

Malcolm MacLachlan
Joanne McVeigh *Editors*

Macropsychology

A Population Science for Sustainable
Development Goals

 Springer

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ISBN 978-3-030-50175-4 ISBN 978-3-030-50176-1 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50176-1>

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*To Eilish, Lara, Tess and Anna-Helena
– Mac*

*For my wonderful family, friends, and
colleagues.
– Joanne*

Preface

This is a research volume that brings together social, organisational, cultural, and health psychology research concerned with a macropsychology perspective. Macropsychology is concerned with ‘understanding up’, or how we can influence the settings and conditions of the society in which we live. Psychology has traditionally been more interested in ‘understanding down’, that is, with the behaviour of individuals and groups, in inter-psychic and intra-psychic and in neurological and biological processes. This volume argues for the development of a macro perspective within psychology. While behavioural change at the macro level is a key feature of other disciplines such as sociology, economics and law, it is a neglected perspective within psychology. If psychology is to be relevant at the global level – addressing grand challenges and global goals, using big data, and intervening at the population level – then it needs to better articulate its contribution at the macro level. The macro perspective within psychology will position it also within the realm of population sciences, allowing us to contribute to designing society according to what is *psychologically right for humans*, spurring the application of psychosocialism across multiple domains.

This volume draws on the inspiring work of those who have been developing a macro perspective under various guises within psychology and related fields. Some of the most prominent proponents of this perspective are contributors to this volume. We make no claim that this volume is comprehensive or exhaustive. Rather, the chapters in this volume demonstrate the broad range of areas to which a macropsychology perspective may be valuably applied, including mental health, personality, public persuasion, culture, disability, agent-based modelling, decent work, humanitarian work psychology, urbanisation, food systems, and deliberative democracy. These areas of inquiry are of great significance – and some integral – to the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, there is increasing interest within psychology to contribute to achieving the SDGs. It is becoming a vibrant area, to which a macropsychological perspective can contribute much.

We wish to extend our gratitude to the contributors of this volume, and to Springer for their support in bringing this volume to fruition. The book – like macropsychology itself – is ambitious. It aims to recognise and give impetus to the

development of a neglected perspective within psychology and to stimulate a paradigm shift towards psychology incorporating *social structures, systems, policies, and institutions* into its purview. Doing so would enable psychology to more effectively implement its findings, embrace big data more instrumentally, and facilitate greater involvement with concerns about social justice, inequality, and human rights .

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Macropsychology: Definition, Scope, and Conceptualization



Malcolm MacLachlan and Joanne McVeigh

Introduction

This chapter *first* traces some important components of psychological thought in what are recognized as major political theories. This review is not meant to be at all comprehensive, but rather illustrative of the thread of psychological thought that has spun – sometimes more obviously than at other times – through history. Acknowledging that psychology is culturally encapsulated (MacLachlan, 2006), and that our aim here is to promote a broader view particularly for “Western psychology,” we consider the evolution of psychological thought particularly in “Western” political philosophy, essentially asking “is this not psychology?”. *Second*, we consider some more modern contributions to the shape or conceptualization of a macro perspective in psychology. *Third*, we highlight some more current frustrations and initiatives that have pushed forward the need for a macropsychology. *Fourth*, we describe our conceptualization, and anticipation of, a macropsychology. Finally, in this chapter, we review the varied and vibrant contributions to this volume.

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Macropsychology as Political Philosophy: A Short History

Shadworth Hodgson asked, "...But are not all philosophies of necessity psychological?" (1899, p. 433), and he concluded by stating, "...I leave it to my hearers to judge, whether psychology is ever likely to furnish us with a conception or hypothesis, which will be a secure foundation for philosophy" (p. 438). This uncertainty – as to whether psychology can address foundational issues of philosophy or indeed of politics or economics – remains largely unanswered. However, it is our contention that not only *can* psychology, but in at least some respects, it already *is* and has been doing so for quite some time. We illustrate this by summarizing some of the psychological thought of well-known (mostly Western) philosophers.

Chinese philosopher and political theorist Confucius (551/552–479 B.C.) lived during the period of the Warring States. Despite, or perhaps because of, the huge social instability that was associated with this time in China, he suggested that larger society would function best if we could "get right" certain key relationships in our lives. Confucius saw the family as the basic unit of society, and the following are five key relationships and the duties/obligations of each person in these dyads in terms of the general attitudes that they should adopt toward each other:

- (a) Father and son – with the father being loving and the son being reverential
- (b) Elder brother and younger brother – with the elder brother being gentle and the younger brother being respectful
- (c) Husband and wife – with the husband being good to his wife and the wife listening to her husband
- (d) Older friend and younger friend – with the older friend being considerate and the younger being deferential
- (e) Ruler and subject – with the ruler being benevolent and the subject being loyal to the ruler

Of course, from the perspective of liberal democracies today, these specific types of relationships seem quite inappropriate, ageist, sexist, and hierarchical. Perhaps the more significant and enduring message is however that people, acting through certain types of relationships, constitute a broader milieu, a macro social context, in which they feel that they have a place, in some sort of social order. The roles and relationships seen as acceptable and desirable today would be quite different in many countries from those described in the *Analects of Confucius*; yet the connection between individual and societal behavior is a central tenet of political psychology. As suggested by Flanagan (2011, p. 119):

The ideal Confucian society comprises individuals who interact harmoniously and progressively with the other members of their sustaining community. The self is never understood as radically separate. Indeed, Confucius would view the liberal view of the unencumbered self as impoverished, if not incomprehensible or impossible, since it eliminates the particularities of community, history, tradition, culture and inherited social responsibilities which give individuals their identity and significance.

Shortly after Confucius in China came Pericles (495–429 B.C.) in Greece and the enormously radical idea that people should not be ruled by a single person or group, but should in effect be their own rule-makers and rule-keepers. As asserted by Gomez (2019, pp. 272–274), “Pericles’s reforms introduced tools to popularize political action and involvement, resulting in greater participation and equality for even the lowliest citizens, and consolidating the principle that majority votes were required for any political decision in the assembly.” Pericles suggested that all free-born adult male “citizens” should participate in an assembly that governed them. To prevent a political elite emerging, however, many political positions were to be drawn by lot (e.g., drawing straws, a lottery), and others should be regularly rotated. Interestingly, from a psychological perspective, Pericles argued that democracy would work best in a relatively small city-state entity, where people were known to each other, where they perhaps felt obligations to each other, and where good behavior could be rewarded by reciprocity and poor behavior punished by reputational loss as well as the rule of law. The idea of psychological identification with – and obligation to – the group is of course a key element of social psychology (Tajfel, 1981).

Greek philosopher Socrates (469–399 B.C.) was likely one of the first people to die by democracy. He was found guilty, by a slim majority, and likewise his execution was voted for, again by a slight majority, on the basis that he did not respect the ways and rules of Athens. Accordingly, his rejection of in-group norms effectively killed him. As suggested by Pollitt (1972, pp. 10–11), “The unconventional individualists of Classical Greece – Themistocles and Socrates, for example – often suffered for their individualism and not infrequently came to a tragic end; and yet even they were essentially what a sociologist would now call ‘group-oriented.’” Socrates questioned whether “... a good decision is based on knowledge and not on numbers” (Hamilton & Cairns, 1961, p. 129) and, as such, not the tyranny of the majority. Socrates’ student Plato (428–348 B.C.) educated Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), who stressed the need to combine leadership with participation of the masses. Therefore, even in the early days of democracy in ancient Greece, it was unclear how the psychology of the masses should be accounted for, while maintaining a sense of state purpose and leadership. Such issues chime well with the current enthusiasm for national populism – to which we shall return.

Leaping forward to the 1600s in England, we find that the intellectual preoccupation focused on the true nature of “man”; because by knowing that, we could then create the most appropriate way of managing or governing “him.” Both English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) used the concept of “the state of nature” to refer to the basic drives of human existence and behavior, though they had very different interpretations of our basic psychology, and these different interpretations can now be seen in some of our contemporary political divisions.

Hobbes saw people as being wicked, selfish, and cruel, motivated to only act out of their own interests. People could therefore not be trusted to govern themselves, and thus a strong leader – a monarch or some sort of dictator – was required to keep people in order, to develop and uphold laws. Hobbes felt that while individuals did

have rights, it was necessary for these to be relinquished to a Leviathan power; which, in upholding order, removed their rights but secured their scope for living a protected, ordered, and more certain life. This was seen as a social contract – a term that recurs in the seventeenth century – essentially relating to the balance between individual liberties and securities and social order. Hobbes felt that because people had no role in their own government, if their leader or monarch was unfair, then they should tolerate it because they had no right to overturn their ruler.

John Locke had an entirely different view, seeing a different balance in the social contract. Locke felt that people were basically good by nature and could learn from their mistakes; they could be trusted to govern themselves and – given good information – could also make good decisions. Locke believed that people had the fundamental right to life itself, to their liberty, and to own property, and that the function of government was to protect such liberties and rights. Should a government act unfairly, then people had the right to rebel against it and replace it with one that they felt would act more fairly. Thus, Hobbes and Locke had fundamentally different views of the state of human nature, and they prescribed very different functions for government, based upon their contrasting views of our basic psychology. However, both men realized that individual psychology and the running of society were interlocked – that social systems and government should be structured to take account of the psychology of those who constituted them, the community, state, or nation.

Fast on their heels, French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) argued that it was the processes of civilization itself that corrupt the natural goodness that is our “state of nature.” Civilization distorts creative openness, education represses and disciplines, and society demands conformity to narrow ways of thinking and behaving. All of this “civilizing” diminishes our authenticity, alienating the person from their true self. Rousseau challenged Enlightenment values by arguing that feelings – and *not reason* – should be our guide to action. This continues as a debate in moral psychology (Haidt, 2008). Importantly, from a macro perspective in psychology, Rousseau also suggested that human society has a collective “general will” that is different from the sum of individual wills – the collective takes on a different psychology to the individual. Rousseau’s views of “man” as being naturally good, loving justice and order, and his promotion of the values of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” found life in the mass psychology of the French revolution and influenced the 1789 *Declaration of the Rights of Man*.

At this time of revolution advocating for the rights of men in France and the USA, English philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) was demanding the rights of women too (Brody, 2000). Her book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (Wollstonecraft, 1793) is deemed the first significant argument for the rights of women (Brody, 2000) and “fired a generation of women with her ideas in a way her predecessors had not” (Todd, 2013, p. ix). Wollstonecraft’s feminist discourse was rooted in the interplay between two facets of independence: external independence in relation to society and internal independence of mind (Halldenius, 2016). Rights of Woman provided “original insights into the relationship between the psychological characterization of femininity and the oppression of women” (Franklin, 2004, p. 107). Further, it connected the liberation of women to the abolition of all hierarchical categories across age, sex, rank, wealth, and race (Taylor, 2003).

German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844–1900) tenet was fundamentally psychological. Controversially, he argued that life constitutes meaningless suffering and striving; in essence, it is pointless and therefore depressing. He proclaimed that “God is Dead” and thus rejected the value system built on religious beliefs. Radically, he argued that we need to develop a new system of morals and values, one that we genuinely hold as human beings; which really reflects our fundamental psychology and which reflects how we can practically manage these beliefs, motivations, likes, and dislikes. That is, he sought a realistic system that works psychologically, capable of removing despair arising from false striving and suffering.

Into the twentieth century, Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) coined the term “cultural hegemony,” arguing that the state and ruling elite use cultural institutions to legitimize and maintain power and their position in society. Most importantly from a psychological perspective, he argued that it was the way in which people (were made to) think – ideology – rather than physical force or coercion that maintains power. This occurs through framing certain relations as “common sense,” thus retaining the status quo. This idea of social positioning has been influential in psychology (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003) and in applying psychology to other contexts (Carr, McAuliffe, & MacLachlan, 1998).

French writer and existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) is recognized as initiating the “second wave” of feminism in the West (Zack, 2010). Beauvoir viewed “the self” as inherently related to others and to passages of time, comprising continual change with others who are also changing (Kirkpatrick, 2019). In response to Socrates’ call to “Know thyself!” and Nietzsche’s plea to “Become who you are!,” Beauvoir questioned if “who you are” was forbidden for women, if becoming oneself meant being viewed as a failure to be what one should be – failure as a woman, mother, or lover (Kirkpatrick, 2019). In *The Second Sex* (de Beauvoir, 2011), deemed by many as the foundation of contemporary philosophical feminism (Mussett, 2019), psychoanalysis is extensively criticized by Beauvoir in relation to its masculinist bias and for eschewing the wider sociopolitical context of psychological gender differences (Simons, 1986). As proposed by Mussett (2019, p. 52), Beauvoir had a “nuanced understanding of and relationship to psychology and psychoanalysis”:

Despite her interest in psychology and psychoanalysis, as well as her learned treatment of many thinkers in these traditions, she did not claim to diagnose disorders in any fashion, but rather to understand how various groups and individuals become marginalized and oppressed by dominant philosophical and political systems.

As suggested by Kruks (2012), similarities are evident between Beauvoir’s concept of the relations of oppression in contemporary societies, and the concept of power as a network in which everyone is positioned, as posited by another French philosopher. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) argued, in *Discipline and Punish*, that “as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized; it is exercised by surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the ‘norm’ as reference” (1977, p. 193). Foucault continues by describing social groups that are more “individualized”:

In a system of discipline, the child is more individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the normal and the non-delinquent... All the sciences, analyses or practices employing the root 'psycho-' have their origin in this historical reversal of the procedures of individualization.

Foucault's views on "individualization" chime with those of macropsychology, which emphasizes the importance of "understanding up" in terms of how psychology impacts and is impacted by social structures and systems, to complement psychology's conventional focus on "understanding down" at the level of the individual (MacLachlan, McVeigh, Huss, & Mannan, 2019). As we have argued elsewhere (MacLachlan, 2017a, p. 8), "while interventions focused on individuals may be of some benefit, such interventions in the absence of systemic change may be ineffective, or, worse, see systems failings as failings within individuals."

In 1992, American political scientist Francis Fukuyama declared "the end of history" (Fukuyama, 2006), by which he meant that liberal democracy now prevailed in the new world order, and thus the evolution of civilization was complete. Clearly, this assertion was somewhat premature, and in recent years, the rise of what has been termed "national populism" has challenged the idea of liberal democracy being an ultimate psychological and societal goal. Political scientists Eatwell and Goodwin (2018) have argued that the rise of national populism is the result of four "deep-rooted societal changes" (p. xxi) (our emphasis added for psychological concepts in each of the four trends outlined below):

1. Distrust: "...the elitist nature of liberal democracy has promoted *distrust* of politicians and institutions and fueled a sense among large numbers of citizens that they no longer have a voice in their national conversation. Liberal democracy always sought to minimize the participation of the masses" (p. xxi).
2. Destruction: "...immigration and hyper ethnic change are cultivating strong fears about the possible *destruction* of the national group's historic *identity* and established ways of life" (pp. xxi-xxii).
3. Deprivation: "...neoliberal globalized economics has stoked strong feelings of *what psychologists call relative deprivation* as a result of rising inequalities of income... and a loss of faith in a better future" (p. xxii) – a belief that some groups are losing out relative to others.
4. De-alignment: "...*weakening bonds* between the traditional mainstream parties and the people, or what we refer to as *de-alignment*" (p. xxiii).

While Eatwell and Goodwin explicitly refer to the perception of relative deprivation as a psychological phenomenon, the other three elements clearly have strong psychological underpinnings too. Distrust (DeSteno, 2014; Marková & Gillespie, 2008), identity (McLean & Syed, 2015; Tajfel, 1982), and weakening bonds (Bowby, 1977; Fuchs, 2012) are all foundational psychological issues being played out in national populism on a grand scale and are therefore underpinned by macropsychology.

Some of the most eminent political philosophers have therefore been asking profoundly psychological questions for centuries: How should family relationships work? Are people basically good or bad? Should people's representation be direct

or indirect? What is the balance between leadership and participation? How should people be organized? What should people believe in? We are not suggesting that those who ask psychological questions are any less philosophers, economists, or sociologists; these categories are after all imperfect ways of partitioning our knowledge of the world. Equally, one can ask the following: Why has psychology as a discipline partitioned itself from more macro social science issues? Are they not legitimately psychological, or can something else account for psychology's neglect of "big thinking"?

How to Think About Psychology

Harris (2009) suggested that there are three ways of writing the history of psychology. The first is *celebratory*, which has a "presentist bias" and seeks to justify the present status quo within the discipline; it is seen as being inevitably progressive to the most advanced current state; it is internalist, focusing on theoretical and empirical developments within the discipline, tracing deep historical roots in a coherent narrative; and it is decontextualized, diminishing the importance of contributions from other disciplines or indeed the broader sociopolitical context.

The second approach is *revisionist*. This approach seeks to correct the view that psychology is unaffected by social and political factors and to address some of its failings. For instance, Leon Kamin's (1974) book *The Science and Politics of I.Q.* and Stephen Jay Gould's (1981) book *The Mismeasure of Man* both argued that a narrow scientific psychological approach was insufficiently reflexive in understanding the broader context in which psychological research and practice occur. Often forgotten now is Hendrik Verwoerd who in the 1920s was Professor of Psychology at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, prior to becoming the President of South Africa and the inaugurator of apartheid. Apartheid was based on both Verwoerd's own research and his reading of other's research about racial differences in IQ (intelligence quotient). These were themselves an expression of both poor science and a failure to understand how context influences thinking. Verwoerd was sadly one of the first psychologists to perhaps apply his thinking at the macro level of designing social structures and policies to reflect his own – but erroneous – psychology.

The third approach is the *critical* perspective. This has a more explicit focus on historical social context and on political power relations. As such, it sees psychological science itself as a social and a political activity. Richards' (1996) book *Putting Psychology in its Place* distinguished between "big P" and "little p" psychology. Psychology as a discipline (big P) affects our own psychology (little p) or how we think about things. Prior to 1914, nobody had an IQ (the concept hadn't been "invented"), and so we didn't construct our thinking around IQ per se. Similarly, before Freud, nobody had an Oedipus complex, but once the discipline "endorsed" it, it channeled how people at the time thought about child-parent relations.

A more contemporary example is, for instance, revisions to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association, which, in its present 5th edition, tells us to stop thinking about Asperger's syndrome and to see individuals displaying the same behaviors as being on the autism spectrum and thus having an autism spectrum disorder (ASD). While there are many problems with DSM-5, it marks an important shift in thinking – you have “it” or don't (like the common cold), to different people having “it” to different extents. Perhaps the key point, as Richards (1997, p. 309) states, is that “psychology as a discipline is a product of the ‘psychologies’ of those within the discipline. It is therefore necessarily reflexive in character.” This is different from other sciences, such as physics. Thinking about electrons colliding doesn't make them collide (probably). However, there is a sense in which *psychology makes itself up* – we think up categories of meaning to understand the world (such as IQ or diagnoses), and in thinking through those categories, we construct the world as we understand it – as if people *have* an IQ or they *have* ASD.

The Early Development of Psychology and the Loss of Context

Before returning to the macro perspective in psychology, it is useful to further consider the origins – or in fact origin myth – of psychology, because this reflects something of the broader sociopolitical context of the times that molded and still influences what people think psychology is (and is not). There have of course always been psychologies – ways of understanding behavior – from all over the world and across time. However, “big P” psychology as a (Western) discipline often seeks to place its origins as coinciding with experimentation and positivism. Indeed, physiologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) established the first psychological laboratory, using the method of introspection. He believed that the experimental method was only applicable to psychophysiological phenomena – reaction times, sensations, attention, and “lower mental processes.” More complex processes – memory, thinking, language, personality, and social behavior, which he saw as social phenomena – he believed should be studied in the context of human communities. This study of human behavior, not in the reified situation of a laboratory but in the community context in which it occurs, Wundt called *Völkerpsychologie*, which roughly approximates what we might today think of as ethnic/group psychology.

Many of Wundt's ex-students came from or came to be based in the USA. The States had/has a culture and traditional emphasis on individuality and therefore on individual differences; and this was the ethos that was developed in the USA by many of Wundt's former students. After World War I, Wundt's continuing German patriotism caused problems, creating a rift between him and American psychologists. Thus, his massive ten-volume *Völkerpsychologie*, completed in 1920, was never translated into English. *Völkerpsychologie* focused primarily on language, mythology (arts, myth, religion), and *the moral system* (laws and culture) by which we live. However, even worse for the future of such an approach was that the Nazi

party saw *Differentielle Völkerpsychologie* as of relevance to its causes, throughout the 1930s and 1940s. After World War II, most of Wundt's work subsequently became taboo. The origin myth of individualist experimentation in closetted laboratory settings thus came to be what psychology was about and how people thought through it. Thus, the early and more macro context of psychology's development shaped the extent to which psychology itself was understood to relate to internal processes rather than external contexts such as environmental, social, political, or economic issues.

Context and Psychology

Holman, Lynch, and Reeves (2018, p. 389) asked: "How do health behaviour interventions take account of social context?". This question was motivated by their view that health behavior interventions may at times overlook social context, overly emphasizing individual choice and personal responsibility and understating situational factors. Their literature review found that "concepts that foreground issues of social context are rare and, relatively speaking, constitute less of the field post 2006. More quantifiable concepts are used most, and those more close to the complexities of social context are mentioned least" (pp. 389–390). They also note that their journal co-citation analysis found less disciplinary overlap after 2006 (their cutoff point) than before it. Holman et al. conclude that currently, "health behaviour interventions are continuing to focus on individualized approaches drawn from behavioural psychology and behavioural economics" (p. 390), and they call for more interdisciplinary collaboration to advance the field. So it would seem that, at least in the context of health behavior interventions research, while psychology is increasingly influential, it is mostly eschewing the role of social context. Where context is considered – primarily by other disciplines – Holman et al.'s thematic analysis presents the issues identified in descending order: income, culture, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic factors, peers, social support, disparities, multilevel effects, ecology, social norms, poverty, inequality, social networks, hierarchies, and the social environment.

Within the practice of psychology, the confines of a socially decontextualized approach have also been noted. For instance, clinical psychologist David Smail (2018, p. 47) argued that:

... far from "curing" people's distress, psychology too easily serves to provide us with an excuse for continuing, as a society, to inflict it...it serves the interests not only of its practitioners, but more importantly of those who have actually achieved power within society and constructed an apparatus to maintain it...psychology offers magical solutions to human distress which is in fact created by abuses of the very power whose interests psychology also serves.

Martin Jordan (2014, p. 364), a counselling psychologist, stated that "counseling and psychotherapy cannot fully alleviate the symptoms unless...[they] can treat the cause (the political and historical constellations that shape the era) and yet that cause is the exact subject psychology is not allowed to address." That sense of

“being allowed” resonates with Gramsci’s idea of hegemony, that it is “common sense” that psychology is more individualized, leaving space for others to study broader social issues. Yet if psychology is, as so many introductory textbooks proclaim, “the study of human behavior,” then why stop when we get to considering the broader social context and settings in which that behavior occurs?

This lack of context has been a problem for psychology and the behavioral sciences more generally. In 2006, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in the USA noted that “although behavioral and social sciences have contributed greatly to the understanding, prevention, and treatment of many of today’s pressing health problems, there is growing recognition that with improved methodologies, behavioural and social sciences *could do more* to address *the complexity* of these problems.” They continued by describing what “more” might mean: “Complexity results from the interaction of *multiple factors*...further compounded as the relationships between these components *change over time*...occurring within a context of *nested hierarchies*, from *micro to macro* levels...relationships among which *change over time and across development*” (italics added; National Institutes of Health, 2006). In a sense then, the NIH is stating that for psychology and related disciplines to be more useful, they need to overlap more and embrace complexity, moving beyond artificially controlled settings. The idea of challenging the universal claims of psychological laws has been promoted especially in different cultural contexts, with the suggestion that such laws in different contexts may need to be revised, reconstituted, restated, or simply refuted; and/or realizing the relevance of entirely new laws that may apply more widely than the context of their detection, but have not been understood by “Western psychology” (MacLachlan & Carr, 1994).

The Sustainable Development Goals and Population Science

There is increasing interest in psychology to contribute to realizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). For example, North Carolina State University’s 4D Lab comprises researchers from the department of psychology, whose research is closely linked with the SDGs. Several universities have now developed degree programs connecting psychology to the SDGs, such as Warwick University at undergraduate level and Massey University at graduate level. It has become a vibrant area, to which a macropsychological perspective may greatly contribute.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development spans the dimensions of economic, social, and environmental development. It is considered by the United Nations (UN) to be “a blueprint for shared prosperity in a sustainable world – a world where all people can live productive, vibrant and peaceful lives on a healthy planet” (United Nations, 2019, p. 2). There are 17 SDGs, intended to stimulate global action toward the year 2030. These goals build on the former Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but the SDGs pay particular attention to “leaving no one behind” (Renner, Bok, Igloi, & Linou, 2018). In effect, marginalized groups were often left behind in the rush to achieve the MDGs because their marginalization reflected a complex set of settings and conditions that were not easily addressed

by interventions designed for mainstream society. The SDGs are “for everybody,” and this more inclusive approach also points to the need to consider psychology and behavior not only at the individual or group/organizational level, but also at the population level as a population science. The macro perspective in psychology will position it also within the realm of population sciences, allowing us to contribute to designing society according to what is *psychological right for humans*. In doing so however, as suggested above, we also need to acknowledge what the NIH referred to as “...the interaction of *multiple factors*...occurring within a context of *nested hierarchies*, from *micro to macro* levels...relationships among which *change over time* and *across development*” (italics added; National Institutes of Health, 2006). These sorts of relationships require an approach that thinks through the linkages between them and recognizes emergent properties as important. Such an approach would embrace systems thinking.

Systems Thinking

An important distinction is between “open” and “closed” systems. Closed systems work separately from their environment, being designed for consistency to produce the same outcomes. Open systems are embedded within their environment, and they are dependent upon it; indeed, they are often designed to be responsive to it, and therefore may not necessarily produce consistent outcomes. Generally, closed systems are more characteristic of hardware engineering, open systems of social science or service sector perspectives, operating across greatly varied environments. Macropsychology should therefore adopt open systems thinking, recognizing and embracing complexity (see for example Antonacopoulou & Chiva, 2005; Bailie, Matthews, Brands, & Schierhout, 2013).

According to de Savigny and Adam (2009), distinctive features of systems thinking include: “Loop Thinking,” which acknowledges that cause and effect are not one-off events, but may be bidirectionally related to each other in a continuous loop; “Dynamic Thinking,” regarding how behaviors are arranged in patterns, which may also change over time or be different in different contexts; “Forest Thinking,” referring to the value of distinguishing the wider “wooded area” from the individual trees and of addressing the relationships between the trees; and “System-as-Cause-Thinking,” where changes to one aspect of a system can have identifiable effects on other aspects of the system. Such characteristics are challenging for disciplinary approaches that are more traditionally concerned with simplifying, controlling, and reducing the explanatory level downward (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2017).

Systems thinking cuts across disciplinary boundaries, identifying a gestalt and where the gaps or blockages are. Systems thinking can facilitate interventions at different points or at different levels in the causal network. For example, removing professional protectionism regarding specific work practices may allow people in rural areas to then develop different modes of delivery – such as employing health-care staff with shorter training and more focused skill sets, or engaging community volunteers, or using specific technologies not previously used – to deliver

interventions previously unavailable to rural dwellers in poorly resourced areas (Gilmore et al., 2017; MacLachlan & Scherer, 2018).

Koffka (1935) challenged Aristotle's famous saying that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" by arguing that "the whole is something else than the sum of its parts" (p. 176); seeing summing up as rather meaningless, and the part-whole relationship as being much more meaningful. In trying to analyze the relationship between the parts to a synthesis of the whole, Kurt Lewin used methods that sought "truth by successive approximations" (Argyris, 1989, p. 97). It is ironic that in his 1946 paper on *Action Research and Minority Problems*, Kurt Lewin, the "father of social psychology," wrote that "psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology each have begun to realize that without the help of the other neither will be able to proceed very far"; he also envisaged the following decade to "doubtless witness serious attempts of an integrated approach to social research" and that "economics will have to be included in this symphony if we are to understand and handle intergroup relations more effectively" (p. 40). Sadly, many decades later, it is hard to see or even anticipate either this joined-up approach across the social sciences in general, or more specifically the engagement of mainstream psychology at a macro level in broader societal concerns.

Adopting Odum's (1971) analogy, and contrasting with our sustained microscopic view of psychological detail, "...whereas... we used to search among the parts to find mechanistic explanations, the *macroscopic view is the reverse*. ...[we] already have a clear view of the parts in their fantastically complex detail, [but we] must get away, rise above, step back, group parts, simplify concepts, interpose frosted glass, and thus somehow *see the bigger patterns*" (p. 10; italics added). Yet our fascination with the intricate, the detailed, the decontextualized, and the microscopic in psychology has mitigated against our standing back or rising above, in order to discern the bigger and broader patterns. Again, going back half a century to Odum's book on *Environment, Power and Society*, much psychology, including environmental psychology, continues to eschew societal power relationships, so well described in research in sociology (Bourdieu, 1987, 1989). And from psychology, we know from the phenomenon of motivated reasoning (emotionally-biased reasoning to justify the decisions that are most desired, rather than those based on evidence) that facts and details will not persuade those who have something to lose; the facts may be discredited, distorted, or simply dismissed, if they go against the interests of individuals, or the groups with which they identify (Kunda, 1990; Redlawsk, 2002). Thus, for a micropsychology perspective to have due value, the broader socio-political context must be understood and addressed.

Definition of Macropsychology

The term "macropsychology" can be traced back to Katona (1979) who called for the development of macropsychology amid a primarily microbehavior-focused discipline. Correspondingly, Sinha (1985) argued for a macropsychology to promote

understanding of the problems of social change and development, and Marsella (1998) called for a psychology that addresses emergent global challenges and opportunities, life contexts, and conditions. Similarly, Ratner (2012, p. 9) describes the ethos of *macro cultural psychology* as follows:

Broad, macro cultural factors – such as social institutions (e.g. government, army, church, health care, media, and corporations), cultural artifacts (cars, highways, malls, factories, school buildings, books, clothing), and cultural concepts (about women, children, work, time, justice, honour, success, character, wealth, land, abortion) – form the origin, locus, characteristics, operating mechanism, and function (*raison d'être*) of psychological phenomena.

Jaspal, Carriere, and Moghaddam (2016, p. 275) also recognize the value of using a micro, meso, and macro perspective to address “the greatest challenge for social psychology, explaining the integration of individuals and societies.” Similarly, Wessells and Dawes (2007) argued for “macro-level interventions” to enhance the ability of and potential for psychology to have greater positive societal influence.

Our own work on macropsychology (Carr & MacLachlan, 2014; MacLachlan, 2014, 2017b; MacLachlan et al., 2019) has aimed to strengthen a neglected perspective within psychology, and to also prompt a paradigm shift toward psychology integrating social structures, systems, institutions, and policies into its focus. We have therefore defined macropsychology as “the application of psychology to factors that influence the *settings and conditions* of our lives” (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851; italics added). “Settings and conditions” refer to the broader social and physical environment, the context in which we live; acknowledging that psychological thought both influences and is influenced by these settings and conditions, as the review of political philosophical thought clearly indicates. Macropsychology is a perspective within psychology, not a subdiscipline; instead, it seeks to bring a macro perspective to other levels of psychological thought. This volume therefore argues for the development of a macro perspective in psychology, similar to the macro perspective found in economics. Taking a macro perspective is about seeing patterns, “environment-in-the-person as well as person-in-the-environment;” with environment very much being the social environment, in the context that van Wormer and Besthorn (2017) wrote.

It is important to recognize that many psychologists do, of course, already do this; for instance, psychologists’ work on poverty (Carr, 2013), on culture (Berry, 2017, 2019; MacLachlan, 2006), on social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), on ethnicity and racism (Townsend & Belgrave, 2009; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000), on development (MacLachlan & Carr, 1994), on gender and sexism (Else-Quest & Shibley Hyde, 2018), on disability discrimination (MacLachlan & Swartz, 2009; Wiener & Willborn, 2011), on policy processes (Huss & MacLachlan, 2016), and on the community (Kagan, Burton, Duckett, Lawthom, & Siddiquee, 2011). However, these social concerns are often not adequately reflected in our conceptualization of psychology.

Scope of Macropsychology

A *holon* is a term first used by Arthur Koestler in *The Ghost in the Machine* (Koestler, 1967, p. 48); and comes from the Greek *holos*, meaning whole, complete, entire in all its parts. However, in Koestler's terms, it is something that is simultaneously a whole and a part. Koestler used the holon concept to address what he saw as three major challenges: first, to integrate reductionist mechanistic models of behavior with more humanistic and holistic views of the time (such as Rogers, Gestalt and Freudian psychologies); second, to apply evolutionary thinking to the realms of social science; and third, to develop an approach that could integrate individual-level analysis with more collective, macro-level analysis. Koestler saw the concept of holon as the cornerstone of an *integrative behavioral philosophy* that could span the scope of human existence. This enthusiasm to link the sense of individual (whole) experience to other levels and forces outside the individual is relevant to the aims of macropsychology. Another term used by Koestler, a *holarchy*, describes a series of linked but independent wholes. For instance, cell-tissue-organ-organism is a hierarchically arranged supersystem, but to describe an organism as just a lot of cells, or cells as just divisions of an organism, is to overlook both their intrinsic wholeness as well as their connectedness.

This sense of things being connected, interwoven, and often oppressive is also a feature of the Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire's concept of *critical consciousness* (Freire, 1974, p. 41), that is, developing an understanding that encompasses the broader social and economic context of individual human problems. In a sense, this chimes with the need to overcome the fundamental attribution error – seeing the person as the cause of behavior, rather than the context or the situation in which they find themselves. From Freud's *Civilisation and Its Discontents* (Freud, 2018) to Pinker's *The Better Angels of our Nature* (Pinker, 2011), some psychologists have certainly sought to understand human behavior on a grander scale. Indeed, this is also a distinguishing feature of evolutionary perspectives in psychology (Buss, 2019), which fundamentally understand the adaptive value of human variation being advantageous to the extent that it may confer benefits in some contexts but not others – the broader social and environmental context determining the “fitness” of individual attributes.

Conceptualization

Figure 1 schematically presents a conceptualization of macropsychology, using the example of social inclusion and social dominance, demonstrating how psychological dynamics at the individual level are embedded at the group level, which is embedded at the level of social structures and systems. This meta-system – traversing the micro, meso, and macro levels – illustrates how macropsychology can complement individual and group perspectives, providing a more holistic approach to

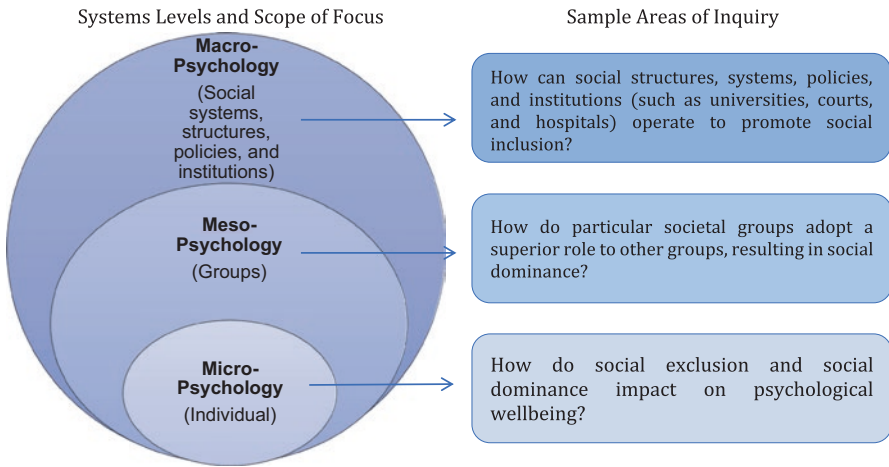


Fig. 1 Meta-system of macropsychology, mesopsychology, and micropsychology

inquiry and intervention (MacLachlan et al., 2019). Importantly, interventions at one system level may impact on other levels. For example, university policies on disability inclusion will determine the extent to which universities are accessible to people with disabilities (macro); the progression and attendance at university by students with disabilities may depend on the attitudes and inclusivity of university staff and fellow students (meso); and feedback solicited from students with disabilities on their experiences of inclusion or exclusion (micro) may be then used to shape and strengthen university policies (macro). As suggested by MacLachlan, Carr, and McAuliffe (2010), “social dominance is multilevel, spanning groups, institutions and individuals. Those elements in turn form an interactive system.”

From a macro-level concern with general psychological well-being, examples of some of the pertinent questions that psychology can legitimately address include the following:

- Which *social structures* are most relevant for psychological well-being?
- Which *social systems* are most pertinent to promoting psychological well-being?
- Which *social policies* should be targeted to support the promotion of psychological well-being?
- How should *social institutions* (e.g., professions, courts, hospitals, libraries, and aid agencies) operate in order to most effectively promote psychological well-being?

Psychology and the Grand Challenges

We live in an era of grand challenges and global goals. These often translate into big research questions. However, questions that recognize single disciplines or perspectives necessarily provide only partial views or answers. With the increasing scale of

our research questions, and answers derived from different disciplinary perspectives, we also encounter increasing complexity – complexity in terms of different levels of questions, types of methods, forms of analysis, and means of interpretation. While we encourage multi-, inter-, and trans-disciplinary collaborations to answer bigger and more complex questions, the resultant activity often works in parallel; we lack approaches to integrate answers from different levels – micro, meso, and macro.

The term “Grand Challenge” is often credited to a German mathematician, David Hilbert. In 1900 at the International Congress of Mathematicians in Paris, he identified 23 problems (the “Grand Challenges of Mathematics”), designed to spur and focus interest and dialogue; which subsequently generated breakthroughs in mathematics, physics, and other scientific fields. This idea of articulating grand challenges has more recently been adopted by foundations, governments, academies, and multilateral agencies to encourage collaborative responses to solving global problems. Grand challenges require the involvement of multiple and diverse stakeholders, where solutions “typically involve changes in individual and societal behaviours, changes to how actions are organized and implemented, and progress in technologies and tools to solve these problems” (George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi, & Tihanyi, 2016, p. 1881). While there are many grand challenges, the most universal and widely adopted are the UN’s SDGs, which we have already discussed. Considering the “Challenge of Addressing Grand Challenges,” Kuhlmann and Rip (2018) note that for the European Commission, “Grand Challenges policies have to cope with contestation, non-linearity and bifurcations in developments” (p. 450); and they go on to argue that “Grand Challenges require innovation, but it is not innovation as traditionally studied and stimulated...but about novel ways of assembling and re-assembling heterogeneous...work” (p. 450).

If psychology is to be relevant at the global level – addressing grand challenges and big research questions, using big data, and intervening at the population level – then it needs to better articulate its contribution at the macro level. Behavioral change at the macro level is a key feature of other disciplines, such as sociology, economics, or law. For instance, laws or policies are well within the realm of psychosocial interventions, although this is not widely acknowledged. Yet as Clarke (2016) notes, “law is a key type of regulation and is used to encourage or change behaviour” (p. 4), and in the initial phase of implementation of a new law or regulation, “historical behaviours are required to change in line with the expectations underlying the regulation. Behaviours are a function of both attitudes and capabilities. In addition, often, behaviours of more than one group need to change” (p. 32). Similarly with sociology and economics, psychologists should recognize the excellent behavioral work being undertaken by other disciplines and seek to provide a framework within which behavior at different levels can be understood and integrated. The chapters in this book offer exciting and innovative perspectives on how this can be done – and is being done – at the macro level, from a wide range of different perspectives and using different methodologies.

Linking Individual and Societal Psychology

According to Johnstone and Boyle (2018, p. 92; emphasis added), “there is a great deal of evidence...that *the circumstances of people’s lives play a major role in the development and maintenance of psychological, emotional and behavioural problems.*” Among the most important circumstances that Johnstone and Boyle note are social class and poverty; income inequalities, unemployment, being a member of subordinate social groups, and living with harassment and discrimination; childhood experiences of neglect and abuse; as well as sexual and sexual and domestic violence, and loss, danger, and bullying. These experiences can be construed as different types of threat to the integrity and value of the person. Johnstone and Boyle (2018, p. 94) summarize the work of Williams and Watson (1988) as stressing that “dimensions of social inequality are also hierarchies of domination that limit and restrict some people while privileging others. Social inequalities do not just exist ‘out there’ but are pervasive, embodied aspects of our identities.” The impact of inequality on individuals’ experiences is mediated by social practices and institutions, such as the experience of people with disability being excluded from social practices.

Notably, Johnstone and Boyle (2018) state that “it is these two aspects of social context – its identification with inequalities of power and privilege *and* the constant, dynamic interaction between individual psychology and social practices and institutions, which tend to be missing from mainstream research on the impact of social factors on mental health problems” (p. 94). In fact, we would see these two aspects of social context as underlining many aspects of individual, group, and societal psychological experiences; and underlining the need to bring together micro, meso, and macro aspects of psychology. *The Power Threat Meaning Framework* (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018), while being an impressive framework to replace medical-model thinking about how people experience difficulties, distress, and disorder with a much stronger psychosocial model, also exemplifies the need for psychology to address macro issues in order to do this.

Hodgetts (2017), contrasting individualistic and societal psychologies, writes: “A key difference between individualistic and collectivist approaches is that individualistic psychologies tend to look inside individual dispositions for the roots of social problems. In contrast, collectivist psychologies look to the societal causes of problems, and the need to enhance the social context so as to best enable people to reach their potential” (p. 17). This latter view is very well aligned with the macro perspective. Similarly, the aim of “liberation psychology” has been to address social structures that create inequitable political and socioeconomic conditions, which in turn may result in mental health problems, addiction, and other forms of suffering (Martín-Baró, 1994). In fact, Hodgetts (2017) argues that social psychologists have always been politically engaged with societal events, but that they are also “a product of sociohistorical contexts, which influence the questions researchers ask, the problems we seek to address, and the methods and approaches employed” (p. 40; see also Hodgetts, Stolte, King, & Groot, 2019). The subtitle to Wilkinson and

Pickett's (2018) *The Inner Level* is "How more equal societies reduce stress, restore sanity and improve everyone's well-being," and it is loaded with strong evidence linking social structures and individuals' behavior. This volume seeks to address related issues through the weaving of psychological research across micro, meso, and macro levels; and in so doing, develop the role of psychology as a population-level science and practice.

