."

"All the communes under consideration have as their bond of union some form of religious belief."

". . .it is true that a commune to exist harmoniously, must be composed of persons who are of one mind upon some question which to them shall appear so important as to take the place of a religion, if it is not essentially religious; though it need not be fanatically held."

"At Icaria, Amana, Aurora, Bethel, and Zoar the family relation is held in honor, and each family has its own separate household. The Icarians even forbid celibacy. None of these five societies maintain what is called a 'unitary household'; and in only two, Icaria and Amana, do the people eat in common dining-halls."

"Also, it is the aim of all to produce and make, as far as possible, every thing they consume. To limit the expenditures and increase the income is the evident road to wealth, as they have all discovered."

"Much ingenuity has been exercised by all these communists in establishing profitable branches of manufacture; and they have had the good sense and courage in whatever they undertook to make only a good article, and secure trade by rigid honesty."

"The women of a commune have, without exception, I think, far less burdensome lives than women of the same class elsewhere. This comes partly because the men are more regular in their hours and habits, and waste no time in dram-shops or other and less harmful places of dissipation; partly, too, because all the industries of a commune are systematized, and what

Yankees call 'chores', the small duties of the household, such as preparing and storing firewood, providing water, etc., which on our farms are often neglected by the man, and cause the women much unnecessary hardship and toil, are in a commune brought into the general plan of work, and thoroughly attended to."

"Nothing surprised me more, in my investigations of the communistic societies, than to discover —

"1st. The amount and variety of business and mechanical skill which is found in every commune, no matter what is the character or intelligence of its members; and,

"2d. The ease and certainty with which the brains come to the top. Of course this last is a transcendent merit in any system of government."

"But as the leaders take no important step without the unanimous consent of the membership; and as it is a part of the communal policy to set each member to that work which he can do best, and so far as possible to please all; and as the communist takes life easily, and does not toil as severely as the individualist — so, given a general assent to the principle of obedience, and practically little hardship occurs."

"At Amana, and among the Shaker communes, the 'leading characters', as the Shakers quaintly call them, are selected by the highest spiritual authority, are seldom changed, and have almost, but not quite, unlimited power and authority. The limitations are that they shall so manage as to preserve harmony, and that they shall act within the general rules of the societies — shall not contract debts, for instance, or enter upon speculative or hazardous enterprises.

"The democracy which exists at Oneida and Wallingford is held in check by the overshadowing conservative influence of their leader, Noyes; . . ."

"At Economy the chiefs have always been appointed by the spiritual head, and for life; and the people, as among the Shakers and Eben-Ezers, trouble themselves but little about the management."

"The leader is only the chief servant; his food and lodgings are no better than those of the members.

"A Shaker elder sits at the head of the table of his family or commune, and even the highest elder or bishop of the society has not a room to himself, and is expected to work at some manual occupation when not employed in spiritual duties.

"In a commune no member is a servant; if any servants are kept, they are hired from among the world's people."

"Moreover, the security against want and misfortune, the sure provision for old

age and inability, which the communal system offers — is no doubt an inducement with a great many to whom the struggle for existence appears difficult and beset by terrible chances."

"Finally, the communal life secures order and system — certainly at the expense of variety and amusement; but a man or woman born with what the Shakers would call a gift of order, finds, I imagine, a singular charm in the precision, method, regularity, and perfect system of a communal village."

" 'How do you manage with the lazy people?' I asked in many places; but there are no idlers in a commune. I conclude that men are not naturally idle. Even the 'winter Shakers' — the shiftless fellows who, as cold weather approaches, take refuge in Shaker and other communes, professing a desire to become members; who come at the beginning of winter, as a Shaker elder said to me, 'with empty stomachs and empty trunks, and go off with both full as soon as the roses begin to bloom' — even these poor creatures succumb to the systematic and orderly rules of the place, and do their share of work without shirking, until the mild spring sun tempts them to a freer life."

"The fixed rule of the communes, not to run in debt, is a wholesome check on trustees; and though defalcations have occurred in several of the Shaker communes, they remain satisfied that their plan of account-keeping is the best."

"It is an important part of the commune's economies in living that it buys its supplies at wholesale. Oddly enough, a person at Buffalo, with whom I spoke of the Eben-Ezer people, remarked that they were disliked in the city, because, while they sold their products there, they bought their supplies at wholesale in New York. The retailer and middle-man appear to have vested rights nowadays. People seem to have thought in Buffalo that they obliged the Eben-Ezer men by buying their vegetables. I have heard the same objection made in other states to the Shaker societies: 'They are of no use to the country, for they buy every thing in the city at wholesale.' As though they did not pay taxes, besides setting an excellent example of virtuous and moderate living to their neighbors.