Chapters in This Volume

Building on this previous work, this volume draws on the inspiring work of many others who have been developing a macro perspective in various spheres of psychology and related fields – a number of the most renowned proponents of this perspective are contributors to this volume. The chapters in this volume demonstrate the broad range of areas to which a macropsychology perspective may be valuably applied, including mental health, personality, public persuasion, culture, disability, agent-based modelling, decent work, humanitarian work psychology, urbanization, food systems, deliberative democracy, and psychological governance and COVID-19. These areas of inquiry are of great significance – and some integral – to the realization of the SDGs.

Peter Kinderman has produced a fascinating overview of a macropsychology perspective on mental health. Framing mental health problems as a psychological and social issue, Kinderman offers a compelling argument for a radical paradigm shift in how mental health is conceptualized and addressed. The way forward, as argued by Kinderman, is a departure from the inhumane and scientifically incorrect "disease model" of mental health to a psychosocial model of mental health, contextualized in politics, social justice, equity, and human rights. Although profitable for stakeholders in the current system, the emphasis on the "mental illness" of the individual conceals causes of psychological distress, and prevents an empathetic understanding of symptoms and behavior, frequently leading to punitive and controlling health service delivery. Kinderman's manifesto incorporates arguments for a substantial decrease in the use of medication; unique and tailored assessments and care; the substitution of "diagnoses" with direct descriptions of our problems; a demand for social justice, equity, and human rights; and establishing the social determinants of mental health and well-being.

Adrian Furnham explores a macropsychology perspective of personality, examining how personality is determined by work, political, and societal factors, and vice versa. Furnham discusses the determinants of personality, including early development, cultural and historical background, family and relationships, and professional career. He examines the intriguing association between personality and the realization of the SDGs, for example how personality interplays with economic growth, innovation, and inequality. Using the Big Five personality traits and eleven personality disorders, he examines the association between "bright side" and "dark side" personality aspects and work and leadership success and failure. Both the bright and

dark sides of personality are exemplified using Thatcherism ideology, derived from former UK Prime Minister Thatcher, including self-reliance, moral certainty, and power. Furnham persuasively argues that personality may influence how particular individuals achieve positions of power, and in turn how the personality of business and political leaders can have significant organizational, national, and global impact.

Michael Daly provides an intriguing analysis of the relationship between personality traits and social structure, complementing Adrian Furnham's chapter on how personality influences society and vice versa. Daly provides an overview of the Big Five personality trait dimensions, and of potential changes in personality due to broader settings and conditions. He then explores how personality may also conversely influence social circumstances, in relation to early emerging differences in personality and their impact on later social outcomes. Daly uses socioecological and geographical psychology to then explore relationships at the macro level between personality and social structures, including the implications of this relationship for interventions and development of policies.

Méabh O'Shea and colleagues explore a macropsychology perspective on public persuasion, by investigating the use of psychological concepts in a sample of key politically focused speeches in history. While such speeches are usually identified as politically focused, O'Shea et al. examine the extent to which they reflect psychological concepts and therefore macropsychological issues. A total of 12 key speeches, derived from the book *History's Greatest Speeches* (Daley, 2013), were content analyzed using inductive thematic analysis in the study. Several themes were identified in the speeches, disaggregated across primary psychological concepts, mixture of psychological and other concepts, and concepts relevant to psychology but mainly focused on other concepts. O'Shea and colleagues argue that psychology plays an important role in public persuasion on key societal and political issues.

John Berry explores a macropsychology perspective of culture and behavior. He examines the intersection between macropsychology and cross-cultural psychology regarding their mutual analyses of the natural (ecological) and cultural (human-made) components of the environment to enable a more holistic understanding of human behavior. Berry demonstrates how both macropsychology and cross-cultural psychology conceptualize psychological characteristics and social settings as co-constructing each other, in particular in the use of the ecocultural approach, whereby individuals are deemed to influence and be influenced by their ecological and cultural environments. Spearheaded by Berry, the ecocultural approach merges ecological and cultural perspectives of the understanding of human behavior. The ecocultural framework is embedded in the theoretical perspective of universalism in cross-cultural psychology, which posits that all societies display commonalities (cultural universals) and all individuals share fundamental psychological processes (psychological universals), while recognizing that all behavior and all applications of psychology will not operate uniformly across contexts. According to Berry, by examining human behavior across a broad spectrum of contexts globally, cross-cultural psychology has established a theoretical and methodological foundation for the development of a global psychology. As argued by Berry, an understanding of

cultural and psychological universals, and of their different expression at the local level, can inform the development of culturally sensitive international policies and programs to realize universal goals and promote well-being.

Holly Wescott and colleagues explore a macropsychology perspective on disability and structural change. The authors apply Pierre Bourdieu's social theories to the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), and particularly the mechanism to support the convention within countries, the UN Partnership on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNPRPD). They explore how Bourdieu's theories may inform the structural changes needed to realize the rights of people with disabilities, and they contextualize this research using the UNPRPD. Over 1 billion people globally live with disability and experience barriers to accessing services such as health, education, information, transport, and employment (WHO & World Bank, 2011). From a Bourdieusian perspective, such inequities are symptomatic, not of the intrinsic value of disability, but of its lack of accumulated capital. Realizing the aims of the UNCRPD requires strategies to change society at a structural level to support disability inclusion. The authors schematically map structural relationships between stakeholders in the UNPRPD, using Bourdieusian's theoretical constructs to portray the social space in which structural exclusion occurs. Their approach provides a valuable theoretical framework for evaluating relational aspects of development initiatives to realize disability rights.

Tomas Folke and William Kennedy examine agent-based modelling, a subfield of computational social science, as a bridge between psychology and more macro-level social science. Agent-based modelling is a well-established method to simulate artificial worlds for theory building and hypothesis testing, increasing control and statistical power for researchers who can determine the specific behavior of agents and monitor their interactions across time (Jackson, Rand, Lewis, Norton, & Gray, 2017). Agent-based models focus on agents that represent the decision-makers in the system. As clarified by Folke and Kennedy, the behavioral sciences including psychology can provide a basis for simulating individuals that collectively constitute the macro-level or societal behaviors. To demonstrate the advantages of agent-based modelling, the authors use a case study on cooperation, a theme that is critical to the SDGs, and a basic requirement of national governance structures that establish the conditions in which people live.

Stuart Carr and colleagues outline a macropsychology for decent work, a core objective of SDG8 (decent work and economic growth). The authors present an overview of "sustainable livelihood" as a concept that theoretically intersects the micro, meso, and macro levels of work. Livelihoods are "environmentally sustainable" when they can preserve or enrich local and global assets and have a valuable impact on other livelihoods; and are "socially sustainable" when they can manage and recover from stress and provide for future generations (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Based on the concept of sustainable livelihoods, Carr and colleagues conceptualize work as extending beyond an "individualized" job, to interconnectedness between jobs, generations, the individual and society, and the ability to bounce back from various stressors and shocks. They focus on income as a critical determinant

of poverty, job insecurity, and sustainable livelihoods. In this regard, they cover a broad spectrum of areas including a “living wage,” CEO-worker pay ratios, wage inequality, and dual salary systems; and their effects at a macro level on economic development, and at a micro level on quality of (work) life, retention, job satisfaction, and workplace engagement. Furthermore, the authors concentrate on global mobility and its association with sustainable livelihoods, exploring dynamics such as “brain waste” regarding the underutilization of migrants’ skills due to discrimination. The focus of the chapter is also prospective in terms of future work, discussing, for example, automation and the concept of a Universal Basic Income. The above global humanitarian issues are consolidated into a cogent argument for a shift in the remit of work psychology to addressing macro issues that concern the majority of workers globally.

Morrie Mullins and colleagues apply their wealth of knowledge and experience in humanitarian work psychology to elucidating its intersection with macropsychology, complementing the chapter by Carr et al. on decent work and sustainable livelihood. Humanitarian work psychology refers to human factors in humanitarian organizations including in international and national aid, or to the application of occupational psychology to humanitarian issues such as decent wages (Carr & MacLachlan, 2014), differentiated by the authors as “humanitarian work-psychology” (HW-p) and “humanitarian-work psychology” (h-WP). Mullins et al. clarify how macropsychology and “understanding up” (MacLachlan, 2014) are integral to humanitarian work psychology’s focus on macro factors such as systemic power, income, and structural inequalities. They examine how a stronger macropsychology focus can support the goals of humanitarian work psychology, in areas such as corporate social responsibility, diversity and inclusion, and decent work. With regard to future approaches in humanitarian work psychology, the authors call for educating students on how to think and work at a macro level, and the potential merging of the two subfields of humanitarian work psychology through a macropsychology approach.

Raymond Saner and colleagues examine the intersection between macropsychology and inclusive and sustainable urbanization. While 55% of the global population was living in urban areas in 2018, this figure is expected to increase to 68% by 2050; necessitating effective and equitable policies for urban growth, and the management of urban growth particularly in low- and lower-middle-income countries in which rapid urbanization will mostly occur (United Nations, 2018). The authors provide a balanced overview of urbanization – of both its advantages such as economic development opportunities, access to services, and innovation; and of its challenges such as air pollution, social exclusion, and ineffective transport infrastructure. Saner et al. call for the application of macropsychology to holistically and efficiently address developmental opportunities and challenges across meta, micro, meso, and macro levels of urban development.

Kenneth McKenzie explores the greater role that could be played by psychologists to facilitate progress by policymakers toward the SDGs. He suggests that psychologists can support the consolidation of citizen, expert, and policymaker opinion, through deliberative democracy exercises to determine the most effective policy

processes for realization of the SDGs. McKenzie explores the dominance of behavioral economists in the “human side” of the SDG policymaking space, of which psychologists occupy a relatively smaller part. Cogently making the case for a model of deliberative democracy to realize policies that are conducive to the SDGs, he discusses novel methods of deliberative democracy models of policymaking. These “enhanced models of direct democracy,” McKenzie argues, could also provide more opportunities for psychologists to contribute to policymaking processes.

Joanne McVeigh examines food systems through a macropsychology lens. She explores the current global food system as a source of malnutrition and significant environmental degradation. She highlights that food and nutrition insecurity and inequities in access to food are not the result of a lack of food production, but a lack of political commitment to equitable, rights-based policies. The field of psychology has provided much insight on the intersection between mental health, well-being, and food and nutrition. However, psychology’s approach to the study of food and nutrition has primarily been directed at the micro (individual) or meso (institutional and social) levels. Effectively addressing the double burden of malnutrition will necessitate significant societal shifts in relation to nutrition and public health, and sustained change that is scaled up to the global food system (Wells et al., 2019). McVeigh therefore calls for a macropsychology perspective, through which psychology can address food and nutrition as a complex and adaptive food system, using systems thinking, collaboration and interdisciplinarity, and a human rights-based approach.

As a case study in macropsychology, Joanne McVeigh and Malcolm MacLachlan examine psychological governance and COVID-19. The advent of the COVID-19 pandemic has required governments to influence behaviour at the population level, in addition to the individual and group levels. This concept of psychological governance recognises the value of a macropsychology perspective in trying to influence collective behaviours of populations. To shape collective responses to the pandemic, countries have adopted diverse types of public communications. McVeigh and MacLachlan examine such messages in the context of broader psychological processes that may impede or facilitate their effectiveness during the pandemic

Conclusion

While mainstream psychology has focused predominantly at the micro and meso levels, macropsychology encompasses the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives – from which our problems and solutions may arise. As we write, a statement by the American Psychological Association on gun violence in the USA has called for “a comprehensive public health approach,” and has recommended funding for agencies such as the NIH “to better understand the causes, contributing factors and solutions to gun violence,” describing the blaming of gun violence on mental illness as “simplistic and inaccurate” (Evans, 2019). This perspective resonates with the aim of macropsychology

to broaden psychology's focus beyond individualistic explanations of complex behavior; to address how psychological thought influences and is influenced by the settings of people's lives – and indeed the substantive dangers of failing to do so. From this perspective, psychologists can facilitate the development and implementation of fair and inclusive policies. As suggested by psychologist Reid Lyon:

Psychology is in a unique position because the range of issues that psychologists address reflect the everyday concerns of the country. As a field, we need to take that seriously and focus systematic research efforts on how to solve problems, not just describe them...After all, policy is really the fruition of what we know – it's what we're responsible for, because if in fact we're trying to change behaviour, it's through policy that that will translate into actual practice. (Carpenter, 2001, p. 32)

Macropsychology aims to strengthen a neglected perspective within psychology, and to prompt a paradigm shift toward psychology integrating social structures, systems, institutions, and policies into its focus. Doing so would enable psychology to more effectively implement its findings, embrace big data more instrumentally, and facilitate greater involvement with concerns about organizational and social justice, inequality, inequity, and human rights.

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From Chemical Imbalance to Power Imbalance: A Macropsychology Perspective on Mental Health



Peter Kinderman

Introduction

We need radically to change how we think about mental health and psychological well-being. The idea that our more distressing emotions are nothing more than the symptoms of physical disease, which can then be treated like any other medical pathology, is pervasive and seductive. But it is also profoundly flawed, scientifically incorrect, unhelpful and, ultimately, inhumane. Our present approach to helping people in acute emotional distress is severely hampered by old-fashioned and scientifically incorrect ideas about the nature and origins of mental health problems.

To find a solution to the very real problems facing our mental health services – and, of course, the people who use them – we must move away from the ‘disease model’, which assumes that emotional distress is merely a symptom of biological illness, and instead embrace a psychological and social approach to mental health and well-being.

This frames mental health – our psychological well-being – as a social and psychological, not medical, phenomenon. It also places our psychological well-being, rightly, in the context of politics, social justice, equity and human rights and therefore in the realm of macropsychology, the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives (MacLachlan, 2014; MacLachlan, McVeigh, Huss, & Mannan, 2019).

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Planning for Escape

A common nightmare involves detention on a secure psychiatric ward. Movies, 'escape rooms' and Halloween parties, all employ (sometimes insultingly) this trope. We know we could rage and plead and argue (sometimes insultingly) but we also know we'd probably be overpowered, sedated and restrained. We could argue with the staff and try to persuade them that we're fine to go home, but from personal experience, I'm pretty sure they'd simply ignore us. That's not an attempt on my part to insult my fellow mental health professionals; it is instead a recognition of the power of the 'disease model'. Rather depressingly, I suspect that the best way to get out of psychiatric detention is to go along with the system.

Back in 1973, David Rosenhan conducted a famous study into (or, perhaps more accurately, illustration of) the invalidity of psychiatric diagnosis (Rosenhan, 1973). Eight ordinary people from conventional backgrounds (Rosenhan's students) presented themselves to psychiatrists at hospitals in the USA. In each case, they reported hearing disembodied voices saying 'empty', 'hollow' or 'thud'. Apart from complaining of this distressing experience (which, of course, was intended to resemble what conventional practice would, now as then, describe as 'hallucinations', 'symptoms' of 'schizophrenia'), the eight undercover researchers answered all questions honestly. All eight individuals were admitted to psychiatric hospitals, in most cases with a diagnosis of schizophrenia. Despite behaving entirely normally after admission, the researchers remained in hospital for an average of 19 days (with a range of seven to 52), during which time they were prescribed a total of 2100 pills (an average of 260 pills each, or 14 per day). The undercover researchers took careful notes of their experiences, behaviour which itself was also interpreted as obsessional and pathological.

Rosenhan's research is controversial. It is, of course, right to offer help, including medical help, to people who report that they are hearing auditory hallucinations and are distressed. Since the existing diagnostic criteria do indeed refer to hallucinations as symptoms of so-called 'schizophrenia' and because the 'pseudopatients' were, of course, faking their experiences, we might argue that the diagnoses can be seen as valid – and perhaps the only mechanism available to the psychiatrists to respond to the individuals' apparent distress. This means that the Rosenhan study does not necessarily tell us much more than it is possible to mislead psychiatrists (just like any other doctor) about your experiences. But it is still shocking that, once admitted, nothing resembling humane and compassionate care was offered. Staff members only spent 11% of their time interacting with patients, and comments like '*Come on, you mother f---s, get out of bed*' were reported as common. Despite the prescription of 2100 pills, daily contact with psychiatrists, psychologists and nurses averaged only 7 minutes.

Things are probably better now than in 1973. But we still have a long way to go. The client of a colleague of mine had been admitted to an inpatient psychiatric ward under a section of the Mental Health Act in response to her quite distressing self-harm. Because of the risks involved, she was under constant observation. She

reported that when accompanied to a physical care ward to have her self-inflicted wounds dressed, the member of staff looking after her told her that she was *'just there to observe, not to talk to you'*. She also – sadly – had to attend her mother's funeral while 'on leave' from the hospital. On returning from the funeral, a vase of flowers from her mother's memorial service was removed from her room. The explanation given to her was that her 'bad behaviour' was being punished by their removal and her 'good behaviour' would be rewarded with their return. This is illogical as well as callous; if she was considered to be able to control her behaviour by sheer force of will, responsive to rewards and punishments, surely she shouldn't be detained on a secure psychiatric ward. And if she were simply ill, insane and unable to control her behaviour, why would the contingencies of reward and punishment make any difference? It seems as if we haven't moved much beyond a medieval mindset where the presumption is that we need to make the pain of the punitive treatment sufficiently severe to penetrate to the mind of the insane patient.

Many people receive excellent care. But many suffer greatly, either through action or inaction. In one unsolicited letter I received, the author said:

... Rather than engaging with the patients on the ward, the staff instead shepherded them around like sheep with bullying commands, threats of 'jabs' (injections), and removal to an acute ward elsewhere in the hospital, if they did not co-operate. The staff also stressed medication rather than engagement as a way of controlling the patients.

The author of the letter continued by describing the very limited engagement between the staff and service users:

And the staff closeted themselves in the ward office, instead of being out and about on the corridors and in the vestibule where they should have been. The staff wrote daily reports on each patient on the hospital's Intranet system; these reports were depended upon by the consultant psychiatrists for their diagnoses and medication prescriptions, but were patently fabricated and false, because the staff had never engaged or observed properly the patient they were writing about in their reports. The psychiatrists themselves were rarely seen on the ward, and only consulted with their patients once a week.

I don't want my hardworking colleagues to interpret my words as undermining their efforts, but I fear that the care that people receive in both community and residential care settings (I shall try to avoid the terms 'inpatient' and 'outpatient' because I don't think the word 'patient' is appropriate when discussing emotional well-being) falls short of what's expected. In 2011, the independent Schizophrenia Commission was established by the charity and pressure group Rethink Mental Illness and, in 2012, published the report *'Schizophrenia – The Abandoned Illness'* (Schizophrenia Commission, 2012). As well as recommending greater access to psychological therapies, a right to a second opinion on medication, greater reliance on the skills of pharmacists and general practitioners, etc., the commission called for *'a radical overhaul of poor acute care units'*. The Schizophrenia Commission seriously criticised residential mental healthcare (inpatient psychiatric wards). Indeed, the Commission Chair, Professor Sir Robin Murray, stated that *'the message that comes through loud and clear is that people are being badly let down by the system in every area of their lives'*. Despite numerous recent guidelines and

initiatives aimed at improving the quality of residential care, residential care remains highly unpopular with service users and carers.

Sadly, many of the stories that emerge from psychiatric hospitals imply that physical force and restraint are used when we either wish to leave environments that we feel are untherapeutic and harmful (perhaps because they are harmful and untherapeutic) or when we decline to take medication that we feel is doing more harm than good (quite possibly because...that's precisely true (Greenwood, 2017)). Sadly, too, the stories that emerge – even from the UK – seem to have much more to do with punitive practices than anything therapeutic. Early in 2018, the UK government released figures on the use of Tasers (electrical stun guns) by police officers (BBC News; “Tasers used 58 times in mental health settings”, 2018). These revealed that Tasers had been used inside mental health units 58 times in a 6-month period.

This is, at least in part, a result of the universal assumption that the purpose of care is to treat illnesses rather than to respond empathically to people in distress. It is certainly true that low mood, risk of suicide, confusion or disturbed behaviour sometimes put someone at extreme risk or, in very unusual cases, renders someone a risk to others. Some form of mental health legislation may well be needed as I acknowledged when I contributed to the drafting of both the Mental Health Act and the Mental Capacity Act on behalf of the British Psychological Society. It is important to offer a robust legislative framework for us if our difficulties put us at significant personal risk or if we pose a risk to others. But this is a social and psychological problem, not a medical one. Diagnosis and even severity of an ‘illness’ do not relate to risk and dangerousness. Decisions do need to be made about the necessary care of people with serious problems who are at risk. But current practice within a system driven by the ‘disease model’ is flawed.

A New Ethos

The pressure for a new ethos has surprisingly influential support (although people in powerful professional roles frequently argue for no change). The World Health Organization argued that the way that we care for people with mental health problems across the world is ‘*a hidden human rights emergency*’ (World Health Organization, 2015). The United Nations’ international human rights treaty, the ‘Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities’, was issued in 2006, and its implementation is monitored by a body of independent experts called Treaty Bodies. The Human Rights Council may also appoint Special Rapporteurs (investigators) to establish the extent to which UN conventions are being implemented. In June 2017, Special Rapporteur Dainius Pūras, a practising psychiatrist from Lithuania, issued a report on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health (Pūras, 2017).

Dr. Pūras’s report is clearly soundly based on psychological science and is also groundbreaking in its honesty. It is worth quoting at length:

For decades, mental health services have been governed by a reductionist biomedical paradigm that has contributed to the exclusion, neglect, coercion and abuse of people with intellectual, cognitive and psychosocial disabilities, persons with autism and those who deviate from prevailing cultural, social and political norms... (p. 4). Public policies continue to neglect the importance of the preconditions of poor mental health, such as violence, disempowerment, social exclusion and isolation and the breakdown of communities, systemic socioeconomic disadvantage and harmful conditions at work and in schools... (p. 4). We have been sold a myth that the best solutions for addressing mental health challenges are medications and other biomedical interventions... (p. 6).

The report pulled few punches in condemning that 'reductive biomedical approaches to treatment that do not adequately address contexts and relationships can no longer be considered compliant with the right to health (p. 17). There exists an almost universal commitment to pay for hospitals, beds and medications instead of building a society in which everyone can thrive... (p. 16)'. It had a stern warning about the dangers of any unrestricted international export of a Western, psychiatric, disease-model approach to mental health, one which stresses technical diagnosis, biological explanations and a reliance on pharmacological interventions:

[A]n effective tool used to elevate global mental health is the use of alarming statistics to indicate the scale and economic burden of 'mental disorders'...[t]he current 'burden of disease' approach firmly roots the global mental health crisis within a biomedical model, too narrow to be proactive and responsive in addressing mental health issues at the national and global level. The focus on treating individual conditions inevitably leads to...narrow, ineffective and potentially harmful outcomes...[and] paves the way for further medicalization of global mental health, distracting policymakers from addressing the main risk and protective factors affecting mental health for everyone...The scaling-up of care must not involve the scaling-up of inappropriate care. (p. 13)

Drawing on a range of examples and resources, including the British Psychological Society's report (of which I was a leading author) 'Understanding psychosis' (Cooke, 2014), Dr. Pūras's report emphasises the need for a '*paradigm shift*' towards offering culturally appropriate psychosocial interventions as the first line, working in partnership with members of the public who use mental health services and carers, respecting diversity and taking steps to eliminate coercive treatment and forced confinement. We need all of this to be backed up by a firm commitment to social policy that addresses the root causes, such as poverty, discrimination, abuse and structural inequalities, of poor mental health across whole populations. Among the report's recommendations are that:

[T]he urgent need for a shift in approach should prioritize policy innovation at the population level, targeting social determinants and abandon the predominant medical model that seeks to cure individuals by targeting 'disorders'. The crisis in mental health should be managed not as a crisis of individual conditions, but as a crisis of social obstacles which hinders individual rights. Mental health policies should address the 'power imbalance' rather than 'chemical imbalance'. (p. 19)

We tend to agree on most of the responses to this challenge: calling for increased funding, calls for greater compassion and understanding, calls to reduce or eliminate stigma and a focus on effective care. But there are also some clear differences between professionals as to the right way forwards.

There are very many good reasons to argue for greater investment in mental health services. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development estimated in 2018 (Boseley, 2018) that the direct costs of mental health problems to the UK economy are around £94 billion per year (4% of gross domestic product). Worldwide, the annual costs of mental health problems have been estimated at \$2.5 trillion. The personal costs are even higher. In the UK, 5821 people took their own lives in 2017 (UK Office for National Statistics, 2018), and the most common cause of direct deaths in women in the first year after childbirth is now suicide (Knight et al., 2018). Every 40 seconds, someone kills themselves somewhere in the world. That's approximately 800,000 deaths by suicide each year (World Health Organization, 2018).

We urgently need substantial improvement in our mental healthcare system. But, as Pūras concluded, we should not assume that we should be investing in more of the same. We would gain more if we were to do things differently.

Minimising Real Problems

We all feel anxious or depressed or confused from time to time, and we certainly all know of people close to us who have had major challenges to their psychological health and well-being. These are very real problems for many people. But that doesn't mean that it is helpful to apply a biomedical solution to social problems. Taking a lead from conventional medicine, our mental healthcare system applies 'diagnoses' to emotional, behavioural and psychological issues. And when illnesses are diagnosed, people's life experiences and their views on the origin of their problems are often seen as effectively irrelevant.

If we medicalise our psychological well-being, we do not have to harbour uncomfortable thoughts about the human costs of domestic abuse, rape, the sexual abuse of children, unemployment, poverty, inequality, war, loneliness and failure. All these troubling issues – the factors that can lead us all to become distressed – can now be kept comfortably at arm's length.

Conveniently for those with vested interests in the current system, the focus of attention moves to so-called mental illnesses. We now focus on looking for pathologies within the individual – whether genetic or biological abnormalities or 'thinking errors'. An expensive system develops to 'treat' these 'illnesses', with all the professional consequences. Multinational pharmaceutical companies step in to offer drugs – at a profit. In the UK, each year, we spend £800 m on psychiatric drugs. And the 'disease model' also often strips professionals of their ability to empathise. When people are distressed and feel that their sanity, even their life, is threatened, they need empathy and compassion more than ever. But because the patient's behaviour is seen as irrational, the product of an 'illness', even a disease, we stop trying to understand the human reasons why they might be feeling or acting the way they are.

Illness and Hospitals

Because our psychological well-being is too often seen as a matter of ‘illness’ and ‘disorder’, healthcare planners take a highly medical approach to care. There is a shortage of non-medical alternatives, and the services that are available often very become stretched. Problems must be serious to justify admission, partly because people are reluctant to enter residential units because of the pressurised and stressful atmosphere. There are worrying levels of violence against staff and service users, sexual harassment, and theft, with drug and alcohol problems being common. Equally, people who could leave hospital if there were appropriate alternative specialist services are often detained for far too long, longer than would be the case if appropriate services were available in the community. And finally, in this maelstrom of stress, residential units are also plagued by boredom, a lack of purposeful activity and inadequate physical environments. This is all wholly unacceptable. When we are so distressed that we need residential care, we need a genuine ‘asylum’, a place of safety and calm, where we can resolve tension and stress and overcome trauma, not to be exposed to abuse and assault.

This doesn’t mean rejecting the contributions of our medical, psychiatric, colleagues. A good analogy for this argument might be the role of medicine in pregnancy. Doctors from a wide variety of specialisms (general practitioners, obstetricians, paediatricians) all offer valuable care for pregnant women and babies. Pregnancy can sometimes have potentially serious medical complications, and we need medical science and professional care. But pregnancy, itself, is not an illness. Similarly, when a multidisciplinary team offers care to a person in distress, medical colleagues have much to offer.

But many aspects of the ethos of ‘care’ in current, traditional, mental healthcare are actively harmful – people are told that they are ‘ill’ and have an underlying biological abnormality. In my opinion, this ‘disease model’ is scientifically incorrect, is inherently illogical and has serious harmful consequences. I believe that this ‘disease model’ contributes to the negative, punitive, controlling ethos that often prevails in services. It undermines genuine empathy and compassion; instead of seeing people’s difficulties as understandable and natural responses to the terrible things that have happened to them, the person is seen as having something wrong with them – an ‘illness’.

Addressing the Biological

Although the commonly accepted default explanation is a biological one, much of the evidence used to support a neuropathological or biomedical model of ‘mental illness’ is open to scientific challenge. Firstly, there is only very weak evidence for genetic causes of mental health problems. Many mental health problems appear to have high ‘heritability’ – they tend to ‘run in families’. But while this understandably

implies that there are biological, genetically inherited characteristics at work, this is not the only mechanism for transmission down generations.

In the case of mental health problems, it is highly likely that a very large number of genetic variants all conspire to offer generally increased or decreased risks of a wide variety of problems. Genetic factors play a role in all human phenomena, including our mental health. It does seem clear that there are a very large number of genetic factors that increase one's general vulnerability to or likelihood of experiencing mental health problems – psychosis (hearing voices or experiencing paranoia), mood swings, social communication and difficulties in concentration.

It is also important to remember this interaction between genes and environment. In a world in which everybody – every single human being without exception – smoked 40 cigarettes a day, the prevalence of lung cancer would, of course, be enormously high. But not everybody would develop lung cancer. Some people would be genetically more vulnerable than others. And in an imaginary world in which everybody smokes, these genetic differences would be the only real source of differential risks. The same would be true if nobody smoked – again, genetic differences would be important, as environmental differences (whether someone smoked or not) reduce. In the real world today, about 20% of people in the UK smoke cigarettes. And whether or not you expose yourself to this risk factor is more important than the degree of your genetic vulnerability. The same seems to be true of mental health. Of course, genetic factors are important, but we often ignore the ‘elephant in the room’ – the environmental causes of distress.

This is important because there is evidence that the ‘disease model’ itself is associated with stigma and discrimination (Larkings & Brown, 2018; Lebowitz & Appelbaum, 2019; Longdon & Read, 2017). People in receipt of mental healthcare experience high levels of stigma and discrimination. Many people assume that promoting a biological understanding of mental health problems will reduce stigma – because it implies that the person is not responsible for their problems. So traditional attempts to reduce negative attitudes towards people with mental health problems have – of course – used the ‘disease model’ and biomedical approach and have tried to make the case that ‘mental illness is an illness like any other’.

On the whole, these have had only limited success. And that's not really surprising. Biological, especially genetic explanations suggest that people experience difficulties because their genetic blueprint, their DNA, is faulty. If we say that a particular trait is both undesirable, and part of the most fundamental, heritable, and immutable genome of the individual, we are clearly associating that person fundamentally with the undesirability. We may well feel some sympathy with someone who is ‘ill’, but locating an undesirable social phenomenon within the essential nature of a person is also very stigmatising.

Psychological models themselves can be stigmatising, of course – they can still focus attention on what goes on inside people's heads rather than on what has happened to them. We can blame ‘thinking errors’ or – worse, and unscientifically – still blame the person's character or personality. But I repudiate that too.

Explaining things in terms of either biology or a person's innate disposition tends to lead to greater discrimination, and so a non-medical approach – one that stresses

how our psychology is shaped by the events that happen to us, the experiences that we have and how we learn to respond to them – is likely to be the most effective and humane. It also, happily, is more accurate and scientific. Despite the importance of social factors in the development of mental health problems, routine mental health-care in practice still relies on the attempted treatment of illnesses assumed to reside, physically, in the body (more specifically the brain), as opposed to helping people to address these social challenges.

But those social factors are powerful. Colleagues of mine at the University of Liverpool recently conducted an elegant analysis of the impact of the economic recession on suicide rates. They concluded that nearly a thousand people across the UK had taken their own lives in the 2 years after the economic crash of 2008, as a result of the financial crisis, unemployment and recessions (Barr, Taylor-Robinson, Scott-Samuel, McKee, & Stuckler, 2012).

There's also good evidence that inequalities, both economic and social, are particularly important. Looking across successful, industrialised nations (the 'G20' nations), the greater the difference between the rich and poor, the worse a nation performs on a series of measures such as physical health, obesity, substance misuse, education, crime and violence and (of course) mental health (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The economic mismanagement of our economy is genuinely a matter of life and death.

Non-diagnostic Alternatives

Excessive long-term use of psychiatric drugs is causing significant harm, and there is little evidence that these harms are outweighed by any tangible benefits. Indeed, while outcomes in most areas of physical medicine have improved dramatically over the past few decades, the outcomes in mental healthcare are not getting better. In a rather dramatic comment, the former Director of the US National Institute of Mental Health, Thomas Insel, recently acknowledged that the biomedical framework (which he promoted) and \$20 billion dollars in research funding failed to 'move the needle' in improving people's lives (Henriques, 2017). While generating thousands of research papers, we have not seen clinically useful 'biomarkers' or robust theoretical models, and while we have seen millions of people prescribed medication and other physical treatments, we have also seen – not really paradoxically – increased mortality rates and worsening outcomes (Saha, Chant, & McGrath, 2007).

Diagnosis, the identification of illnesses deserving of treatment, clearly opens the door to such use of medication. It is important to recognise that people – and children – occasionally have various serious problems. Criticism of the diagnostic approach is absolutely not the same as 'domesticating' people's problems or pretending they don't exist. Quite the opposite, we clearly need to acknowledge the deep reality of the difficulties that adults and children face. But that recognition is undermined in the attempt to fit these problems into a disease model. The American

Psychiatric Association's newest edition of their Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) has justifiably been criticised. And in the case of so-called 'Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder' (ADHD), it is particularly easy to see how applying a diagnostic framework to the normal variations of childhood behaviour, including even serious problems, has attractions but ultimately leads to paradoxes and difficulties.

When our children are distressed, failing to thrive or presenting challenges to parents, peers or teachers, we need to understand them, and we need to offer realistic and effective help. But I have very serious concerns over the use of psychiatric diagnoses such as 'ADHD', concerns widely shared by other mental health professionals. Most children, indeed most people, can be said often to fail to '*give close attention to details*' or make '*careless mistakes in schoolwork, at work, or with other activities*'. Most of us often have '*trouble holding attention on tasks or play activities*' and have '*trouble organising tasks and activities*'. I'm pretty sure that everybody often '*avoids, dislikes, or is reluctant to do tasks that require mental effort over a long period of time (such as schoolwork or homework)*' and often '*loses things necessary for tasks and activities (e.g. school materials, pencils, books, tools, wallets, keys, paperwork, eyeglasses, mobile telephones)*' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). It is unnecessary to continue; it is clear that these are examples of distractibility, impulsivity and 'hyperactivity' that have huge overlap with everyday life. It is absolutely true to say that in order to receive the formal diagnosis of ADHD as a recognised 'disorder', these experiences '*show a persistent pattern of inattention and/or hyperactivity-impulsivity that interferes with functioning or development*' and that they are '*inappropriate for developmental level*'. That's important, and my point is not that these kinds of problems don't exist, that some people or some children don't experience real difficulties or that there are children for whom these kinds of problems are real threats to their well-being. My point is that these very real problems aren't abnormal, aren't quintessentially different from normal experiences and aren't pathological. It is quite the reverse. These are very real problems, but they are normal problems. As the commentator Phil Hickey points out: '*Has there ever been a small child who didn't fail to give close attention to details or didn't make careless mistakes? Isn't this almost a defining feature of early childhood?... Remember, we're talking about children below the age of seven. Not many five/six year olds are great organizers*' (Hickey, 2015).

Rather than employ medical, pathologising, language and methods, we can and should use effective, scientific, understandable alternatives. Both the major diagnostic systems contain the kernels of alternative systems for identifying and describing psychological phenomena and distress. A straightforward phenomenological approach – the operational definition of our experiences – would enable our problems to be recognised (in both senses of the word), understood, validated, explained (and explicable) and open a plan for help. This would meet the universal call for appropriate, internationally recognised, data collection and shared language use and avoid the inadequacies of reliability and validity associated with traditional diagnoses. Such phenomenological codes offer a constructive, radical way forwards.

Embedded within both the DSM and International Classification of Diseases (ICD) systems is the prototype of a system approximating the ‘phenomenological’ approach to identifying and responding to mental health problems (Kinderman & Allsopp, 2018). ICD-11 is still (at the time of writing) in draft form, but the specific ‘phenomenological codes’ proposed permit the recording of a wide range of relevant phenomena. These include non-suicidal self-injury (MB23.E), anxiety (MB24.3), depressed mood (MB24.5), elevated mood (MB24.8), feelings of guilt (MB24.B) and auditory hallucinations (MB27.20).

What that means is that the ICD system, at least in draft form, is rapidly evolving towards a relatively functional phenomenological recording system. We do not yet have a complete taxonomy of phenomenological terms, and we don’t yet have well-developed operational definitions. But we have a workable system. Moreover, it is a system already embedded in official diagnostic manuals. We don’t need a new system; we can use the best bits (but the rarely used bits) of the existing system.

Recognising Causes in the Real World

We know that childhood trauma, poverty and social inequity are major determinants of our psychological health, and I have previously stressed how the United Nations Special Rapporteur (Pūras, 2017) characterises mental health care not as a crisis of individual conditions but as a crisis of social obstacles. It is important, therefore, that the circumstances that have given rise to distress – those ‘social obstacles’ – should be formally recorded alongside the distress itself. In the absence of that recognition, and that data collection, we’re left identifying an ‘illness’ but not identifying a cause. In that case, and in the context of widespread messages about biological, genetic causes, there’s every chance that we will simply assume that – with no external cause – the problem must be the result of some pathology or flaw within us.

As well as offering diagnoses, the ICD system was designed to permit healthcare planners to understand the root causes of ill health, the factors that led to the incidence of disease ‘...and causes of death...’ as well as to count cases of illness. That means that the ICD system comes with a whole variety of vitally important healthcare indicators – issues that are not themselves illnesses but which are necessary to record in order to help track and explain illness. It is mildly amusing (at least for me) to look within the ICD system for obscure and amusing causes of injury (which are, I suppose, much less amusing if you’re the one who’s been injured). So in ICD-11, we have XE69N, which is the code to be used if someone has received an injury from a ‘parrot, parakeet, or cockatoo’, and XE4AP is the code used if someone has injured themselves with ‘nightclothes, pyjamas, nightwear, underwear, undergarment, or lingerie’. I have to confess to an adolescent amusement by the idea of a code for ‘injury by underpants’ (although I did, myself, once trip over and break my own toe in a XE4AP-related incident). But the point is ICD is designed to collect data on the causes of injury.

This means that despite being rarely discussed, used or reported either in clinical practice or in the academic literature (Allsopp & Kinderman, 2017), both ICD-11 and DSM-5 incorporate descriptive information regarding adverse life experiences and living environments. In ICD-11, these quasi-diagnostic codes document such factors as a personal history of sexual abuse (QE82.1) or a history of spouse or partner violence (QE51.1). That seems clear and obvious – and useful. These events in our lives are of great causal significance in the development of psychological health problems and, therefore, vital information both for clinicians as we develop co-produced formulations and for health service planners. ICD-11 goes further. It includes important and useful codes for low income, threat of job loss, unemployment, poverty and homelessness. They are all important. They are all part of the recognition of the social context of mental health. They are all perfectly recordable, within the ‘official’ World Health Organization’s recommended statistical manual.

In fact, the ICD-11 system allows for recording of another long list of very significant factors: low income, burnout, illiteracy, conviction and imprisonment (both legally justified and extrajudicially), experiences of crime, terrorism, disaster, war or other hostilities or, for example, one’s removal from home in childhood or – very importantly – ‘...*a personal history of maltreatment*’. These quasi-diagnostic codes document neglect, abandonment and other maltreatment, homelessness, poverty, discrimination and negative life events in childhood. DSM-5 generally mirrors the ICD system and therefore includes codes for a wide variety of problems related to family upbringing and housing and economic problems.

Making Sense of Things

Our social circumstances, and our biology, influence our emotions, thoughts and behaviours – our mental health – through their effects on psychological processes (Kinderman, 2014). This psychological model of mental health and well-being proposes that our biology and our life circumstances both exert their influence through their effect on psychological processes.

Of course, all mental health problems involve the brain. But that’s not an explanation. What is more interesting is the extent to which differences between us, in terms of biological risk factors or in terms of the different life experiences we’ve had, account for our different mental health experiences.

My reading of the evidence convinces me that variance between us in terms of our neurological processes seems to account for very little in terms of mental health – or indeed human behaviour in general. Most of the variability in people’s problems appears to be explicable in terms of their experience rather than genetic or neurological malfunctions.

Since the 1950s, psychologists (and psychiatrists who understand cognitive psychology) have developed sophisticated and practically useful models of how people understand the world. In straightforward terms, people are born as natural learning

engines, with highly complex but very receptive brains, ready to understand and then engage with the world. As a consequence of the events we experience in life, we develop mental models of the world, including the social world. We then use these mental models to guide our thoughts, emotions and behaviours.

In order to understand and explain people's experiences, and in order to plan services, we need to do a little more than simply make a list of problems. This is, of course, equally recognised by medical psychiatrists, who equally understand that people need to be offered more than a mere diagnosis.

Psychological formulations (Johnstone & Dallos, 2013) describe why people are experiencing difficulties and what might help. Psychologists use their knowledge of psychological science to develop hypotheses about what might have led to the development of these problems and, consequently, theories about what might be helpful. Because all these issues are highly personal, formulations are necessarily very individual, tailored for each person and their specific problems.

A Manifesto for Mental Health and Well-Being

Mental health problems are fundamentally social and psychological issues. We should therefore replace 'diagnoses' with straightforward descriptions of our problems, radically reduce use of medication and use it pragmatically rather than presenting it as a 'cure'. Instead, we need to understand how each one of us has learned to make sense of the world and tailor help to our unique and complex needs. We need to offer care rather than coercion; to fight for social justice, equity and fundamental human rights; and to establish the social prerequisites for genuine mental health and well-being (Kinderman, 2014).

We should stop thinking about 'abnormality', 'disorder' and 'illness' and instead offer humane and effective responses to what are understandable and normal psychological reactions. Because this is an approach which celebrates our shared humanity and psychology rather than relying on expert treatment of illnesses, the best chance for real change lies in members of the public actively campaigning for better services to promote psychological well-being and for a choice which reflects a more appropriate understanding of our problems, perhaps, most importantly, demanding our rights.

For people in extreme distress, places of safety would still be needed to replace the niche filled at present by inpatient wards. However, these should be experienced as places of safety, not medical treatment units, and should therefore be led by social workers, or possibly psychologists, rather than doctors or nurses and physically designed as homely, welcoming houses rather than 'wards'. In these places, our medical, psychiatric colleagues would still play a valuable role, but the ethos of care in such places would be based on recovery, not treatment or cure, and be firmly based on a psychosocial formulation of the problems facing each service user. Good-quality, humane care is needed, and taking seriously the person's own views

about their difficulties and needs rather than insisting that they see themselves as ‘ill’. And when compulsion is needed, the legal criteria should be based on the principle that people should only be subject to coercion when they are unable to make the relevant decisions for themselves, a capacity-based, or autonomy-based, approach.

There should be a very significantly reduced emphasis on drugs. In particular, long-term drug use should be avoided. Where medication is used (sparingly and short term), it is important that high-quality (and that emphasis is important) medical and pharmaceutical advice is available. In episodes of acute distress, people may benefit from very short-term prescription for medication (mainly to help them feel calmer if they are deeply distressed and agitated or to help them through the depths of despair and ‘depression’), but three key points follow.

First, such use of medication should (following the advice of the psychiatrist Jo Moncrieff) be very brief, targeted and practical. Medication should be used to help people through difficult times, not to ‘treat’ putative ‘illnesses’.

Second, there are very real effective alternatives to medication. Many problems resolve from crisis point to a more manageable state if people are simply offered high-quality, genuine care and support. Psychological therapies such as cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) can be effective for very many people with a wide range of problems, even when those are serious.

And finally, because our mental health and well-being are largely dependent on our social circumstances, to promote genuine mental health and well-being, we need to protect and promote universal human rights, as enshrined in the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Because experiences of neglect, rejection and abuse are hugely important in the genesis of many problems, we need to redouble our efforts to protect children from emotional, physical or sexual abuse and neglect. Equally, we must protect both adults and children from bullying and discrimination: whether that is racism, homophobia or discrimination based on sexuality, gender, disability or ‘mental health’ or any other characteristic. We can all do more to combat discrimination and promote a more tolerant and accepting society. These concerns, along with my broader emphasis on context and on human rights, are key features of a macropsychology that seeks to address factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives.

A few years ago, some colleagues and I were discussing how we might spread these ideas outside of academic and professional ivory towers. We thought about two successful (or at least engaging) campaigns: ‘*some people are gay, get used to it*’ and ‘*there’s probably no god, now stop worrying and enjoy your life*’. In that context, we can’t do better than use the words of the campaigner and activist Jacqui Dillon, who rejected the disease model approach by saying:

Don’t ask what’s wrong with me, ask what’s happened to me.

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A Macropsychology Perspective on Personality: How Personality Factors Influence Society and Vice Versa



Adrian Furnham

Introduction

Macropsychology is the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives (MacLachlan, 2014; MacLachlan, Mannan, Huss, & Scholl, 2019). This chapter discusses about how the personalities of individuals can have an impact on whole societies, how the micro can affect the macro and how individuals can impact on groups, organisations and whole societies. It also considers how the culture and context in which a person grows up and lives can influence his/her personality.

Macropsychology argues that psychology could contribute in a much greater capacity to understanding or implementing social change, particularly at the macro level. The questions that a macropsychology lens encourages us to ask about personality, namely, the causes and consequences of healthy and unhealthy personality people. The micro can impact the macro, but also vice versa. In this chapter, I will consider at length how psychologists define the bright and dark side of personality. However to begin with one of the many themes in this book, I note how the personality of individuals can impact on some of the famous sustainable goals.

Personality and Sustainable Development Goals

A case could be made for how personality might impact on all the developmental goals. However, I consider just five:

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Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. We know that successful inventors and entrepreneurs can make a huge financial contribution not only to their society but the whole world. Technical inventions can cut waste, improve lives and bring economic benefits. There is a great deal of interest in the personality and motivation of entrepreneurs so that they can be discovered and nurtured for the benefit of all.

Goal 9: Industry, innovation and infrastructure: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation. Creative individuals can drive innovation for the betterment of all. There are again many psychological studies on the identification and encouragement of creative people, particularly in the sciences and technology, whose ideas and inventions can impact so much on whole societies.

Goal 10: Reducing inequalities: Reduce income inequality within and among countries. National political leaders can and do have a considerable impact on political policies and structures in their countries. There is a very interesting literature on the abilities, personality and motivation of both historic and current political leaders which provides a picture of how they emerge in the own regions and how they can, over time, have such a considerable impact on their society and internationally.

Goal 11: Sustainable cities and communities: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Cities and communities are governed by institutions headed up by elected and appointed leaders. There are many historical studies of leaders driven by personal, political and religious values who have had and will continue to have a massive impact on their communities.

Goal 12: Responsible consumption and production: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns: Individuals by their example and by their leadership of movements and political bodies can help pass legislation that changes the way whole societies use and consume resources.

We know that individuals, through their example and drive, can change institutions as well as whole societies. This is more than the “great man” school of psychology that seeks to explain leadership almost exclusively by the personality profile of leaders. But equally it is an attempt to suggest that we should not ignore individual differences in seeking to understand macro-events. History is replete with examples of how both good and bad individuals can impact so profoundly on their own society and indeed the history of the world.

The Description of Personality

Personality psychologists have linked personality traits to a very wide range of behaviours. Twenty years ago, Furnham and Heaven (1999) looked at the literature which examines the relationship between personality and consumption, crime,

health, ideology, leisure, relationships and work. However, the personality of individuals seems most relevant when they are in positions of leadership and power. There is growing literature on the “dark side” of leadership which illustrates how destructive an individual can be bringing down whole institutions (Furnham, 2014).

A surprising number of politicians at various times and in various countries have been ill. David Owen (2009a, 2009b) both a trained medical doctor and a high-ranking British politician has written a book subtitled *Illness in Heads of Government During the Last 100 Years*. He was interested in how various illnesses affect decision-making and also the dangers of trying to keep these illnesses secret. In doing so, he makes little distinction between physical, psychological and psychiatric illnesses. Further he showed that often critical times for their political lives and those of their country, they were essentially unfit to hold power.

This chapter will first describe BIG FIVE personality traits accepted now as the best “periodic table” description of personality. It then goes on to examine the growing literature on the relationship between “dark-side” personality disorders and leadership success and failure. The penultimate section describes the data looking at the relationship between personality and work success. Finally it is acknowledged that experiences shape personality.

The Bright Side

Inevitably a wide range in biological, psychological and sociological factors influences a person’s unique profile. Personality psychologists have spent 100 years trying to come up with an agreed taxonomy. The *Big Five* is now the accepted system, and understanding the various dimensions can help understand the power of personality.

Nettle (2006) attempted a full and parsimonious description of the benefits and costs of each of the Big Five personality dimensions. These are very relevant to see how the costs or dark side of extreme personalities can have such a big impact.

Extraversion Extraverts are sociable and sensation-seeking and have more social support. They are usually more socially skilled and interpersonally confident. Their attitude to, interest in and experience of sex mean they tend to have more sexual partners, “mating successes” and offspring. However, it also means they are more prone to infidelity (Nettle, 2005), which suggests that their children are more likely to be later exposed to step-parents, which is an established risk factor in their development. They trade off accuracy for speed and are prone to accidents and errors of many kinds.

Introverts are less sociable but safer; they run the risk of a lower likelihood of finding mates and social support networkers, but leading a more secure lifestyle, which is better for child-rearing. Extraverts are rated as more interpersonally attractive because of their social confidence, fun-loving activity preferences and optimism. Most people assume that extraverts have an advantage in life because of their

social skills and self-confidence. This means that many introverts have to appear to be extraverts and are called socialised introverts who “fake extraversion” sometimes at great cost to themselves.

Neuroticism Neurotics tend to be anxious, depressed, guilt-ridden, phobic and hypochondriacal. They are less likely to have good long-standing and satisfying personal relationships and jobs. They are, however, socially vigilant, wary and risk-averse. They are very aware of subtle (and possibly threatening) social changes, which can be a strong survival mechanism in certain environments. Neurotics are very interested in their and others’ emotions which can make them highly sensitive “readers of social situations”.

Those very low in Neuroticism, labelled stable or highly adjusted, may have some disadvantages. They may be too trusting and eager to avoid social and physical hazards; they may underperform and strive less hard because they are afraid of failure. They may also be socially insensitive to the anxieties and worries of those around them and, therefore, have a small social support network.

Clearly Neuroticism or Low Adjustment is a serious disadvantage in life as neurotics cope poorly with stress and have low resilience. Many internalise their anxiety and depression and are less able to cause major problems for other people around them.

Openness Openness to Experience is marked by creativity, cognitive complexity, imagination and curiosity. Open individuals are attracted to the unusual and the unconventional. Openness is a good predictor of artistic and scientific achievement and innovation (Furnham, 2008). They are often thought of as creative. The flipside of novel thinking is delusions and occasionally supernatural and paranormal ideas. Creative individuals, when emotionally stable and associated with particular skills, especially in the arts, are highly attractive to others and, therefore, have many different mates and a wide relationship network.

However, those with “unusual” beliefs can easily be described as “mad”, “arty-farty” and rejected by society. Moderate to high levels of creativity are associated with attractiveness partly because creativity is highly valued in many settings. It also means that they are thought of as very interesting.

Agreeableness Agreeable people are empathic, trusting, kind, well-liked, respected and valued as friends. They seek and attempt to create harmony and concord. The trait is highly valued, and being sensitive (“emotionally intelligent”) to others’ moods is clearly advantageous. However, being too trusting, particularly of antisocial individuals, could be counterproductive. Being excessively attentive to the needs of others rather than self may also be less adaptive. Agreeable people may be easy to exploit and unable or unwilling to assert their rights.

Paradoxically, it appears that people who are called tough-minded, critical and sceptical often do better in the professions and business than those with high Agreeableness scores. Almost always Agreeableness is rated as attractive in others. Disagreeable people are rated as egocentric, selfish and unkind.

Conscientiousness Conscientious individuals are hardworking, dutiful and orderly. They show self-control and tend to be moral. They may be achievement-orientated and highly diligent. It is no surprise then this trait is one of the clearest makers of success in educational and occupational life. Conscientious people plan for the future and are happy to work constantly for desirable long-term payoffs. People like to work and study with conscientious people. They pitch up and pitch in.

The major downside of high Conscientiousness is associated with perfectionism, rigidity and social dogmatism. Conscientiousness may also be thought of as a reaction to low ability in competitive settings. For example, Conscientiousness is negatively associated with intelligence (Moutafi, Furnham, & Paltiel, 2004). Some students may learn to compensate or “make up” for their lack of ability. Thus, Conscientiousness is associated not with what in business circles is described as “doing the right thing” but with “doing the right thing right”. Managers, teachers and parents value Conscientiousness and attempt to instil it in those they know.

Nettle (2006) summarises his ideas in Table 1, which is an adaptation and extension of one of his. Nettle (2006) notes that his “trade-off” evolutionary account of traits may be useful partly because it is hypothesis-generating. Thus, for instance, Neuroticism may facilitate performance on particular perceptual motor tasks; highly open people may be either particularly culturally embraced or marginalised; conscientious people are slow to respond to affordances in the local environment; or agreeable people are often regarded as “suckers” or victims of exploitative individuals. He suggests the framework is not a “post hoc explanation of the past” but rather an engine for “predictors about the consequences of dispositional variation in the present” (Nettle, 2006, p. 629).

It may be possible that there is a reproductive niche for highly introverted or neurotic people. Equally, it may be that the highly open, low conscientious, creative persons serve a very useful evolutionary function for the group, even though they may have rather unhappy lives. However, it may be too early to judge. The marriage of dispositional and evolutionary psychology is young. It may well be that the latter approach is able to generate interesting and important hypotheses, which the latter can test empirically.

The results from the world of business suggest that successful people are high on Conscientiousness, Extraversion and Openness but low on Neuroticism and Agreeableness. There is data to suggest that there are very undesirable personality profiles such as the individual low on Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, but high on Neuroticism (Furnham, 2018).

To what extent do ability and personality traits help or hinder work success and promotion? What traits are associated with those who occupy senior management roles? Do those traits which relate to leadership emergence also relate to leadership effectiveness? In short, what personality profile do you need to succeed in life and work in particular?

There have been as many speculations as studies that have investigated the relationship between the Big Five dimensions and different work outcome which could be classified as positive or negative. The table below represents some of these

Table 1 Examples of adjectives and cost-benefits defining the five factors of personality

Factor	Factor definers		Q-sort items	Positive benefits	Negative costs
	Adjectives	Q-sort items			
Extraversion	Active Assertive Energetic Enthusiastic Outgoing Talkative	Talkative Skilled in play, humour Rapid personal tempo Facially, gesturally expressive Behave assertively Gregarious	Big social networks Relationship and mating success Explorer of opportunities Happiness	Accidents and risk-taking Impulsivity and poor decision-making Relationship instability	
Neuroticism	Anxious Self-pitying Tense Touchy Unstable Worrying	Thin-skinned Brittle ego defences Self-defeating Basically anxious Concerned with adequacy Fluctuating moods	Hypervigilance Achievement-striving Emotional sensitivity Competitiveness	Poor mental health Stress sensitivity Poor physical health	
Openness	Artistic Curious Imaginative Insightful Original Wide interests	Wide range of interests Introspective Unusual thought processes Values intellectual matters Judges in unconventional terms Aesthetically reactive	Social attractiveness Creativity Flexibility Change-orientated	Mental illness Social exclusion Bizarre belief system and lifestyle	
Agreeableness	Appreciative Forgiving Generous Kind Sympathetic Trusting	Not critical, sceptical Behaves in a giving way Sympathetic, considerate Arouses liking Warm, compassionate Basically trustful	Psychological mindedness Social networks Strong relationships Valued group member	Vulnerable to exploitation Failure to maximise personal advantages Too conflict-avoidant Low assertiveness	
Conscientiousness	Efficient Organised Planning ability Reliable Responsible Thorough	Dependable, responsible Productive Able to delay gratification Not self-indulgent Behave ethically Has high aspirational level	Long-term planning Longer life expectancy Good citizenship Dependable and dutiful team member	Obsessionality and perfectionism Rigidity with poor flexibility Slow to respond	

Table 2 Possible relationships between personality traits and work outcomes

	Positive				Negative			
	Creativity	Engagement	Productivity	Promotion	Absenteeism	Accidents	Derailment	Turnover
N	+	-	-	-	+++	+	+	+
E	+	+		++	+	+++	+	+
O	+++						+	+
A		+		-	-		-	-
C		+++	+++	+++	-	-	-	-

hypotheses. This is not a meta-analysis though hopefully in time that might be done. Three points about the table are noteworthy. First, the strongest and most consistent personality correlate of work-related behaviour is Conscientiousness. The second most consistent predictor is Neuroticism (Low Adjustment). Third Extraversion seems to be related to both positive and negative work outcomes (Table 2).

What does the literature in general say about predictors of career and financial success? Psychologists have identified various traits that predict quite well business, career and education success. The first is *emotional stability or adjustment*. Its opposite is neuroticism, moodiness or instability. Emotional conflicts and proneness to anxiety, stress and worrying sap energy. This both serves to dilute career focus but also to reduce bad decision making. There are a lot of knocks, disappointments and setbacks on the way up. How you deal with each one impacts on the height and angle of the ladder you climb.

Next, there is that powerful grouping factor variously called the *work ethic/Conscientiousness*. These are motives or traits that are manifest in people being competitive, hardworking and focussed. It is about being driven and organised but most of all self-disciplined: self-discipline starts early. Extreme forms of Conscientiousness are linked with risk aversion which can be a problem in business. It is also undesirable when, in effect, it is a compensation for not being smart enough.

There are two different but related sorts of skills you need to acquire to do well in business. The first are *socio-emotional skills*. There are lots of synonyms for this: interpersonal skills, emotional intelligence and charm. The second skill set is more about getting ahead of people: political skills and ability to negotiate and influence. The politically astute know all about the importance of reputation management. Reputation drives appraisals and references. It drives votes and the belief one is talented (see Hogan’s theory later in this chapter).

Career success is all about striving for the control of resources, for power and for status. The evolutionary psychologists say it is a proxy for reproductive success. Some people are more able to attract support and attain power.

Three of the Big Five personality traits have been consistently linked to career success, namely, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism (Low Adjustment) and Openness to Experience (Curiosity) (Judge et al., 1999; Tett, Jackson, & Rothstein, 1991). A meta-analysis of the Big Five personality traits and career success found

Conscientiousness to be the strongest and most consistent predictor of career success across occupations and all measures of success (Barrick et al., 2001). Neuroticism (Low Adjustment) has been found to negatively relate to job performance, as low reactivity to stress and anxiety may reduce both career satisfaction and effective career management, leading to poor performance (Judge et al., 1999; Ng et al., 2005; Seibert et al., 2001). Barrick et al. (2001) found that Openness to Experience (Curiosity) was less associated with job performance than Conscientiousness or Neuroticism. However, Curiosity may still be useful for identifying potential if made more relevant to the workplace such as openness to new ideas and approaches instead of aesthetic appreciation and emotionality.

Boudreau, Boswell and Judge (2001) suggested that personality traits influenced two factors they called *motivation* (hours worked, work centrality) and *human capital* (education, tenure, international experience) which in turn influence various success measures like remuneration, promotions and satisfaction. The data suggested that of the Big Five factors, Agreeableness and Neuroticism were the most powerful, consistent and negative predictor of various measures of success.

After 2001, there have been a number of studies that have specifically looked at personality (and other) correlates of work success. A number of papers using different populations and different measures have examined trait correlates of career success. Gelissen and de Graaf (2006) studied 4000 Dutch people using income and job mobility as the index of career success. They found Extraversion was related positively to remuneration but only for men; Neuroticism was negatively related to remuneration for both genders; Conscientiousness was negatively related to women's upward status mobility; Openness to Experience was negatively related to earnings, but only for men; but Agreeableness is not related to either variable.

Dilchert and Ones (2008) looked at the relationship between personality measured at the facet level and salary in 4150 managers at different levels. There were no sex differences, and the results were strongest at the lowest and highest level. They concluded: "In sum, results allowed us to draw the following conclusions: (1) Lowest level managers/supervisors who were highly dutiful, extraverted, open to experiences, and who scored somewhat higher on emotional stability scales enjoyed higher salaries over otherwise similar managers. (2) Top executives at the highest levels of organizations received higher salaries when they were dutiful, sociable, open, and agreeable. (3) Personality variables had mostly negligible relations with salary for first-line, mid-level, and executive managers in the present sample. (4) Financial returns for all personality variables were similar among men and women, and (5) relationships between personality traits and salary were similar for those completing the personality measure in selection settings or for developmental purposes" (p. 14).

Wille, Dr Fruyt and Feys (2013) followed nearly 1000 Belgians over 15 years and showed that three traits were related to employability: people who were stable, extraverted and conscientious were more likely to stay employed. Thus the results in this area are reasonably consistent though differences occur because very different jobs are aggregated or moderator variables are not taken into consideration. They suggest that two traits tend to be negatively associated with work success,

namely, Neuroticism and Agreeableness, and three positively, namely, Conscientiousness, Extraversion and Openness. Personality affects promotion and reward and power. It suggests that in all spheres, more influential people are likely to share similar profiles which in turn influence their outlook and values and the way in which they lead others.

The Dark Side

Psychologists are interested in personality traits and psychologists and psychiatrists in personality disorders. Psychiatrists like psychologists also talk about personality functioning. They talk about personality disorders that are typified by early onset (recognisable in children and adolescents) and pervasive effects (on all aspects of life) and with relatively poor prognosis (that is difficult to cure).

Both argue that the personality factors relate to *cognitive, affective and social aspects of functioning*. It is where a person's behaviour "deviates markedly" from the expectations of the individual's culture where the disorder is manifested. The psychiatric manual is very clear that "odd behaviour" is not simply an expression of habits, customs and religious or political values professed or shown by a people of particular cultural origin.

Psychiatrists and psychologists share some simple assumptions with respect to personality. Both argue for the *stability* of personality. The DSM criteria talk of "enduring pattern", "inflexible and pervasive" and "stable and of long duration". The DSM manuals note that personality orders all have a long history and have an onset no later than early adulthood. Moreover there are some gender differences: thus the antisocial disorder is more likely to be diagnosed in men, while the borderline, histrionic and dependent personality are more likely to be found in women.

The manuals are at length to point out that some of the personality disorders look like other disorders, anxiety, mood, psychotic, substance-related, etc., but have unique features. The essence of the argument is "Personality Disorders must be distinguished from personality traits that do not reach the threshold for a Personality Disorder. Personality traits are diagnosed as a Personality Disorder only when they are inflexible, maladaptive, and persisting and cause significant functional impairment or subjective distress" (p. 633).

One of the most important ways to differentiate personal style from personality disorder is flexibility. There are lots of difficult people at work but relatively few whose rigid, maladaptive behaviours mean they continually have disruptive, troubled lives. It is their *inflexible, repetitive, poor stress-coping responses* that are marks of disorder.

Personality disorders influence the *sense of self* – the way people think and feel about themselves and how other people see them. The disorders often powerfully influence *interpersonal relations at work*. They reveal themselves in how people "complete tasks, take and/or give orders, make decisions, plan, handle external and internal demands, take or give criticism, obey rules, take and delegate responsibility, and co-operate with people" (Oldham & Morris, 1991, p. 24). The antisocial,

obsessive, compulsive, passive-aggressive and dependent types are particularly problematic in the workplace.

People with personality disorders have difficulty expressing and understanding emotions. It is the intensity with which they express them and their variability that makes them odd. More importantly they often have serious problems with self-control (Furnham, 2014). Many others have been influenced by the usefulness of the DSM classification of the personality disorders. In order to explain and describe these disorders, other writers have changed the names to make them more interpretable to a wider audience. Table 3 shows the labels from different authors.

There is a higher-order threefold classification based both on theory and on research. This makes things a little easier as one can concentrate on 3 rather than 10 to 13 disorders (Table 4).

There are now many studies that have associated certain dark-side traits with work success and failure (Carson, Shanock, Heggestad, Andrew, Pugh, & Walter, 2012; Winsborough & Sambath, 2013). Many have pointed out the paradox that dark-side personality traits appear to be associated with short-term success but long-term failure in the workplace (Furnham, 2014). Some studies have looked at specific disorders, while others have looked at a large number. Hirschi and Jaensch (2015) found, as predicted, that Narcissism predicts occupational self-efficacy beliefs that gives a good impression and feelings of being special and entitled which improves the probability of success.

Khoo and Burch (2008) found that three dark-side traits were related with transformational leadership: Cautious and Bold had a negative relation, whereas Colourful had a positive one. Their findings show that under specific circumstances, obtaining high scores in some scales may have a beneficial work outcome. Davies (2004) found that transformational leadership had a negative relation with Excitable, Sceptical, Cautious, Reserved, Leisurely and Dutiful but a positive relation with Colourful and Imaginative. Benson and Campbell (2007) found that leader performance was negatively related with high scores on Excitable, Sceptical, Cautious, Leisurely, Mischievous and Imaginative.

Judge and LePine (2007) noted that personality characteristics such as Narcissism can harm the organisation when leaders view others as inferiors. On the other hand, narcissistic traits are often seen in charismatic leadership, and narcissistic leaders are often associated with vision, strength and firms' performance. Judge, Piccolo and Kosalka (2009) proposed a model of leader emergence which suggested both "bright"-side (i.e. emotional stability, Conscientiousness) and "dark"-side traits (Narcissism, Dominance, Machiavellianism) as predictors of leadership emergence and effectiveness, though moderated by various other factors.

In a British sample, Palaïou and Furnham (2014) compared 128 CEOs to a large group of 4826 senior and middle managers in terms of the HDS personality derailers. They found CEOs to have higher scores than the other group on Bold and Colourful, but lower scores on Excitable, Cautious, Leisurely and Dutiful, all with small or medium effect sizes.

It has been possible to compare various studies which have tended to reveal similar patterns across corporate and national cultures (Table 5).

Table 3 Different labels for the personality disorders

DSM-IV personality disorder	Hogan and Hogan (1997)	Oldham and Morris (1991)	Miller (2008)	Dotlich and Cairo (2003)	Moscoso and Salgado (2004)
Borderline	Excitable	Mercurial	Reactors	Volatility	Ambivalent
Paranoid	Sceptical	Vigilant	Vigilantes	Habitual	Suspicious
Avoidant	Cautious	Sensitive	Shrinkers	Excessive caution	Shy
Schizoid	Reserved	Solitary	Oddballs	Aloof	Lone
Passive-aggressive	Leisurely	Leisurely	Spoilers	Passive resistance	Pessimistic
Narcissistic	Bold	Self-confident	Preeners	Arrogance	Egocentric
Antisocial	Mischievous	Adventurous	Predators	Mischievous	Risky
Histrionic	Colourful	Dramatic	Emoters	Melodramatic	Cheerful
Schizotypal	Imaginative	Idiosyncratic	Creativity and vision	Eccentric	Eccentric
Obsessive-compulsive	Diligent	Conscientious	Detailers	Perfectionistic	Reliable
Dependent	Dutiful	Devoted	Clingers	Eager to please	Submitted

Shapers of Personality

When the House of Commons was bombed in the Second World War, Churchill said: “we shape our buildings and afterwards they shape us”. While we know personality has a strong biological base and is stable over time and situations, we also know that events can shape it. The psychobiographers have listed a number of factors known to shape an individual’s motivation, personality and values. They are cultural and historical background (when and where a person grew up); family origins and early years (family constellations, grandparents, parents, siblings; relationships, family politics; heroes and models for the individual); education and socialisation (intellectual climate in country, student years, examples of leadership); professional career (mentors, early career, successes and failures); leadership experience (key events, crises and how they were resolved, key political influences); and family and relationships.

Psychobiographers have noticed how early experiences “make or break” a personality making them particularly robust and resilient in adulthood or alternatively weak and vulnerable. They have noted five early events and how they influenced some very famous people (Furnham, 2014):

- Bereavement (parent, sibling, child): Tchaikovsky, Sartre, Dali, van Gogh, Beethoven
- Parental cruelty: Chekov, Maxwell, Disney, Dickens, Vidal
- Isolation: Conrad, Einstein
- Lack of fixed abode: Orwell, Kipling, Balzac
- Dependence: Ruskin, Dali

Table 4 The higher-order classification of the personality disorders

DSM	Horney	Hogan	
<i>Cluster A (odd disorders)</i>	<i>Moving away from people</i>	<i>Moving away from people</i>	
<p><i>Paranoid personality disorder:</i> characterised by a pattern of irrational suspicion and mistrust of others, interpreting motivations as malevolent</p> <p><i>Schizoid personality disorder:</i> lack of interest and detachment from social relationships, apathy and restricted emotional expression</p> <p><i>Schizotypal personality disorder:</i> a pattern of extreme discomfort interacting socially, distorted cognitions and perceptions</p>	<p>The need for <i>self-sufficiency</i> and independence; while most desire some <i>autonomy</i>, the neurotic may simply wish to discard other individuals entirely</p> <p>The need for <i>perfection</i>; while many are driven to perfect their lives in the form of well-being, the neurotic may display a fear of being slightly flawed</p> <p>Lastly, the need to <i>restrict life practices</i> to within narrow borders; to live as inconspicuous a life as possible</p>	Excitable	Moody and hard to please; intense but short-lived enthusiasm for people, projects or things
		Sceptical	Cynical, distrustful and doubting others' true intentions
		Cautious	Reluctant to take risks for fear of being rejected or negatively evaluated
		Reserved	Aloof, detached and uncommunicative; lacking interest in or awareness of the feelings of others
		Leisurely	Independent; ignoring people's requests and becoming irritated or argumentative if they persist
<i>Cluster B (dramatic, emotional or erratic disorders)</i>	<i>Moving against people</i>	<i>Moving against people</i>	
<p><i>Antisocial personality disorder:</i> a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, lack of empathy, bloated self-image, manipulative and impulsive behaviour</p> <p><i>Borderline personality disorder:</i> pervasive pattern of instability in relationships, self-image, identity, behaviour and affects often leading to self-harm and impulsivity</p> <p><i>Histrionic personality disorder:</i> pervasive pattern of attention-seeking behaviour and excessive emotions</p> <p><i>Narcissistic personality disorder:</i> a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, need for admiration and a lack of empathy</p>	<p>The need for <i>power</i>; the ability to bend <i>wills</i> and achieve control over others – while most persons seek strength, the neurotic may be desperate for it</p> <p>The need to <i>exploit others</i>; to get the better of them. To become <i>manipulative</i>, fostering the belief that people are there simply to be used</p> <p>The need for <i>social recognition</i>; <i>prestige</i> and limelight</p> <p>The need for <i>personal admiration</i>; for both inner and outer qualities – to be valued</p> <p>The need for <i>personal achievement</i>; though virtually all persons wish to make achievements, as with no. 3, the neurotic may be desperate for achievement</p>	Bold	Unusually self-confident; feelings of grandiosity and entitlement; overvaluation of one's capabilities
		Mischievous	Enjoying risk-taking and testing the limits; needing excitement; manipulative, deceitful, cunning and exploitative
		Colourful	Expressive, animated and dramatic; wanting to be noticed and needing to be the centre of attention
		Imaginative	Acting and thinking in creative and sometimes odd or unusual ways

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

DSM	Horney	Hogan	
<i>Cluster C (anxious or fearful disorders)</i>	<i>Moving towards people</i>	<i>Moving towards people</i>	
<p><i>Avoidant personality disorder</i>: pervasive feelings of social inhibition and inadequacy, extreme sensitivity to negative evaluation</p> <p><i>Dependent personality disorder</i>: pervasive psychological need to be cared for by other people</p> <p><i>Obsessive-compulsive personality disorder</i> (not the same as <i>obsessive-compulsive disorder</i>): characterised by rigid conformity to rules, perfectionism and control</p>	<p>The need for <i>affection and approval</i>; pleasing others and being liked by them</p> <p>The need for <i>a partner</i>; one whom they can <i>love</i> and who will solve all problems</p>	Diligent	Meticulous, precise and perfectionistic, inflexible about rules and procedures; critical of others
		Dutiful	Eager to please and reliant on others for support and guidance; reluctant to take independent action or to go against popular opinion

Certainly growing up in a dysfunctional family will have a very different impact on an individual compared to growing up in a situation where a person feels safe, secure and cherished. Equally the current interest in generation differences suggests that the time and circumstances in which a person grows up can influence all aspects of their psychological functioning.

Thatcherism

Everyone in the United Kingdom has acknowledged how Baroness Thatcher changed the country. Thatcherism is an ideology with which many people can identify. It is a heady mix of Victorian values, free market economics and individual liberty. *Three features* of Thatcherism, and of its founder, sum up the light and dark side of those who follow this path:

The first is *self-reliance*. The issue here is the emphasis on *self*. Lady Thatcher had the energy, determination and taste for hard work that would make Samuel Smiles, author of the book *Self Reliance*, envious. It was reprinted in her premiership. Mrs. Thatcher was very much *first* among equals. Self-reliance is more about individualism than collectivism. It is about personal contribution more than hard work. It is about equity over equality. Her famous “there is no such thing as society” remark epitomises this. She loathed and detested “social science” and had the name

Table 5 Three studies that have compared dark-side correlates of management success

	Winsborough and Sambath (2013)	Palaiou and Furnham (2014)	Danish data
HDS			
Excitable	–	–	
Sceptical	–		
Cautious	–	–	–
Reserved			
Leisurely		–	
Bold		+	+
Mischievous			
Colourful	++	+	+
Imaginative			+
Diligent	–		
Dutiful	–	–	–

Note: + indicates positive relation to job level. +/- = small effect size, ++/-- = medium effect size based on Cohen's (1988) guidelines

of the SSRC (Social Science Research Council) changed. She was a trained chemist (and lawyer). And to her the prefix of “social” indicated everything she disapproved of. Social housing is poor housing; social media is trivial and nasty; and sociology, social anthropology and social psychology are all pseudosciences, a heady mixture of common sense and dangerous ideology. Yet there is a darker side to self-reliance. It is the emphasis on self. Self-reliance and teamwork are not close friends. Lady Thatcher was not a great team worker. Her approach, in fact, encouraged “group-think”. You were on side, right thinking, fully committed – or nothing. Self-reliance is also about ambitions, always seen to be good. About survival of the fittest. But also about law and order, to ensure those who have worked for, and earned, their rewards are protected from others less effortful. We are captains of our ship and masters of our fate.

The second feature is *moral certainty*. Both words have equal weight and equal importance. *Morality* is about right and wrong; the deserving and the undeserving poor; and the saved and the damned. It really is about ideology. She said “I am a conviction not a consensus politician”. The other word is *certainty*. Certainty gives courage: it abhors ambiguity, dithering and compromise. It comes from argument and research. The chemist and the lawyer in Lady Thatcher meant she had a taste for evidence and argument. She would have, no doubt, approved of all the evidence-based disciplines now emerging. She was Hegelian in her level of argument: from thesis and antithesis comes synthesis. You present the arguments logically and clearly, weigh up the evidence and come to a conclusion. The trouble is that the skill, deviousness and experience of the speaker can overwhelm the truth of the argument. Justice and truth can be the first casualty of a brilliant advocate.

The third feature is a *taste for, but also an understanding of, power*. Thatcherism is a doctrine of change. But you need to understand how to acquire and use power to succeed at anything important. Lady Thatcher was, it seems, little interested in money, fame or recognition, only power. She understood how to “manage up”. This

explains her attitudes to men and women. She knew that (some) men and few women have real power. And she knew that a heady mixture of self-assurance, femininity and rationality could mean entry to the inner circle. Climbing the greasy pole means competitiveness and pugnaciousness. You need a sword in hand and to be ever ready for the fight. Power is the ability to influence and to bring about the New Jerusalem. Some people have the political savvy to gain and hold on to power. It is about networking and people skills with an eye to how others can help you. But once acquired and used, power can also be dangerous. It can lead to isolation, detachment and even disdain for those without power. There can be contempt of “the little people” who did not make it.

Conclusion

It seems self-evident to many people that personality factors must play a part in all aspects of life: health, relationships and work success. Because it is generally accepted, the Big Five trait model is used most in this research. The results suggest that fairly consistently two traits relate most to success: low Neuroticism and high Conscientiousness. Neurotics are prone to stress, illness and often poor decision-making, while conscientious people are well organised, planful and hardworking. For the other three traits, much depends on the nature of the job. Thus in some jobs, Agreeableness is probably positively correlated with work success (counselling), whereas in others, it is negatively correlated (negotiations). The same is true of Extraversion which is usually correlated with work success because of the optimism and social skills associated with Extraversion though it is obvious that in some jobs (pilot, air traffic control), it may be Introversion which is a best predictor.

Psychologists have rightly been accused of an attribution error in the sense that they want to explain too much of a person’s behaviour exclusively in terms of his or her behaviour. There are clearly many factors that account for why potentially derailing leaders make it to the top. Many have pointed out that just as you need three components for fire, namely, heat, oxygen and fuel, so you are unlikely to get leadership derailment if you do not have leaders with a derailment profile, people who are prepared to follow derailing leaders and environments which “allow it”.

Most differential psychologists acknowledge three related but independent features of an individual that allow us to understand his or her behaviour: ability, motivation and personality. It is clear from history that these three factors account in part for when and where and why certain people achieve positions of power and prominence that can have a profound effect on the course of history. In this sense, there is a link between personality and macropsychology. In essence, the personality of people in business and politics can shape whole societies. The biographical studies of individuals who have shaped and changed their countries for both good and bad offer an important understanding of how individuals can have a massive and long-lasting historical impact on their own society and indeed the whole world.

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Personality Traits and Social Structure



Michael Daly

Introduction

Personality traits are potentially malleable predictors of lifelong social outcomes and, for this reason, warrant consideration in policy planning. For instance, the Sustainable Development Goals propose that countries seek to accomplish major societal advances in the areas of economic development and social inclusion. These include achieving high-quality education and adequate income, decent work for all, economic success, and good health and well-being (Roberts, Kuncel, Shiner, Caspi, & Goldberg, 2007). Achieving these ambitious policy goals requires a “leave no one behind” approach (Watkins, 2014), and personality and individual differences research can assist in identifying those at particularly high risk of adverse outcomes (Caspi et al., 2017; Moffitt et al., 2011). Further, understanding the traits most closely related to life outcomes can also inform interventions that (i) directly target the development of personality traits (Pandey et al., 2018; Roberts et al., 2017), (ii) are tailored to specific personality traits (Chapman, Hampson, & Clarkin, 2014), or (iii) aim to modify contexts within which personality is expressed.

It is also important for discussions of social change at the macro level to consider how personality traits become represented as aggregate-level psychological and behavioral tendencies. For instance, where psychological traits are common in regions (e.g., openness to experience, associated with imagination and artistic interests), the collective behavior that follows (e.g., attendance at artistic and cultural events) may inform the formation or expansion of social institutions (e.g., universities, cultural spaces) (Rentfrow, Gosling, & Potter, 2008). These institutions, in turn, may have “top-down” effects on the spatial distribution of personality traits by attracting (or repelling) individuals with different personality traits (e.g., more open individuals attracted to areas with greater access to cultural experiences). Further,

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extensive evidence indicates that personality traits are changeable (e.g., Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006), and macro-level influences including the spatial clustering of social institutions and the behavioral tendencies of large concentrations of people may shape the enduring cognitions, emotions, and actions of individuals. While research examining potential macro \implies micro personality effects has been rare, a rapidly growing empirical literature has generated prospective evidence detailing the role of social circumstances in inducing personality change. This work will be overviewed in this chapter and organized in terms of the widely accepted hierarchical Big Five framework, which warrants introduction before turning to the relationship between personality and social structure.

Personality Traits and the Five-Factor Model

While a wide array of accounts of personality were proposed over the twentieth century, contemporary personality psychologists and those integrating personality research into other disciplines have adopted an account of personality where traits are the defining feature (Borghans, Duckworth, Heckman, & Ter Weel, 2008; Costa, McCrae, & Löckenhoff, 2019). Personality traits are characteristic patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behavior that distinguish individuals from one another (Roberts & Mroczek, 2008). Traits are relatively consistent across situations and contexts, reflecting the enduring and often automatic ways in which people respond to environmental cues. Although there is a myriad of ways in which individuals may differ from one another, an accumulation of evidence indicates that five broad dimensions can capture how people tend to vary on specific traits. Individual differences are frequently viewed through the lens of the hierarchically structured Big Five or five-factor taxonomy. Within this widely used personality hierarchy, the traits conscientiousness (e.g., the tendency to be organized, responsible, and hard-working), extraversion (e.g., outgoing, sociable, energetic), neuroticism (e.g., characterized by proneness to worry, pessimism, and emotional instability), openness (e.g., tendency to be open to imaginative, cultural, intellectual experiences), and agreeableness (e.g., cooperative, compassionate, and trusting) occupy the highest level (Digman, 1990; Goldberg, 1993; McCrae & Costa Jr., 1987). This small set of very broad dimensions (e.g., agreeableness) captures meaningful overlap in subordinate narrow, specific traits (e.g., altruism, trust, modesty, cooperation, sympathy) that are composed of more specific responses (e.g., giving money to charity, donating blood).

Evidence for the five-factor structure emerged from lexical research where individual differences were hypothesized to have become “encoded” into everyday language terms that individuals use to describe their own and others’ personalities (Goldberg, 1993). Thousands of personality-descriptive adjectives across the world’s languages can be conceptualized in terms of the five-factor model. Factor analysis has also shown that other personality inventories (e.g., the Eysenck Personality Inventory, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, the Minnesota Multiphasic

Personality Inventory) can be organized in terms of the Big Five (Digman, 1990). In terms of measurement, traits are conceptualized as dimensions where individuals can score from very low to very high. Personality is measured in most studies using easily administered, reliable self-report questionnaires where individuals rate the accuracy of trait descriptors designed to capture their position on a given personality trait dimension. Factor analysis of such self- or peer ratings of personality-descriptive terms indicates that the five-factor model provides an adequate account of structural variation in human personality in studies conducted across several decades and a broad set of nations and languages (Fiske, 1949; McCrae & Costa Jr., 1987; McCrae & Terracciano, 2005).

Beyond concerns about taxonomy and personality structure, two fundamental questions of key relevance to this chapter remain: What are the causes of personality variation, and how do individual differences influence important life outcomes? There is growing evidence that rather than being static, personality traits may change in response to environmental circumstances. As such, traits may represent promising malleable characteristics that are influenced by social structures and can be enhanced through intervention programs, potentially generating important societal benefits (Bleidorn et al., 2019). A key initial aim of this chapter is therefore to (i) overview research on the role of social circumstances in shaping personality levels and (ii) examine the prospective relationship between personality traits and life outcomes that may contribute to social stratification and social institutions (e.g., educational attainment, income, employment, and marital status).

Social Factors as Causes of Personality Traits

Environmental influences have long been recognized in psychology as determinants of how people tend to think, feel, and behave. However, the study of the environment has focused primarily on proximal social or physical influences and how such factors are perceived or represented by individuals. Understanding how the immediate context impacts emotion, cognition, and behavior has shed crucial light on psychological processes and their physiological correlates. Yet, to date, the potentially crucial role of broader life circumstances, social settings, and the macroenvironment has been largely neglected (Oishi, 2014; MacLachlan, 2014; Oishi, 2014).

This point applies within personality psychology where research has focused on important foundation issues such as how individual differences should be conceptualized and classified and whether a universal system for construing and measuring stable differences between people can be established. More recently, extensive research has sought to uncover the cause of variation in personality chiefly by examining the biological foundations of personality traits. Twin and genome-wide association studies have linked genetic and personality variation (Okbay et al., 2016) and identified specific genetic loci associated with personality traits (Luciano et al., 2018). Estimates from this work suggest that approximately half of the variation in the Big Five personality traits can be accounted for by genetic factors (Vukasović &

Bratko, 2015). Efforts to elucidate the heritable component of personality traits suggest that this reflects the contribution of thousands of genetic variants each accounting for a minuscule portion of personality differences (Chabris, Lee, Cesarini, Benjamin, & Laibson, 2015; Okbay et al., 2016). Others have drawn on neuroimaging techniques to correlate personality traits with brain structure and the functioning of relevant brain systems (DeYoung et al., 2010). Capitalizing on technological innovations and large-scale surveys to examine the heritability and neurobiological correlates of human traits represents an important advancement in personality research. However, this approach is limited in its scope perhaps because personality traits have been conceptualized as “basic tendencies” that follow intrinsic development paths rooted in unchanging biological systems (McCrae & Costa Jr., 2008).

From this traditional ontogenetic perspective, personality traits have been considered to be relatively fixed (“set like plaster”) in early adulthood following a period of maturation influenced primarily by genetic factors (Costa Jr. & McCrae, 1994). Indeed, substantial stability in personality traits has been documented across adulthood (Cobb-Clark & Schurer, 2012; Costa Jr. et al., 2019). Further, evidence that family socioeconomic status may meaningfully impact the emergence of differences in the Big Five personality traits has been mixed (e.g., Ayoub, Gosling, Potter, Shanahan, & Roberts, 2018; Strickhouser & Sutin, 2019). Yet, it is clear that personality traits show important patterns of change, particularly when examined over the long term (e.g., Damian, Spengler, Sutu, & Roberts, 2019).