"The simplicity of dress usual among communists works also an economy not only in means, but what is of equal importance, and might be of greater, a saving of time and trouble and vexation of spirit to the women. I think it a pity that all the societies have not a uniform dress; the Shakers and Rappists have, and it is an advantage in point of neatness. The slop-made coats and trousers worn in many societies quickly turn shabby, and give a slouchy appearance to the men, which is disagreeable to the eye, and must

be more or less demoralizing to the wearers. The blue jacket of the Rappist is a very suitable and comfortable working garment; and the long coat of the Shaker always looks decent and tidy."

"I remark . . . that all the successful communes are composed of what are customarily called 'common people'.

"You look in vain for highly educated, refined, cultivated, or elegant men or women. They profess no exalted views of humanity or destiny; they are not enthusiasts; they do not speak much of the Beautiful with a big B. They are utilitarians. Some do not even like flowers; some reject instrumental music."

"The communists are honest. They like thorough and good work; . . . 'They are humane and charitable . . . The communist's life if full of devices for personal ease and comfort . . . They all live well, according to their different tastes . . . Food is abundant, and well cooked . . . They are temperate in the use of wine or spirits, and drunkenness is unkown in all the communes, although among the Germans the use of wine and beer is universal . . . None of the communes make the acquisition of wealth a leading object of life . . . The celibate communes keep very few of the young people whom they train up . . . The communal life appears to be, at first view, inexorably dull and dreary; and the surprise was the greater to a visitor like myself to find the people every where cheerful, merry in their quiet way, and with a sufficient number and variety of healthful interests in life. But, after all, the life of the communist has much more varied interests and excitements than that of the farmer or his family; for a commune is a village, and usually forms a tolerably densely crowded aggregation of people — more like a small section cut out of a city than like even a village. There is also a wholesome variety of occupations; and country life, to those who love it, presents an infinite fund of amusement and healthful work."

"Several of the societies have contrived ingenious mechanical means for securing harmony and eliminating without violence improper or rather uncongenial members; and these appear to me to be of high importance. The Shakers use what they call 'Confession of sins to the elders'; the Amana people have an annual 'untersuchung', or inquiry into the sins and the spiritual condition of the members; the Perfectionists use what they rightly call 'Criticism' — perhaps the most effective of all, as in it the subject is not left to tell his own tale, but sits at the *oyer* of his sins and disagreeable conduct, being judge rather than witness. But all these devices are meritorious, because by their means petty disputes are quieted, grievances are aired and thus dispersed, and harmony is maintained; while to one not in general

agreement with the commune either is unbearable, and will drive him off."

" . . . it may nevertheless be justly said that all [communes] arose out of a deep-seated dissatisfaction with society as it is constituted — a feeling which is well-nigh universal, and affects men and women more the more thoughtful they are; that they continue only because this want of something better is gratified; but that a commune could not long continue whose members had not, in the first place, by adverse circumstances, oppression, or better. Hence it is that the German peasant or weaver makes so good a communist; and hence, too, the numerous failures of communistic experiments in this country, begun by people of culture and means, with a sincere desire to live the 'better life'. J. H. Noyes, the founder of the Perfectionist communes, gives, in his book on 'American Socialisms', brief accounts of not less than forty-seven failures, many of them experiments which promised well at first, and whose founders were high-minded, highly cultivated men and women, with sufficient means, one would think, to achieve success."

"I believe that success depends — together with a general agreement in religious faith, and a real and spiritual religion leavening the mass — upon another sentiment — upon a feeling of the unbearableness of circumstances in which they find themselves. The general feeling of modern society is blindly right at bottom: communism is a mutiny against society.

"Only, whether the communist shall rebel with a bludgeon and a petroleum torch, or with a plow and a church, depends upon whether he has not or has faith in God — whether he is a religious being or not. If priestcraft and tyranny have sapped his faith and debauched his moral sense, then he will attack society as the French commune recently attacked Paris — animated by a furious envy of his more fortunate fellow-creatures, and an undiscriminating hatred toward every thing which reminds him of his oppressors, or of the social system from which he has or imagines he has suffered wrong. If, on the contrary, he believes in God, he finds hope and comfort in the social theory which Jesus propounded; and he will seek another way out, as did the Rappists, the Eben-Ezers, the Jansenists, the Zoarites, and not less the Shakers and the Perfectionists, each giving his own interpretation to that brief narrative of Luke in which he describes the primitive Christian Church:

'And all that believed were together, and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods; and parted them to all men as every man had need.'

"These words have had a singular power over men in all ages since they were written. They form the charter of every

communistic society of which I have spoken — for even the Icarians recall them."

" 'Bear ye one another's burdens' might well be written over the gates of every commune.

"Some things the communist must surrender; and the most precious of these is solitude."

"A company of fifty, or even twenty-five families, well known to each other, belonging to the same Christian Church, or at least united upon some one form of religious faith, composed of farmers or mechanics, or both, and strongly desirous to better their circumstances, and to live a life of greater independence and of greater social advantages than is attainable to the majority of farmers and mechanics, could, I believe, if they were so fortunate as to possess a leader of sufficient wisdom and unselfishness, in whom all would implicitly trust, make an attempt at communistic living with strong hopes of success; and they would undoubtedly, if they maintained their experiment only ten years, materially improve their condition; and, what to me seems more important, the life would affect their characters and those of their children in many ways beneficially."

"They would, of course, adopt rules as to hours of labor and of meals; but if they had the spirit which alone can give success, these matters would be easily settled — for in a community men are more apt to over-work than to be idle. The lazy men, who are the bugbears of speculative communists, are not, so far as I have heard, to be found in the existing communes, and I have often and in different places been told, especially of the early days: 'We worked late and early, each trying how much he could accomplish, and singing at our work.'

"In a commune, which is only a large family, I think it a great point gained for success to give the women equal rights in every respect with the men."

"Servants are inadmissible in a commune; but it may and ought to possess conveniences which make servants, with plain living, needless."

"A church and a school-house ought to be the first buildings erected; and both being centrally placed, either could be used for such evening meetings are essential to happy and successful community living."

And what of contemporary hippy communes?

"The MC 5 met Sinclair in the fall of 1967 — they'd wanted the association because of his reputation as Detroit's foremost beatnik poet; a writer on jazz and rock for Downbeat and Jazz magazine and, locally, for the Fifth Estate. They joined forces and began the assault, culminating in a move to Ann Arbor in the summer of 1968. At Trans-Love, the MC 5 were to live and rehearse; 20 members of Trans-Love Energies would act as MC 5's production company. The MC 5 never saw it that way.

'The way it was set up,' said Fred Smith, 'was that John Sinclair was the manager and what this meant was John would go to the gigs with us and he would take all of the money. He would have total control over all the money, he would spend it on what he saw fit. We did get some of it; I don't know what the figures would be, but I'd say a large part of it went into supporting his program at the same time.'

'We got living wages,' Kramer said. 'We lived in a house with 20 other people and everything was paid for. *We* paid for everything. We could go down there and there'd be food to eat, you know, and we could buy some clothes because we had set up these accounts everywhere, but everybody else in the house did that too.'

"What did the people do?"

"Wayne: 'Nothing, nothing.'

"Dennis Thompson: 'That's not true. They worked on John's paper. A couple of them wrote stories and did little errands for John, but basically none of them really did that much. They'd come to our shows and things like we paid, out of that money that came in, our equipment was paid for, the rent was paid for, food was bought for 20 people, and people would come drifting through, too.'

"Also, Wayne said, 'there was a basic difference in lifestyle between the five of us and our people . . . First we'd be working at night, and we wanted to rehearse when we were awake — when they'd all be asleep. So that was always a conflict, not to mention things like the kind of music we liked to listen to and, uh, we liked to get drunk, and they wouldn't let us get drunk and stuff like that.

'One night we came home after a gig to find out that Chris had gotten in a fist fight with one of their chicks, man. It was really low-level. She kicked Rob's wife in the stomach who was pregnant and Rob smacked her in the head . . .'

"Fred: 'The situation just deteriorated into a low-level scene where no one was happy and we felt that we were bringing in all the money and the things we were doing were necessary to keep the house and us functioning, but it was impossible to stay there.'

"The band moved to a country house in Hamburg, a farm town 15 miles west of Ann Arbor. 'A psychedelic place in the woods,' as Mike Davis put it."

"John Sinclair is now back at the Rainbow Party house on Hill Street. He has just begun to manage Detroit, the band led by Mitch Ryder."

'All the people in our organization loved the band,' he says. 'We did the posters, the light shows, sold newspapers, had a little store. We put all we had behind them. But their chicks hated living communally, and the guys tried to deny that we ever did anything, but that's bullshit. Genie Plamondon used to be secretary in their fan club! Leni (Sinclair's wife) took photographs of them everywhere!'