An extensive literature has now documented personality change throughout life, as gauged by mean-level changes or how average trait levels of those of the same age change over time. For instance, meta-analytic research suggests that as people age, they generally become more agreeable, conscientious, and emotionally stable (Roberts et al., 2006). These changes are in line with the maturity principle, whereby personality increases in an adaptive manner as people age and become more capable of performing tasks associated with adult-role responsibilities and successfully negotiating social relationships (Roberts, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2001). Individuals of similar age also tend to change in their relative ordering on trait dimensions across fixed-term longitudinal assessments. Rank-order stability in personality traits is greater in midlife than in young adulthood, which may partly reflect the presence of a stabilizing environment because work, family, and other social roles are typically established at this point (Briley & Tucker-Drob, 2014; Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000).

Importantly, the magnitude of personality change has been found to be meaningful and equivalent or greater to fluctuations in “variable” socioeconomic factors such as income or unemployment (Boyce, Wood, & Powdthavee, 2013). Further, personality stability and change can be attributed not only to biological maturation processes but also to environmental influences which have been found to shape personality development across life (Briley & Tucker-Drob, 2014; Kandler, 2012). Personality development researchers have therefore sought to develop theoretical approaches that incorporate the impact of contextual influences and socialization on the Big Five. In particular, the Neo-Socioanalytic Model (Roberts & Nickel, 2017; Roberts & Wood, 2006) moves beyond the assumption that personality is unaffected by experience. A primary prediction of the model, based on the social investment principle, is that the

expectations and demands of age-graded social roles may be a central mechanism driving personality change. This is proposed to be a normative process evident across societies where people “commit themselves to the adult roles found in the social structures of family, work, and community” (Roberts & Nickel, 2017, p. 335).

Shifts in social roles such as becoming an employee, investing in a romantic relationship, and starting a family may invoke personality change and underpin normative patterns of personality maturity. This idea is in line with bottom-up perspectives on personality development, suggesting that prolonged changes in life circumstances may alter how people think, feel, and behave. When aggregated, such changes in personality states may lead to mean-level changes in personality traits (Fleeson, 2004). But what are the operative social factors that make personality susceptible to change? Research on this topic has focused primarily on the role of educational, occupational, and relationship-related life events.

For instance, graduating from high school is one of the first major role transitions that adolescents experience and has been shown to forecast increases in conscientiousness, agreeableness, and openness and decreases in neuroticism (Bleidorn, 2012; Ludtke, Roberts, Trautwein, & Nagy, 2011). Similarly, choosing a vocational rather than academic educational path predicts increases in conscientiousness (Golle et al., 2019), suggesting that the demands associated with early entry into work may induce personality maturation. Studies within economics suggest that education may have a positive impact on extraversion, a trait associated with an outgoing and energetic approach to life (Schurer, 2017). However, this research yielded mixed and inconsistent findings in relation to education-induced change in other personality traits. Retirement represents a major life event that may have an enduring effect on people’s patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behavior. This transition is characterized by the removal of well-defined career expectations and goal pursuits and the onset of a more affiliative role and more harmonious social relationships given the increased opportunity to spend time with family and friends. Perhaps for these reasons, retirement has been linked to increases in agreeableness – after leaving work, participants were less argumentative and competitive, traits that may be less advantageous outside of work settings (Löckenhoff, Terracciano, & Costa Jr., 2009; Schwaba & Bleidorn, 2019).

In the relationship domain, entering a stable romantic relationship has been linked to positive personality changes including reduced levels of neuroticism and raised levels of extraversion and conscientiousness (Lehnart, Neyer, & Eccles, 2010; Neyer & Asendorpf, 2001; Wagner, Becker, Lütke, & Trautwein, 2015). In contrast, divorce has not been found to demonstrate a consistent impact on personality trait change (Bleidorn, Hopwood, & Lucas, 2018). Similarly, the transition to becoming a parent has not been found to induce a clear pattern of personality change (Specht, Egloff, & Schmukle, 2011; van Scheppingen et al., 2016). This finding is at odds with the social investment principle and may suggest that it is the successful mastery of social roles that is crucial for personality change than simply acquiring a new role (Roberts & Nickel, 2017). Overall, while relatively little research has examined the impact of normative life events on personality, research to date suggests that such events may bring about change in personality traits (Bleidorn et al., 2018).

Many existing studies investigating the effects of normative events on personality have important methodological strengths including drawing on national samples, utilizing longitudinal designs, accounting for measurement error in the assessment of personality, and taking steps to overcome selection effects such as accounting for the role of pre-event personality traits and a wide range of covariates that may influence life events (Bleidorn et al., 2018; Specht et al., 2011). However, establishing the impact of normative life events (e.g., graduating from school, entering the workforce, getting married) is difficult because personality may change in anticipation of each of these events. Normative events also occur at relatively similar points in the life cycle for most people, making it difficult to attribute personality change to the event rather than maturation that would have occurred in their absence. For these reasons, researchers have sought to examine nonnormative events associated with marked unexpected changes in life circumstances that may lead to personality change.

For instance, exposure to adverse life events (e.g., death of a loved one, life-threatening illness) has been shown to produce shifts in personality traits, increasing neuroticism and decreasing aspects of agreeableness and openness (Löckenhoff, Terracciano, Patriciu, Eaton, & Costa Jr, 2009). Unemployment is an extreme and undesirable acute change in life circumstances that is experienced by a substantial portion of people at some stage in their working lives. Job loss removes time structure, severs social contact and support, and reduces opportunities to express personality traits relevant to the work context. In a recent longitudinal study, unemployment was associated with adverse changes in agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness, with its influence depending on the number of years the person was unemployed (Boyce, Wood, Daly, & Sedikides, 2015). In particular, conscientiousness appeared to decline in the medium term following unemployment, perhaps due to the removal of job-related situational pressures to display competence, follow rules, avoid mistakes, and behave in a generally conscientious manner. However, more recent studies examining this topic have yielded conflicting or null findings (Anger, Camehl, & Peter, 2017; Denissen, Luhmann, Chung, & Bleidorn, 2019; Gnams & Stiglbauer, 2019), suggesting that the relationship between unemployment and personality change may be complex and potentially contingent on factors such as the duration of the job loss experienced and the characteristics of those experiencing unemployment.

Research on this topic highlights the challenges involved in attempting to identify the role of social factors in shaping personality traits. Leading commentators have suggested that the complex and potentially transient nature of such measurable environmental influences makes them particularly difficult to “pin down” through scientific inquiry (McCrae & Costa 2008; Turkheimer, 2000). For instance, by relying on nonexperimental data, the studies discussed here cannot rule out (i) that the psychological impact of life events may come through anticipation of those events (e.g., becoming less emotionally stable before losing one’s jobs, becoming more conscientious before having a baby), (ii) that pre-event personality changes may lead to the event of interest (e.g., becoming unemployed because of a decline in conscientiousness), and (iii) that personality changes may reflect the influence of

other changes in life circumstances occurring in parallel with the event of interest (e.g., becoming unemployed because of a recession that may have wide-ranging societal and personality effects). As such, evidence for the extent and form of personality change following life events has been described as being at a preliminary stage, with stringently controlled research drawing on multiple assessment methods and waves now needed (Bleidorn et al., 2018).

In contrast, the stability evident in personality assessments, as anchored within the five-factor model, has already made the examination of traits as “inputs” to life choices and social factors a rich area of investigation (Cobb-Clark & Schurer, 2012; Costa Jr. et al., 2019). In particular, the recent rapid increase in the availability of measures of personality and individual differences in large surveys has enabled researchers from a wide range of disciplines to uncover the predictive power of personality across major life domains.

Social Factors as Consequences of Personality Traits

Research from within psychology, economics, sociology, and epidemiology has established that personality differences reliably forecast consequential social outcomes that may shape social stratification, social institutions, and social structure. These include educational attainment, employment status, residential and social mobility, relationship success, childbirth, risky behaviors, and violence (Borghans et al., 2008; Krueger, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2000; Roberts et al., 2007). Further, the long reach of personality traits has been found to be independent of intelligence, a well-recognized determinant of consequential life outcomes. It is necessary to separate the potential contributions of intelligence and personality because both display empirical overlap (e.g., intelligence correlates positively with openness to experience and negatively with neuroticism) and are thought to be closely related to life success, particularly in education and work (Ackerman & Heggstad, 1997). As such, prior to addressing the role of personality in forecasting life outcomes, it is important to highlight the nature of human intelligence and its potential role in shaping life outcomes.

To summarize, general intelligence (*g*) describes the common or shared variance between broad domains of cognitive functioning (e.g., working memory, processing speed, reasoning), which in turn capture overlap in specific cognitive subtests. This implies that those who perform well on an individual cognitive test tend to do well on others, a key finding that has been replicated across hundreds of datasets (Carroll, 1993). Psychometric tests assessing cognitive ability were first developed to predict educational outcomes, and large-scale estimates indicate that they do this extremely well. Intelligence has been shown to explain over 30% of the variance in educational achievement (Strenze, 2007), with this estimate rising to over 60% when overlap in latent general intelligence and a latent educational achievement factors is examined (Deary, Strand, Smith, & Fernandes, 2007).

Educational attainment generates substantial financial returns (Card, 1999) and may partly explain why high-IQ children access prestigious occupations, avoid unemployment, and rise up within company ranks (Daly, Egan, & O'Reilly, 2015; Strenze, 2007). Evidence on this topic suggests that those with higher levels of general intelligence will tend to possess a range of cognitive strengths including strong reasoning skills and the ability to process large amounts of information quickly and to retain and manipulate that information in working memory. In contemporary meritocratic societies, abilities such as these may foster examination performance and facilitate access to competitive universities and cognitively demanding high-paying professions (Egan, Daly, & Delaney, 2017). In contrast, low cognitive ability is associated with a range of unfavorable outcomes that generate costs to society including increased antisocial and risky behavior, greater prejudice, and an elevated likelihood of engagement in criminality (Dhont & Hodson, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2015).

Yet intelligence represents just one domain of human talent that is associated with meaningful life outcomes. For example, a recent study examining a high-IQ US sample showed that high levels of conscientiousness and extraversion in early adolescence were associated with notable increases in lifetime earnings (Gensowski, 2018). These increases were independent of variation in intelligence levels within the sample and were most pronounced among men with a graduate degree and during the “prime working years” of age 40–60. Thus, even for those with exceptional intelligence (the top 0.5% of the IQ distribution), educational and labor market benefits may arise from personality traits. These findings are in line with the observation of Heckman and Rubinstein (2001) who noted that “numerous instances can be cited of people with high IQs who fail to achieve success in life because they lacked self-discipline and of people with low IQs who succeeded by virtue of persistence, reliability and self-discipline” (p. 145).

Indeed, there is particularly robust evidence documenting the long-term societal benefits associated with conscientiousness, as observed in the general population (Almlund, Duckworth, Heckman, & Kautz, 2011). This is perhaps unsurprising considering conscientious individuals tend to be disciplined and well organized, to strive for excellence, and persevere when confronted with difficulties. Conscientiousness forecasts increased academic achievement (Poropat, 2009), productivity (Cubel, Nuevo-Chiquero, Sanchez-Pages, & Vidal-Fernandez, 2016), and earnings, less cumulative unemployment across working life, and better health (Egan, Daly, Delaney, Boyce, & Wood, 2017). In contrast, low conscientiousness has been consistently associated with divorce, substance abuse, and antisocial and criminal behavior (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Roberts et al., 2007).

Major reviews of the personality-outcome literature (e.g., Almlund et al., 2011; Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Roberts et al., 2007) have provided evidence linking all Big Five traits to family relations and social institutional outcomes including marital outcomes, occupational choice, socioeconomic status, and financial security. For example, across existing review articles, neuroticism has been related to relationship conflict, divorce, and reduced occupational commitment and extrinsic success. Extraversion has been highlighted as a dispositional source of relationship

success and job performance and shown to predict social and enterprising occupational interests and increased income, leadership capacity, and wealth accumulation (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002; Mosca & McCrory, 2016; Sutin, Costa Jr, Miech, & Eaton, 2009). Agreeableness tends to predict greater marital stability and relationship satisfaction and reduced criminal behavior but also reduced income, particularly among the less affluent (Matz & Gladstone, 2018). Finally, research has linked openness to experience with academic performance, entrepreneurial status, and political liberalism (Poropat, 2009; Zhao & Seibert, 2006).

Taken together, the magnitude of these associations has led reviewers of the personality-outcome literature to conclude that the predictive validity of personality traits for marital, educational, and occupational outcomes could not be distinguished from the impact of socioeconomic status and intelligence on the same outcomes (Roberts et al., 2007). These linkages are evident when findings from prospective longitudinal studies are examined and appear to be highly replicable. A recent high-powered ($N = 1504$) preregistered study showed that 87% of previously identified linkages between personality traits and life outcomes (drawn from Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006) could be replicated with effects similar in magnitude (77% as strong) to those identified in the original studies (Soto, 2019).

Despite these apparently robust findings, research within personality psychology has tended to focus on implications for individuals, and integrative accounts that consider personality-outcome associations at the macro level have been rare. Further, the possibility that the prospective association between personality traits and social outcomes may be modified by the social contexts that people are born into and develop through has been largely neglected. We now turn to these questions and theoretical accounts of the bidirectional “co-construction” of personality and social circumstances.

Macro Perspectives on Personality and Social Structure

The study of the relationship between macro-social conditions and personality stretches back several decades in the social science literature (see Ryff, 1987, for a detailed overview). Historically, the idea that the sociocultural environment may be internalized through socialization to influence personality was explored through the lens of psychodynamic theory (Parsons, 1958). Subsequently, House (1977) proposed the study of social structure and personality as a core area of social psychology that would draw on survey data to produce quantitative estimates of how major societal phenomena relate to individual personality characteristics. In defining this field of research, House (1981, p. 526) proposed a focus on investigating the “relation of macro-social structures (e.g., societies, organizations, communities, social classes, racial or ethnic groups, and so forth) or processes (industrialization, urbanization, social mobility) to individual psychological attributes and behavior.” House (1981) suggested that psychologists broaden their remit of investigation to (i) draw more heavily on conceptualizations of macro-level structures and social systems

developed by sociologists, (ii) identify how interpersonal interactions in work, family, and community contexts connect individuals to social structures, and (iii) understand “when, how, and to what extent macro-social phenomena” have effects on individuals’ characteristic patterns of cognitions, affect, and activity (House, 1981, p. 541; McLeod, Hallett, & Lively, 2015).

However, in the intervening period, attention to the connection between the macro-social environment and psychological processes has been limited. This is despite calls for greater integration from researchers within psychology and sociology (e.g., Ryff, 1987; Schnittker & McLeod, 2005). Perhaps an exception has been the influence of ecological accounts of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), which helped widen the scope of investigation within developmental and educational psychology. In these areas, it became increasingly common to move beyond the immediate situation to consider broader sociocultural influences such as how family structure and school and neighborhood environments shape cognitive and emotional development, aspirations, and status attainment (Ryff, 1987; Sewell & Hauser, 1980).

Only in recent years has personality psychology seen a resurgence of interest in the macro-social environment and theoretical development and empirical research linking individuals and social structures. Oishi and Graham (2010) draw on previous ecological accounts including Bronfenbrenner’s to outline a “socioecological” approach to psychological research that incorporates physical, societal, and interpersonal environments. The authors advocate for a renewed interest in sociocultural influences and a reawakening of the “sociological imagination” among psychologists. They propose that mainstream empirical research can uncover the psychosocial channels that translate the impact of distal social contexts and objective environments on individuals’ emotions, cognitions, and actions. Specifically, Oishi (2014, p. 599) argues for a shift from a subjectivist to an objectivist approach where the impact of “objective physical environments (e.g., green space, climate, pathogen prevalence), interpersonal environments (e.g., sex ratio, population density, residential mobility), economic environments (e.g., wealth, income inequality, dominant economic activities), and political environments (e.g., democracy, welfare spending)” is considered rather than individuals’ perceptions of these environments.

However, socioecological psychology currently lacks a unified theory and is perhaps best characterized as an approach to psychological science where links between macroenvironmental factors and cognitive/emotional/behavioral factors are explicitly modelled and intervening psychosocial processes investigated (Oishi, 2014). Instead of an overarching unified theory, a set of “midrange” theories have been proposed that aim to construct more sophisticated explanatory accounts of the psychological impact of specific aspects of social ecology (e.g., residential mobility theory, pathogen prevalence theory) (Oishi, 2014; Oishi & Talhelm, 2012). For example, pathogen prevalence theory would suggest that those living in areas with a high historical prevalence of infectious disease would be more cautious in their sexual behavior, tend to have fewer novel social interactions, and be less open to new experiences, findings that are supported by large-scale cross-national research (e.g., Schaller & Murray, 2008). Theoretical approaches from within geographical psychology, a subarea of socioecological research, have perhaps come closest to

proposing a framework that begins to account for the macro-level causes of personality differences and how such individual differences manifest at the societal level (Rentfrow et al., 2008).

Macro-Level Clustering of Personality Traits

Examining geographical variation has been a core approach to answering empirical questions in economics (e.g., by drawing on regional labor statistics), epidemiology and public health (e.g., by examining the clustering of disease incidence), and political science (e.g., by charting regional variation in voting patterns). Yet this has not traditionally been the case within psychology. Geographical psychology aims to address this gap by understanding how psychological phenomena are spatially distributed and related to macro-level aspects of the environment (e.g., political, economic, social contexts). Crucially, a set of mechanisms have been suggested to underpin the systematic clustering of personality traits and the implications this may have for social structure (Rentfrow et al., 2008).

First, *selective migration* may be a key cause of the emergence and persistence of spatial clustering of personality differences. For example, conscientiousness people are goal motivated and strongly value paid employment and are particularly impacted by income losses (Boyce, Wood, & Brown, 2010; Boyce, Wood, & Ferguson, 2016). For these reasons, such individuals may seek out cities or regions with stable employment prospects. Those high in openness may gravitate to areas rich in cultural heritage, diversity, and intellectual stimulation where their personality and creativity can be expressed. Extraverts may tend to migrate to areas where social and enterprising occupations are prevalent and their needs for social interaction and stimulating activities can be met. Residential mobility can be stressful and may provoke uncertainty, anxiety, and loneliness, and as such may be avoided those with higher levels of neuroticism who are more vulnerable than others to such negative feelings (Oishi & Talhelm, 2012). Migration patterns may therefore have the effect of causing imbalances in the dispositional makeup of regions where certain traits become over- or underrepresented as people move to areas that best satisfy their psychological needs (Rentfrow & Jokela, 2016).

Second, *social influence* may contribute to explaining differences in the personality traits of large concentrations of people. The actions of other people as captured by regional characteristics (e.g., college graduation rates, unemployment levels, occupational sectors, rates of divorce and criminal behavior) may produce personality differences. For instance, although unemployment may not reliably induce changes in neuroticism at the individual level (Bleidorn et al., 2018), the social norm of unemployment in one's local area has been shown to adversely impact well-being (Clark, Knabe, & Ratzel, 2010) and could impact neuroticism. In areas where criminal behavior is common, individuals may become less trusting, and by persistently altering their responses to the social environment, in this way they may become less agreeable over time (Fleeson, 2004; Rentfrow et al., 2008).

Further, where personality trait clustering already exists at the regional level, the behavioral expression of those traits may have an enduring impact on the cognitions, emotions, and actions of those within the region. For instance, people may tend to adopt cooperative behaviors in response to social environments where others tend to also cooperate, which may foster greater agreeableness over time. Research examining emotional contagion (e.g., Kramer, Guillory, & Hancock, 2014) suggests that residing in areas where neuroticism is common may lead to the transfer of negative emotions, potentially producing further increases in neuroticism. Finally, *environmental influence* in the form of features of the natural and built environment, such as climate, population density, soil quality, and green space, may also affect geographical variation in personality traits (Rentfrow & Jokela, 2016; Talhelm et al., 2014).

How patterns of selective migration and the impact of external social and environmental influences may combine to cause regional differences in personality traits to arise and endure over time is an open question. It is likely that the impact of these mechanisms is highly complex and dependent on historical and economic contexts and the existence of idiosyncratic social structures and contexts that must be considered. For example, Talhelm et al. (2014) explored the possibility that psychological differences between those living in the north and south of China arose from environmental influences that facilitated different systems of agricultural production. Specifically, the authors found that those living in southern areas where the climate has historically been most suitable for rice production showed a higher prevalence of holistic and interdependent thinking than those living in northern areas more suited to growing wheat. The authors suggest these differences emerged as a result of the cultural legacy of the highly cooperative work conditions of rice cultivation, which is associated with practices such as labor cooperation and the management of coordinated irrigation systems.

In another example, Obschonka et al. (2018) draw on fine-grained historical data and large-scale personality survey data ($N = 381,916$) to show that contemporary regional variation in personality traits in England and Wales can be traced back as far as the Industrial Revolution. Those living in areas once central to the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries experienced economic downturn and adversity following the decline of dominant large-scale coal-based industries throughout the twentieth century. The authors show that the selective migration of more resilient individuals away from these old industrial regions and the influence of persistent economic hardship may have produced a clustering of high levels of neuroticism and reduced conscientiousness in these regions. This study provides further evidence that the social legacy of work conditions may affect personality change. Further, in a follow-up study, Daly et al. in press (under review) demonstrate that the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the regional neuroticism levels of industrial areas may have contributed to the recent growth of obesity in these regions. As such, this research suggests that historical conditions may cause personality differences to become expressed at the macro level with potential health implications.

Macro-Level Expression of Personality Traits

To further develop understanding of the macro-level implications of the expression of personality, Rentfrow et al. (2008) propose a set of mechanisms underlying relationships between personality and social structure at the regional level. First, the authors propose that regions where a certain trait is prevalent will be disposed to make choices and engage in behaviors linked to that trait. For example, research on the predictive power of personality would suggest that in areas where extraversion is prevalent, people may tend to socialize more frequently and work in enterprising occupations. People may be healthier in conscientious and less neurotic regions and be more creative and report more liberal attitudes in regions made up of a large portion of individuals who are open to experience. Further, in areas where people tend to be agreeable, there may be a lower rate of criminality. Interestingly, these intuitions are supported in both the individual-level literature and by large-scale estimates of the relationship between state-level personality and social indicators (Rentfrow et al., 2008).

However, it would be a mistake (known as the *individualistic fallacy* or *reverse ecological fallacy*) to assume that individual-level relationships can be aggregated to the regional or population level (Rentfrow, 2010). For instance, while conscientiousness reliably predicts productivity and reduced criminal behavior at the individual level, there is evidence that this may not be the case at the state level (Rentfrow, 2010; Rentfrow et al., 2008). It is possible that the absence of such a relationship may be due to the influence of possible unobserved confounders. However, others examining micro-macro relations in psychology have noted that collectives formed through aggregation “have no individual-level counterpart,” and a key reason for this is that people change their behavior in response to social norms (van Raaij, 1984, p. 385). It may therefore be the case that the expressions of personality traits at the regional or group level may have important implications for shaping social norms and perhaps even the formation of institutions.

For example, in regions where agreeableness is prevalent, crime rates have been found to be lower, and it may be the case that public demand for prisons is therefore reduced (Rentfrow et al., 2008). Interest in arts and culture tends to be elevated in regions where openness to experience is high, potentially leading to demand for exhibition spaces and theaters where artists can promote and present their work. Health-care needs may be more pronounced in areas where neuroticism is pervasive or aggregate conscientiousness levels are relatively low. Over time, it is therefore possible that group-level personality may affect the formation of institutions such as courts, prisons, cultural centers, and hospitals. The existence (or absence) of these institutions may in turn produce a reinforcing “top-down” effect that further impacts the prevalence of certain personality traits over time (e.g., the presence of cultural centers enhances interest in the arts, which promotes openness to experience).

Taken together, there are several potential mechanisms and feedback loops that may be operating in unison to shape the macro-level clustering of personality traits at a given time point. For this reason, it is challenging to identify the extent to which

geographic differences in personality traits act as psychosocial forces that shape regional variation in macro-level social indicators or, conversely, whether social influences are causal factors responsible for regional variation in personality. The increasing availability of repeated assessments of personality traits and geographical information will help establish the direction of influence and disentangle the relative importance of specific mechanisms (e.g., selective migration, social influence, environmental influence). For instance, it may be the case that the presence of social institutions (e.g., artistic and creative professions, universities) affects regional personality levels (e.g., increasing the prevalence of openness to experience) by attracting individuals to the city or region (i.e., a selective migration mechanism) rather than by inducing change in the personalities of those living in the area (i.e., a social influence mechanism).

An alternative approach is to draw on intervention studies to understand the factors that may lead to personality change. This research also helps further address the question as to whether personality traits are unchanging dispositions or whether they can be systematically modified by environmental or intentional change.

Personality Change via Intervention and Policy

Parents invest sustained effort to foster behavioral tendencies that enable their children to succeed socially, academically, and economically later in life. Educators aim to promote qualities that enable children to reach their academic potential, and governments seek to maximize “human capital” to enable citizens to compete in an international labor market. People themselves engage with self-improvement and business motivation gurus and literatures to become more emotionally stable, assertive, and effective in achieving their goals. These pursuits are all, at least partly, focused on intervening to induce personality change – a topic that has been central to developmental and educational psychology for decades but only recently emerged as a core topic within research on personality traits (Bleidorn et al., 2019).

For example, in their recent meta-analysis, Pandey et al. (2018) conclude that several intervention strategies (e.g., curriculum-based interventions, social and personal skills interventions, exercise and yoga and mindfulness interventions) may effectively improve childhood and adolescent self-regulation – thought to be a developmental antecedent of conscientiousness (Eisenberg, Duckworth, Spinrad, & Valiente, 2014). Self-regulation interventions were also associated with improvements in distal health and social outcomes including substance use, academic achievement, and conduct problems and social skills. In adulthood, the primary evidence for personality change comes from psychotherapy and pharmacological research aiming to ameliorate psychological difficulties such as depression and anxiety and personality disorder (Roberts et al., 2017). While clinicians and those attending therapy may not explicitly discuss personality change or think in these terms, together they aim to reduce the pervasive feelings of depression, anxiety, self-consciousness, and hostility which characterize neuroticism. Clinicians have

also increasingly moved beyond a focus on the alleviation of suffering to foster positive functioning including positive emotions, enthusiasm, and social engagement which characterize extraversion (Duckworth, Steen, & Seligman, 2005).

Perhaps for these reasons the effectiveness of psychotherapy has been shown to extend to personality change across the Big Five traits. A meta-analysis of over 200 clinical intervention studies identified robust pre-post intervention changes in emotional stability (i.e., neuroticism reversed) and extraversion (Roberts et al., 2017), though only emotional stability was found to be robustly increased when experimental interventions comparing treatment to control groups were examined. This is perhaps the strongest evidence to date, suggesting that adult personality can change through intervention. By implication, large-scale initiatives backed by policymakers that aim to expand access to psychological therapies (e.g., The English Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) program; Clark, 2018) may have the effect of altering population neuroticism levels. This, in turn, may yield societal benefits given the close association between neuroticism and academic, relationship, and occupational and health difficulties (Roberts et al., 2007).

Similarly, by intervening to improve the self-regulation skills of children and adolescents, large-scale government schemes may have the effect of enhancing population conscientiousness levels, producing large-scale benefits (Eisenberg et al., 2014; Pandey et al., 2018). Already, evidence from long-running childhood intervention programs such as the Perry Preschool Program and the Abecedarian Project suggests that early life intervention-related improvements in externalizing behavior may mediate the intervention impact on key adult outcomes including smoking patterns and criminal behavior (Conti, Heckman, & Pinto, 2016; Heckman, Pinto, & Savelyev, 2013). In addition, observational evidence suggests that the broad lifelong benefits that could accrue from improving childhood self-control and adolescent conscientiousness may be substantial.

For example, a landmark study conducted in Dunedin, New Zealand, examined individual differences in the capacity for self-control among approximately 1000 children (Moffitt et al., 2011). The authors uncovered compelling evidence that more self-controlled children showed lower rates of school dropout, early smoking initiation, and unplanned parenthood in their teenage years than other children. Further, those who could effectively control their impulses as children tended to avoid criminal behavior in adolescence and early adulthood and experienced few physical health or financial difficulties by age 32 years. When scaled to the societal level, the study results highlight how trait self-control may represent a potentially modifiable determinant of the costs to citizens and governments associated with health-care usage, financial dependency, and crime (Caspi et al., 2017; Moffitt et al., 2011).

From a policy perspective, personality research may also assist in identifying the contexts where augmenting personality traits may yield the greatest effects. For instance, it may be the case that the adverse effect of low conscientiousness or emotional stability on social mobility may be most pronounced among those already living in disadvantaged circumstances who do not have substantial alternative financial resources to rely on. This prediction termed the *resource substitution hypothesis*

has gathered some support (Ayoub et al., 2018), though others have not observed a robust moderating pattern (Damian, Su, Shanahan, Trautwein, & Roberts, 2015). Moreover, other interactive effects between the person and broader context are possible. The *Matthew effect* (or “the rich get richer” effect) hypothesis predicts that personality will yield greater benefits among those growing up in more advantaged environments where individuals can draw on their social position and related resources to fully capitalize on the advantages of specific personality traits (e.g., a student with an interest in cultural and imaginative pursuits attending a costly college of art and design).

To date, the limited evidence available suggests that personality traits and background disadvantage may act independently to predict educational attainment, social class, and income in adulthood (Ayoub et al., 2018; Damian et al., 2015). This implies that personality traits could effectively “compensate” for social disadvantage: Those brought up in less affluent circumstances who are highly extraverted, conscientious, or emotionally stable could fare as well economically as those who score low on these traits and are raised in wealthy circumstances. Augmenting personality to achieve such a rebalancing of prospects would require the rollout of scalable and acceptable strategies to modify what are typically relatively stable enduring patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behavior.

Yet, where such strategies are available, it remains an open question whether governments should attempt to modify personality traits through the use of large-scale interventions and policy instruments. For instance, identifying “optimal” levels of personality traits to promote in society requires linking personality to a relevant benchmark (e.g., a composite indicator of socioeconomic status, health, and social connection) which may not be in the interest of all individuals. Further, interventions may operate differently at an aggregate scale than they do at the individual level as illustrated by “general equilibrium effects” in the economics literature. For example, the extensive occupational benefits associated with high levels of extraversion could decline in a situation where this trait and related behaviors (e.g., taking charge, being active and affable) become widely available to employers. In particular, this may be the case if the additional “supply” of extraverts is not met with an increase in demand for such employees. Conversely, a long-term rise in the prevalence of “economically valuable” personality traits (Jokela, Pekkarinen, Sarvimäki, Terviö, & Uusitalo, 2017) may be associated with continued or even rising returns where there is sufficiently strong demand for such traits across well-paid occupations (e.g., as a factor in promotion to leadership positions; Edin, Fredriksson, Nybom, & Ockert, 2017).

An alternative strategy may be to match personality profiles to interventions to uncover “what works for who” and enhance the cost-effectiveness of intervention programs (Chapman et al., 2014). In this way, individual differences could be drawn upon to create interventions that are suited to individual needs and that may be welfare enhancing on a broad scale. To date, there have been a limited number of attempts to use personality measures to identify those at risk of adverse outcomes and most likely to benefit from specific interventions (Hirsh, Kang, & Bodenhausen, 2012). For example, there is evidence that chronically ill individuals with low levels of conscientiousness, who may have difficulty organizing their treatment regimes,

may benefit particularly from self-management interventions (Franks, Chapman, Duberstein, & Jerant, 2009; Jerant, Chapman, Duberstein, & Franks, 2010). Intervention strategies that are directly tailored to personality traits have also been shown to reduce substance use and mental health difficulties (Conrod, Castellanos, & Mackie, 2008; Edalati & Conrod, 2018). Another option for policy-makers may be to consider universal intervention programs that do not directly target personality traits or require tailoring to personality types but instead sidestep the impact of certain personality traits. For instance, low conscientiousness (associated with disorganization and lack of planning) and neuroticism (associated with impulsivity) have been associated with difficulties in accumulating savings, which could be modified by large-scale “opt-out” or autoenrollment schemes that do not require a proactive deliberative approach to savings (Lades, Egan, Delaney, & Daly, 2017; Mosca & McCrory, 2016).

Finally, interventions and policy changes that assist individuals in finding a better person-environment fit could promote public welfare. Already, a large-scale analysis of German employees has shown that employees in jobs with demands that match their personalities earn higher incomes (Denissen et al., 2019). Further, a “Big Data” examination of the personality traits of over 56,000 Londoners showed that those who are open to experience report greater life satisfaction in high-density, ethnically diverse areas where others also tend to score highly on openness (Jokela, Bleidorn, Lamb, Gosling, & Rentfrow, 2015). Although based on observational data, these findings provide initial evidence that considering the context-dependent effects of personality traits may yield welfare gains.

Conclusion

How are personality and social functioning and structure interrelated? Until recently, the dominant ontogenetic perspective in personality psychology suggested a somewhat straightforward answer to this question: Traits are enduring dispositions that, through a series of mediating channels, have broad and substantial consequences for social relationships, economic success, and human welfare (Costa & McCrae, 1994; Roberts et al., 2007). Taking a macro perspective on these findings, we can infer that personality traits shape the composition of regions by driving selective migration as people seek out occupations and areas that fit their personalities and offer opportunities to satisfy their psychological needs (Rentfrow & Jokela, 2016). As a result, traits may become spatially clustered over time, and their expression as behavioral tendencies may shape objective macroenvironments including the economic and health characteristics of entire regions.

Yet an account of personality differences solely as determinants of social outcomes and the social structure of groups and populations is incomplete. Personality traits change across the life span, and both the stability and change in personality are influenced by environmental factors (Briley & Tucker-Drob, 2014). In recent years, personality researchers have capitalized on “Big Data” to link life transitions to personality change and highlight the impact of socialization on personality

maturation. By doing so, this research has moved beyond the traditional focus of personality psychology on discrete effects of personality to instead build up an integrative account of how personality combines with and is affected by the social circumstances experienced throughout life (Roberts & Wood, 2006). This has motivated further attempts to unpick the dynamic interplay between personality traits and life events in representative longitudinal survey data. Further, at a macro level, there is now evidence that objective environmental and social influences may induce, enduring alterations in the personality traits of large concentrations of people with consequential welfare effects (e.g., Daly et al., in press under review; Obschonka et al., 2018; Talhelm et al., 2014).

Personality psychology has seen a long-awaited revival in research, examining personality traits and social structure (Ryff, 1987), and has taken steps toward a contextualized, population-based account of this relationship that recognizes the complexity of both individuals and social systems (Oishi, 2014; Jokela, 2017; Rentfrow et al., 2008; Roberts & Nickel, 2017). In the coming years, theoretically informed sophisticated empirical evidence on specific life transitions and social circumstances (e.g., Schwaba & Bleidorn, 2019) will provide a more complete response to House's (1981, p. 541) question "when, how, and to what extent macro-social phenomena" affect the individual. Existing experimental and observational evidence has already provided a basis for understanding how systematic personality change may occur and the potential societal benefits that may follow (Bleidorn et al., 2019; Heckman et al., 2013; Moffitt et al., 2011). The development of a rich account of personality and social structure has the potential to inform policy-making and fundamentally reshape what is known about how personality can be incorporated into intervention design and policy change.

Conflict of Information The author declared that he had no conflicts of interest with respect to his authorship or the publication of this chapter.

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Macropsychology and Public Persuasion



Méabh O'Shea, Joanne McVeigh, and Malcolm MacLachlan

Introduction

People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction. And all you can talk about is money and fairytales of eternal economic growth. How dare you. For more than 30 years, the science has been crystal clear. How dare you continue to look away. (Greta Thunberg, 2019)

Climate activist Greta Thunberg's 2019 United Nations Climate Action Summit speech is clearly a political one. While speeches are most closely associated with the field of politics (Burns, 2009), their subject matter may be relevant to a broad range of disciplines, as illustrated by the political, economic, environmental science, and psychological themes of Thunberg's speech, excerpted above. While the message of a speech may be political, the content of the message may traverse several disciplines.

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Macropsychology may be defined as “the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives” (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851; MacLachlan, McVeigh, Huss, & Mannan, 2019). Speeches at international, national, and grassroots levels punctuate our ceremonies and rites of passage; they are used to debate, educate, incite, honour, acknowledge, console, and remember – they are explicitly designed to address the settings and conditions we live in. Speeches broadly fulfil three primary purposes – to be informative, persuasive, and inspirational (Collins, 2012). Types and content of speeches significantly vary, however, including parliamentary addresses, revolutionary and patriotic speeches, eulogies, preaching, debates, and even incitements to battle, addressing issues such as salvation, war, rights, fascism, and environmental decline (Burns, 2009).

Recent advances in mass media have extended the reach of political speeches. Political rhetoric was previously a sphere of the elite, whereby the political class discussed the populace, but mainly with one another, although the reach of political speech has now been significantly broadened by mass media (Collins, 2017). These include web-based discussion forums, live footage of political decision-making, and recorded demonstrations (Berlin, Weizman, & Fetzer, 2015). Although enabling more citizens to partake in public discourse, mass media has also potentially contributed to political polarization and an increase in false news (Bollinger & Stone, 2019). Regardless of the capacity of mass media to reach entire populations, however, citizens continue to attend commemorative events, political candidate rallies, and presidential inaugural addresses to support, to listen, and to be there in person (Crick, 2017). As suggested by Collins (2012, p. 4), “for all the splicing that occurs in modern media, this event also retains the aura it has had since the first orator stood before the Athenian polis”.

Indeed, public speeches date back to the beginning of community itself (Bailey, 2019). The phrase “public speaking” was first used in the West in the eighteenth century, prior to which public speaking was studied under the label of “rhetoric” (Bailey, 2019). Historically, rhetoric signified the art of public debate and persuasion that developed within the Greek democracies throughout the era of Pericles and the Persian Wars (Crick, 2017). In the sixth and fifth centuries BC, as Greece transformed from aristocracy to democracy, politics transcended social class, and all free male citizens were eligible to speak in the assembly or *ekklesia*, the place of political decision-making (Collins, 2017; De Koninck, 2009). Aristotle, for example, defined rhetoric in terms of persuasion, and this conception of public speaking as a mode of *persuading* the audience continues today (Bailey, 2019).

The Significance of Public Speeches

A good speech can be persuasive. Professor David Christian initiated a movement to teach “Big History” in American schools, for example, after his 18-minute TED talk in 2011 on the evolution of the world over 13 billion years, a dialogue that has been viewed over one million times (Gallo, 2014). As suggested by Collins (2012), a contemporary exemplar of the power of eloquent speech is Barack Obama, who

was “carried to the Presidency of the United States on a tide of elevated rhetoric” (p. 6). Indeed, Michelle Obama describes witnessing the impact after Barack Obama’s breakthrough 17-minute speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, after which she would often refrain to Obama “must’ve been a good speech” (Obama, 2018), the speech that would be labelled “the speech that made Obama” (Leibovich, 2016). As documented by Abbott (2010), Obama’s compelling speeches and grassroots campaign led to his instatement as president, prior to which in a 2008 speech, Obama declared “Don’t tell me words don’t matter. ‘I have a dream’. Just words. ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal’ ... Just words – just speeches” (p. 21).

Public speaking “is a liberal art... fundamental to participating effectively in a democratic society” (Verderber, Sellnow, & Verderber, 2014, p. 3). Freedom of speech, including the freedom to receive and impart information and ideas, is a human right (United Nations, 2015), which may be traced back to the pursuit of freedom of speech for legislators in the seventeenth century (Kortteinen, Myntti, & Hannikainen, 1999). This right to freedom of opinion and expression is protected in international law (Howie, 2018). Several of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are relevant to the right to freedom of expression and access to information, such as SDG 16.10 aiming “to ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements” (IFEX, 2019; UNDP, 2016). Freedom of speech enables the upholding of political rights (Lewis, 2007); it is a requirement for the realization of other rights including the right to vote, to free assembly, and freedom of the press (Howie, 2018). The right to free speech recognizes the need for free political communication amongst citizens so that they can formulate and participate in government (Joyce, 2015). Freedom to impart information and ideas enables free criticism of government, which is critical to democratic societies (Bychawska-Siniarska, 2017).

Public Speeches and Psychology

Much research has been conducted on the psychology of public speeches (e.g. Dill Scott, 1907), including the psychology of speech-making styles (Stewart, Waller, & Schubert, 2009), the psychology of speech anxiety and stage fright (Lomas, 1937; Rowland & van Lankveld, 2019; Savitsky & Gilovich, 2003; Takac et al., 2019; Trexler & Karst, 1972), audience psychology (Bryan & Wilke, 1941), and psychological interventions for public speaking (Ebrahimi, Pallesen, Kenter, & Nordgreen, 2019; Herbein et al., 2018). Research has also focused more specifically on the psychological content of speeches using content analysis, a technique widely used by political psychologists, although frequently to explore the political psychological characteristics of policy-makers (Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, & Preston, 2004).

Previous content analysis of political speeches suggests that such dialogues may exhibit strong psychological themes. For example, psychologist David Winter (2018) conducted a content analysis of implicit motives of US President Donald Trump’s 2017 inaugural address and found that relative to other twentieth and

twenty-first centuries American presidents, Trump scored very high on achievement and power motive imagery, but average on affiliation imagery. Psychologist Kayla Jordan, Sterling, Pennebaker, and Boyd (2019) explored long-term changes over several decades in the language of political leaders and cultural institutions and reported less use of formal, analytic language and more use of confident, clout language amongst several US and other English-speaking leaders.

An intriguing research area on the psychology of public speeches examines cultural variation across political speeches. For example, the cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism proposed by social psychologist Gerard Hofstede (Hofstede, 2001) have been identified as being associated with audiences' responses to political speeches (Choi, Bull, & Reed, 2016). For instance, Bull and Miskinis (2015) compared speeches from the 2012 US presidential election to pre-existing data on Japanese and British political speeches and found that Anglo-American politicians mainly used implicit rhetorical devices, while Japanese primarily used explicit devices. The researchers also identified individualized audience responses including isolated applause and individual remarks in the US speeches, although Japanese audiences consistently responded in unison (Bull & Miskinis, 2015).