"In Hamburg, the band was joined by rock critic Jon Landau, who would produce their first album on Atlantic, *Back in the USA*."

'This is why the MC 5 had a discussion of whether their money should go to John directly — through his attorney when he was in jail — or the White Panthers,' Landau said. 'At the house, the group paid the rent, the food, and the phone bills for all those exorbitant hippies. They had this ten-phone system set up, and one month the bill was $1000. It became Ann Arbor Central. Anybody who wanted to make a call would drop in.'"

From "Shattered Dreams in Motor City" by Ben Fong-Torres, Rolling Stone, June 8, 1972.

Then there's Rochdale College which is a communal-residential institution in Toronto.

"Most of those who moved out were students from the universities and colleges who couldn't stand the dirt, noise, frustration, lack of privacy, way of life or the other Rochdalers . . . By the end of February — after the equivalent of one semester — the turnover rate was 6 percent a month.

"Moves within the building, from room to room and floor to floor, reached a similar pace. I met one youth who was badly dissatisfied with his life in a fifteenth floor Ashram Suite (eight rooms whose residents share a common lounge, kitchen, toilet

and bath) and who said he was 'getting out'. I asked where he was going to escape. 'Down to the thirteenth floor,' he replied. If Rochdalers don't find Utopia on one floor, they look for it on another. Some have shifted as many as six times, like human sand . . . Trial-and-error solutions are applied to continuing problems, such as whether to keep out 'crashers' — uninvited guests — and if so, how. Even repetitive exercises are carried out with strain and strife because almost every new Rochdaler goes through months of fanatically rejecting or avoiding every whiff of organization or authority . . ."

"The most persistent and severe problem is that of 'crashers' who, in the winter, stream to Rochdale for food and shelter. Runaways, mainly teen-aged girls from the suburbs, are a year-round phenomenon. And by mid-April the good-weather wanderers present themselves at the communications desk in the lobby: young men in leather jackets who motorcycled from Nova Scotia, British Columbia or the United States. All of these are 'crashers'. Slight, red-mustached Peter Turner, twenty-three, a well-liked and respected American who worked for a year on Eugene McCarthy's national committee, told of the 'crasher' problem:

'Thirteen [the thirteenth floor] had a "community". At the beginning of last year there were all these extremely enthusiastic people on thirteen. It was totally idealistic. There weren't really any hassles to be resolved. A few people had pets and they got adopted by everybody. And if a couple of people did things, others would come along and pitch in. And everybody would sit up until all hours . . .

'And then there started to be a lot of people crashing. It started in the middle of October. To the end of October, idealism prevailed to the extent that everybody agreed that the kitchen shouldn't be locked and no doors should be locked. Then it was decided that crashers couldn't take food from the kitchen. One group felt crashers are a group that has been rejected by society and must be helped. *Society has failed. These are children; be friendly to them.* It is part of the *raison d'etre* of Rochdale. Another group didn't want crashers because they thought they'd be detrimental to Rochdale. When crashers come in it disrupts the whole feeling of community. You come in to eat breakfast in the morning and here are these ten bodies all stretched out on Chesterfields.

'It was then decided that crashers would have to find places to sleep in people's rooms if they wanted to stay for the night. This was decided in the second week of November. [But] there were a lot of crashers who were "speed freaks" who would just sit around for hours like this — just sitting — not making any attempt to involve themselves with the residents.

So it was decided that crashers who were people's guests would be allowed, but people who just sat there would be kicked out. Then people started locking doors...'

"By early last summer a concensus had hardened in the building that a screening and 'crasher' policy was necessary. Much rent was going uncollected, although $31,000-plus monthly mortgage payment had to be met. Rochdale was housing drug pushers, 'greasers' (those from tough neighborhoods where violence, cheating, theft, manipulation and endless excuse-making are ways of life) and 'bikers' (those with motorcycles and leather jackets). The concerns of these groups cannot be construed as educational if the word is to have any semblence of meaning. Among the pushers were 'big dealers' who got 'ripped' (had their 'stuff' stolen or strong-armed away). 'Ripping' led pushers to arm themselves, which made Rochdale residents uneasy because it led to the presence of armed 'rippers' . . .

"Over the summer a 'get-tough' council took charge, so far as it could. Many 'heavies' were ejected. 'Speed evicting parties' were held; according to Mr. Bomers, sixty-five speed freaks have been 'permanently graduated'. Some were charged with trespassing when they tried to return. Informers are paid to put the finger on speed and heroin pushers, and informers are no longer timid about coming forward. Rental and rent collection procedures have been tightened; food is being made less accessible to wanderers; the cafeteria and restaurant are being turned over to a private catering firm. Guns are required to be deposited in a safety box. An agreement has been reached with the local police, under which the police are called in for particular disturbances but not for general surveillance . . ."