Research Aim

Political speech may be defined in a number of ways, including art and music as forms of political communication (Onyebadi, 2017; Ryan, 2018). As suggested by Sunstein (1995), political speech may include political written works but also any art and literature that may be classified as social commentary. For the purpose of this study, however, a political speech is defined as “an argument of some kind: an attempt to provide others with reasons for thinking, feeling or acting in some particular way; to motivate them; to invite them to trust one in uncertain conditions; to get them to see situations in a certain light” (Finlayson & Martin, 2008, p. 450).

The primary aim of this study was to explore the use of psychological concepts in a sample of key politically focused speeches in history. We hypothesized that many of the emergent issues in these political speeches would have strong psychological themes. The speeches examined in this study are typically presented as politically focused, and we aimed to explore the extent to which they reflect psychological concepts and, by extension, macropsychological issues.

Method

Study Materials

A total of 12 key speeches were analysed, derived from the book *History's Greatest Speeches* (Daley, 2013), used for the study as it is an independent, authoritative, and well-known text. These 12 speeches were selected as they address a broad spectrum

in terms of era, subject matter, and gender of the speaker. The speeches chosen were Pericles' "Funeral Oration" (fifth century BCE), Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" (1775), Frederick Douglass' "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (1852), Susan B. Anthony's "On Behalf of the Woman Suffrage Amendment" (1880), Winston Churchill's "We Shall Fight on the Beaches" (1940), Mahatma Gandhi's "Quit India" (1942), Eleanor Roosevelt's "On the Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948), Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" (1963), Harvey Milk's "The Hope Speech" (1978), Mother Teresa's "Nobel Lecture" (1979), Elie Wiesel's "The Perils of Indifference" (1999), and Barack Obama's "Inaugural Address" (2009).

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to content analyse the speeches (Braun & Clarke, 2006) using an inductive or "bottom-up" approach. This data-driven form of analysis excludes the researcher's preconceptions and is therefore a fitting method for identifying "psychological concepts", a broad and subjective term that is difficult to define due to the diverse sub-disciplines of psychology. In the interest of recognizing any important or prevalent themes within the speeches, the term "concept" was defined broadly as any matter relating to the discipline of psychology; the study of behaviour and mental processes; as well as any matter relating to the disciplines of philosophy, sociology, and/or anthropology, disciplines that often deal with the wider social context of psychological concepts. This was to account for any overlapping themes or grey areas and to ensure a thorough analysis of the speeches. The primary researcher documented any sections of a speech that are related to any or several of the four disciplines of psychology, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology. In accordance with the procedure of thematic analyses recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006), the primary researcher first familiarized themselves with the data, formulated initial codes, searched for and reviewed themes, and defined and labelled themes. Each quote was assigned a code that included the speaker's name, the page number of the quote, and the first words of the line in which the quote began, so that each quote could be traced back to the full data protocol. Accordingly, an audit trail was formulated, which could be traced for auditing purposes. Quotes applicable to more than one psychological concept were duplicated across themes. For example, the following excerpt from Barack Obama's inauguration speech was assigned to the three different themes of "equality/inclusivity/unity", "friendship", and "leadership": "America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more".

Themes were classified into four categories based on their relevance to psychology. Any themes that did not have enough instances or occurrences to support them – in this case reach a minimum quota of three quotes – were not included in any further analysis.

Results

A total of 42 themes were identified, disaggregated across 3 categories as follows:

1. Primary psychological concepts (31 themes)
2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts (5 themes)
3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts (6 themes)

Table 1 summarizes the identified concepts and Table 2 provides the frequencies for concepts across speeches. Appendix 1 presents the full findings from the content analyses of speeches.

Discussion

The primary aim of this study was to explore the use of psychological concepts in a sample of key politically focused speeches in history. This discussion is not intended to be exhaustive, and so we aim to address only some of the issues arising from our analysis. The primary results of this study support our hypothesis that many of the emergent issues in these *political* speeches have strong psychological themes. A total of 42 themes were identified, disaggregated across the 3 categories of “primary psychological concepts”, “mixture of psychological and other concepts”, and “concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts”.

Our analysis does not set out to establish that great speeches in history are primarily psychological instruments of persuasion or that the content of those speeches is primarily psychological. Rather, we sought to explore the extent to which great speeches draw on and are imbued with psychological issues. From a macropsychology perspective, these speeches interweave psychology alongside the broad social/political/economic issues of the day, which the speeches sought to address. Over 2000 years, these speech-makers addressing what they saw as macro issues perhaps also saw greater relevance for psychology, than perhaps we realize even today.

A few examples of the primacy of some psychological concepts are perhaps worth recounting:

- *On Anger*: “The anger and the frustrations that some of us feel is because we are misunderstood, and friends can’t feel the anger and frustration. They can sense it in us, but they can’t feel it. Because a friend has never gone through what is known as coming out. I will never forget what it was like coming out and having nobody to look up toward. I remember the lack of hope – and our friends can’t fulfill it” (Milk, 1978, as cited in Daley, 2013, p. 191).
- *On Confidence*: “Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights” (Obama, 2009, as cited in Daley, 2013, p. 220).

Table 1 Concepts identified in speeches

Primary psychological concepts	Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts
1. Affection	1. Conflict vs. peace	1. Ability
2. Anger	2. Freedom	2. Death
3. Apathy	3. Generosity	3. Glory
4. Confidence	4. Growth/progress/change	4. Hypocrisy
5. Courage vs. cowardice	5. Honour	5. Redemption
6. Cooperation/communication		6. Responsibility
7. Discipline/restraint		
8. Doubt		
9. Envy		
10. Empathy		
11. Equality/inclusivity/unity		
12. Friendship		
13. Gratitude		
14. Grief		
15. Happiness		
16. Hatred		
17. Honesty vs. deceit		
18. Hope		
19. Humiliation/degradation		
20. Leadership		
21. Loyalty (trust vs. betrayal)		
22. Nurture/care		
23. Oppression		
24. Power		
25. Prejudice		
26. Reflection		
27. Reputation/judgement		
28. Resilience/endurance		
29. Sadness		
30. Shame		
31. Tradition		

Table 2 Frequency of concepts across speeches

Concept	Speech											Total concepts	
	Pericles	Henry	Douglass	Anthony	Churchill	Gandhi	Roosevelt	Luther King Jr.	Milk	Mother Teresa	Wiesel		Obama
1. Primary psychological concept													
Affection										5			5
Anger	1		1						2		2		6
Apathy	1	1	2							1	2		7
Confidence				1								2	3
Courage vs. cowardice	4	1	1	1		1				1	1	3	12
Cooperation/communication						3							3
Discipline/restraint	2		1							1			4
Doubt				1							2		3
Envy	4												4
Empathy			1							2	3		6
Equality/inclusivity/unity	4		1	4	1	1	2	2	1	1	10		26
Friendship	2	1				1		1			3		8
Gratitude	1		2		1					3	2	1	10
Grief	3												3
Happiness	1							1	2				4
Hatred						2		1	1	1			5
Honesty vs. deceit	1	3	2	2		1	1	3	1		3		13
Hope		3	2		1		1			2	5		20
Humiliation/degradation			3	2									5
Leadership	1								2		1	2	6
Loyalty (trust vs. betrayal)	1	1	1					2					7
Nurture/care										3		2	5

Oppression		2	7	13			1	2												25		
Power	1	1	1	5	2	1														3	14	
Prejudice			1	3		1		3	2												10	
Reflection	2					1															4	
Reputation/judgement	2		1	1					1											1	1	7
Resilience/endurance		1	2	1	4		1	1	1	1										1	4	16
Sadness			2					2														5
Shame		1	1	1				1														3
Tradition	3																			1		4
2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts																						
Conflict vs. peace	1	2	1		1	2	1	2		4	1											20
Freedom	3	2	1			3	1	3												4		17
Generosity	3								1													4
Growth/progress/change			3					2			1									7		13
Honour	2							1			1											4
3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts																						
Ability	2	1																				3
Death	5				2																	7
Glory	3			1																		4
Hypocrisy			2	1																		3
Redemption	1	1						1														3
Responsibility			2	4		2			1											3		12

- *On Envy*: “he who is a stranger to the matter may be led by envy to suspect exaggeration if he hears anything above his own nature” (Pericles, fifth century BCE, as cited in Daley, 2013, p. 2).
- *On Hatred*: “Even hatred at times may elicit a response. You fight it. You denounce it. You disarm it. Indifference elicits no response. Indifference is not a response” (Wiesel, 1999, as cited in Daley, 2013, p. 215).

Overall, the concept of “equality/inclusivity/unity” was mentioned most frequently, identified 26 times across 9 speeches. Closely related to this theme was the concept of “oppression”, mentioned 25 times across 5 speeches. As argued by Collins (2017), effective political speech is required to ensure that “the equal consideration of all citizens in free societies is the means by which the material condition of the population is improved”. While political speech may be adversely used to generate divisiveness and dominance of some groups over others (Gonzalez-Gorman, 2018), political speech may also be used as a mechanism to promote social inclusion and equality, by and for marginalized groups. As proposed by Irish President Michael D. Higgins (2016): “For some who live and struggle in an unequal world, ideas and words are all they have at their disposal. Their ideas express their common humanity, their aspirations for what is fair, just, and emancipatory. They constitute what is, for them, the realm of hope”.

Notably, in Barack Obama’s inaugural address, the theme of “equality/inclusivity/unity” was identified 10 times, a topic that interlaced many of Obama’s political dialogues. In his speeches, Obama frequently discussed national unity, underpinned by the principles of freedom, justice, equality, and prosperity (Verkuyten, 2014). For example, Obama’s speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention focused on national unity, declaring “there’s not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there’s the United States of America” (Dionne & Reid, 2017). While the present study examined Obama’s inaugural address, his farewell speech echoed this sentiment, also focusing on unity and economic inequality (Landler & Shear, 2017). Indeed, as suggested by Abbott (2010), Obama was well-positioned to bridge the gap between the white and black populations of the United States and the gap between Muslims and the West, having had a Muslim father and spending numerous years of his childhood in a predominantly Muslim country. As contended by Goff (2009, p. 44), “when Obama segued seamlessly between discussing black anger and addressing white resentments in his speech (and did so without getting booed off the stage by both groups), it was a testament to his strength as a cultural linguist”.

The concept of “conflict vs. peace” was mentioned 20 times across 10 speeches, with some speeches explicitly contrasting war with peace. The antithesis to speech that promotes peace, or what Kohn (2018, p. 44) refers to as “connection-speech”, is speech that provokes conflict. Hate speech is typically attributed with intensifying or initiating conflict (Janicki, 2015) and can jeopardize social stability and peace (United Nations, 2015). International law does not illegalize hate speech per se but protects against *incitement* to discrimination and violence (United Nations, 2019). Several mechanisms internationally have been used to mitigate incitement to hatred or incitement to international crimes, both in international criminal law and in the

field of human rights, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Timmermann, 2015).

Limitations

While content analysis may help to elucidate cultural and historical phenomena, it nonetheless provides an analysis of “point-in-time” behaviour, limiting broader extrapolations of people’s opinions and behaviours (Renz, Carrington, & Badger, 2018). It is also important to recognize that the usual practice of speakers in politics is to avail of the assistance of speech writers (Kjeldsen, Kiewe, Lund, & Barnholdt Hansen, 2019). For US presidents, this takes the form of a speech-writing office (Collins, 2017). Political speeches, then, may provide more insight into the “voice of the institution” (Collier, 2018, p. 181) than the individual speaker. However, while content analysis is frequently used by political psychologists to explore the political psychological characteristics of policy-makers (Cottam et al., 2004), this study has aimed to explore the use of psychological concepts in key politically focused speeches, rather than to make inferences about characteristics of the speaker or speech-makers per se. The speeches examined in this study are typically presented as politically focused speeches, and we aimed to explore the extent to which they reflect psychological concepts and, by extension, macropsychological issues.

It could be asserted that particular assumptions may result in conceptual foreclosure when content analysing particular speeches. For example, the finding that “equality/inclusivity/unity” and “oppression” were the most frequently identified concepts is perhaps unsurprising, given the nature of the speeches selected for this study. Several of these speeches are undoubtedly focused on equality and oppression, including Patrick Henry’s “Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death”, Frederick Douglass’ “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”, Susan B. Anthony’s “On Behalf of the Woman Suffrage Amendment”, Mahatma Gandhi’s “Quit India”, and Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream”. However, the extraction of 42 concepts has identified nuanced psychological themes not typically associated with these speeches such as “hypocrisy”, “resilience/endurance”, and “apathy”.

Conclusion

Psychology is woven through many macro issues, issues that have provoked some of the greatest orators to address some of the greatest challenges of their day. In fact, many of these challenges are perennial; they recur across time and place; they are truly part of the “human condition”. Psychology is an important aspect of both how we speak *and* about what we say regarding the great issues of our times. Psychology, as a discipline, should have more to say about the big issues we face – for instance, peace, freedom, hatred, and power – as these are all experienced both as individuals and as collections of individuals. Returning to where we started, with climate

change, psychologist Robert Clifford commented: “Climate change is ... the result of 7.6 billion people making decisions every single day. That right there makes it a psychological problem” (Weir, 2018, p. 45). Public persuasion is a key role for a responsible population science; one way of doing this is through psychologically crafted landmark speeches addressing the “factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives” and therefore our behaviour, both individual and collective.

Appendix 1: Full Findings from Content Analyses of Speeches

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
<i>Affection</i>	“And I think that we in our family don’t need bombs and guns, to destroy to bring peace – just get together, love one another, bring that peace, that joy, that strength of presence of each other in the home. And we will be able to overcome all the evil that is in the world. Love begins at home, and it is not how much we do, but how much love we put in the action that we do. It is to God Almighty – how much we do it does not matter, because He is infinite, but how much love we put in that action”	Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: For the –
	“And this is why I have received such a lot of love from you all. From the time that I have come here I have simply been surrounded with love, and with real, real understanding love. It could feel as if everyone in India, everyone in Africa is somebody very special to you. And I felt quite at home I was telling Sister today. I feel in the Convent with the Sisters as if I am in Calcutta with my own Sisters. So completely at home here, right here. And so here I am talking with you – I want you to find the poor here, right in your own home first. And begin love there. Be that good news to your own people. And find out about your next-door neighbour – do you know who they are?”	Mother Teresa Page 198 Line: And this –
	“Because I believe that love begins at home, and if we can create a home for the poor – I think that more and more love will spread. And we will be able through this understanding love to bring peace, be the good news to the poor. The poor in our own family first, in our country and in the world”	Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: have no –
	“You must come to know the poor, maybe our people here have material things, everything, but I think that if we all look into our own homes, how difficult we find it sometimes to smile at each, other, and that the smile is the beginning of love. And so let us always meet each other with a smile, for the smile is the beginning of love, and once we begin to love each other naturally we want to do something”	Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: in your –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“I think that this is something, that we must live life beautifully, we have Jesus with us and He loves us. If we could only remember that God loves me, and I have an opportunity to love others as he loves me, not in big things, but in small things with great love, then Norway becomes a nest of love”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 201 Line: sacrificed –</p>
<i>Anger</i>	<p>“There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry which our neighbour for doing what he likes”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: There, –</p>
	<p>“The eye of the reformer is met with angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, will yet give direction to her destiny? Were the nation older, the patriot’s heart might be sadder, and the reformer’s brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow. There is consolation in the thought that America is young. Great streams are not easily turned from channels, worn deep in the course of ages. They may sometimes rise in quiet and stately majesty, and inundate the land, refreshing and fertilizing the earth with their mysterious properties. They may also rise in wrath and fury, and bear away, on their angry waves, the accumulated wealth of years of toil and hardship. They, however, gradually flow back to the same old channel, and flow on as serenely as ever. But, while the river may not be turned aside, it may dry up, and leave nothing behind but the withered branch, and the unsightly rock, to howl in the abyss-sweeping wind, the sad tale of departed glory. As with rivers so with nations”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 81 Line: under the –</p>
	<p>“Liberated a day earlier by American soldiers, he remembers their rage at what they saw. And even if he lives to be a very old man, he will always be grateful to them for that rage, and also for their compassion”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 213 Line: Liberated –</p>
	<p>“Anger can at times be creative. One writes a great poem, a great symphony, one does something special for the sake of humanity because one is angry at the injustice that one witnesses”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 215 Line: than anger –</p>
	<p>“The anger and the frustrations that some of us feel is because we are misunderstood, and friends can’t feel the anger and frustration. They can sense it in us, but they can’t feel it. Because a friend has never gone through what is known as coming out. I will never forget what it was like coming out and having nobody to look up toward. I remember the lack of hope- and our friends can’t fulfill it”</p>	<p>Milk Page: 191 Line: must be –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“After Dade County, I walked among the angry and the frustrated night after night and I looked at their faces. And in San Francisco, three days before Gay Pride Day, a person was killed just because he was gay. And that night, I walked among the sad and the frustrated at City Hall in San Francisco and later that night as they lit candles on Castro Street and stood in silence, reaching out for some symbolic thing that would give them hope”</p>	<p>Milk Page 191 Line: ity and –</p>
<i>Apathy</i>	<p>“What is indifference? Etymologically, the word means ‘no difference.’ A strange and unnatural state in which the lines blur between light and darkness, dusk and dawn, crime and punishment, cruelty and compassion, good and evil. What are its courses and inescapable consequences? Is it a philosophy? Is there a philosophy of indifference conceivable? Can one possibly view indifference as a virtue? Is it necessary at times to practice it simply to keep one’s sanity, live normally, enjoy a fine meal and a glass of wine, as the world around us experiences harrowing upheavals? Of course, indifference can be tempting – more than that, seductive. It is so much easier to look away from victims. It is so much easier to avoid such rude interruptions to our work, our dreams, our hopes. It is, after all, awkward, troublesome, to be involved in another person’s pain and despair. Yet, for the person who is indifferent, his or her neighbor are of no consequence. And, therefore, their lives are meaningless. Their hidden or even visible anguish is of no interest. Indifference reduces the other to an abstraction”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 214 Line: What is –</p>
	<p>“In a way, to be indifferent to that suffering is what makes the human being inhuman. Indifference, after all, is more dangerous than anger and hatred. Anger can at times be creative. One writes a great poem, a great symphony, one does something special for the sake of humanity because one is angry at the injustice that one witnesses. But indifference is never creative. Even hatred at times may elicit a response. You fight it. You denounce it. You disarm it. Indifference elicits no response. Indifference is not a response. Indifference is not a beginning, it is an end. And, therefore, indifference is always the friend of the enemy, for it benefits the aggressor – never his victim, whose pain is magnified when he or she feels forgotten”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 215 Line: In a way –</p>
	<p>“But the church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors. It has made itself the bulwark of American slavery, and the shield of American slave-hunters”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 97 Line: But the church –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“usually decision is the fruit of ignorance, hesitation of reflection”	Pericles Page 4 Line: although –
	“When I pick up a person from the street, hungry, I give him a plate of rice, a piece of bread, I have satisfied. I have removed that hunger. But a person that is shut out, that feels unwanted, unloved, terrified, the person that has been thrown out from society – that poverty is so hurtful and so much, and I find that very difficult”	Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: When I –
	“We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth – and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation?”	Henry Page 31 Line: of hope. –
	“In glaring violation of justice, in shameless disregard of the forms of administering law, in cunning arrangement to entrap the defenseless, and in diabolical intent, this Fugitive Slave Law stands alone in the annals of tyrannical legislation. I doubt if there be another nation on the globe, having the brass and the baseness to put such a law on the statute-book. If any man in this assembly thinks differently from me in this matter, and feels able to disprove my statements, I will gladly confront him at any suitable time and place he may select. I take this law to be one of the grossest infringements of Christian Liberty, and, if the churches and ministers of our country were not stupidly blind, or most wickedly indifferent, they, too, would so regard it”	Douglass Page 96 Line: In glaring –
<i>Confidence</i>	“Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights”	Obama Page 220 Line: Less –
	“This is the source of our confidence – the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny”	Obama Page: 224 Line: This is the price –
	“I have, myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone”	Churchill Page: 168 Line: I have myself –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
<i>Courage vs. cowardice</i>	“But the palm of courage will surely be adjudged most justly to those, who best know the difference between hardship and pleasure and yet are never tempter to shrink from danger”	Pericles Page 4 Line: reflection –
	“to a man of spirit, the degradation of cowardice must be immeasurably more grievous than the unfelt death which strikes him in the midst of strength and patriotism!”	Pericles Page 6 Line: surely –
	“And where the rewards for merit are greatest, there are found the best citizens”	Pericles Page 8 Line: their survivors –
	“It was in conditions such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and nights on end, making trip after trip across the dangerous waters, bringing with them always men whom they had rescued. The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and their courage”	Churchill Page 163 Line: from mines –
	“you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honour in action that men were enabled to win all this”	Pericles Page 6 Line: ness shall –
	“It is the firefighter’s courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent’s willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate”	Obama Page 224 Line: job which –
	“But those values upon which our success depends – honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history”	Obama Page 224 Line: meet them –
	“With hope and endurance, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come”	Obama Page 223 Line: ourhardship–
	“But then, there were human beings who were sensitive to our tragedy. Those non-Jews, those Christians, that we called the ‘Righteous Gentiles,’ whose selfless acts of heroism saved the honor of their faith”	Wiesel Page 216 Line: But then –
	“The signers of the Declaration of Independence were brave men. They were great men too—great enough to give fame to a great age. It does not often happen to a nation to raise, at one time, such a number of truly great men. The point from which I am compelled to view them is not, certainly, the most favorable; and yet I cannot contemplate their great deeds with less than admiration. They were statesmen, patriots and heroes, and for the good they did, and the principles they contended for, I will unite with you to honor their memory”	Douglass Page 85 Line: thisrepublic–
	“The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave”	Henry Page 32 Line: up friends –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“As we here bring to fruition our labors on this Declaration of Human Rights, we must at the same time rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task which lies before us. We can now move on with new courage and inspiration to the completion of an international covenant on human rights and of measures for the implementation of human rights”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 177 Line: As we –</p>
<i>Cooperation/ communication</i>	<p>“The long and meticulous study and debate of which this Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the product means that it reflects the composite views of the many men and governments who have contributed to its formulation”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 173 Line The long –</p>
	<p>“We in the United States admire those who fight for their convictions, and the Soviet delegation has fought for their convictions. But in the older democracies we have learned that sometimes we bow to the will of the majority. In doing that, we do not give up our convictions. We continue sometimes to persuade, and eventually we may be successful. But we know that we have to work together and we have to progress. So, we believe that when we have made a good fight, and the majority is against us, it is perhaps better tactics to try to cooperate”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 174 Line: the Human –</p>
	<p>“At a time when there are so many issues on which we find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement, it is a significant fact that 58 states have found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 176 Line: At a time –</p>
<i>Discipline/ restraint</i>	<p>“while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every legitimate danger”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: native spirit–</p>
	<p>“But all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless as citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws, particularly such as regard the protection of the injured, whether they are actually on the statute book, or belong to that code which, although unwritten, yet cannot be broken without acknowledged disgrace”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: penalty. –</p>
	<p>“And in Calcutta alone in six years – it is all in Calcutta – we have had 61,273 babies less from the families who would have had, but because they practise this natural way of abstaining, of self-control, out of love for each other”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 196 Line: And in –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“You were under the British Crown. Your fathers esteemed the English Government as the home government; and England as the fatherland. This home government, you know, although a considerable distance from your home, did, in the exercise of its parental prerogatives, impose upon its colonial children, such restraints, burdens and limitations, as, in its mature judgement, it deemed wise, right and proper”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 82 Line: was not then –</p>
<i>Doubt</i>	<p>“Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest our system cannot tolerate too many big plans”</p>	<p>Obama Page 221 Line: Now, –</p>
	<p>“Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights”</p>	<p>Obama Page 220 Line: Less –</p>
	<p>“We ask the judges to render unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give the benefit to the side of liberty and equal rights for women, remembering that, as Sumner says, ‘the true rule of interpretation under our national constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything for human rights is constitutional, everything against human right unconstitutional”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 139 Line: We ask –</p>
<i>Envy</i>	<p>“he who is a stranger to the matter may be led by envy to suspect exaggeration if he hears anything above his own nature”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: which he –</p>
	<p>“For men can endure to hear others praised only so long as they can severally persuade themselves of their own ability to equal the actions recounted: when this point is passed, envy comes in and with it incredulity”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: if he –</p>
	<p>“The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes, or even indulge in those injurious looks with cannot fail to be offensive”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: There –</p>
	<p>“The living have envy to contend with, while those who are no longer in our path are honoured with a goodwill into which rivalry does not enter”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 7 Line: renown –</p>
<i>Empathy</i>	<p>“Liberated a day earlier by American soldiers, he remembers their rage at what they saw. And even if he lives to be a very old man, he will always be grateful to them for that rage, and also for their compassion”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 213 Line: Liberated –</p>
	<p>“But then, there were human beings who were sensitive to our tragedy. Those non-Jews, those Christians, that we called the ‘Righteous Gentiles,’ whose selfless acts of heroism saved the honor of their faith”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 216 Line: But then –</p>

I. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“What about the children? Oh, we see them on television, we read about them in the papers, and we do so with a broken heart. Their fate is always the most tragic, inevitably. When adults wage war, children perish. We see their faces, their eyes. Do we hear their pleas? Do we feel their pain, their agony? Every minute one of them dies of disease, violence, famine. Some of them – so many of them – could be saved”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 217 Line: What about –</p>
	<p>“A gentleman came to our house and said: Mother Teresa, there is a family with eight children, they had not eaten for so long – do something. So I took some rice and I went there immediately. And I saw the children – their eyes shining with hunger – I don’t know if you have ever seen hunger. But I have seen it very often. And she took the rice, she divided the rice, and she went out. When she came back I asked her – where did you go, what did you do? And she gave me a very simple answer: They are hungry also. What struck me most was that she knew – and who are they, a Muslim family – and she knew. I didn’t bring more rice that evening because I wanted them to enjoy the joy of sharing. But there were those children, radiating joy, sharing the joy with their mother because she had the love to give”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 198 Line: A gentleman –</p>
	<p>“Because today there is so much suffering – and I feel that the passion of Christ is being relived all over again – are we there to share that passion, to share that suffering of people”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: understand –</p>
	<p>“The anguish of my boyish heart was intense; and I was often consoled, when speaking to my mistress in the morning, to hear her say that the custom was very wicked; that she hated to hear the rattle of the chains, and the heart-rending cries. I was glad to find one who sympathized with me in my horror”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 94 Line: gangs –</p>
<p><i>Equality/inclusivity/unity</i></p>	<p>“to which the whole assemblage, whether citizens of foreigners, may listen with advantage”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: to which –</p>
	<p>“Its administration favours the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: we are –</p>
	<p>“If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if no social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: called a –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigner from any opportunity of learning or observing”	Pericles Page 3 Line: antagonists –
	“On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord”	Obama Page 220 Line: On this –
	“the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness”	Obama Page 220 Line: on from –
	“They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction”	Obama Page 221 Line: life.
	”they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose”	Obama Page 221 Line: Their memories –
	“The nation cannot prosper long when it favours only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart – not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good”	Obama Page 222 Line: ful eye –
	“Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions”	Obama Page 222 Line: Recall that –
	“With old friends and former foes, we’ll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the spectre of a warming planet”	Obama Page 222 Line: forge a –
	“America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more”	Obama Page 222 Line: father was –
	“Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations”	Obama Page 222 Line: We are –
	“For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself”	Obama Page 223 Line: For we –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“By these declarations, kings, popes, priests, aristocrats, all were alike dethroned and placed on a common level, politically, with the lowliest born subject or serf. By them too, men, as such, were deprived of their divine right to rule and placed on a political level with women. By the practice of these declaration all class and caste distinctions would be abolished, and slave, serf, plebeian, wife, woman, all alike rise from their subject position to the broader platform of equality”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 119 Line: immutable –</p>
	<p>“Thus, at the very beginning, did the fathers see the necessity of the universal application of the great principle of equal rights to all, in order to produce the desired result—a harmonious union and a homogeneous people”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 120 Line: Thus –</p>
	<p>“It was we, the people, not we, the white male citizens, nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed this Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings or liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 119 Line: It was we –</p>
	<p>“The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons? I scarcely believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens, and no State has a right to make any new law, or to enforce any old law, which shall abridge their privileges or immunities”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 127 Line: The only –</p>
	<p>“The British Empire and the French Republic, linked together in their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 168 Line: and the nation –</p>
	<p>“For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are ploughing, planting and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver and gold; that, while we are reading, writing and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hill-side, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives and children, and, above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian’s God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called upon to prove that we are men!”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 90 Line: For the –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children”	MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: of cooling –
	“With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day”	MLK, Jr. Page 185 Line: With this –
	“It is to join a struggle for such democracy that I invite you today. Once you realize this you will forget the differences between the Hindus and Muslims, and think of yourselves as Indians only, engaged in the common struggle for independence”	Ghandi Page 171 Line: Everybody –
	“You too try to bring that presence of God in your family, for the family that prays together stays together. And I think that we in our family don’t need bombs and guns, to destroy to bring peace – just get together, love one another, bring that peace, that joy, that strength of presence of each other in the home. And we will be able to overcome all the evil that is in the world”	Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: and I. –
	“At a time when there are so many issues on which we find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement, it is a significant fact that 58 states have found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights”	E. Roosevelt Page 176 Line: At a time –
	“In giving our approval to the Declaration today it is of primary importance that we keep clearly in mind the basic character of the document. It is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement. It is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or of legal obligation. It is a Declaration of basic principles of human rights and freedoms, to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly by formal vote of its members, and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations”	E. Roosevelt Page 176 Line: In giving –
<i>Friendship</i>	“In generosity we are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favours”	Pericles Page 4 Line: and pleasure

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“the doer of the favour is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kindness to keep the recipient in his debt; while the debtor feels less keenly from the very consciousness that the return he makes will be a payment, not a free gift”	Pericles Page 4 Line: ferring, not –
	“With old friends and former foes, we’ll work tearlessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the spectre of a warming planet”	Obama Page 222 Line: forge a –
	“the selflessness of worker who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours”	Obama Page 224 Line: ness to take –
	“America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more”	Obama Page 222 Line: father was –
	“Speaking for myself, I can say that I have never felt any hatred. As a matter of fact, I feel myself to be a greater friend of the British now than ever before. One reason is that they are today in distress. My very friendship, therefore, demands that I should try to save them from their mistakes. As I view the situation, they are on the brink of an abyss. It, therefore, becomes my duty to warn them of their danger even though it may, for the time being, anger them to the point of cutting off the friendly hand that is stretched out to help them”	Ghandi Page 171 Line: purge –
	“Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood”	MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: path of –
	“Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us”	Henry Page 32 Line: Besides, –
<i>Gratitude</i>	“those of you who have passed your prime must congratulate yourselves with the thought that the best part of your life was fortunate, and that the brief span that remains will be cheered by the fame of the departed”	Pericles Page 7 Line: father –
	“we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains”	Obama Page 223 Line: As we consider

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, all fall back into the past – not only distant but prosaic; these young men, going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering power, of whom it may be said that</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>Every morn brought forth a noble chance</i> <i>And every chance brought forth a noble knight,</i></p> <p>deserve our gratitude, as do all the brave men who, in so many ways and on so many occasions, are ready, and continue ready to give life and all for their native land”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 165 Line: TheKnights–</p>
	<p>“Liberated a day earlier by American soldiers, he remembers their rage at what they saw. And even if he lives to be a very old man, he will always be grateful to them for that rage, and also for their compassion”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 213 Line: Liberated –</p>
	<p>“Let us thank God for the opportunity that we all have together today, for this gift of peace that reminds us that we have been created to live that peace, and Jesus became man to bring that good news to the poor”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 193 Line: Let us thank–</p>
	<p>“So I did for her all that my love can do. I put her in bed, and there was such a beautiful smile on her face. She took hold of my hand, as she said one word only: Thank you – and she died.</p> <p>I could not help but examine my conscience before her, and I asked what would I say if I was in her place. And my answer was very simple. I would have tried to draw a little attention to myself, I would have said I am hungry, that I am dying, I am cold, I am in pain, or something, but she gave me much more – she gave me her grateful love. And she died with a smile on her face”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: worse. –</p>
	<p>“So let us thank God that we have had this opportunity to come to know each other, and this knowledge of each other has brought us very close”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: parents –</p>
	<p>And now, I stand before you, Mr. President – Commander-in-Chief of the army that freed me, and tens of thousands of others – and I am filled with a profound and abiding gratitude to the American people.</p> <p>Gratitude is a word that I cherish. Gratitude is what defines the humanity of the human being. And I am grateful to you, Hillary – or Mrs. Clinton – for what you said, and for what you are doing for children in the world, for the homeless, for the victims of injustice, the victims of destiny and society”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 213 Line: And now –</p>
	<p>“The fact is, ladies and gentlemen, the distance between this platform and the slave plantation, from which I escaped, is considerable — and the difficulties to be overcome in getting from the latter to the former, are by no means slight. That I am here to-day is, to me, a matter of astonishment as well as of gratitude”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 81 Line: The fact –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The 4th of July is the first great fact in your nation’s history—the very ring-bolt in the chain of your yet undeveloped destiny. Pride and patriotism, not less than gratitude, prompt you to celebrate and to hold it in perpetual remembrance. I have said that the Declaration of Independence is the ring-bolt to the chain of your nation’s destiny; so, indeed, I regard it. The principles contained in that instrument are saving principles. Stand by those principles, be true to them on all occasions, in all places, against all foes, and at whatever cost”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 84 Line: anniversary–</p>
<i>Grief</i>	<p>“fortunate indeed are they who draw for their lot a death so glorious as that which caused your mourning”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 7 Line: fortunate –</p>
	<p>“Comfort, therefore, not condolence, is what I have to offer to the parents of the dead who may be here”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 6 Line: Comfort –</p>
	<p>“for grief is felt not so much for the want of what we have never known, as for the loss of that which we have been long accustomed”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 7 Line: you also –</p>
<i>Happiness</i>	<p>“These take as your model and, judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valour, never decline the dangers of war”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 6 Line: with no tablet –</p>
	<p>“As soon as he came in her life – immediately she went in haste to give that good news, and as she came into the house of her cousin, the child – the unborn child – the child in the womb of Elizabeth, leapt with joy”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 194 Line: As soon –</p>
	<p>“Let us love one another as he loved us. Let us love Him with undivided love. And the joy of loving Him and each other – let us give now – that Christmas is coming so close. Let us keep that joy of loving Jesus in our hearts. And share that joy with all that we come in touch with. And that radiating joy is real, for we have no reason not to be happy because we have no Christ with us”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 200 Line: others. –</p>
	<p>“I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: I am –</p>
<i>Hatred</i>	<p>“Even hatred at times may elicit a response. You fight it. You denounce it. You disarm it. Indifference elicits no response. Indifference is not a response”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 215 Line: nesses. –</p>
	<p>“You profess to believe ‘that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth,’ and hath commanded all men, everywhere to love one another; yet you notoriously hate (and glory in your hatred), all men whose skins are not colored like your own”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 100 Line: laborours –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: But there is –</p>
	<p>“There is so much suffering, so much hatred, so much misery, and we with our prayer, with our sacrifice are beginning at home. Love begins at home, and it is not how much we do, but how much love we put in the action that we do”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: There is –</p>
	<p>“I have noticed that there is hatred towards the British among the people. The people say they are disgusted with their behaviour. The people make no distinction between British imperialism and the British people. To them, the two are one. This hatred would even make them welcome the Japanese. It is most dangerous. It means that they will exchange one slavery for another. We must get rid of this feeling”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line: I have –</p>
	<p>“We must, therefore, purge ourselves of hatred. Speaking for myself, I can say that I have never felt any hatred. As a matter of fact, I feel myself to be a greater friend of the British now than ever before. One reason is that they are today in distress. My very friendship, therefore, demands that I should try to save them from their mistakes. As I view the situation, they are on the brink of an abyss. It, therefore, becomes my duty to warn them of their danger even though it may, for the time being, anger them to the point of cutting off the friendly hand that is stretched out to help them. People may laugh, nevertheless that is my claim. At a time when I may have to launch the biggest struggle of my life, I may not harbour hatred against anybody”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line: us when –</p>
<i>Honesty vs. deceit</i>	<p>“For it is hard to speak properly upon a subject where it is even difficult to convince your hearers that you are speaking the truth”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 1 Line: individual –</p>
	<p>“To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: To those –</p>
	<p>“those of us who manage the public’s dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between people and their government”</p>	<p>Obama Page 221 Line: Where the –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“But those values upon which our success depends – honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history”</p>	<p>Obama Page 224 Line: meet them –</p>
	<p>“If once we establish the false principle that United State Citizenship does not carry with it the right to vote in every State of this Union, there is no end to the petty tricks and cunning devices which will be attempted to exclude one and another class of citizens from the right of suffrage”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 132 Line: If once –</p>
	<p>“President Grant, in his message to Congress, March 30, 1870, on the adoption of the fifteenth amendment, said: ‘A measure which makes at once four millions of people voters, is indeed a measure of greater importance than any act of the kind from the foundation of the government to the present time.’ How could four millions negroes be made voter if two millions were not included?”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 138 Line: President Grant –</p>
	<p>“Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 89 Line: Whether –</p>
	<p>“Fellow-citizens! I will not enlarge further on your national inconsistencies. The existence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as a base pretence, and your Christianity as a lie. It destroys your moral power abroad; it corrupts your politicians at home”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 101 Line: Fellow –</p>
	<p>“The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings”</p>	<p>Henry Page 30 Line: freely –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.</p> <p>I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves, and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these war-like preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: Mr. President –</p>
	<p>“Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned – we have remonstrated – we have supplicated – we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne.</p> <p>In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: Let us not –</p>
	<p>“St. John says you are a liar if you say you love God and you don't love your neighbour. How can you love God whom you do not see, if you do not love your neighbour whom you see, whom you touch, with whom you live”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 194 Line: us to –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The Soviet amendment to article 20 is obviously a very restrictive statement of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. It sets up standards which would enable any state practically to deny all freedom of opinion and expression without violating the article. It introduces the terms ‘democratic view,’ ‘democratic systems,’ ‘democratic state,’ and ‘fascism,’ which we know all too well from debates in this Assembly over the past two years on warmongering and related subjects are liable to the most flagrant abuse and diverse interpretations”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 174 Line: The Soviet –</p>
<i>Hope</i>	<p>“because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: culture, –</p>
	<p>“At the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words to be read to the people: “Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, can forth to meet [it]”</p>	<p>Obama Page 224 Line: The enemy –</p>
	<p>“With hope and endurance, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: ourhardship–</p>
	<p>“On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord”</p>	<p>Obama Page 220 Line: On this day –</p>
	<p>“it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: ment can do–</p>
	<p>“I think that no idea is so outlandish that it should not be considered and viewed with a searching, but at the same time, I hope, with a steady eye”</p>	<p>Churchill Page: 168 Line: erous maneuver</p>
	<p>“And, therefore, indifference is always the friend of the enemy, for it benefits the aggressor – never his victim, whose pain is magnified when he or she feels forgotten. The political prisoner in his cell, the hungry children, the homeless refugees – not to respond to their plight, not to relieve their solitude by offering them a spark of hope is to exile them from human memory”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 215 Line: Indifference is not –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“And so, once again, I think of the young Jewish boy from the Carpathian Mountains. He has accompanied the old man I have become throughout these years of quest and struggle. And together we walk towards the new millennium, carried by profound fear and extraordinary hope”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 217 Line: And so, –</p>
	<p>“According to this fact, you are, even now, only in the beginning of your national career, still lingering in the period of childhood. I repeat, I am glad this is so. There is hope in the thought, and hope is much needed, under the dark clouds which lower above the horizon. The eye of the reformer is met with angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, will yet give direction to her destiny? Were the nation older, the patriot’s heart might be sadder, and the reformer’s brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow. There is consolation in the thought that America is young”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 81 Line: men; –</p>
	<p>“I, therefore, leave off where I began, with hope. While drawing encouragement from the Declaration of Independence, the great principles it contains, and the genius of American Institutions, my spirit is also cheered by the obvious tendencies of the age. Nations do not now stand in the same relation to each other that they did ages ago. No nation can now shut itself up from the surrounding world, and trot round in the same old path of its fathers without interference”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 103 Line: not shortened. –</p>
	<p>“Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: Mr. President –</p>
	<p>“They tell us, sir, that we are weak – unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?”</p>	<p>Henry Page 32 Line: They tell –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned – we have remonstrated – we have supplicated – we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: Let us not –</p>
	<p>“Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: Five –</p>
	<p>“Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: is the time –</p>
	<p>“This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 185 Line: This is our –</p>
	<p>“A gay person in office can set a tone, can command respect not only from the larger community, but from the young people in our own community who need both examples and hope”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: legislators –</p>
	<p>“I can’t forget the looks on faces of people who’ve lost hope. Be they gay, be they seniors, be they blacks looking for an almost-impossible job, be they Latins trying to explain their problems and aspirations in a tongue that’s foreign to them. I personally will never forget that people are more important than buildings”</p>	<p>Milk Page: 191 Line: I can’t –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“And that night, I walked among the sad and the frustrated at City Hall in San Francisco and later that night as they lit candles on Castro Street and stood in silence, reaching out for some symbolic thing that would give them hope. These were strong people, whose faces I knew from the shop, the streets, meetings and people who I never saw before but I knew. They were strong, but even they needed hope.</p> <p>And the young gay people in the Altoona, Pennsylvanias and the Richmond, Minnesotas who are coming out and hear Anita Bryant on television and her story. The only thing they have to look forward to is hope. And you have to give them hope. Hope for a better world, hope for a better tomorrow, hope for a better place to come to if the pressures at home are too great. Hope that all will be all right. Without hope, not only gays, but the blacks, the seniors, the handicapped, the us'es, the us'es will give up. And if you help elect to the central committee and other offices, more gay people, that gives a green light to all who feel disenfranchised, a green light to move forward. It means hope to a nation that has given up, because if a gay person makes it, the doors are open to everyone. So if there is a message I have to give, it is that I've found one overriding thing about my personal election, it's the fact that if a gay person can be elected, it's a green light. And you and you and you, you have to give people hope. Thank you very much”</p>	<p>Milk Page 191 Line: I looked –</p>
	<p>“We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind. This Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French people in 1789, the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 176 Line: We stand –</p>
<p><i>Humiliation/ degradation</i></p>	<p>“Women are taxed without representation, governed without their consent, tried, convicted and punished without a jury of their peers. And is all this tyranny any less humiliating and degrading to women under our democratic-republican government to-day than it was to men under their aristocratic, monarchical government one hundred years ago?”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 135 Line: Women are –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“And it is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government—the ballot”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 119 Line: whole people –</p>
	<p>“This Fourth [of] July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day?”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 88 Line: me. –</p>
	<p>“What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 92 Line: What, to the –</p>
	<p>“Attend the auction; see men examined like horses; see the forms of women rudely and brutally exposed to the shocking gaze of American slave-buyers. See this drove sold and separated forever; and never forget the deep, sad sobs that arose from that scattered multitude. Tell me citizens, WHERE, under the sun, you can witness a spectacle more fiendish and shocking”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 93 Line: on. –</p>
<i>Leadership</i>	<p>“America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more”</p>	<p>Obama Page 222 Line: father was –</p>
	<p>“Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighbouring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: Our constitution –</p>
	<p>“To those leader around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: mutual interest –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“And the illustrious occupant of the White House then, who was a great leader – and I say it with some anguish and pain, because, today is exactly 54 years marking his death – Franklin Delano Roosevelt died on April the 12th, 1945, so he is very much present to me and to us. No doubt, he was a great leader. He mobilized the American people and the world, going into battle, bringing hundreds and thousands of valiant and brave soldiers in America to fight fascism, to fight dictatorship, to fight Hitler”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 216 Line: knew, –</p>
	<p>“But today, the black community is not judged by its friends, but by its black legislators and leaders. And we must give people the chance to judge us by our leaders and legislators. A gay person in office can set a tone, can command respect not only from the larger community, but from the young people in our own community who need both examples and hope”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: meant to –</p>
	<p>“The first gay people we elect must be strong. They must not be content to sit in the back of the bus. They must not be content to accept pabulum. They must be above wheeling and dealing. They must be – for the good of all of us – independent, unbought”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: The first –</p>
	<p>“How circumspect, exact and proportionate were all their movements! How unlike the politicians of an hour! Their statesmanship looked beyond the passing moment, and stretched away in strength into the distant future. They seized upon eternal principles, and set a glorious example in their defense. Mark them!”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 85 Line: How circumspect –</p>
<p><i>Loyalty Trust vs. betrayal</i></p>	<p>“But those values upon which our success depends – honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history”</p>	<p>Obama Page 224 Line: meet them –</p>
	<p>“those of us who manage the public’s dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between people and their government”</p>	<p>Obama Page 221 Line: Where the –</p>
	<p>“they joyfully determined to accept the risk, to make sure of their vengeance, and to let their wishes wait; and while committing to hope the uncertainty of final success, in the business before them they thought fit to act boldly and trust in themselves”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 5 Line: hazards, –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings”</p>	<p>Henry Page 30 Line: freely –</p>
	<p>“In a sense we’ve come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the ‘unalienable Rights’ of ‘Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.’ It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked ‘insufficient funds’”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: In a sense –</p>
	<p>“The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 184 Line: The marvelous –</p>
	<p>“If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, ‘may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!’ To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 89 Line: shouts – ignora</p>
<i>Nurture/care</i>	<p>“It is the firefighter’s courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent’s willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate”</p>	<p>Obama Page 224 Line: job which –</p>
	<p>“To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: To the people –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“We are fighting abortion by adoption, we have saved thousands of lives, we have sent words to all the clinics, to the hospitals, police stations – please don’t destroy the child, we will take the child. So every hour of the day and night it is always somebody, we have quite a number of unwedded mothers – tell them come, we will take care of you, we will take the child from you, and we will get a home for the child”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 196 Line: We are –</p>
	<p>“One evening we went out and we picked up four people from the street. And one of them was in a most terrible condition – and I told the Sisters: You take care of the other three, I take of this one that looked worse. So I did for her all that my love can do. I put her in bed, and there was such a beautiful smile on her face. She took hold of my hand, as she said one word only: Thank you – and she died.</p> <p>I could not help but examine my conscience before her, and I asked what would I say if I was in her place. And my answer was very simple. I would have tried to draw a little attention to myself, I would have said I am hungry, that I am dying, I am cold, I am in pain, or something, but she gave me much more – she gave me her grateful love. And she died with a smile on her face. As that man whom we picked up from the drain, half eaten with worms, and we brought him to the home. I have lived like an animal in the street, but I am going to die like an angel, loved and cared for”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 196 Line: greatpeople–</p>
	<p>“Today the little children they have – I was so surprised – there is so much joy for the children that are hungry. That the children like themselves will need love and care and tenderness, like they get so much from their parents. So let us thank God that we have had this opportunity to come to know each other, and this knowledge of each other has brought us very close. And we will be able to help not only the children of India and Africa, but will be able to help the children of the whole world, because as you know our Sisters are all over the world. And with this prize that I have received as a prize of peace, I am going to try to make the home for many people that have no home. Because I believe that love begins at home, and if we can create a home for the poor – I think that more and more love will spread. And we will be able through this understanding love to bring peace, be the good news to the poor. The poor in our own family first, in our country and in the world”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 198 Line: but you have –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
<i>Oppression</i>	<p>“By the laws of almost every State in his Union today, North as well as South, the married woman has no right to the custody and control of her person. The wife belongs to the husband; and if she refuse obedience he may use moderate correction and leave his ‘bed and board,’ the husband may use moderate coercion to bring her back. The little word ‘moderate,’ you see, is the saving clause for the wife, and would doubtless be overstepped should her offended husband administer his correction with the ‘cat-o’-nine-tails,’ or accomplish his coercion with blood-hounds”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 133 Line: to bring –</p>
	<p>“I stand before you under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus doing, I not only committed no crime, but instead simply exercised my citizen’s right, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution beyond the power of any State to deny”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 117 Line: Friends and–</p>
	<p>“The women, dissatisfied as they are with this form of government, that enforces taxation without representation – that compels them to obey laws to which they never have given their consent – that imprisons and hangs them without trial by a jury of their peers – that robs them, in marriage, of the custody of their own persons, wages and children – are this half of the people who are left wholly at the mercy of the other half, in direct violation of the spirit and letter of the declaration, immutable principle of equal rights to all”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 118 Line: or to write –</p>
	<p>“By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity. For them, this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. For them this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic. It is the most odious aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe. An oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor; an oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant; or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household; which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects – carries discord and rebellion into every home of the nation”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 124 Line: the supreme–</p>
	<p>“The moment you deprive a person of his right to a voice in the government, you degrade him from the status of a citizen of the republic to that of a subject”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 125 Line: and law-makers</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“There is no escape from the conclusion that to vote is the citizen’s right, and the specifications of race, colour or previous condition of servitude can in no way impair the force of that emphatic assertion that the citizen’s right to vote shall not be denied or abridged”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 132 Line: does not –</p>
	<p>“Women are taxed without representation, governed without their consent, tried, convicted and punished without a jury of their peers. And is all this tyranny any less humiliating and degrading to women under our democratic-republican government to-day than it was to men under their aristocratic, monarchical government one hundred years ago?”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 135 Line: Women are –</p>
	<p>“In Massachusetts a married woman was severely injured by a defective sidewalk. Her husband sued the corporation and recovered \$13,000 damages. And those \$13,000 belong to him bona fide; and whenever that unfortunate wife wishes a dollar of it to supply her needs she must ask her husband for it; and if the man be of a narrow, selfish, niggardly nature, she will have to hear him say, every time, ‘What have you done, my dear, with the twenty-five cents I gave you yesterday?’ Isn’t such a position, ask you, humiliating enough to be called ‘servitude?’”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 134 Line: the damages –</p>
	<p>“The moment you deprive a person of his right to a voice in the government, you degrade him from the status of a citizen of the republic, to that of a subject, and it matters very little to him whether his monarch be an individual tyrant, as is the Czar of Russia, or a 15,000,000 headed monster, as here in the United States; he is a powerless subject, serf or slave; not a free and independent citizen in any sense”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 125 Line: and law-makers –</p>
	<p>“I submit the question, if the deprivation by law of the ownership of one’s own person, wages, property, children, the denial of the right as an individual, to sue and be sued, and to testify in the courts, is not a condition of servitude most bitter and absolute, even though under the sacred name of marriage?”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 135 Line: I submit –</p>
	<p>An oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor; an oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant; or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household; which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects – carries discord and rebellion into every home of the nation”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 124 Line: face of –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The facts also prove that, by all the great fundamental principles of our free government, not only married women, but the entire womanhood of the nation is in a “condition of servitude” as surely as were our Revolutionary fathers, when they rebelled against King George”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 135 Line: specification –</p>
	<p>“Consider first married women and their legal status. What is servitude? ‘The condition of a slave.’ What is a slave? ‘A person who is robbed of the proceeds of his labor; a person who is subject to the will of another.’ By the law of Georgia, South Carolina, and all the states of the South, the negro had no right to the custody and control of his person. He belonged to his master. If he was disobedient, the master had the right to use correction. If the negro did not like the correction and ran away, the master had the right to use coercion to bring him back. By the law of almost every State in this Union today, North as well as South, the married woman has no right to the custody and control of her person. The wife belongs to her husband; and if she refuses obedience to his will, he may use moderate correction, and if she does not like his moderate correction, and leave his ‘bed and board,’ the husband may use moderate coercion to bring her back. The little word ‘moderate,’ you see, is the saving clause for the wife, and would doubtless be overstepped should offended husband administer his correction with the ‘cat-o’-nine-tails,’ or accomplish his coercion with blood-hounds!</p>	<p>Anthony Page 133 Line: Consider –</p>
	<p>“Oppression makes a wise man mad. Your fathers were wise men, and if they did not go mad, they became restive under this treatment. They felt themselves the victims of grievous wrongs, wholly incurable in their colonial capacity”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 83 Line: Oppression–</p>
	<p>“They were peace men; but they preferred revolution to peaceful submission to bondage. They were quiet men; but they did not shrink from agitating against oppression. They showed forbearance; but that they knew its limits. They believed in order; but not in the order of tyranny. With them, nothing was ‘settled’ that was not right. With them, justice, liberty and humanity were ‘final’; not slavery and oppression”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 85 Line: They were –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“My subject, then fellow-citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall see, this day, and its popular characteristics, from the slave’s point of view. Standing, there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this 4th of July! Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery-the great sin and shame of America! ‘I will not equivocate; I will not excuse’; I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgement is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 89 Line: God and –</p>
	<p>“There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgement that the slave is a moral, intellectual and responsible being? The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write. When you can point to any such laws, in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 90 Line: disobedience –</p>
	<p>“What am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is wrong? No! I will not. I have better employments for my time and strength, than such arguments would imply”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 91 Line: What am I –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 92 Line: What, to the—</p>
	<p>“These ministers make religion a cold and flinty-hearted thing, having neither principles of right action, nor bowels of compassion. They strip the love of God of its beauty, and leave the throne of religion a huge, horrible, repulsive form. It is a religion for oppressors, tyrants, man-stealers, and thugs”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 97 Line: Paine. –</p>
	<p>“I ask, gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: I ask –</p>
	<p>“There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged, their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable – and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!”</p>	<p>Henry Page 32 Line: now too –</p>
	<p>“Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: Five –</p>
	<p>“I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 185 Line: I have a dream that one –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The Soviet amendment to article 20 is obviously a very restrictive statement of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. It sets up standards which would enable any state practically to deny all freedom of opinion and expression without violating the article. It introduces the terms ‘democratic view,’ ‘democratic systems,’ ‘democratic state,’ and ‘fascism,’ which we know all too well from debates in this Assembly over the past two years on warmongering and related subjects are liable to the most flagrant abuse and diverse interpretations”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 174 Line: The Soviet –</p>
<i>Power</i>	<p>“They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please”</p>	<p>Obama Page 222 Line: ances and –</p>
	<p>“To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: To those –</p>
	<p>“We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when the crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week, or last month, or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished”</p>	<p>Obama Page 221 Line: This is the –</p>
	<p>“the admiration of the present and succeeding ages will be ours, since we have not left our power without witness, but have shown it by mighty proofs [...] we have forced every sea and land to be the highway of our daring, and everywhere, whether for evil or for good, have left imperishable monuments behind us”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 5 Line: Rather, –</p>
	<p>“Our democratic-republican government is based on the idea of the natural right of every individual member thereof to a voice and a vote in making and executing the laws. We assert the province of government to be to secure the people in the enjoyment of their unalienable rights. We throw to the winds the old dogma that governments can give rights”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 117 Line: Our –</p>
	<p>“Nor can you find a word in any of the grand documents left us by the fathers which assumes for government the power to create or confer rights. The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, the constitutions of the several States and the organic laws of the Territories, all alike propose to protect the people in the exercise of their God-given rights. Not one of them pretends to bestow rights”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 118 Line: tion –</p>
	<p>“One-half of the people of this nation today are utterly powerless to blot from the statute books an unjust law, or to write there a new and just one”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 118 Line: rection –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity. For them, this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. For them this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic. It is the most odious aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe. An oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor; an oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant; or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household; which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects – carries discord and rebellion into every home of the nation”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 124 Line: the supreme–</p>
	<p>“by the laws of the States the father had the sole custody and control of the children. No matter if he were a brutal, drunken libertine, he had the legal right, without the mother’s consent, to apprentice her sons to rumsellers or her daughters to brothel-keepers. He could even will away an unborn child from the mother. In most of the States this law still prevails, and the mothers are utterly powerless”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 134 Line: commenced–</p>
	<p>“The whole question of home defense against invasion is, of course, powerfully affected by the fact that we have for the time being in this Island incomparably more powerful military forces than we have ever had at any moment in this war or the last”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 166 Line: The whole –</p>
	<p>“Parliament has given us the powers to put down Fifth Column activities with a strong hand, and we shall use those powers subject to the supervision and correction of the House, without the slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, and more than satisfied, that this malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 167 Line: feel not –</p>
	<p>“Ours is not a drive for power, but purely a nonviolent fight for India’s independence. In a violent struggle, a successful general has been often known to effect a military coup and to set up a dictatorship. But under the Congress scheme of things, essentially nonviolent as it is, there can be no room for dictatorship. A non-violent soldier of freedom will covet nothing for himself, he fights only for the freedom of his country. The Congress is unconcerned as to who will rule, when freedom is attained. The power, when it comes, will belong to the people of India, and it will be for them to decide to whom it placed in the entrusted”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 170 Line: Ours is –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us”</p>	<p>Henry Page 32 Line: Sir, –</p>
	<p>“But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and scandalous state of things remains to be presented. By an act of the American Congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon’s line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and sell men, women, and children as slaves remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is co-extensive with the Star-Spangled Banner and American Christianity. Where these go, may also go the merciless slave-hunter”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 95 Line: But a still –</p>
<i>Prejudice</i>	<p>“No barriers whatever stand today between women and the exercise of their right to vote save those of precedent and prejudice, which refuse to expunge the word ‘male’ from the constitution”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 122 Line: No barriers –</p>
	<p>“Discrimination against any class on account of colour, race, nativity, sex, property, culture, can but embitter and disaffect that class, and thereby endanger the safety of the whole people”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 132 Line: rights to –</p>
	<p>“We ask the judges to render unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give the benefit to the side of liberty and equal rights for women, remembering that, as Sumner says, ‘the true rule of interpretation under our national constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything for human rights is constitutional, everything against human right unconstitutional”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 139 Line: We ask –</p>
	<p>“You profess to believe ‘that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth,’ and hath commanded all men, everywhere to love one another; yet you notoriously hate (and glory in your hatred), all men whose skins are not colored like your own”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 100 Line: laborours –</p>
	<p>“But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: But one –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro’s basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: ‘For Whites Only.’ We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 184 Line: “When –</p>
	<p>“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today! I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of ‘interposition’ and ‘nullification’ – one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 185 Line: I have a dream that my four –</p>
	<p>“Then, there is the question of your attitude towards the British. I have noticed that there is hatred towards the British among the people. The people say they are disgusted with their behaviour. The people make no distinction between British imperialism and the British people. To them, the two are one. This hatred would even make them welcome the Japanese. It is most dangerous. It means that they will exchange one slavery for another. We must get rid of this feeling”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line: Then, there –</p>
	<p>“Unless you have dialogue, unless you open the walls of dialogue, you can never reach to change people’s opinion. In those two weeks, more good and bad, but more about the word homosexual and gay was written than probably in the history of mankind. Once you have dialogue starting, you know you can break down prejudice”</p>	<p>Milk Page 188 Line: ing about –</p>
	<p>“Gay people have been slandered nationwide. We’ve been tarred and we’ve been brushed with the picture of pornography. In Dade County, we were accused of child molestation”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: and a gay –</p>
<i>Reflection</i>	<p>“instead of looking on a discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: if we cannot –</p>
	<p>“usually decision is the fruit of ignorance, hesitation of reflection”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: although –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	"As we here bring to fruition our labors on this Declaration of Human Rights, we must at the same time rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task which lies before us"	E. Roosevelt Page 177 Line: As we –
	"Before you discuss the resolution, let me place before you one or two things. I want you to understand two things very clearly and to consider them from the same point of view from which I am placing them before you"	Ghandi Page 169 Line: Before you –
<i>Reputation/ judgement</i>	"And I could have wished that the reputations of many brave men were not to be imperilled in the mouth of a single individual, to stand or fall according as he spoke well or ill"	Pericles Page 1 Line: the people's –
	"Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among the men, whether for good or for bad"	Pericles Page 7 Line: tion. Great –
	"To those leader around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy"	Obama Page 223 Line: mutual interest –
	"However damaging to the wife's reputation any slander may be, she is wholly powerless to institute legal proceedings against her accuser unless her husband shall join with her; and how often have we heard of her husband conspiring with some outside barbarian to blast the good name of his wife? A married woman cannot testify in courts in cases of joint interest with her husband"	Anthony Page 134 Line: However –
	"We are on the threshold of a new century, a new millennium. What will the legacy of this vanishing century be? How will it be remembered in the new millennium? Surely it will be judged, and judged severely, in both moral and metaphysical terms"	Wiesel Page 214 Line: We are on –
	"To say now that America was right, and England wrong, is exceedingly easy. Everybody can say it; the dastard, not less than the noble brave, can flippantly discant on the tyranny of England towards the American Colonies. It is fashionable to do so; but there was a time when to pronounce against England, and in favor of the cause of the colonies, tried men's souls. They who did so were accounted in their day, plotters of mischief, agitators and rebels, dangerous men"	Douglass Page 82 Line: during the –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“You see there is a major difference – and it remains a vital difference – between a friend and a gay person, a friend in office and a gay person in office. Gay people have been slandered nationwide. We’ve been tarred and we’ve been brushed with the picture of pornography. In Dade County, we were accused of child molestation. It’s not enough anymore just to have friends represent us. No matter how good that friend may be.</p> <p>The black community made up its mind to that a long time ago. That the myths against blacks can only be dispelled by electing black leaders, so the black community could be judged by the leaders and not by the myths or black criminals. The Spanish community must not be judged by Latin criminals or myths. The Asian community must not be judged by Asian criminals or myths. The Italian community must not be judged by the mafia, myths. And the time has come when the gay community must not be judged by our criminals and myths.</p> <p>Like every other group, we must be judged by our leaders and by those who are themselves gay, those who are visible. For invisible, we remain in limbo – a myth, a person with no parents, no brothers, no sisters, no friends who are straight, no important positions in employment. A tenth of the nation supposedly composed of stereotypes and would-be seducers of children – and no offense meant to the stereotypes. But today, the black community is not judged by its friends, but by its black legislators and leaders. And we must give people the chance to judge us by our leaders and legislators. A gay person in office can set a tone, can command respect not only from the larger community, but from the young people in our own community who need both examples and hope”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: You see –</p>
<i>Resilience/ endurance</i>	<p>“The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to the founding documents”</p>	<p>Obama Page 219 Line: Forty-four –</p>
	<p>“And for those who seek to advance their claims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken – you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you”</p>	<p>Obama Page 222 Line: in its defence –</p>
	<p>“because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: culture, –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“With hope and endurance, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children’s children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter”</p>	<p>Obama Page 224 Line: ourhardship–</p>
	<p>“And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot—all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently – until we achieve complete triumph and all United States citizens, men and women alike, are recognized as equals in the government”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 139 Line: unconstitutional –</p>
	<p>“The Guards defended Boulogne for a while and were then withdrawn by orders from this country. The Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles, and the Queen Victoria’s Rifles, with a battalion of British tanks and 1000 Frenchmen, in all about four thousand strong, defended Calais to the last. The British Brigadier was given an hour to surrender. He spurned the offer, and four days of intense street fighting passed before silence reigned over Calais, which marked the end of a memorable resistance”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 161 Line: almost but –</p>
	<p>“Meanwhile, the Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless merchant seamen, strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops; 220 light warships and 650 other vessels were engaged. They had to operate upon the difficult coast, often in adverse weather, under an almost ceaseless hail of bombs and an increasing concentration of artillery fire. Nor were the seas, as I have said, themselves free from mines and torpedoes. It was in conditions such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and nights on end, making trip after trip across the dangerous waters, bringing with them always men whom they had rescued. The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and their courage. The hospital ships, which brought off many thousands of British and French wounded, being so plainly marked were a special target for Nazi bombs; but the men and women on board them never faltered in their duty”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 163 Line: Meanwhile–</p>
	<p>“A miracle of deliverance, achieved by valor, by perseverance, by perfect discipline, by faultless service, by resource, by skill, by unconquerable fidelity, is manifest to us all. The enemy was hurled back by the retreating British and French troops”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 164 Line: moment –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God’s good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 168 Line: of their –</p>
	<p>“Feeling themselves harshly and unjustly treated by the home government, your fathers, like men of honesty, and men of spirit, earnestly sought redress. They petitioned and remonstrated; they did so in a decorous, respectful, and loyal manner. Their conduct was wholly unexceptionable. This, however, did not answer the purpose. They saw themselves treated with sovereign indifference, coldness and scorn. Yet they persevered. They were not the men to look back”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 83 Line: Feeling themselves –</p>
	<p>“I have said that the Declaration of Independence is the ring-bolt to the chain of your nation’s destiny; so, indeed, I regard it. The principles contained in that instrument are saving principles. Stand by those principles, be true to them on all occasions, in all places, against all foes, and at whatever cost”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 84 Line: celebrate –</p>
	<p>“If we wish to be free – if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending – if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained – we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!”</p>	<p>Henry Page 32 Line: peace and –</p>
	<p>“Let us make that one point: That no child will be unwanted, and also that we meet each other always with a smile, especially when it is difficult to smile”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 200 Line: that we –</p>
	<p>“We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 184 Line: We cannot –</p>

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“The first gay people we elect must be strong. They must not be content to sit in the back of the bus. They must not be content to accept pabulum”	Milk Page 190 Line: The first –
	“We in the United States admire those who fight for their convictions, and the Soviet delegation has fought for their convictions. But in the older democracies we have learned that sometimes we bow to the will of the majority. In doing that, we do not give up our convictions. We continue sometimes to persuade, and eventually we may be successful”	E. Roosevelt Page 174 Line: the Human –
<i>Sadness</i>	“Fellow-citizens; above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions! whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, to-day, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them”	Douglass Page 89 Line: Fellow –
	“Were the nation older, the patriot’s heart might be sadder, and the reformer’s brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow”	Douglass Page 81 Line: truth, –
	“But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination”	MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: But one –
	“Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friend”	MLK, Jr. Page 185 Line: Let us not –
	“Fifty-four years ago to the day, a young Jewish boy from a small town in the Carpathian Mountains woke up, not far from Goethe’s beloved Weimar, in a place of eternal infamy called Buchenwald. He was finally free, but there was no joy in his heart. He thought there never would be again”	Wiesel Page 213 Line: Fifty –
<i>Shame</i>	I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery-the great sin and shame of America!	Anthony Page 135 Line: has enacted–
	“I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery-the great sin and shame of America!”	Douglass Page 89 Line: and the crushed –

1. Primary psychological concept	Quote	Reference
	“One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we’ve come here today to dramatize a shameful condition”	MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: in the midst–
<i>Tradition</i>	“I shall begin with our ancestors: it is both just and proper that they should have the honour of the first mention on an occasion like the present”	Pericles Page 2 Line: I shall –
	“They dwelt in the country without break in the succession from generation to generation, and handed it down free to the present time by their valour”	Pericles Page 2 Line: like the –
	“And if our remote ancestors deserve praise, much more do our own fathers, who added to their inheritance the empire which we now possess, and spared no pains be able to leave their acquisitions to us of the present generation”	Pericles Page 2 Line: to the –
	“America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to the founding documents”	Obama Page 219 Line: gathering clouds –

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Conflict vs. peace</i>	“... while the mother country has been furnished by us with everything that can enable her to depend on her own resources whether for war or peace”	Pericles Page 2 Line: in the –
	“That we are in the midst of a crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred”	Obama Page 219 Line: That we–
	“Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions”	Obama Page 222 Line: Recall that –
	“And for those who seek to advance their claims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken – you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you”	Obama Page 222 Line: in its defence –
	“To those leader around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy”	Obama Page 223 Line: mutual interest –
	“To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist”	Obama Page 223 Line: To those–

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“We are assured that novel methods will be adopted, and when we see the originality of malice, the ingenuity of aggression, which our enemy displays, we may certainly prepare ourselves for every kind of novel stratagem and every kind of brutal and treacherous maneuver”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 168 Line: are told.–</p>
	<p>“And yet, my friends, good things have also happened in this traumatic century: the defeat of Nazism, the collapse of communism, the rebirth of Israel on its ancestral soil, the demise of apartheid, Israel’s peace treaty with Egypt, the peace accord in Ireland”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 217 Line: And yet–</p>
	<p>“They were peace men; but they preferred revolution to peaceful submission to bondage”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 85 Line: They were –</p>
	<p>“Let me, however, hasten to assure that I am the same Gandhi as I was in 1920. I have not changed in any fundamental respect. I attach the same importance to nonviolence that I did then. If at all, my emphasis on it has grown stronger”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 169 Line: Let me –</p>
	<p>“I want you to know and feel that there is nothing but purest Ahimsa in all that I am saying and doing today. The draft resolution of the Working Committee is based on Ahimsa, the contemplated struggle similarly has its roots in Ahimsa”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 170 Line: rarely –</p>
	<p>“Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these war-like preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort”</p>	<p>Henry Page 31 Line: a kiss –</p>
	<p>“It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace – but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!”</p>	<p>Henry Page 32 Line: It is in –</p>
	<p>“Let us thank God for the opportunity that we all have together today, for this gift of peace that reminds us that we have been created to live that peace, and Jesus became man to bring that good news to the poor. He being God became man in all things like us except sin, and he proclaimed very clearly that he had come to give the good news. The news was peace to all of good will and this is something that we all want – the peace of heart – and God loved the world so much that he gave his son – it was a giving – it is as much as if to say it hurt God to give, because he loved the world so much that he gave his son, and he gave him to Virgin Mary, and what did she do with him?”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 193 Line: Let us thank –</p>

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“And with this prize that I have received as a prize of peace, I am going to try to make the home for many people that have no home. Because I believe that love begins at home, and if we can create a home for the poor – I think that more and more love will spread. And we will be able through this understanding love to bring peace, be the good news to the poor. The poor in our own family first, in our country and in the world”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 199 Line: the world –</p>
	<p>“Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line:freedom–</p>
	<p>“But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: But there –</p>
	<p>“We are talking of peace. These are things that break peace, but I feel the greatest destroyer of peace today is abortion, because it is a direct war, a direct killing – direct murder by the mother herself”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 195 Line: the street –</p>
	<p>“You too try to bring that presence of God in your family, for the family that prays together stays together. And I think that we in our family don’t need bombs and guns, to destroy to bring peace – just get together, love one another, bring that peace, that joy, that strength of presence of each other in the home. And we will be able to overcome all the evil that is in the world”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: and I. –</p>
	<p>“Man’s desire for peace lies behind this Declaration. The realization that the flagrant violation of human rights by Nazi and Fascist countries sowed the seeds of the last world war has supplied the impetus for the work which brings us to the moment of achievement here today”</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 177 Line: and to –</p>

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Freedom</i>	“The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry which our neighbour for doing what he likes, or even indulge in those injurious looks with cannot fail to be offensive”	Pericles Page 3 Line: There –
	“where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please”	Pericles Page 3 Line: native spirit –
	“the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness”	Obama Page 220 Line: onfrom–
	“We honour them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service – a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves”	Obama Page 223 Line: We honour –
	“with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations”	Obama Page 225 Line: we did not –
	“This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath”	Obama Page 224 Line: shape an uncertain –
	“These take as your model and, judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valour, never decline the dangers of war”	Pericles Page 6 Line: with no tablet –
	“‘Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right, ought to be free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved.’ Citizens, your fathers made good that resolution. They succeeded; and to-day you reap the fruits of their success. The freedom gained is yours; and you, therefore, may properly celebrate this anniversary. The 4th of July is the first great fact in your nation’s history — the very ring-bolt in the chain of your yet undeveloped destiny”	Douglass Page 84 Line: it may refresh –

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Ours is not a drive for power, but purely a nonviolent fight for India’s independence. In a violent struggle, a successful general has been often known to effect a military coup and to set up a dictatorship. But under the Congress scheme of things, essentially nonviolent as it is, there can be no room for dictatorship. A non-violent soldier of freedom will covet nothing for himself, he fights only for the freedom of his country”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 170 Line: Ours is –</p>
	<p>“We cannot evoke the true spirit of sacrifice and velour, so long as we are not free”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line: United –</p>
	<p>“I believe that in the history of the world, there has not been a more genuinely democratic struggle for freedom than ours. I read Carlyle’s French Resolution while I was in prison, and Pandit Jawaharlal has told me something about the Russian revolution. But it is my conviction that inasmuch as these struggles were fought with the weapon of violence they failed to realize the democratic ideal. In the democracy which I have envisaged, a democracy established by nonviolence, there will be equal freedom for all. Everybody will be his own master. It is to join a struggle for such democracy that I invite you today. Once you realize this you will forget the differences between the Hindus and Muslims, and think of yourselves as Indians only, engaged in the common struggle for independence”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line:Ibelieve–</p>
	<p>“The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate”</p>	<p>Henry Page 30 Line: freely –</p>
	<p>“Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!”</p>	<p>Henry Page 33 Line: would they –</p>
	<p>“I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 182 Line: I am –</p>
	<p>“This sweltering summer of the Negro’s legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line:moment–</p>

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>And this will be the day – this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning: My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride. From every mountainside, let freedom ring!"</p> <p><i>And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.</i></p> <p><i>And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.</i></p> <p>But not only that:</p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.</i></p> <p><i>Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.</i></p> <p><i>From every mountainside, let freedom ring.</i></p> <p>And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:</p> <p><i>Free at last! Free at last!</i></p> <p><i>Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!</i></p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 186 Line: And this will –</p>
	<p>"This Declaration is based upon the spiritual fact that man must have freedom in which to develop his full stature and through common effort to raise the level of human dignity"</p>	<p>E. Roosevelt Page 177 Line: This Declaration –</p>
<i>Generosity</i>	<p>"In generosity we are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favours"</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: and pleasure –</p>
	<p>"the doer of the favour is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kindness to keep the recipient in his debt; while the debtor feels less keenly from the very consciousness that the return he makes will be a payment, not a free gift"</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: ferring, not –</p>
	<p>And it is only the Athenians, who, fearless of consequences, confer their benefits not from calculations of expectancy, but in the confidence of liberality"</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: be a payment –</p>
	<p>"Let us love Him with undivided love. And the joy of loving Him and each other – let us give now – that Christmas is coming so close"</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 200 Line: heloved–</p>

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Growth/progress/change</i>	“But those values upon which our success depends – honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history”	Obama Page 224 Line: meet them –
	“we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics. We remain a young nation. But in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things”	Obama Page 220 Line: unity of–
	“And we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth”	Obama Page 221 Line: our economy –
	“But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions – that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America”	Obama Page 221 Line: minished.
	“What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character that giving our all to a difficult task”	Obama Page 224 Line: What is demanded –
	“What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly”	Obama Page 224 Line: What is demanded –
	“What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply”	Obama Page 221 Line: age. –
	“And then, of course, the joint decision of the United States and NATO to intervene in Kosovo and save those victims, those refugees, those who were uprooted by a man whom I believe that because of his crimes, should be charged with crimes against humanity. But this time, the world was not silent. This time, we do respond. This time, we intervene. Does it mean that we have learned from the past? Does it mean that society has changed? Has the human being become less indifferent and more human? Have we really learned from our experiences? Are we less insensitive to the plight of victims of ethnic cleansing and other forms of injustices in places near and far? Is today’s justified intervention in Kosovo, led by you, Mr. President, a lasting warning that never again will the deportation, the terrorization of children and their parents be allowed anywhere in the world? Will it discourage other dictators in other lands to do the same?”	Wiesel Page 217 Line: And then –

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: of cooling –</p>
	<p>“Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 184 Line: with the faith –</p>
	<p>“With brave men there is always a remedy for oppression. Just here, the idea of a total separation of the colonies from the crown was born! It was a startling idea, much more so, than we, at this distance of time, regard it. The timid and the prudent (as has been intimated) of that day, were, of course, shocked and alarmed by it. Such people lived then, had lived before, and will, probably, ever have a place on this planet; and their course, in respect to any great change (no matter how great the good to be attained, or the wrong to be redressed by it), may be calculated with as much precision as can be the course of the stars. They hate all changes, but silver, gold and copper change! Of this sort of change they are always strongly in favor”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 83 Line: incurable –</p>
	<p>“The eye of the reformer is met with angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, will yet give direction to her destiny? Were the nation older, the patriot’s heart might be sadder, and the reformer’s brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow. There is consolation in the thought that America is young. Great streams are not easily turned from channels, worn deep in the course of ages. They may sometimes rise in quiet and stately majesty, and inundate the land, refreshing and fertilizing the earth with their mysterious properties. They may also rise in wrath and fury, and bear away, on their angry waves, the accumulated wealth of years of toil and hardship. They, however, gradually flow back to the same old channel, and flow on as serenely as ever. But, while the river may not be turned aside, it may dry up, and leave nothing behind but the withered branch, and the unsightly rock, to howl in the abyss-sweeping wind, the sad tale of departed glory. As with rivers so with nations”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 81 Line: under the –</p>

2. Mixture of psychological and other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“But a change has now come over the affairs of mankind. Walled cities and empires have become unfashionable. The arm of commerce has borne away the gates of the strong city. Intelligence is penetrating the darkest corners of the globe. It makes its pathway over and under the sea, as well as on the earth. Wind, steam, and lightning are its chartered agents. Oceans no longer divide, but link nations together”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 103 Line: in mental –</p>
<i>Honour</i>	<p>“it is only the love of honour that never grows old; and honour it is, not gain, as some would have it, that rejoices the heart of age and helplessness”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 7 Line: by the fame –</p>
	<p>“... the worth which had displayed itself in deeds would be sufficiently rewarded by honours also shown by deeds ...”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 1 Line: myself -</p>
	<p>“Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked ‘insufficient funds’”</p>	<p>MLK, Jr. Page 183 Line: citizens–</p>
	<p>“But then, there were human beings who were sensitive to our tragedy. Those non-Jews, those Christians, that we called the ‘Righteous Gentiles,’ whose selfless acts of heroism saved the honor of their faith”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 216 Line:Butthen–</p>

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Ability</i>	<p>“... if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: poverty –</p>
	<p>“For men can endure to hear others praised only so long as they can severally persuade themselves of their own ability to equal the actions recounted: when this point is passed, envy comes in and with it incredulity”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 2 Line: if he –</p>
	<p>“No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House”</p>	<p>Henry Page 30 Line: No man –</p>
<i>Death</i>	<p>“And if a test of worth be wanted, it is to be found in their closing scene, and this not only in cases in which it set the final seal upon their merit, but also in those in which it gave the first intimation of their having any”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 5 Line: only commensurate</p>
	<p>“Thus choosing to die resisting, rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonour, but met danger face to face, and after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, escaped, not from their fear, but from their glory”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 6 Line: Thus –</p>

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
	"For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that their noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration"	Pericles Page 6 Line: tion that –
	"to a man of spirit, the degradation of cowardice must be immeasurably more grievous than the unfelt death which strikes him in the midst of strength and patriotism!"	Pericles Page 6 Line: surely –
	"fortunate indeed are they who draw for their lot a death so glorious as that which caused your mourning"	Pericles Page 7 Line: fortunate –
	"Only 30 unwounded survivors were brought off by the Navy, and we do not know the fate of their comrades. Their sacrifice, however, was not in vain"	Churchill Page 161 Line: marked the –
	"In the long series of very fierce battles, now on this front, now on that, fighting on three fronts at once, battles fought by two or three divisions against an equal or somewhat larger number of the enemy, and fought fiercely on some of the old grounds that so many of us knew so well – in these battles our losses in men have exceeded 30,000 killed, wounded and missing. I take occasion to express the sympathy of the House to all who have suffered bereavement or who are still anxious"	Churchill Page 165 Line: I return –
<i>Glory</i>	"Thus choosing to die resisting, rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonour, but met danger face to face, and after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, escaped, not from their fear, but from their glory"	Pericles Page 6 Line: Thus –
	"For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that their noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration"	Pericles Page 6 Line: tion that –
	"fortunate indeed are they who draw for their lot a death so glorious as that which caused your mourning"	Pericles Page 7 Line: fortunate –
	"We all know that the crowning glory of every citizen of the United States is that he can either give or withhold his vote from every law and every legislator under the government"	Anthony Page 129 Line: of equal –

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Hypocrisy</i>	<p>“To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 88 Line: I must –</p>
	<p>“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation’s ear, I would, to-day, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced. What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.</p> <p>Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 91 Line: At a time –</p>
	<p>“It is urged, the use of the masculine pronouns <i>he</i>, <i>his</i> and <i>him</i> in all the constitutions and laws, is proof that only men were meant to be included in their provisions. If you insist on this version of the letter of the law, we shall insist that you be consistent and accept the other horn of the dilemma, which would compel you to exempt women from taxation for the support of the government, and from penalties for the violation of laws. There is no she or her or hers in the tax laws, and this is equally true of all the criminal laws”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 125 Line: It is urged –</p>

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
<i>Redemption</i>	"For there is justice in the claim that steadfastness in his country's battles should be as a cloak to cover a man's other imperfections; since the good action has blotted out the bad, and his merit as a citizen more than outweighed his demerits as an individual"	Pericles Page 5 Line: those in –
	"I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest -quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive"	MLK, Jr. Page 184 Line: I am not –
	"Noble men may be found, scattered all over these Northern States, of whom Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, Samuel J. May of Syracuse, and my esteemed friend (Rev. R. R. Raymond) on the platform, are shining examples; and let me say further, that upon these men lies the duty to inspire our ranks with high religious faith and zeal, and to cheer us on in the great mission of the slave's redemption from his chains"	Douglass Page 99 Line: are exceptions –
<i>Responsibility</i>	"Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some"	Obama Page 220 Line: hatred –
	"And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our border, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it"	Obama Page 223 Line: starved bodies –
	"What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly"	Obama Page 224 Line: What is demanded –
	"Clearly, then, the national government must not only define the rights of citizens, but it must stretch out its powerful hand and protect them in every state in this Union"	Anthony Page 132 Line: Clearly –
	"The national Republican platform said: 'Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights, should be established and maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation.' If that means anything it is that Congress should pass a law to protect women in their equal political rights, and that the States should enact laws making it the duty of inspectors of elections to receive the votes of women on precisely the same conditions they do those of men"	Anthony Page 137 Line: a part of –

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“The one issue of the last two presidential elections was, whether the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be considered the irrevocable will of the people; and the decision was that they shall be, and that it is not only the right, but the duty of the national government to protect all United States citizens in the full enjoyment and free exercise of their privileges and immunities against the attempt of any State to deny or abridge”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 137 Line: The one –</p>
	<p>“We no longer petition legislature or Congress to give us the right to vote, but appeal to women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected ‘citizen’s right.’ We appeal to the inspectors of election to receive the votes of all United States citizens, as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest, as is their duty, the inspectors who reject the votes of United States citizens, and leave alone those who perform their duties and accept these votes”</p>	<p>Anthony Page 138 Line: the passage–</p>
	<p>“Noble men may be found, scattered all over these Northern States, of whom Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, Samuel J. May of Syracuse, and my esteemed friend on the platform, are shining examples; and let me say further, that upon these men lies the duty to inspire our ranks with high religious faith and zeal, and to cheer us on in the great mission of the slave’s redemption from his chains”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 99 Line: are exceptions. –</p>
	<p>“I want you to understand two things very clearly and to consider them from the same point of view from which I am placing them before you. I ask you to consider it from my point of view, because if you approve of it, you will be enjoined to carry out all I say. It will be a great responsibility”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 169 Line: two things –</p>
	<p>“Speaking for myself, I can say that I have never felt any hatred. As a matter of fact, I feel myself to be a greater friend of the British now than ever before. One reason is that they are today in distress. My very friendship, therefore, demands that I should try to save them from their mistakes. As I view the situation, they are on the brink of an abyss. It, therefore, becomes my duty to warn them of their danger even though it may, for the time being, anger them to the point of cutting off the friendly hand that is stretched out to help them”</p>	<p>Ghandi Page 171 Line: purge –</p>
	<p>“I think that a gay person, up-front, will not walk away from a responsibility and be afraid of being tossed out of office”</p>	<p>Milk Page 191 Line: proud of –</p>

3. Concepts relevant to psychology but primarily focused on other concepts	Quote	Reference
	<p>“Fully appreciating the hardship to be encountered, firmly believing in the right of their cause, honorably inviting the scrutiny of an on-looking world, reverently appealing to heaven to attest their sincerity, soundly comprehending the solemn responsibility they were about to assume, wisely measuring the terrible odds against them, your fathers, the fathers of this republic, did, most deliberately, under the inspiration of a glorious patriotism, and with a sublime faith in the great principles of justice and freedom, lay deep the corner-stone of the national superstructure, which has risen and still rises in grandeur around you”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 86 Line: Fully –</p>
4. Concepts not reaching minimum quota of three	Quote	Reference
<i>Anxiety</i>	<p>“Mr. President, Friends and Fellow Citizens: He who could address this audience without a quailing sensation, has stronger nerves than I have. I do not remember ever to have appeared as a speaker before any assembly more shrinkingly, nor with greater distrust of my ability, than I do this day. A feeling has crept over me, quite unfavorable to the exercise of my limited powers of speech. The task before me is one which requires much previous thought and study for its proper performance. I know that apologies of this sort are generally considered flat and unmeaning. I trust, however, that mine will not be so considered. Should I seem at ease, my appearance would much misrepresent me. The little experience I have had in addressing public meetings, in country school houses, avails me nothing on the present occasion”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 80 Line: Mr. President –</p>
<i>Blame</i>	<p>“To those leader around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy”</p>	<p>Obama Page 223 Line: mutual interest –</p>
	<p>“As that man whom we picked up from the drain, half eaten with worms, and we brought him to the home. I have lived like an animal in the street, but I am going to die like an angel, loved and cared for. And it was so wonderful to see the greatness of that man who could speak like that, who could die like that without blaming anybody, without cursing anybody, without comparing anything. Like an angel – this is the greatness of our people”</p>	<p>Mother Teresa Page 197 Line: her grateful –</p>

4. Concepts not reaching minimum quota of three	Quote	Reference
<i>Disappointment</i>	<p>“And our only miserable consolation was that we believed that Auschwitz and Treblinka were closely guarded secrets; that the leaders of the free world did not know what was going on behind those black gates and barbed wire; that they had no knowledge of the war against the Jews that Hitler’s armies and their accomplices waged as part of the war against the Allies.</p> <p>If they knew, we thought, surely those leaders would have moved heaven and earth to intervene. They would have spoken out with great outrage and conviction. They would have bombed the railways leading to Birkenau, just the railways, just once.</p> <p>And now we knew, we learned, we discovered that the Pentagon knew, the State Department knew. And the illustrious occupant of the White House then”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 216 Line: And our –</p>
	<p>“Yet at the last moment, when Belgium was already invaded, King Leopold called upon us to come to his aid, and even at the last moment we came. He and his brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong, guarded our left flank and thus kept open our only line of retreat to the sea. Suddenly, without prior consultation, with the least possible notice, without the advice of his Ministers and upon his own personal act, he sent a plenipotentiary to the German Command, surrendered his Army, and exposed our whole flank and means of retreat.</p> <p>I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because the facts were not clear, but I do not feel that any reason now exists why we should not form our own opinions upon this pitiful episode”</p>	<p>Churchill Page 162 Line: not only –</p>
<i>Fear</i>	<p>“Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights”</p>	<p>Obama Page 220 Line: Less –</p>
	<p>“And so, once again, I think of the young Jewish boy from the Carpathian Mountains. He has accompanied the old man I have become throughout these years of quest and struggle. And together we walk towards the new millennium, carried by profound fear and extraordinary hope”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 217 Line: And so –</p>
<i>Humility</i>	<p>“We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 4 Line: admiration. –</p>

4. Concepts not reaching minimum quota of three	Quote	Reference
	<p>“That I am here to-day is, to me, a matter of astonishment as well as of gratitude. You will not, therefore, be surprised, if in what I have to say, I evince no elaborate preparation, nor grace my speech with any high sounding exordium. With little experience and with less learning, I have been able to throw my thoughts hastily and imperfectly together; and trusting to your patient and generous indulgence, I will proceed to lay them before you”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 81 Line: former, –</p>
<i>Independence</i>	<p>“The first gay people we elect must be strong. They must not be content to sit in the back of the bus. They must not be content to accept pablum. They must be above wheeling and dealing. They must be – for the good of all of us – independent, unbought”</p>	<p>Milk Page 190 Line: The first –</p>
<i>Loneliness</i>	<p>“The political prisoner in his cell, the hungry children, the homeless refugees – not to respond to their plight, not to relieve their solitude by offering them a spark of hope is to exile them from human memory”</p>	<p>Wiesel Page 215 Line: she feels –</p>
	<p>“I will never forget what it was like coming out and having nobody to look up toward. I remember the lack of hope--and our friends can't fulfill it”</p>	<p>Milk Page 191 Line: gone –</p>
<i>Pride</i>	<p>“I personally will never forget that people are more important than buildings. I use the word ‘I’ because I’m proud. I stand here tonight in front of my gay sisters, brothers and friends because I’m proud of you. I think it’s time that we have many legislators who are gay and proud of that fact and do not have to remain in the closet”</p>	<p>Milk Page 191 Line: lems and –</p>
	<p>“The 4th of July is the first great fact in your nation’s history—the very ring-bolt in the chain of your yet undeveloped destiny. Pride and patriotism, not less than gratitude, prompt you to celebrate and to hold it in perpetual remembrance. I have said that the Declaration of Independence is the ring-bolt to the chain of your nation’s destiny; so, indeed, I regard it. The principles contained in that instrument are saving principles. Stand by those principles, be true to them on all occasions, in all places, against all foes, and at whatever cost”</p>	<p>Douglass Page 84 Line: anniversary –</p>
<i>Mindfulness</i>	<p>“Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure and helps banish the spleen”</p>	<p>Pericles Page 3 Line: Further, we –</p>
<i>Revenge</i>	<p>“holding that vengeance upon their enemies was more to be desired than any personal blessings, and reckoning this to be the most glorious of hazards, they joyfully determined to accept the risk, to make sure of their vengeance, and to let their wishes wait”</p>	<p>Pericles Pages 5 Line: and riches –</p>

4. Concepts not reaching minimum quota of three	Quote	Reference
<i>Self</i>	“For men can endure to hear others praised only so long as they can severally persuade themselves of their own ability to equal the actions recounted: when this point is passed, envy comes in and with it incredulity”	Pericles Page 2 Line: if he –
<i>Values</i>	“But those values upon which our success depends – honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history”	Obama Page 224 Line: meet them –

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A Macropsychology Perspective on Culture and Behaviour



John W. Berry

Introduction

This chapter presents an approach to psychology that is rooted in the concept of culture. The cultural approach is relevant to this volume because from the beginning of its use in anthropology in the nineteenth century (Tylor, 1871), the concept of *culture* has been a “macroconcept”, with its focus on (and locus in) whole societies, nations, and institutions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). However, relatively recently, it has also become a “microconcept”, with a focus on individuals as creators, carriers, and transmitters of culture. This social constructionist approach has proposed that culture is constructed in the daily interactions of individuals (Shweder, 1990). With this approach, the locus of culture has changed; this “interiorization” of culture (Munroe & Munroe, 1997) has moved culture from being only in the external context into the heads of people (D’Andrade, 1984). Despite this change, within anthropology, culture has remained a macroconcept, being “holistic” and “multifaceted” (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2018). It continues to incorporate social, biological, physical, ecological, and linguistic features of population and includes all the world’s peoples.