From "Rochdale: The Ultimate Freedom" by Barrie Zwicker, Charge, *Nov.-Dec., 1969.*

Or take the example of the problems which evolved in a German commune.

"From my own experience I would agree with him. In our group there were two people whose rejection of the reality principle became complete over a period of some weeks. They reacted vehemently to any frustration and their only aim was to avoid it.

"This included their refusal to do any work (that is, contributions to political reflection or problem-solving inside the group) and the group made it possible for them to carry on like this because no one demanded anything from them. There are no arguments against the highest value, which is the pleasure principle."

From "Revolutionary Life Style: German Communes" by Steve Engert, Good Times

From a Tucson, Arizona commune, the leader reported his observations on "community" living.

"From our experience over the past 2 years, greeting people at the door who are on the road looking for a place to call home, we've found that the majority of travellers are without skills, crafts, or much discipline at all, and are seeking community and 'spiritual' life as an escape from their failures with the workaday world. Then, again, most are so young they are only running away from home.

"It seems to me that a community must be a place where communion occurs. In order for me personally to commune with a neighbor he has to have something of the same goal, if not values, that I have. I mean, in the early days at Paradise when there were no leaders, no responsibility, no direction, I got very tired of finding my toothbrush being used to polish someone's shoes. This I would not do to you and expect you not to do it to me. So territorial imperative and God's gift of caste come into play here."

From letter written by Walter Bowart, leader at Earthlab, School of Art.

Sometimes the aversive control used by the members to maintain the appropriate behavior can be quite subtle but, nonetheless, important. To wit, this interview with Jerry Garcia:

"You were playing around San Francisco then.

"Yes, and it was about the time we started playing free in the parks too. It was in cooperation with the Diggers' trip and the Diggers were into free food and free everything and they were actually doing that real well. They were making regular delivery once a week — a big truck full of vegetables and chickens and all kinds of food which they'd gone and gotten for free in various ways.

"Mountain Girl: 'They were just hustlers, in a mysterious way . . .'

"Jerry: 'They'd go down to the vegetable markets and scream . . ."

"Reich: What began to spoil it?

"Too many people to take care of and not enough people willing to do something. There were a lot of people there looking for a free ride — that's the death of any scene when you have more drag energy than you have forward-going energy.

"Reich: You were having to pull along more and more people?

"And it was getting harder and harder to do. For about a year or so there was a regular thing you could see happen — people coming into town, bounce around on

the streets for about three or four months, start to get hip to what was going on, they would start to find themselves a scene and they would work into it and be assimilated that way. That was working real well before there was the great big onslaught.

"And in that summer of 1967 the street was just packed with people — weirdos from out of town in on the weekend to get in on the free love and all the rest; Gray Line tours stopping in front of our house. People driving by behind locked windows and peering out.

"Did you find your personal life was invaded?

"Not really, because we've always been on the trip that if somebody isn't putting out the right vibes right now, then get out real quick. That's the way we ran our house, in an effort to keep our own scene together.

"Reich: Did you tell them that they weren't putting out the right vibes?

"No, they knew it.

"Reich: One of the things with the communes that I have seen is that they're unable to do anything about a person like that and they simply keep him there and everything goes bad.

"That's the 'freedom lie'. There's been a lie about what freedom is and the big lie is that freedom means absolutely and utterly free, and it really doesn't mean anything of the sort. The case in point is when you have your own scene like that. Somebody comes in and they're free to move in, but likewise you're free to tell them to get out. Freedom is a premise that's been put forth that's been abused.

"For any scene to work, along with that freedom there's implicit responsibility — you have to be doing something somewhere along the line — there is no free ride. And you have to know where you're going. It's helpful to have a scene that will indulge you long enough to let you find out. That's basically what our scene was doing and when people were coming into town and kicking around for a while, they'd learn the ropes, they'd learn how to work it on the street and how to do a little hustling during the day and just survive until they could find something they could really attach on to. That was the general story."

From interview with Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead, and Charles Reich (author of The Greening of America), *in* Rolling Stone, *January 20, 1972.*

The problems Peter Rabbit reports in his book, *Drop City*, might have been eliminated with a little contingency management.

"And then came the hoardes. Drop City was continually overcrowded. The level of consciousness decreased — too many people — the energies were hopelessly dispersed. The kitchen was filthy, the food tasted shitty, disease continuously ran through the commune. People were crashing all over the Complex. Nobody knew anybody else. People would stay a month or so, get themselves a little straight and travel on. The Droppers were going on the same trip over and over again: coolin' out the runaways, speed freaks and smack heads, cleaning up after them, scroungin' food for them, playing shrink and priest confessor — round and round and round.

"The hardest time in a commune, particularly Drop City, is the time after the building gets done. While everyone is working together on actual construction the energy is centered, there is fanta:tic high spirit, everyone knows what he is doing all the time. But after the building is done comes a time of dissolution. There's no focus for the group energy, and most hippies don't have anything to *do* with their individual energy.

"Handling time, learning what to do with total leisure, is one of the most important lessons to be learned in a commune. What we do with our time is our choice; there's no compulsion to work or play or *anything* anymore. We have to learn how to really use time — every second — because if we decide to lay around on our asses, it isn't long before time gets heavy. Rebuilding a world is a full-time job, a continuous job. We've got to learn to be conscious of the Great Work all the time."

From Drop City *by Peter Rabbit, Olympia Press, Inc.*

Dr. Ross Speck, in his book, *The New Families*, shows considerable evidence for the value of contingency management (specification of behavior observation and delivery of consequences) in maintaining viable experimental communities.

"Not too surprisingly, economics was a critical factor in whether any given commune survived. All began with a stated idealistic, antimaterialistic philosophy, but it was only as they were able to blend this with some practical economics that they continued at all. In the several pads centered around a marital couple where one of the two worked, problems arose if too many people stopped by too often without contributing. In the commune with a 'manna from heaven' philosophy where the leader really believed this and made no provisions for paying rent, heat or light, the utilities were cut off and the group broke up after about four months. This break-up process was hurried along by the one girl in the group who became very annoyed when the basic needs were

not met by the three men. She put pressure on her partner, who was the only one working, to leave.

"In another commune, each member paid one-eighth of the rent, and they split each of the telephone, gas, electric, and heat bills equally among the members and their chicks. Here, the question of long-distance phone calls became a problem, and some fairly extensive detective work was required to know who called whom in what city. These were sometimes traced to extended members, and fairly open social pressure was then exerted to extract the money. . .

"In the political and religious communes there was a more organized economic structure with a formula worked out for sharing of all living expenses. These communes lasted much longer . . .

"We have seen an increase in the numbers of urban and suburban communes. Most of the communes we observed broke up within a two- to four-month period. Some failed because of lack of rules, the most basic of these being the economic responsibility for food, heat, light, and rent . . .

"We have seen communes where one or two persons worked in order to provide for the non-working members of the commune. As might be expected, after a short period of time the working members became irritated having to assume the responsibility for the non-working members of the pad. While not working, commune members were free to smoke pot or hash, or to trip on LSD, mescaline, and the like. Some commune members went for walks in the woods, climbed trees, traveled, listened to music, made notes for books or plays, or sat around rapping with one another . . ."

From The New Families *by Ross V. Speck, Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, New York.*

The application of contingency management and systems analysis to the design of intentional communities may be the next big social psychology experiment. If all goes well we would be able to say of these communities, "The communal woodhouse is always full of well-seasoned firewood: here is a saving of time and temper which almost every Western farmer's wife will appreciate."

I had the pleasure a few years ago of visiting the old Amana Colonies in Iowa. This nineteenth century commune is still alive and flourishing, although it is no longer a commune but a corporation. Still many of the people who were originally members of the commune now live there as members of the corporation. I met one very charming lady in her middle sixties who discussed with me commune life in the early part of the century. Without any prompting from me, she mentioned that

one of the problems that they ran into in the commune was that, while most of the people would be industriously working out in the fields, a few of the less industrious might spend the day hanging around the kitchens.

The dinner bell would ring (a discriminative stimulus for the response of approaching the dining hall which would not only be reinforced by food), but by the time the hungry field-workers would get to the dining hall, the laggardly, dining-hall-dandies would have had the best shares of everything, and would be into seconds, leaving only slim pickings for those who had really earned it. The failure of the Amanaites to have a clear-cut set of specifications for appropriate behavior, with indication of the consequences in terms of food or no food, etc., resulted in those rather persistent interpersonal problems.