The concept of culture is relevant to this volume also because it is central to the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. In the view of UNESCO (2017):

... the international development agenda refers to culture for the first time. This has been lauded by UNESCO as “an unparalleled recognition”. The safeguarding and promotion of culture is an end in itself, and at the same time it contributes directly to many of the SDGs — safe and sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reduced inequalities, the

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environment, promoting gender equality and peaceful and inclusive societies. The indirect benefits of culture are accrued through the culturally-informed and effective implementations of the development goals.

In a profound sense, there can be no development without the protection and promotion of cultures as a basis for all human life.

In this chapter, I attempt to bridge these two conceptualizations of culture by arguing that culture exists both “out there” in the external context (and hence it remains very much a macroconcept) and also becomes incorporated into individuals’ heads during the process of cultural transmission (“in here”). This dual perspective posits that cultures exist before any individual arrives in a society (by birth or migration) as a shared set of institutions, practices, beliefs, and norms that “lie in wait” for a newcomer and that cultures are incorporated into individuals, being changed and (re-)created through daily interactions among individual members of a society.

The concept of culture also has a long history of use in the discipline of psychology (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). The inclusion of the concept of culture in a volume devoted to basic psychological processes (Berry & Triandis, 2006) cemented its place in the discipline of psychology. The broad and systemic view of culture outlined above became a basis for the emergence of the field of cross-cultural psychology, where we root many of our concepts, theories, methods, and scope of enquiry in the discipline of anthropology (Berry et al., 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011; Sam & Berry, 2017). Essentially, this macrocultural context provides the nexus in which individual human development takes place and in which human behaviours are expressed. Although this cultural context changes from one generation to another, and from one interaction to another, there is a remarkable continuity from one generation to the next (Berry, 1980a).

As noted by MacLachlan, McVeigh, Huss, and Mannan (2019, p. 6):

Psychology has focused on ‘understanding down’ by dismantling complex behaviour into subcomponents that are proximate, individualistic, subcutaneous or reductive, which is often constructed as conferring ‘insight’... Central to macropsychology is the assertion that psychological characteristics and social settings co-construct one another.

This perspective is shared with that of cross-cultural psychology, particularly in the use of the ecocultural approach in which individuals are viewed as being shaped by (and shaping) the ecological and cultural contexts in which they develop.

In this chapter, I present first the ecocultural approach that has become a widely used framework in the field of cross-cultural psychology (Berry, 2011). Then, I will address some theoretical issues that will advance the macro perspective towards the goal of achieving a “global” psychology, one that is rooted in some basic “universal” processes and which has the potential for applications around the world (Berry, 2013). Finally, I will illustrate the use of the ecocultural framework with research with a variety of populations that vary across ecological settings and acculturative experiences.

The Ecocultural Approach

The macro perspective in psychology is closely related to the *ecocultural* approach in cross-cultural psychology, which was first outlined by Berry (1966, 1976). The ecocultural approach combines ecological and cultural perspectives on understanding the development and display of human behaviour. Both perspectives consider that all group and individual features of human beings can only be understood when situated in their natural contexts. The *ecological* approach examines phenomena in their natural contexts and attempts to identify relationships between the cultural and behavioural phenomena and these contexts. The *cultural* approach examines individual behaviours in the cultural contexts in which they develop and are displayed. When this is carried out comparatively, the *cross-cultural* approach results. Essential to these approaches are the concepts of *interaction* and *adaptation*. Interaction implies reciprocal relationships among elements in the system; adaptation implies that changes take place that may (or may not) increase their mutual fit or compatibility within the system.

In addition to this line of thinking (from ecology to culture to individual behaviour), there is a second line of thinking in the ecocultural framework that originates from contact with other cultures. This second source of influence links the *sociopolitical* context that brings about contact with other cultures, which in turn shapes both the original culture and the behaviour of a group through the process of *acculturation*. In these cases, there are interactions among peoples of diverse cultural background, bringing about mutual adaptation to these intercultural contacts (Berry, 2017). From the beginning (Berry, 1974), this second line of enquiry was part of my ecocultural approach. Intercultural contact takes place in historical and contemporary contexts, and the process of acculturation needs to be examined in these settings (Berry, 2019; Sam & Berry, 2016).

By combining the ecological and cultural contact approaches to how groups and individuals interact and adapt to change, the *ecocultural* approach to understanding human behaviour is generated. Its core claims are that cultural and biological features of human populations interact with, and are adaptive to, both the ecological and cultural contact contexts in which they develop and live and that the development and display of individual human behaviour are adaptive to these contexts.

To operationalize the ecocultural perspective, an ecocultural *framework* was developed, starting in the 1960s (Berry, 1966). The framework has evolved through a series of conceptual elaborations and empirical studies devoted to understanding similarities and differences in cognition and social behaviour in relation to their ecological and cultural contexts (Berry, 1966, 1967, 1976, 1979; Berry et al., 1986; Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi, & Poortinga, 2006; Mishra & Berry, 2017; Mishra, Sinha, & Berry, 1996). Some of these studies will be reviewed in a later section of this chapter. The ecocultural approach has also been used as an organizing framework in a series of books that seeks to integrate the vast field of cross-cultural psychology (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992, 2002; Berry et al., 2011; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990, 1999).

The ecocultural framework (see Fig. 1) proposes to account for human psychological diversity (both group and individual similarities and differences) by taking into account two fundamental sources of influence (ecological and sociopolitical) and two features of human populations that are adapted to them (cultural and biological characteristics). These population variables are transmitted to individuals by various “transmission variables” such as enculturation, socialization, genetics, and acculturation. Both cultural and genetic transmissions have been strongly advanced by work on culture learning (e.g. Keller, 2002) and cultural transmission (Schönpflug, 2009). The existence of cultural and biological universals is the basis for the presence of fundamental similarities of all members of the human species. These basic features are then developed and expressed in varying ways, generating the surface variability that can be observed in everyday life. Research on the impact on cultures and individuals from contact with outside cultures (i.e. through the process of acculturation) has also been advancing in recent years (Sam & Berry, 2016). This domain has come to the fore because of the dramatic increases in intercultural contact, globalization, and culture change (Berry, 2008).

In more detail, this ecocultural framework provides a broad structure within which to examine the development and expression of similarities and differences in human psychological functioning (both at individual and group levels) by taking into account two fundamental sources of influence (*ecological* and *sociopolitical* on the left of Fig. 1). These include *cultural* and *biological adaptations* at the population

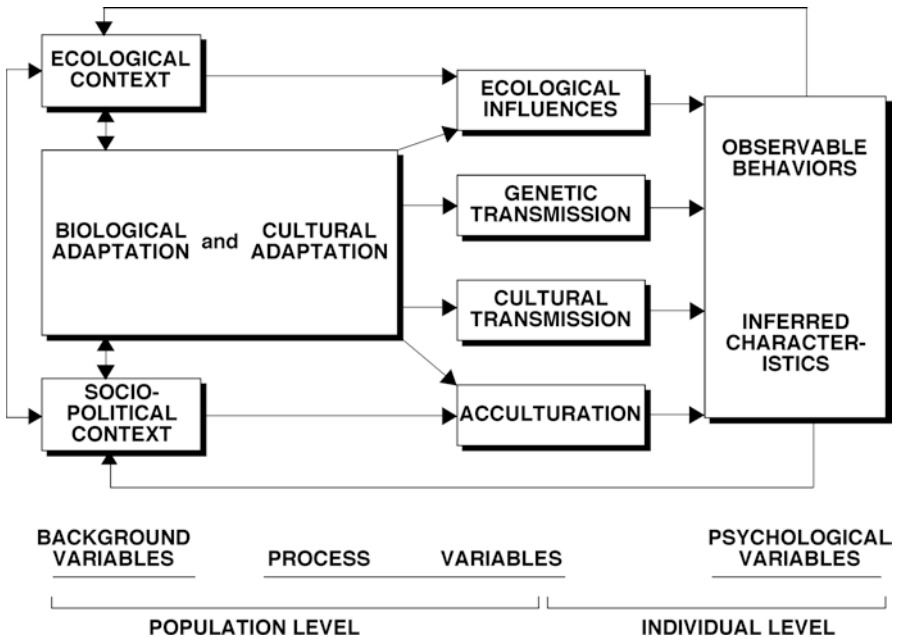


Fig. 1 Ecocultural framework linking contexts to behavioural outcomes. (Adapted from Berry, 1976)

level (also on the left) and four *transmission variables* in the middle (enculturation, socialization, genetics, and acculturation). These transmission variables are the routes by which the population variables are inculcated into individuals' *behavioural repertoire* (on the right). That is, the framework considers human diversity (both cultural and psychological) to be a set of collective and individual adaptations to context. Within this general perspective, it views cultures as evolving adaptations to ecological and sociopolitical influences and psychological characteristics in a population as adaptive to their cultural context as well as to the broader ecological and sociopolitical influences. This sequence is similar to the macro → meso → micro sequence noted by MacLachlan et al. (2019, p. 6); this sequence is not just a one-directional relationship but can work both ways.

Ecology-Culture Link

Relationships between ecology and culture have been postulated for a long time in anthropology (Feldman, 1975). The claim that culture is adaptive to ecology has roots that go back to Forde's (1934) classic analysis of relationships between physical habitat and societal features in Africa. In that work, Forde examined 16 cultural groups, classifying them as food gatherers, cultivators, or pastoral nomads. He was able to demonstrate that there were "complex relationships between the human habitat and the manifold technical and social devices for its exploitation" (Forde, 1934, p. 460).

This theme of cultural adaptation to habitat asserts that cultural variations may be understood as long-term adaptations to differing ecological settings or contexts (Boyd & Richerson, 1983). The line of thinking is known variously as cultural ecology, ecological anthropology, or environmental anthropology. Note that, unlike earlier simplistic assumptions about how the environment *determined* culture and behaviour (e.g. the school of "environmental determinism"; Huntington, 1945), the ecological school of thinking has ranged from the notion of *possibilism* (where the environment sets some constraints on, or limits the range of, possible cultural forms that may emerge) to an emphasis on *resource utilization* (where active and interactive relationships between human populations and their habitats are analysed in relation to the resources available, such as water, soil, and temperature).

Ecology-Biology Link

The links between habitat and biology go back at least to Darwin (1859) and continue to this day. Species and their individual members adapt through a process of natural selection that allows those traits that are adaptive to survive and be passed on over generations. This line of thinking finds its parallel in the view that culture is also adaptive to ecological context and takes place in tandem with biological adap-

tation. In the ecocultural framework, biology and culture are seen as complementary ways in which populations adapt to their habitats, rather than as opposing each other. That is, both biology and culture are viewed as ways to increase the fit between contexts and human characteristics. As Boulding (1978, p. 335) has phrased it, “human adaptation can be seen as ‘the survival of the fitting’... what survives is that which finds a niche that it ‘fits’ into in the complex multidimensional structures of ecosystems”. The growing study of how biology and culture both play a role in ontogenetic development has been outlined by Keller (2011). An evolutionary approach to this culture-biology relationship has been emphasized in recent work (Boyd, Richerson, & Henrich, 2011) where the two are viewed as jointly changing in response to habitat change.

Ecology-Behaviour Link

The linking of human behavioural development to cultural and biological adaptation, and hence back to ecology, has an equally long history in psychology (Berry, 1995; Jahoda, 1995). Contemporary thinking about this sequence (ecology-culture-behaviour) is often traced to the work of Kardiner and colleagues (e.g. Kardiner & Linton, 1939). They proposed that *primary institutions* (such as subsistence economic and socialization practices) lead to *basic personality structures*, which in turn lead to *secondary institutions* (such as art, governance, religion, and play). In this sequence, there are ecological beginnings, with cultural and then psychological outcomes. This sequence may form a feedback loop in which the evolved behaviours return to influence the ecological and cultural settings in which they emerged.

Sociopolitical Context-Behaviour Link

At the lower level of the model, contact with other cultures is a major influence on cultures and behaviours. Both the features of a culture and the behaviours of individuals within them are transformed by these external influences. Individuals must now adapt to more than one context. When many cultural contexts are involved (as in situations of multiple cultural contacts over years), psychological phenomena can be viewed as attempts to deal simultaneously and successively with two or more (sometimes inconsistent, sometimes conflicting) cultural contexts. Such contact brings about cultural and biological change in the population and initiates the process of acculturation. Research on these various sociopolitical influences on culture and behaviour has come to dominate much of the field of cross-cultural and intercultural psychology in recent years (Berry et al., 2011; Sam & Berry, 2016).

In the field of psychology, as well as in anthropology, ecological perspectives have become more and more prominent, with the development of the field of environmental (or ecological) psychology. The early work of Brunswik (1956)

attempted to specify the links between ecological context and individual human development. More recent advances (e.g. De Young, 2013) have developed the field into a highly differentiated set of topics.

In parallel with environmental psychology, the field of cross-cultural psychology has generally viewed cultures as *differential contexts* for development and views behaviour as adaptive to these different contexts. In the 1960s, there began a series of articles and books more explicitly focused on the psychological outcomes of the process of adapting to ecological, cultural, and biological contexts (Berry, 1966, 1967, 1975, 1976; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Whiting, 1977; Whiting & Whiting, 1975).

To elaborate this development, Berry (1966, 1971) originally called his framework an “ecological-cultural-behavioural” model (later shortened to “ecocultural” in Berry, 1976); Bronfenbrenner (1979) named his approach “ecological”; and the Whitings (Whiting & Whiting, 1975) referred to their approach as “psychocultural” and also used the concept of “ecological niche”. Super and Harkness (1986, 1997) coined the term “developmental niche”, and Weisner (1984) continued the use of the term “ecocultural”. All of these approaches attempt to understand the development and display of human behaviour as a function of the process of group and individual adaptation to ecological, cultural, biological, and sociopolitical (intercultural) settings.

One hallmark of cross-cultural psychology (see Berry et al., 2011), which is shared by the macropsychology perspective, is the emphasis on the analysis of both the natural (ecological) and the cultural (human-made) features of the environment in order to achieve a complete understanding of human behaviour in context. We have argued that ecological and cultural influences operate in tandem (Berry, 1976).

Operationalization of the Ecocultural Framework

In order to be able to conceptualize and assess a number of possible human adaptations to varying contexts, an ecocultural dimension was developed and operationalized (Berry, 1966, 1976) over the range of subsistence economic activities from gatherers to hunters to agriculturalists to urban industrial peoples. This ecocultural dimension had both ecological and cultural features. The *ecological* component distinguished between the forms of subsistence economic activity ranging from hunting and gathering to various forms of agriculture to industrial practices. Various *cultural* and *social* features of the group were linked to these distinctions: *population size* (which increases linearly from the hunting end to the other end); *settlement style* (ranging from nomadic to sedentary); *political and social structures* (little permanent or structured authority at one end and more intense and hierarchical structures at the other end); and pressures towards *social conformity* and *social tightness* that also varied along with such hierarchy. These components were combined into a single dimension, to be used as a predictor of various cognitive and social behaviours.

With respect to *cultural transmission*, socialization practices vary in a curvilinear way, from an emphasis on *assertion* in hunting societies to an emphasis on *compliance* in agricultural societies (Berry, Child, & Bacon, 1959) and again to *assertion* in urban industrial societies. These socialization practices serve to inculcate the cultural features of the society into the behavioural repertoire of individuals growing up in these varying ecological and cultural settings. The behavioural consequences of the cultural adaptation and cultural transmission features of the framework have been studied across many societies (Berry, 2013a; Berry et al., 2011; Sam & Berry, 2018) including perception, cognition, personality, and social behaviours.

The sociopolitical line of influence takes place again through cultural adaptations (but now to intercultural contact) and cultural transmission (now from both cultures in contact). Much research has shown that individuals change many of their behaviours, which include the same domains (perception, cognition, personality, and social behaviours) (Berry, 2013b; Sam & Berry, 2016).

Individuals also develop various *intercultural strategies* (Berry, 1980b) that may or may not improve their fit or their well-being. This concept refers to the ways in which people seek to relate to each other in culturally plural societies. These strategies and expectations can be held by both the dominant and non-dominant individuals and groups that are in contact. Four strategies have been derived from two issues facing all acculturating peoples. These issues can be responded to on attitudinal dimensions, on which generally positive or negative orientations to these issues intersect to define four ways of acculturating. From the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding onto their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *separation* alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, *integration* is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained while at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger society. Finally, when there is little possibility for cultural maintenance (often because of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination), then *marginalization* is defined. In most studies, the integration strategy is found to be the most common, probably because individuals find it to be the most adaptive (e.g. Berry, 1997; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

In many cases, there are interactions between these ecological and sociopolitical input variables (Berry, 1976; Mishra & Berry, 2017). For example, many hunting-based societies have been readily displaced, with loss of habitat and serious disruption of their social and political structures. Being less structured (such as lower societal size and social hierarchy), they did not have the customs and institutions to confront or deal with the outside intrusions. In contrast, many agricultural societies had the social and political features (such as larger populations and hierarchical leadership) that permitted some resistance to outside cultural influences. The impact of the experiences stemming from the sociopolitical line of the framework has thus come to the fore. This differential impact of contact with outside cultures was shown

by Berry (1976) where the acculturative stress levels (a form of maladaptation) of samples with lower hierarchy were higher than among those with higher social stratification. These differential levels of maladaptation have been found more generally across indigenous and refugee populations, especially in comparison with immigrant and settled populations (Berry, 2006).

Finally, it is important to note that the ecocultural approach offers a “value-neutral” framework for describing and interpreting similarities and differences in human behaviour across cultures. As adaptive to context, psychological phenomena can be understood “in their own terms” (as Malinowski insisted), and external evaluations should be avoided. This is a critical point, since it allows for the conceptualization, assessment, and interpretation of culture and behaviour in non-ethnocentric ways. It explicitly rejects the idea that some cultures or behaviours are more advanced or more developed than others (Berry, Dasen, & Witkin, 1983). Any argument about cultural or behavioural differences being ordered hierarchically requires the adoption of some absolute (usually external) standard. But who is so bold, or so wise, to assert and verify such a standard?

Empirical Studies

The *ecocultural model* has been used by Berry in a series of research studies (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 1986, 2006; Georgas & Berry, 1995; Mishra & Berry, 2017; Mishra et al., 1996). Some of these studies have provided support for the main claim of cross-cultural psychology that individual behaviour may be traced back to their ecological and sociopolitical roots, through the various transmission processes, and to the biological and cultural features of the populations in which individuals have developed. These studies established early on that this ecology-culture-behaviour sequence is one that reveals variations in psychological outcomes that can be predicted by an ecological analysis (Berry, 1980c).

Perceptual-Cognitive Studies

Initially (Berry, 1966), the link between ecology, culture, and behaviour was elaborated into a framework in order to predict the differential development of visual disembedding (defined as the process of distinguishing small items that are hidden within a larger visual context) and analytic and spatial abilities between hunting-based and agriculture-based peoples. The first step was to propose that the “ecological demands” for survival that were placed on hunting peoples were for a high level of these perceptual-cognitive abilities, in contrast with people employing other (particularly agricultural) subsistence strategies. Second, it was proposed that “cultural aids” (such as socialization practices, linguistic differentiation of spatial information, and the use of arts and crafts) would promote the development of these abilities. As predicted, empirical studies of Inuit (then called Eskimo) in the Canadian

Arctic and Temne (in Sierra Leone) revealed marked differences in these abilities. Equivalent research with Scots in northern Scotland showed that the Inuit were similar in these abilities to this urban sample.

Further studies were carried out, and during the course of this programme of empirical work, the ideas became further elaborated into the ecocultural framework. In each case, considerations of ecological and cultural features of the group were taken as a basis for predicting differential psychological outcomes in a variety of domains. For example (Berry, 1967, 1979), differential degrees of reliance on hunting and of social stratification (ranging from “loose” to “tight”; Pelto, 1968) and variations in child socialization practices (ranging from emphases on “assertion” to “compliance”; Barry et al., 1959) were used to predict variations in the development of the functional abilities noted above (disembedding, spatial and analytic abilities). In addition to these abilities, higher levels of social conformity were found among individuals living in agricultural societies than in hunting societies. This finding is an early precursor of later research on independence and interdependence (e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Central to much of this early work has been the concept of *cognitive style*. This concept is rooted in the *cognitive processes* that underlie any cognitive activity. The most influential conceptualization of cognitive style has been that of Witkin et al. (1962) who developed the dimension of the field-dependent/field-independent (FDI) cognitive style. At one end of the FDI dimension are those (the relatively field independent – FI) who rely on bodily cues within themselves and are generally less oriented towards social engagement with others; at the other end are those (the relatively field dependent – FD) who rely more on external visual cues and are more socially oriented and competent. As for any psychological dimension, few individuals fall at the extreme ends; most fall in the broad middle range of the dimension.

The FDI cognitive style is referred to by Witkin, Goodenough, and Oltman (1979, p. 1138) as “extent of autonomous functioning”. The FDI construct refers to the extent to which an individual typically relies upon or accepts the physical or social environment as given, in contrast to working on it, for example, by analysing or restructuring it.

According to Witkin et al. (1962), the origins of the FDI cognitive style lie in early socialization experiences: those raised to be independent and autonomous were found to be relatively FI; those who were controlled more tightly were found to be relatively more FD. When examined across cultures (Witkin & Berry, 1975), many early studies revealed that societies that emphasized “compliance” in socialization practices (Barry et al., 1959) and conformity to group norms (Berry, 1967, 1979) tended to develop the field-dependent cognitive style. These are typically those societies that rely on agriculture for their subsistence, that are socially complex in interpersonal coordination, and that are hierarchical in social structure. In contrast, societies that are based in hunting economic subsistence tend to develop the field-independent cognitive style, emphasize “assertion” in socialization, and are less conforming to social norms.

Subsequent research on perceptual and cognitive abilities (aligned in part to the FD-FDI cognitive style) resulted in four volumes (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 1986;

Mishra & Berry, 2017; Mishra et al., 1996) reporting results of studies in the Arctic (Cree), Africa (Biaka “pygmy”), Australia (Aborigines), New Guinea (highland peoples), and India Adivasi (“Tribal”).

The ecocultural framework has also been used to understand sources of variation in other aspects of perceptual-cognitive development, such as the acquisition of Piagetian stages (Dasen, 1984; Nsamenang, 1992). Continuing research on spatial orientation frames of reference with children in Nepal and elsewhere in Asia (e.g. Dasen & Mishra, 2011; Mishra, Dasen & Niraula, 2003) found two frames (egocentric and ecocentric). These refer to the use of either the person or the environment as the bases for orienting oneself in the environment.

Most recently, the ecocultural framework has been used to guide research on the development of cognitive style in Canada, China, Ghana, and India among adults engaged in hunting, agriculture, and industrial activities and among children in hunting-gathering and agricultural groups in India (Mishra & Berry, 2017). In this study, we examined the cultural dimensions of *societal size* and *social conformity* in different subsistence-level groups, the development of cognitive style in relation to subsistence strategies of groups, and the relationship between the two cultural dimensions and cognition.

In the earlier conceptualization reviewed above, the cultural dimension involved four variables: degree of political stratification, degree of social stratification, type of family (nuclear or extended), and socialization emphases on assertion or compliance. This cultural index was combined with an ecological index to produce an ecocultural index (Berry, 1976), which was used as a unidimensional bipolar index of ecological and cultural adaptation. However, in recent work (Mishra & Berry, 2017), we proposed and operationalized societal size and social conformity as *two* cultural dimensions, which tend to vary as a function of subsistence strategies of groups. Societal size is considered to be a linear function of subsistence strategy, while social conformity is a curvilinear relationship (relatively low in gathering, hunting, and industrial societies, but higher in agricultural societies).

Results for the two cultural dimensions show relationships with the subsistence strategy as expected: there is a progressive increase from hunting-gathering to wage employment through the two agricultural samples on the measure of societal size; and the relationship of social conformity with subsistence strategies is curvilinear (low in hunting and wage employment, but high in the two agricultural groups). It is clear that a group’s subsistence activities do relate in important ways to their cultural features and cognitive characteristics.

Social Behaviour Studies

While most use of the ecocultural framework has been in the study of perception and cognition, it has also been useful to explore aspects of social behaviour. The concept of *social* or *affective style* was introduced by Berry (1973), based on studies of social conformity (Berry, 1967, 1979) and self-disclosure. In the theory of psy-

chological differentiation (Witkin et al., 1962), the field-dependent style was associated with a number of social or affective behaviours such as conformity to social norms and susceptibility to social influence. In the review by Witkin and Berry (1975), studies showed that greater conformity to a suggested group norm is likely in cultures that are structurally tight (with high norm obligation).

Research by Georgas and colleagues (Georgas & Berry, 1995; Georgas, van de Vijver & Berry, 2004) further extends this interest in social aspects of behaviour within varying ecocultural contexts. The first study sought to discover ecological and social indicators that might allow societies to be clustered according to their similarities and differences on six dimensions: ecology, education, economy, mass communications, population, and religion. The second study further examined ecocultural indicators across cultures and then sought evidence of their relationships with a number of psychological variables (such as values). Results showed that many of the indicators came together to form a single economic dimension (termed “Affluence”), and this was distinct from “Religion” in the pattern of relationships with the psychological variables. Specifically, across cultures, high Affluence (along with Protestant Religion) was associated with more emphasis on utilitarianism and personal well-being. In contrast, for other religions, together with low Affluence, there was an emphasis on power, loyalty, and hierarchy values.

The ecocultural framework has been used to guide an international study of the structure and function of families (Georgas et al., 2006). It sought to link ecological and sociopolitical contexts to family structure, family roles, and some related family and personal values. Guided by both the ecocultural framework (Berry, 1976) and by a model of family change (Kagitcibasi, 1996), this project sought to understand contemporary families in 30 countries, representing most cultural regions of the world. This study showed that when we examine the relationships between ecological and sociopolitical variables that were drawn from the ecocultural framework and cross-cultural features of family life, we find that there are predictable patterns, rather than random links.

In summary, it is apparent that these ecocultural studies established that this ecology-culture-behaviour sequence can predict a variety of cultural institutions and social practices, which in turn predict a variety of cognitive and social behavioural outcomes. This early and continuing research has been validated by more recent research by others (e.g. English et al., 2020; Nisbett, 2003; Talhelm et al., 2014; Uskul, Kitayama, & Nisbett, 2008).

Global Psychology

The ecocultural approach is rooted in the theoretical perspective known as *universalism* in cross-cultural psychology (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). The universalist perspective asserts that all human societies exhibit commonalities (“cultural universals”) and that all individual human beings possess and share basic

psychological processes (“psychological universals”). Cultural universals are those characteristics of societies that are developed and practised in one way or another in all societies. Psychological universals are the processes and capacities that are shared, species-common characteristics of all human beings in every culture. Cultural experiences shape the expression of these underlying processes during the course of development and daily activity, resulting in infinite variations in behavioural expression. Cultural universals serve as the underlying and background basis for all human activity and are observable in the daily activities of groups and individuals. These universals are essentially macro-variables but can only be captured by attending to the micro-actions that we all exhibit in our daily behaviours.

The methodological advantage of the universalist perspective is that it allows for comparisons of customs and behaviours across cultures and individuals (based on the common underlying process) but makes comparison valuable (using the surface variation as basic evidence) as a way to discover possible linkages between context and outcomes.

There is evidence for the existence of cultural universals in our cognate disciplines of anthropology (e.g. Murdock, 1975), sociology (e.g. Aberle et al., 1950), and linguistics (e.g. Chomsky, 2000). In this work, there is substantial evidence that groups everywhere possess shared sociocultural attributes. For example, all peoples have tools (technology), social structures (e.g. norms, roles), social institutions (e.g. marriage, justice), and language. It is also evident, however, that such underlying commonalities vary across cultural groups in vastly different ways from one time and place to another. That is, these common processes become developed and expressed differentially across groups. This surface variation in customary practices is seen to be the result of differing adaptations to ecological contexts (as portrayed earlier in the discussion of ecological anthropology).

With respect to psychological universals, there is parallel evidence for both underlying similarity and surface variation (see Berry et al., 1997; Triandis et al., 1997, for overviews of this evidence). For example, individuals typically have the basic processes needed to develop, learn, and perform speech; use technology; role-play; and observe norms. In the field of cross-cultural psychology, there are no studies that reveal the absence of any basic psychological process in any cultural group. This point of view was early captured by Cole, Gay, Glick, and Sharp (1971, p. 233): “cultural differences in cognition reside more in the situations to which particular cognitive processes are applied than in the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absence in another”. Even with the existence of these common processes, there are obviously vast group and individual differences in their development and in the way of expressing these shared underlying processes. These variations in developed competencies and expressed behaviours are interpreted as adaptations to the ecocultural contexts.

This combination of underlying similarity with surface expressive variation (i.e. universalism) has been distinguished by Berry and colleagues (1992, 2002, 2011) from two other theoretical views: *absolutism* denies that there are any important cultural influences on behavioural development and expression, while *relativism*

denies the existence of common underlying psychological processes, even suggesting that cultural experience can alter the basic processes, resulting in changing the very nature of the process. It may appear paradoxical that this search for our common humanity (our basic similarities) can only be pursued by observing our diversity (our differences). However, this dual task is the essence of cross-cultural psychology (Berry, 1969, 2000).

The universalist perspective may appear to be at odds with the realist approaches discussed by MacLachlan et al. (2019, p. 170):

Realist approaches assume that nothing works everywhere for everyone and that context significantly shapes programme outcomes (Westhorp, 2014). This clearly challenges the idea of identifying universal laws within psychology because it sees behaviour as being dependent on particularities that vary. Research that obscures or controls for context – as much psychological research does – restricts our knowledge of how, when and for whom an intervention can be effective. (Wong, Westhorp, Pawson, & Greenhalgh, 2013)

However, the universalist perspective in cross-cultural psychology does not assume that all human behaviour is the *same* across cultures, nor that all applications of psychology will *work everywhere*, without taking cultural contexts into account. The universalist claim is that because cultural and intercultural experiences shape the behavioural development and action of individuals in specific cultural contexts, all examinations of these behaviours and applications need to take these contexts into account.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an overview of how the concept of culture has been taken into the discipline of psychology and has served as the basis for the development of the field of cross-cultural psychology. This enterprise takes a macro perspective, linking large-scale contexts (ecological and sociopolitical), through various forms of cultural and biological adaptation, to the development and display of individual behaviour. By studying human development in a broad range of contexts from around the world, it has established a conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and empirical base for the development of a global psychology. Armed with such a base, it is possible to work towards creating international policies and programmes that will improve human well-being. The presence of cultural and psychological universals, combined with an understanding of their local exemplars and expressions, allows for culturally sensitive policies and programmes to be developed that meet universal goals.

Acknowledgement This chapter was prepared within the framework of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) and supported within the framework of a subsidy by the Russian Academic Excellence Project “5-100”.

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The Macropsychology of Disability Rights and Structural Change: Using Bourdieusian Analysis to Understand Stakeholder Power Relations



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The *World Report on Disability* (World Health Organization & World Bank, 2011) estimates that about 15% of the world's population – over one billion people – live with some form of disability. In comparison to people without a disability, those with a disability have higher rates of poverty; lower rates of economic, political and cultural participation; lower levels of educational achievements; and poorer health outcomes, along with increased dependency and less legal protection (WHO & World Bank, 2011). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2006), acknowledges both the historic and the current and pervasive discrimination, exclusion and marginalization of people with disabilities. The CRPD specifies the duty of states parties (nations) to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, by all persons with disabilities.

Psychology has contributed much to understanding and addressing some of the challenges experienced by people with disabilities (Goodley & Lawthom, 2006). Psychology's contribution in this regard may however be broadly characterized as adopting more of an individual/clinical/medical model perspective, rather than a social/structural/human rights model perspective (MacLachlan, 2012; MacLachlan & Mannan, 2014). We have argued that 'barriers to implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities are embedded within longstanding social

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structures and attitudes that do not give way easily. Often such discriminatory practices—even when not necessarily intentional—are nonetheless “protected” because of the advantages that accrue to others “the advantage of keeping things as they are, of maintaining the status quo” (MacLachlan & Mannan, 2016, p. 102). The attitudes held by individuals and the social structures that channel our experience of disability co-construct one another (MacLachlan, Mannan, & Wescott, [under review](#)). Social institutions, such as schools or health services, policies or laws, or norms or conventions, mediate the patterns of our social relationships. As macro-psychology has been defined as ‘the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives’ (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851; MacLachlan, McVeigh, Huss, & Mannan, 2019), then the impact of social structures on human behaviour should be a concern for psychological research and practice on disability. However, psychology rarely addresses the effects of power relationships mediated through social structures (MacLachlan et al., 2019) and in order to do so may benefit from interweaving other complementary approaches to understanding and changing human behaviour. This chapter explores how some of the key concepts of Bourdieusian analysis may contribute to a better way of intervening to address the settings and conditions of people’s lives. It does this by considering power relationships within a United Nations programme that seeks to promote the rights of people with disability through addressing structural barriers.

The UN Partnership to Promote the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNPRPD) brings together UN organizations, governments and civil society – including Organizations of Persons with Disabilities (OPDs) – and other partners to promote the rights of persons with disabilities through implementation of the CRPD. The UNPRPD is funded through a Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) of just over \$28 m provided by a range of donor countries (MPTF, 2018). The partnership has worked in 38 countries and with 2 regional networks (the Pacific Disability Forum and the African Disability Forum) since it was established in 2014. To give a sense of the sorts of foci across these countries and projects, Table 1 indicates some of the main structural issues addressed by the UNPRPD. The KnowUNPRPD is the knowledge management component of the UNPRPD, incorporating provision of intensive week-long training workshops, personal coaching and a help desk providing analysis and feedback for draft applications to the fund. The KnowUNPRPD also conducts programmatic research, and it is from this component of the programme, funded by Irish Aid, that the current chapter arises.

The overall approach within each of the countries in the UNPRPD has been to develop a Theory of Change (ToC), to guide stakeholder interaction towards agreed targets (see UNDP, 2016a,b; UNPRPD, 2018). The Theory of Change approach is based on the social and organizational psychology of Kurt Lewin, particularly his conceptualization of Force Field Analysis (Lewin, 1943), which has now become a guiding approach across many domains (Breuer et al., 2016; Breuer, Lee, De Silva, & Lund, 2015). As De Silva et al. (2014) argue, ‘ToC is not a sociological or psychological theory such as Complexity Theory or the Theory of Planned Behaviour, but a pragmatic framework which describes how the intervention affects change. The ToC can be strengthened by inserting sociological or psychological theories at key points to explain why particular links happen’ (p. 2). While the ToC approach

Table 1 Factors in the UNPRPD related to facilitating structural change

Enabling factor	Programme thematic priority
Enabling legislation and policy frameworks	Promote the ratification of the CRPD whenever relevant and the development (or reform) of legislation and policies (disability-specific and not) as well as strategies and action plans
Empowering and challenging cultural norms	Reverse stigma, prejudices and negative stereotypes while promoting supportive and empowering attitudes
Capable and inclusive institutions	Strengthening the national disability architecture by developing the capacity of national disability authorities and Organizations of Persons with Disabilities (OPDs)* through enhancing dialogue
Access to services (mainstream and targeted)	Enhancing access to mainstream as well as targeted services by improving their design and delivery modalities and by promoting measures that will increase availability and affordability
Access to justice	Increasing access to justice for persons with disabilities and the capacity of the justice sector to appropriately respond to the specific circumstances of persons with disabilities
Application of accessibility standards	Promoting the application of accessibility standards to products, environments and processes, including non-disability-specific interventions and universal design initiatives
Adequate access to rehabilitation, habilitation and assistive technology	Improving access to rehabilitation and habilitation – including assistive technology – by strengthening the availability and affordability of services and improving the design of assistive technologies
Adequate data and evidence	Improve disability-specific data and support research on different aspects of disability

Adapted from UNDP, 2016b

*The broadly accepted name for such organizations has changed since the original submission. This is the updated, widely accepted term.

has been used in many contexts, we do not believe it has been used at the national level to address social structural change, particularly from a psychologically informed perspective.