Shortly after I met the lady from Amana, I had the opportunity of meeting a hippy couple who had participated in the foundation of Drop City, one of the oldest and most famous of the hippy communes. They spent their days cutting the metal tops out of cars, forming them into triangles and assembling them into large metal structures, called geodesic domes, which were used as homes at the commune. This was very difficult work indeed; therefore, you can well imagine that it was with the most hearty of appetites that they would approach their dining hall once the dinner bell discriminative stimulus rang. And you can also imagine their feelings when they got there, only to find that the speed freaks who had been drying out in the commune, and lounging around the kitchen, had already eaten most of the food. As in the old Amana commune, the people in Drop City had persistent problems that resulted from a failure to implement a contingency-management system.

The general philosophy of many hippies in the commune movement is that people should just do-their-own-thing. The notion is that if there are no rules, and people are just left to do-their-own-things, then the natural beauty in their souls will take over and there will be no hassles. It is their feeling that people are basically beautiful, and that without rules and specified behavioral consequences we'll have a hassle-free world. It has been an almost universal experience of communards, that without rules the communes fall apart. Those communes that have survived have dealt with this in various ways. One way is to, in fact, implement an explicit system of rules and an implicit contingency-management system. Another way is to not clearly specify what the desired behaviors are, but simply say, hey, do-your-own-thing, and then in a seemingly slip-shod manner actually socially reinforce behavior of which they approve, and so-

cially punish, or extinguish, behavior of which they disapprove.

The solution that some of the founders of Drop City used was to leave Drop City and form another commune. In order to avoid the necessity of a set of rules, behavior specifications, and a contingency-management procedure, they hid the commune eleven miles down a dirt road that was fifteen miles from a main highway. No one could find them there, and they wouldn't have to say "no" to anyone. They could just lead their simple, beautiful lives in peace. But that did not last long. In spite of their attempt to maintain obscurity, within a few years they were swamped with dozens of tourists every day. Since they were unable to set up explicit contingencies to deal effectively with the tourists so that both they, and the tourists, could have a good time, they just got uptight, and then started to make rules; for example, no visitors except on Sundays, etc.

Another way to deal with these problems is to play whimsical word games. One of their "no" rules is No Dogs. When asked about this, they said that's not a rule, that's a tradition and traditions are okay. One of the members of the commune put the general situation very nicely, I thought. She said that what the communards have to learn how to do, is to say, "no", but to say, "no", gracefully and pleasantly. This, indeed, may be a valuable goal for humanistic behaviorism, the establishment of contingency-management contracts that have grace, pleasure, and fun.

SUMMARY

Undoubtedly, the most ambitious attempt at social organization is the formation of a commune, which entails a partial or sometimes pervasive re-design of the social relationships that exist in the larger society. As we have seen in this chapter, a crucial question involved in the success of these social systems is whether or not they properly apply the principles of contingency-management and systems analysis. Of course, most of the communes mentioned herein did not manage to do this consciously and systematically, resulting in the many problems cited. However, when they were successful in dealing with a particular behavior problem, we have seen that they have used contingency management, most often without realizing it.

The systematic application of the behavioral principles, contingency management, and systems analysis, to the re-design of social organization is undoubtedly one of the most promising goals of social psychology and humanistic behaviorism. By properly arranging behavioral consequences and using systems analysis with social behavior over a broad societal spectrum, we may someday be able to deal much more effectively with our social problems.

Although this is certainly not a short-term goal, there is great promise in allowing full development of human potential in educational settings, in family life, and in creative enterprises within the context of the total social system. Even if humanistic behaviorism is only partially successful in accomplishing these objectives, the principles will certainly be well worth applying to the design of all social systems, whether within a nuclear family structure, or throughout an entire society.

Study Objectives — Part 2

1. Did the successful communes Nordhoff described flourish only because of the painful toil by their members?

2. How did Nordhoff contrast the life of the communal women to those in other societies?

3. What two discoveries about communes surprised Nordhoff the most?

4. Was the acquisition of wealth a leading objective in life in most communes?

5. What important reinforcer did the communists have to surrender?

6. How did Nordhoff view the rule of evening meetings?

7. Why did the MC 5 find it necessary to move out of the Trans-Love commune?

8. Why did most of the Rochdalers move out?

9. What persistent and severe problem led to the deterioration of the Rochdale commune?

10. What problem involving work did the German commune encounter?

11. What did the leader of the Arizona commune feel was necessary in order for a commune to work?

12. What began to spoil the Jerry Garcia commune?

13. What, according to Peter Rabbit, is one of the most important lessons to be learned in a commune?

14. For what reason did some communes break up after only two to four months?

15. What, in behavioral terms, caused interpersonal problems at dinnertime in the Amana and Drop City communes?

16. What has been an almost universal experience of all communards?

17. Why were members of communes often successful in dealing with particular behavior problems?

18. What may be a valuable goal for humanistic behaviorism?
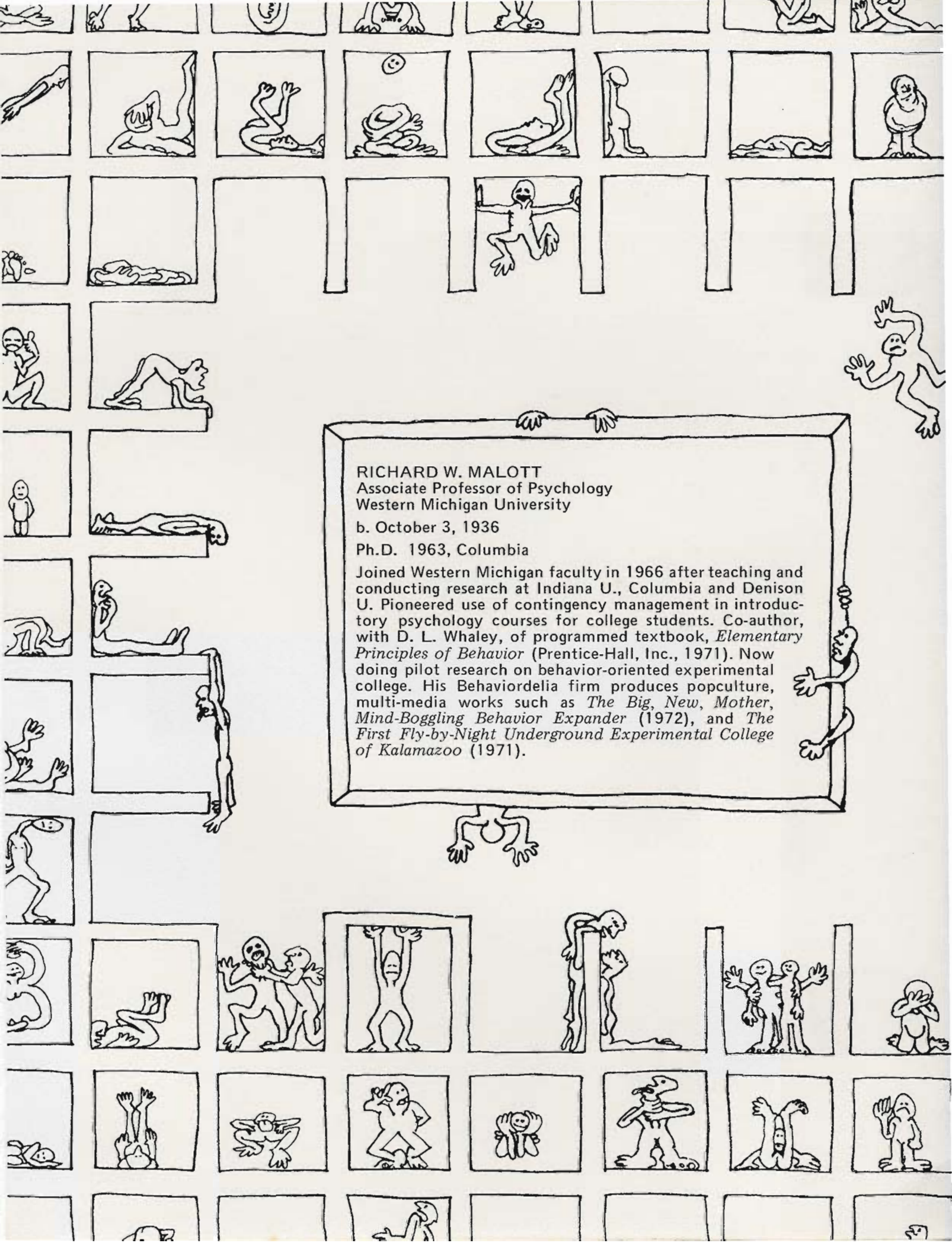
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Joined Western Michigan faculty in 1966 after teaching and conducting research at Indiana U., Columbia and Denison U. Pioneered use of contingency management in introductory psychology courses for college students. Co-author, with D. L. Whaley, of programmed textbook, *Elementary Principles of Behavior* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971). Now doing pilot research on behavior-oriented experimental college. His Behaviordelia firm produces popculture, multi-media works such as *The Big, New, Mother, Mind-Boggling Behavior Expander* (1972), and *The First Fly-by-Night Underground Experimental College of Kalamazoo* (1971).