Integrating Lewin and Bourdieu

Kurt Lewin integrated ecological perspectives into psychological theory (Hobman & Walker, 2015). His concept of planned change provides an extensive range of tools to understand and initiate change (Swanson & Creed, 2014), considering facilitators for and barriers to change in a social context. However, one essential element of social change, which psychology in general, Lewin, or more recent works on theories of change have yet to deal with effectively, is the crucial importance of power relations, symbolism and particularly different forms of ‘capital’ that are held by, or attributed to, different stakeholders. One notable exception is the work of Pratto and colleagues (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Pratto, Stewart, & Zeineddine, 2013) which addresses social dominance in relationships between different groups, particularly marginalized and mainstream groups. However social

dominance has not been used to our knowledge in Theories of Change, in the sort of low- and middle-income contexts that the UNPRPD is being applied.

The French social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, extended Marx's ideas of the importance of economic capital in shaping ones' position and opportunities in society to non-financial types of advantage and identity. While his work was largely focused on social class, it has also been applied to disability. In this chapter, we provide a Bourdieusian analysis of power relationships within the UNPRPD to illustrate how macropsychology may benefit from incorporating some of the concepts developed by Bourdieu and by allowing itself to enter into the reality of power relationships influencing attempts to produce social and behavioural change. Pierre Bourdieu's work has been used to explain disability exclusion, both as a general concept (Byrne, 2018; Edwards & Imrie, 2003) and the complex interactions described in both the production and reconstruction of historical norms (Bourdieu, 1984, 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

One of the core claims of Bourdieusian theory is that all society is relational and the space between structures is what defines their boundaries (Bourdieu, 1987; Calhoun, LiPuma, & Postone, 1993). Bourdieu describes the structural world as 'a set of constant relationships which are often invisible' (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 3). These relationships operate based on power, or *capital*, and possession (or lack) of power distinguishes, positions and maintains these structures (Bourdieu, 1984, 1987; Calhoun et al., 1993). Four types of capital manage structural relationships and, therefore, the exclusion of people with disabilities from social participation at a system level. Forms of capital according to Bourdieu (1986) include monetary resources (economic capital), knowledge (cultural capital), non-financial social networks (social capital) and status (symbolic capital). Bourdieu recognizes power is translated into resources (e.g. specialized knowledge operationalized in development programming or entry to a specialized occupation with high income), and resources of all kinds are finite (Bourdieu, 1986). Structures (for instance, professional associations) then have an interest in acquiring or maintaining the capital necessary to remain influential, resulting in the organizational tension that makes change difficult to initiate, particularly when structures in power could be called on to redistribute their resources in the interest of equity (Bourdieu, 1989, 1998; Topper, 2001). For instance, the profession of psychology may resist other professions using psychometric tests to assess intellectual disability, even if the lack of psychologists to do this assessment may mean that there is a lack of access to services needed by people with disabilities. Capital exchanges (in this case, say, sharing expertise in psychometric testing and giving other the authority to also use them) are the sort of behaviour that we want to capture to measure the change in relationships between structures, as well as the forces that complement and compete with such efforts.

Cultural capital is broken down into three subgroups, described as information that is directly acquired (embodied cultural capital), standardized into some formal qualification such as a postgraduate degree (institutionalized capital) and objects that can be used to display and share knowledge, such as assistive technology or documentary films (objectified capital) (Bourdieu, 1986).

These forms of capital are more powerful when they work together and can result in a lack of exercisable power if acting alone. For instance, specialized knowledge of the human rights disability paradigm has little movement without the cooperation of a social network to disseminate and may act only as ideology without the financial resources to address the real costs of development. Reaching a symbolic status where persons with disabilities receive accommodations necessary to reduce institutionalized barriers therefore requires a significant amount of each form of capital. This is why Bourdieu emphasizes structural integrity is a product of the *volume* (amount) and *composition* (type) of these forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Both the amount and types of capital determine what makes a structure stand in *social space*, and mapping, as Bourdieu methodology recommends, serves as a tool to explore the process and progress of structural change.

Theoretical Alignment

The epistemological standpoint of Bourdieusian theory is that knowledge is acquired relationally, and the lines of distinction between what is constructed from the past to ongoing social constructions are capital and one's proximity to that power (Bourdieu, 1987, 1989). In the case of disability, those with capital (power and influence) have constructed an exclusive social space and lasting paradigm of disability (for instance, the use of a medical model and exclusionary norms by physicians). While other paradigms have been legitimized (social model, human rights model, social inclusion agendas), the impact on society is much less potent as a result of prolonged exclusion or lack of relative capital to make these changes affect social practices. This relationship is both abstract in theory and literal in mapping social spaces by identifying the distance between structures. For example, people with disabilities may feel very 'far' in terms of their ability to access a preferred job based on the societal misperception linking disability with lack of capacity and therefore face discrimination in areas of employment. The felt distance represents the relationship in social space between the person with a disability (or collective of persons with disabilities experiencing similar discrimination) and marginalizing attitudes and behaviours contained in hiring or promoting practice held by entities that have the capital to choose based on normative expectations. Access to social entities that have historically been 'out of reach' is the aim for much of the UNPRPD programme.

Social structures with similar volume and composition of capital are located close within social space, resulting in clusters of structures that appear relatively homogeneous to each other (Bourdieu, 1984, 1987). Government ministries have a long history of working with systems such as education. As a result, these entities have an open line for exchanging resources such as funds, compliance to national standards and mutually reinforcing approaches to bringing up future generations of any society. As resources pass back and forth between these structures, the common threads between them strengthen and appear 'close' in their structural relationship.

This is opposite to a structure representing persons with disabilities, as exclusionary actions such as institutionalization removed children from schools, and away from civic awareness, leaving an entire population at a great distance from decision-making bodies and other powerful entities. Current evidence shows this phenomenon is occurring all over the world (WHO, 2016; WHO & World Bank, 2011), where disability is relationally marginalized from larger societal influence. When applied to theory and the UNPRPD programming, these positions and trajectories serve to not only depict exclusion at a structural level but can also reflect how they can transition to become inclusive over time.

Unlocking Systems

One way of describing the border between inclusion and exclusion is through Bourdieu's *fields of power*, which provides a concrete way to document the global issue of structural exclusion declared in recent disability priorities such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and CRPD. When mapping social space, structures with a large volume and diverse composition of capital (resulting in overall influence) are placed in opposite directions, as if on an *X*- and *Y*-axis, to those without such capital. Stakeholder relationships in intervention projects confront complex and often competing priorities, including the forces that drive their different interests (Department for International Development, 2009; Esteves & Assuncao, 2014). Bourdieu asserts the forces driving structures derive from competition for capital, and the tension locks these structures into place (Bourdieu, 1989, 1990; Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). While the exact position of stakeholders will vary based on context, a macro-level analysis is concerned with the general understanding of structures in relation to each other, particularly those participating in UNPRPD programming. Drawing a line to distinguish where concentration of power is locked and located also identifies where it is absent (known as the field of power), framing the complex organizational dynamics prioritized by the UNPRPD mechanism in an explicit way. The aim of inclusive development projects is to see disability not just move into the field of power but become a stable and legitimate structure in close proximity to dominant structures in social space.

The UNPRPD country projects leverage their capital to bring disability into proximity of legitimized structures, potentially stimulating enough capital exchange to promote a sustaining position in the field of power, and secure an influential role in the ongoing operations of local systems.

Assessing the link between structural change and the improved lives of person with disabilities is often difficult to track, emphasizing the importance of exploring the link from individuals to overarching social operations. Rather than suggesting structures are a product of many people, Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* asserts individuals embody the structural forces surrounding them, seen through behaviour, disposition, language, clothing and overall presence (Bourdieu, 1984; Calhoun et al., 1993). The individual may therefore function as a proxy of the structures from

which they are brought up. This is where programming translates into human rights at the individual level, and in the example of the UNPRPD, realizing the inherent dignity of persons with disabilities. The oppression of people with disabilities reflects what Bourdieu refers to as *symbolic violence*. Topper (2001, p. 43) explains that ‘forms of social misrecognition quietly produce, sustain and legitimate patterns of domination even among those who have no conscious desire to do so’. History and the long-standing exclusion of disabled persons become so inscribed in structures as to be seen as normal and disability as abnormal. The idea of habitus is therefore that individual presentation communicates larger social worth according to the norms reinforced by their overarching social structures (e.g. resume for employment, interviews for higher education, high-end clothing) (King, 2000). These identifiers communicate meaning between people on a daily basis, such as the reaction one might get sharing their occupation of accountant versus a rock musician or the possession of a new-generation iPhone versus a more dated flip phone. Social interaction performs within positionality, and disability is positioned at a great distance from concentrations of power. A baseline of capital is necessary to acquire influential habitus, explaining how the exclusion of people with disabilities at a structural level results in discrimination against persons with disabilities in terms of how they are perceived as individuals (Edwards & Imrie, 2003; Simmons, Blackmore, & Bayliss, 2008). It is therefore essential to address the established structural hierarchy in society as the UNPRPD attempt to do, in order to improve individual lives.

Mapping Social Space

People with disabilities are recognized as one of the largest minority groups, facing significant marginalization, oppression and systemic exclusion from social participation (WHO, 2016; WHO & World Bank, 2011). This form of inequality – through a Bourdieusian lens – recognizes that disability does not lack inherent value; rather it lacks accumulated capital. Dominant structures operate on one side, and subordinate structures are maintained in opposition, preserving power and status (*status quo*). An example of subordination in disability can be seen whereby persons with disabilities only participate to the extent their individual modification can conform, and the established norms remain intact. These dynamics can be mapped using ideas established in Bourdieu’s theories by using symbols (e.g. a circle) to represent each structure and their relational architecture. A conceptual map of the global UNPRPD partnership can be schematically presented using a vertical and horizontal axis to represent the composition and volume of capital.

In Fig. 1, relating to the distribution of capital in the UNPRPD programme, we use a small circle to depict low volume and composition of capital and positioned it far from other larger circles (structures with a large volume of capital). A small circle does not represent the number of people with disabilities, only the relative influence or power in the surrounding social space.

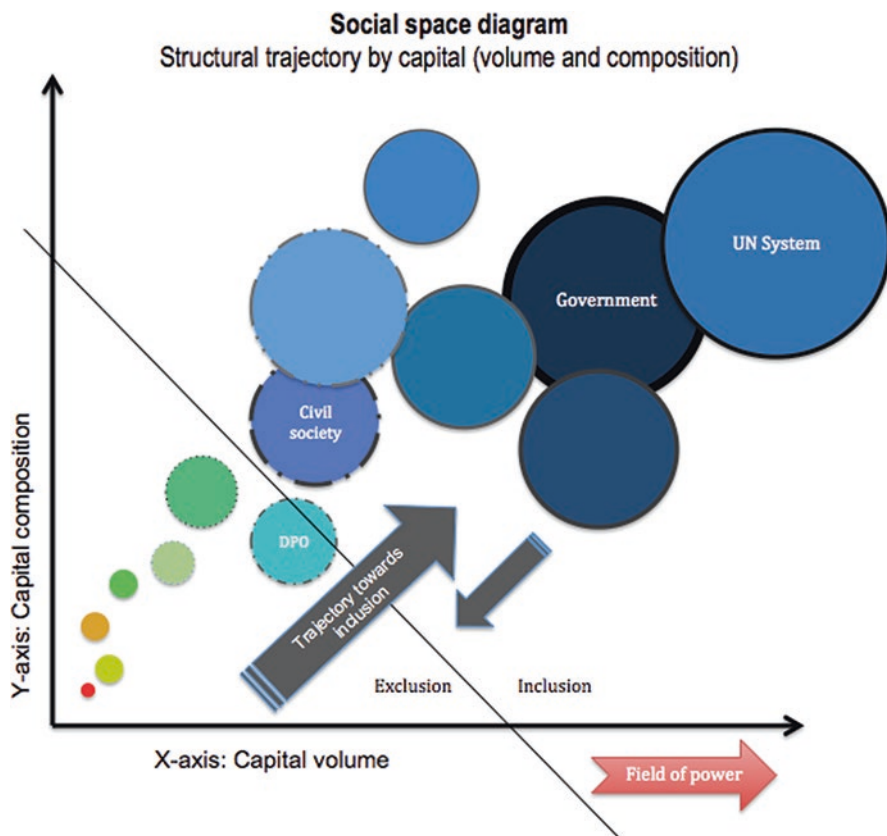


Fig. 1 Diagram of structural relationships between stakeholders in the UNPRPD

The United Nations holds tremendous symbolic capital and translates the larger structural status (and legitimacy of partnering agencies) to the UNPRPD, despite this being relatively new. Encompassing the capital of such an influential institution as the United Nations, as well as the country project programme management, the UNPRPD circle would be larger and in close proximity to other highly powerful structures relevant in any given country project. In the case of a country implementing the CRPD through United Nations Country Teams (UNCTs), the UNPRPD is a central figure disseminating a common framework each project conforms to, strengthening the relationship between structures. The UNPRPD country projects have all four types of capital in the context of implementing the CRPD, whereas the partnering structures often lack the knowledge or prestige to achieve the same results independently.

Larger circles placed opposite to disability will have a similar composition of capital based on their proximity (Bourdieu, 1984, 1987) and can be represented by colour. Bourdieu provides the example of racial disparities and the historical production of segregated neighbourhoods into separate homogeneous clusters

differentiated through bodies by race, but systematically through the embodiment of wealth, education, access to resources and social status when those resources are concentrated within a dominant group (Bourdieu, 1986; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Inequality has been transferred to the body as the site of tension for people with disabilities as well (Edwards & Imrie, 2003); however, the manifestation of disability is incredibly diverse and therefore fragments what may have ordinarily formed a cluster into silos within families and communities and across all social fields – see bottom left of Fig. 1. The colour of large structure circles will reflect similar hues, while the disability circle presents a much different composition of capital signified by colour contrast.

Another element to be schematically represented is the ‘legitimacy’ of a structure. When a structure is reinforced over time with wealth, resources, networks and information, it becomes established as normal or, according to Bourdieu, the objectified reality of subjective processes (Bourdieu, 1987, 1990). Many additional structures operate in social space; however for the field describing this study, only structures regularly participating in the UNPRPD mechanism are discussed to express how Bourdieu may be used to highlight development progress across country projects. Major structures vary in their legitimacy. A thick border around a circle can symbolize the durability of a structure, such as government ministries or the United Nations. A textured or fine line around circles can provide contrasting information about the stability of their influence, as structures such as a OPD have only recently become recognized as key stakeholders (United Nations Development Group, 2011; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2016a). These elements are important to capture when mapping out a social field and ideally through repeat analysis as to show increasing stability or the normalizing of disability participation into sustained inclusion.

Figure 1 therefore depicts a diagram of structural relationships found between entities relevant to this research, presented by Bourdieusian theoretical constructs. The *X*-axis represents the volume of capital, where circle size indicates the relative amount of capital. Larger circles have more volume and therefore slide farther to the right compared to small circles towards the left. The *Y*-axis shows the total composition of capital forms (economic, cultural, social and symbolic), where stronger capital diversity moves higher up the *Y*-axis and low capital diversity is captured towards the *X*-axis.

When combining volume (*X*-axis) and composition (*Y*-axis) of capital, the circles take a trajectory, positioning them in social space. The UN System has diverse capital in large amounts (particularly in the context of the UNPRPD project, as they approve projects, manage the project cycle and administer resources); therefore, it moves both up the *Y*-axis and across the *X*-axis, placing the circle in the upper right-hand area in social space. Structures with low volume and composition of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (e.g. disability) are positioned in the bottom left-hand corner (red circle) of this diagram.

The colours of circles represent concentrations of similar capital composition, where structures of high status, organizational knowledge or financial resources

share a common shade of blue (for example). When there are large concentrations of one colour, these dominant similarities elicit operational norms over time.

The borders around circles recognize the durability of some structures compared to others in this relational context. The government has contained robust capital throughout history, particularly when compared to the opposing disability structure. By drawing a thick, black line around the government circle, their stability is easily identified.

While there is no distinct dividing line between social inclusion and exclusion, Bourdieu's *field of power* marks an approximate threshold where capital (power) concentrations disperse and therefore overall social influence (lack of financial and non-financial resources) resulting in exclusion. Some structures are well within the field of power, while others are emerging within new partnerships, such as OPDs.

Social space is not static, particularly when development aims to change structural composition and relationships. While the desired trajectory of disability in inclusive development is towards concentrations of power may not be as simple as moving one structure towards others, in other words, this system is interconnected. Social space is relational, and when one moves, others react (Bourdieu, 1984, 1987). One structure cannot be placed into a new position without a shift to the field; therefore the entire space will experience reformation. Circles will expand and contract as knowledge is gained (or lost), networks built (or diminished) and resources increased (or decreased).

As capital is exchanged (e.g. financial resources spent, knowledge transfer, relationships established), circles move along the X- and Y-axes. The large arrow recognizes excluded structures must move towards the concentration of capital or past the threshold marked in by the field of power. The smaller arrow shows this inherently means the dominant structures will also change their position in social space (Table 2)

Table 2 Content description of Fig. 1

Structure	Colour (capital composition)	Circle size (capital volume)	Position in social space
UN System	Blue shade	Large circle	Highly stable, large volume and diverse composition of capital
Government	Blue shade	Large circle	Highly stable, large volume and diverse composition of capital
Civil society	Slightly lighter blue shade	Moderate circle	Relatively stable depending on organization, moderate volume and composition of capital
OPDs	Light blue	Small circle	Slightly stable, newly introduced and unrecognized by many development structures, lower volume and composition of capital
Disability	Red	Very small circle	Unstable and excluded, low volume and composition of capital; far in social space to decision-making structures

Conclusion

While the Force Field Analysis methods of Lewin have been very influential in developing tools for social change, they often depict a social field as being uncomplicated by power relations. By contrast, Bourdieu's social fields are primarily constructed by power relations that are a product of the sort of capital acquired by different social institutions. The empowerment of one group may often require a redistribution of power or at least the opening up of a space where the legitimacy of one group's power can be truly contested by another group. Finding ways to talk about, depict and map these sort of difficult relationships is a first step to acknowledging them and allowing a dialogue between different views. We argue that macropsychology needs to incorporate Lewin-type Theories of Change not only to describe different stakeholder perspectives and resources but also to recognize that such perspectives and resources are imbued with power relations that may influence the possibilities that exist for change itself. Thus the very best of psychological research may not be able to produce social change because it is not in the interest of those who hold power to make such a change. For a sometimes narrow and perhaps sometimes naïve psychological science, this may seem altogether too cynical; but for sociological theorists such as Bourdieu, by contrast, it seems obvious, indeed self-evident. Fortunately these two approaches are not only compatible but also complementary, and their synthesis could greatly enhance the ability of macropsychology to produce social change in the institutions that affect the settings and conditions in which we live our lives.

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Agent-Based Modelling: A Bridge Between Psychology and Macro-social Science



Tomas Folke and William G. Kennedy

Introduction

Quantitative social science has historically been based on surveys and clever social experiments, on the one hand, and mathematic-heavy theories that aim to capture aggregate behaviour on the other (such as macro-economic models on the relationship between interest rates and unemployment). Relatively recently, important economic assumptions, such as rational choice theory, have been challenged by small-scale behavioural experiments (Tversky & Kahneman, 1992), giving rise to behavioural economics. However, the insights of behavioural economics have not yet permeated quantitative social science more broadly, perhaps because it is not always intuitive how to scale data on individual economic choice to social systems. Addressing the scaling problem would allow for an integrated quantitative social science, ranging from cognitive neuroscience on the micro-end all the way to macro-economics and quantitative international relations on the other. Agent-based modelling (ABM) provides one potential way forward by simulating iterated interactions between multiple agents. The behaviour of the simulated agents can be informed by our best models from the behavioural sciences, and the large-scale implications of these behaviours can be quantified. These quantitative results can then fulfill a number of functions for researchers interested in the macro-level, from hypothesis generation to falsification. ABM aims to explain how the behaviour of individual agents gives rise to the emergent properties of the social systems they inhabit. This makes it a useful tool for understanding “how individuals or groups

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M. MacLachlan, J. McVeigh (eds.), *Macropsychology*,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50176-1_8

influence the settings and conditions of the society in which they live”, the stated aim of macropsychology (MacLachlan, 2014).

ABM is a subfield of computational social science, which implements and tests social science theories using computational simulations (simplified, algorithmically defined, imitations of the process of interest). Simulations have demonstrated potential origins of segregation (Schelling, 1969, 1971), the development of cooperation (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981), advanced anthropology (Epstein & Axtell, 1996), and others. What sets this approach apart from other computational social science approaches is that the fundamental unit of analysis is an individual agent rather than a collection of individuals, i.e. tribe, a company, or a nation. As such, it allows us to model how the collective choices of many individuals determine the emergent properties of a social system. Here the behavioural sciences (including psychology, behavioural economics, and cognitive neuroscience) can provide a basis for representing and simulating individuals which together make up the macro-level or societal behaviours.

ABM consists of programming discrete but often interdependent agents, each of which evaluates their environment, considers their history, and takes actions to change their environment and affects other agents directly or indirectly. Unlike system dynamics modelling which deals with “stocks and flows” or local inventories and movement of commodities or information between inventories described by piecewise continuous differential equations, agent-based models focus on agents representing the decision-makers or change-makers within the system. Agents are activated in a typically random order at each discrete step and affect the environment or each other through a series of steps. As an example, consider Schelling’s classic segregation model (Schelling, 1969, 1971).

In an environment made up of a grid of rectangles representing home locations, each homeowner considers whether they want to move or not based on the demographics of their neighbourhood: either the 4 or 8 adjacent squares. The simulation usually has two types of homeowners, say green and red, and if the percentage of an agent’s neighbours who are not of the same type as the subject household is above a threshold, that household relocates to an empty location at random. The agents, i.e. households, are selected to make their decision randomly during a step and their moves implement in the next set. Often many steps are needed until everyone finds a location meeting their wishes as expressed by the threshold. The surprising result is that there is a tipping point in the threshold beyond which segregated neighbours can be said to emerge. The model does not prove that segregation of human neighbourhoods is inevitable but suggests that segregation can result from relatively low preferential thresholds for similar neighbours.

A demonstration of this classic model is presented based on the NetLogo programming language and development tool. NetLogo is a free system intended to teach programming and modelling to children through doctoral students. With an intuitive interface and modelling concepts of turtles as agents and patches at their environment, and built-in visualisation, it has been fulfilling its mission for 20 years (Wilensky & Rand, 2015; Wilensky 1997, 1999) (Fig. 1).

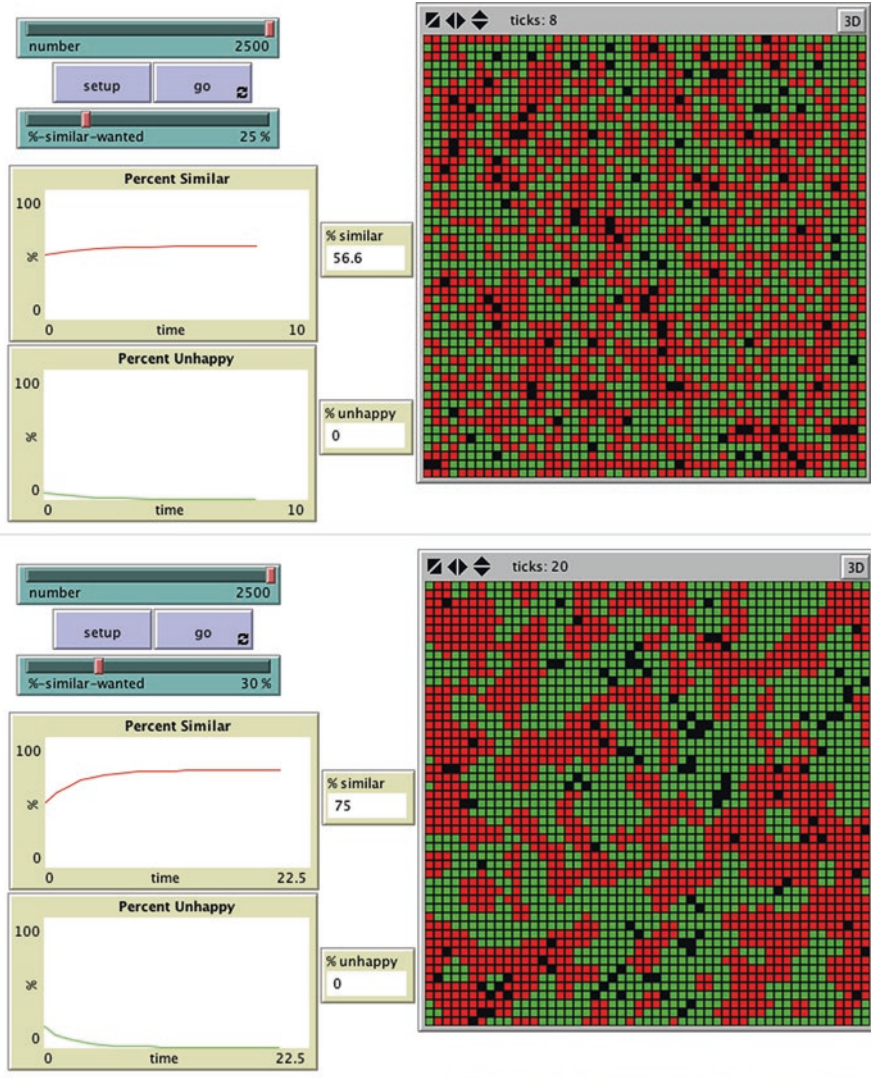


Fig. 1 Images of NetLogo's implementation of the Schelling model

Schelling's segregation model relies on very little reasoning capability, only the ability to evaluate the makeup of the agent's neighbourhood, compare that to the threshold, and move to another location if the makeup is unacceptable. However, agent-based models need not be simple. Much more elaborate reasoning may be required to model more complex situations; for example, understanding possible sources of conflict around Lake Victoria in East Africa, related to households' attempts to obtain economic security and survive.

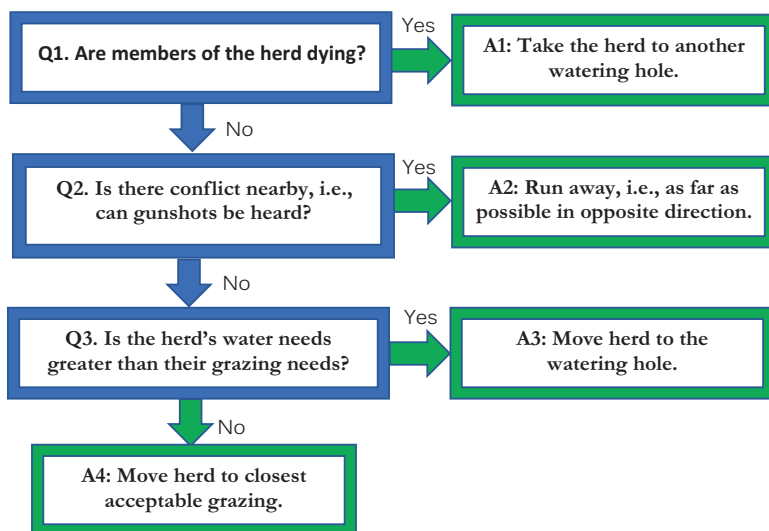


Fig. 2 Fast and frugal tree for herder's daily decision

In that model (Kennedy, Cotla, Gulden, Coletti, & Cioffi-Revilla, 2014), the households' decision-making involved how many resources to apply to farming, how many to apply to herding, and how many to working outside the home. The area around Lake Victoria has a wide variation in rainfall, land fertility, and water sources. In some areas around the lake, there are two growing seasons, whereas others are more arid, with watering holes becoming dry seasonally. The household model "understood" growing seasons as well as herd management and was validated in three different regions. A population of agents was settled in each region, and after several simulated years of adaption, their subsistence activities were compared with those reported by anthropologists who had studied the residents in those areas. The agents' decision-making involved adapting to the beginning of the growing season, the duration of the growing season, the household resources dedicated to farming as well as the household resources dedicated to daily movement of the herd (see Fig. 2), as well as buying and selling herd animals. The model developed similar balances between herding, farming, and working outside the home as the anthropologists reported, thus contributing to the validation of the model. Of course, there were more than just those labour categories used as validation. The model carefully represented the weather conditions and patterns, the fertility of the land, the biology of the herd animals, and the households' makeup, growth, and splitting all based on the available data. That model had very little direct interactions between households, except when dire need of resources resulted in violence between households. Overall, the agents' decision-making was particularly adapted to necessary basic subsistence behaviours in the East Africa region. Other models may involve more sophisticated cognition for dealing with social networks and social interactions with their associated performance measures.

In one of our projects (Kennedy & Bassett, 2011), a modelled herder had to decide daily where to take the herd. The herders' highest priority was for the survival of the herd. So, if animals are dying, action to address that is the highest priority without any other considerations. (Note that in this case, the question does not address why the animals are dying because the action to be taken addresses multiple causes of animal deaths, specifically deaths from thirst or lack of vegetation. Both are addressed by changing watering holes to provide a source of water, if that is the problem, or providing new grazing areas, if hunger is the animal's problem.) The herders' fast and frugal (F&F) decision tree is shown in Fig. 2.

One of the F&F design features is the structure of the set of "IF-THEN" statements. They are not stand-alone, independent rules. Each of them is evaluated sequentially and in a context. The context for the first question is empty, and so it is the highest priority that drives the first question. The second question is considered only if the highest priority issue is not acted upon. Its context is that the first question's condition is not met. So, we can consider the next most important issue. It may be related to the first or it could be entirely different. However, it is always conditional on the first question not preempting consideration of the second. This structure continues, but not indefinitely. For many fast and frugal decision trees, the structure ends with a third question, which decides between the two remaining actions. Three sequentially evaluated conditions decide which of four actions to take. The conditions and actions are described in natural language and must be operational, i.e. executable by code. Any analysis involved in the evaluation of a condition needs to be specified so that the evaluation results in a binary true/false result. The actions are also operational, i.e. can be executed without involving any more decisions as part of this decision tree. In other words, an action could be to implement another F&F tree.

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a sense of how ABM can be used to generate novel insights by scaling up basic psychological processes in a controlled (artificial) environment. On the one hand, this provides a tool for psychologists to study the societal consequences of their insights, and it allows social scientists to explore what conditions are necessary and sufficient to give rise to the aggregate behaviours that they study. Additionally, it gives economists and policy-makers a tool for exploring the consequences of different incentive schemes in an artificial environment, before testing policies in the real world. We will illustrate these points with an early and influential case study in ABM: how simulations of the iterated prisoner's dilemma informed thinking about how cooperation is

established, promoted, and challenged in a society. We will start by giving a background to this work, describing early landmark studies and how more contemporary work has extended and challenged the early insights by relaxing the assumptions of those models. We hope this provides an illustrative example of how ABM can be used and how these methods have matured over time. We conclude by moving beyond cooperation, to two contemporary examples which highlight how ABM can speak to issues that macropsychologists care about, such as how to strengthen democratic societies and how to minimise structural bias against minorities.

Cooperation as a Case Study

In order to illustrate the value of agent-based modelling in bridging the gap between the more micro-level behavioural sciences and the more macro-level social sciences, we will explore the literature on the evolution of cooperation. Cooperation makes a good case study for two reasons. First, cooperation is of great interest across the behavioural and social sciences. Understanding which conditions support cooperation might enable a psychologist to encourage a wealthy person to give more money to charity, allow a political scientist to understand how different countries may agree on a climate deal, and equip an economist to discourage price setting or at least flag which markets may be most at risk. Second, the evolution of cooperation is a mature field which contains theoretical and mathematical work (Perc & Szolnoki, 2010; Trivers, 1971), agent-based simulations at various scales (Axelrod, 1997; Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981; Ohtsuki, Hauert, Lieberman, & Nowak, 2006), and empirical work from humans (Fudenberg, Rand, & Dreber, 2012) and non-human animals (Dugatkin, 1997; Milinski, 1987); though we will focus on the empirical work on humans in this review.

As with most topics of study, it is good to start with a stringent definition. A cooperative act incurs a cost on the actor and confers a benefit to another agent (Nowak, 2006). Thus defined cooperation poses a problem for evolutionary biology because – all else being equal – cooperative acts reduce the relative fitness of the actor (West, Griffin, & Gardner, 2007). Yet nature is filled with examples of cooperation. The first solution offered to this problem was *indirect evolutionary benefits* or *kin selection* (Hamilton, 1964). A gene variation that supports cooperation might have reproductive success, despite being costly for the individual, if relatives with the same gene gain additional success that is sufficient to offset that cost. This idea, known as Hamilton's rule, requires that cooperative acts disproportionately target genetically similar individuals, either through some form of active selection or because of spatial clustering (family members happen to live closer together and thus interact more; West et al., 2007). Though this elegant model holds some explanatory power, it cannot account for all observed instances of cooperation in the animal kingdom. The most salient counter-example is mutualisms, when individuals of different species cooperate, such as when cleaner fish remove ectoparasites from larger fish of different species, who in turn refrain from eating them (Bshary & Grutter, 2006). Clearly, there is more to cooperation than relatedness.

The biologist Robert Trivers solved this problem by suggesting a second potential cause of cooperation: reciprocity. The client who gets cleaned by the cleaner fish forgoes eating the cleaner fish (a short-term gain) in favour of the prospect of getting cleaned another day. Similarly, the cleaner fish forgoes taking a nibble out of the client in exchange for access to more ectoparasites in the future. Trivers' first key insight was that as long as the cost to the cooperator is comparatively low relative to the benefit of the recipient and cooperators preferably cooperate with each other, cooperation outside of the family can be rewarded by evolution (Trivers, 1971). Additionally, he showed that the success of reciprocal cooperation as a strategy depends on: (a) the distribution of cooperators versus defectors in the population and (b) how selective cooperators are in choosing who they cooperate with. Both of these points relate to assortment: how likely cooperators are to interact with other cooperators. This is a key determinant of the feasibility of cooperation and will be discussed at length in subsequent sections.

Though Trivers introduced the idea of reciprocal cooperation, the concept was fully developed by the political scientist Robert Axelrod. He realised that a full account of cooperation needed to answer three questions:

Viability: How does a cooperative strategy emerge in a competitive environment?

Robustness: How does a cooperative strategy sustain itself and grow in a mixed strategy environment?

Stability: How does a cooperative strategy ward off exploitative strategies once it has become the dominant paradigm?

He used agent-based models to explore these questions, and he did so in an idealised mathematical environment: the iterated prisoner's dilemma (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981). Before we can explore Axelrod's theoretical contributions, and the wealth of work he inspired, we must first provide some background information.

The Prisoner's Dilemma

The prisoner's dilemma is one of the classic scenarios in game theory. Game theory is the mathematical study of strategic decision-making. It is an extension of rational choice theory, which attempts to answer what decisions a rational actor should make depending on which actions are available to them, the potential consequences of these actions, and their ordinal preferences for these outcomes. Game theory builds on this framework by allowing multiple actors to interact, so that the choices of Actor A may influence the payoffs of Actor B and vice versa (Osborne, 2004). The beauty of game theory is that the high level of abstraction makes it applicable to many different cases. Game theory can be used to study the interactions between bacteria, people, cooperations, and countries. Additionally, because of the stringency of the framework, it often provides clear answers. However, the simplifying assumptions of game theory might cause problems when applying its conclusions to the real world, an issue we will return to in later sections.

A “game” in the game theoretic sense consists of two or more players, who each has a set of actions available to them. Each action is associated with an outcome for each player, and such a set of outcomes is known as an *action profile*. In the simplest case, a game consists of two players playing a single round, actions are discrete, both players move simultaneously, and outcomes are deterministically linked to actions. Also, each player has perfect information regarding the relationship between actions and outcomes. The prisoner’s dilemma is such an archetypal basic game. Imagine two criminals, Anne and Beatrice, who have been arrested following a major heist. The prosecution doesn’t have enough evidence to convict either of them for the heist, but can convict them of a minor crime, landing them 1 year in prison each. However, if Anne confesses to the crime and testifies against Beatrice, she doesn’t have to spend any time in prison, and Beatrice is imprisoned for 10 years. Beatrice gets the same option. Finally, if they both confess, they get 5 years in prison each. They have no way to communicate with each other after they get arrested. Assuming that both criminals are completely selfish and prefer to spend as little time in prison as possible, we can rank the potential outcomes in the following way (from worst to best): she stays quiet but her partner confesses, 0; both confess, 1; neither confesses, 2; and she confesses but her partner stays quiet, 3. We can represent this game in Table 1.

In Table 1, Anne’s preferences are listed to the left and Beatrice’s preferences are listed to the right. Let’s focus on the choice from Anne’s perspective; because the game is symmetric (both players have the same options with mirrored outcomes), our conclusions will generalise. If Beatrice stays quiet, Anne should confess to get her preferred outcome (three is greater than two). If Beatrice confesses, Anne should also confess to get her preferred outcome (one is greater than zero). In the language of game theory, *confessing strictly dominates staying quiet*: regardless of what Beatrice does, Anne is better off confessing. Because the same reasoning applies to Beatrice, both convicts should confess. Both confessing is the (only) Nash equilibrium of this game, meaning that for this action profile, neither player is incentivised to unilaterally change their action (Osborne, 2004). In other words, providing that both Anne and Beatrice are rational, they should both confess, even though it leads to their second least preferred outcome.

The reason why this game is interesting to (hopefully) law-abiding social scientists is that it seems to capture many situations where a collection of agents would benefit from cooperating but are also incentivised to cheat. On the one hand, two players who cooperate will do better than two players who don’t cooperate; and on the other hand, either player is better off acting selfishly. At the face of it, this structure seems to be common. For example, two competing politicians might both

Table 1 Representation of the prisoner’s dilemma

		Beatrice	
		Stay quiet	Confess
Anne	Stay quiet	2, 2	0, 3
	Confess	3, 0	1, 1

benefit from a campaign without attack ads, but because the best possible outcome for each is to run attack ads while the other one doesn't, both end up slinging mud. Two large companies might benefit from setting the same prices, but each would be better off if the other stuck with the agreement while they underbid them, so they end up with a price war. A group of nations might benefit from collectively cutting harmful environmental emissions, but each might benefit most if the other countries bore the cost of the transition to renewables while they themselves retain the benefits of fossil fuels, so global warming continues, etc. To capture the general nature of this game, we can label the players A and B and refer to "stay quiet" as "cooperate" and "confess" as "defect".

Though the one-shot version of this game has a depressing solution, one might ask if the result holds when we play repeated rounds with the same players. If the number of rounds is known from the outset, defect remains the optimal strategy throughout the game, because of recursion. Imagine a two-round version of the game; the second round reduces to a one-shot prisoner's dilemma, so both players should defect. Knowing this, the first round also reduces to a one-shot prisoner's dilemma, so both sides should defect. This logic extends to any number of rounds. This logic suggests that the strategy always defect (AD) is the optimal strategy for the iterated prisoner's dilemma. However, if the number of future interactions is unknown, other strategies become viable. Consider the example of price setting: two electronic companies, A and B, have decided to collectively set prices to ensure a hefty profit margin. The first week after the deal is stuck, the CEO of company A is tempted to set slightly lower prices than her competitor and thus make a nice profit. But then she stops to think: "If I lower the price this week, company B will retaliate next week, and soon we'll have a price war on our hands, and all of our profit will disappear". Wisely, she sticks with the agreement, and both companies prosper (at the expense of consumers). The general idea behind this example is that the potential for reciprocity in the future might justify cooperation, even when it is costly in the short term (the idea first popularised by Trivers; for a mathematically rigorous justification, in the context of the prisoner's dilemma, see Rubinstein, 1980). The potential for future interactions has been termed *the shadow of the future* and is another key determinant of the feasibility of cooperation (Axelrod & Dion, 1988).

Axelrod and the Evolution of Cooperation

From the previous section, we know that the prisoner's dilemma is an abstraction of interactions between two agents who are better off cooperating than not, but where it is better to free-ride than to cooperate and better to defect than to be taken advantage of. We learned that in one-shot versions of this situation, the rational solution is always to defect but that cooperation may be viable in scenarios where the same agents interact repeatedly. However, a key question has hitherto been unanswered: provided that you play a repeated version of the prisoner's dilemma, what strategy

should you use? It is obvious that your actions should depend on the actions of your partner, as you want to incentivise them to cooperate, and avoid being taken advantage of, but how exactly should you do that? As mentioned before, Axelrod wanted to understand how cooperation could emerge, spread, and stabilise. However, from Trivers' work, it was clear that indiscriminating cooperation could not be a winning strategy in any mixed environment, and Axelrod's own analyses showed that when the probability of further future interactions was high enough, no single strategy was dominant (Axelrod, 1984). Realising that the problems he was interested in might be analytically intractable, Axelrod turned to simulation. He set up a tournament where he invited academics to submit candidate strategies for the iterated prisoner's dilemma. The strategies were then formalised algorithmically and turned into coded virtual players. These players played repeatedly against each other as well as against themselves and against a player that chose moves completely at random.

The original tournament consisted of 14 players facing each other in matches consisting of 200 rounds. The winner was the player who had the highest score at the end of all matches. This was shortly followed by a second tournament with the same structure but with 62 different entries, where the number of rounds per match was randomised so that there was a fixed probability that the match might end after any given round (the mean number of rounds was 151). Both tournaments were won by the player using the simplest strategy submitted: *Tit For Tat* (TFT). TFT begins by playing cooperate and after that copies whatever move the other player did in the preceding round.

When analysing the tournament data, Axelrod identified three factors behind TFT's success: (1) it always began by cooperating and never defected first, (2) it retaliated against defection, and (3) it was forgiving, in that if a defector moved back to cooperate, so did TFT. In other words, TFT was a poster child for reciprocal altruism: it cooperated with players who were themselves cooperative, but punished defectors.

Next, Axelrod ran an ecological simulation, where multiple tournaments were played and strategies propagated proportional to their success in the previous tournament. This creates a different dynamic from the Axelrod's initial simulations, in that strategies that were successful in the original simulations because they exploited overly trusting strategies here collapsed the populations that they preyed on and effectively drove themselves to extinction. Again TFT did very well and eventually displaced all the other strategies. This tournament demonstrated the viability and robustness of TFT as a vehicle for cooperative behaviour.

Axelrod then moved on to show that a population of TFT could not be invaded by any other strategy as long as the probability of repeated interactions between any two players was high enough (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981). In other words, TFT is an evolutionarily stable strategy under conditions of repeated play. Evolutionary stability is a stronger form of equilibrium than the Nash equilibrium, because whereas the Nash equilibrium simply means that no player is incentivised to unilaterally change their play, evolutionary stability means that a group of players adhering to a strategy cannot be invaded by a new player playing any other strategy.

With this work, Axelrod explored the conditions under which cooperation was viable, robust, and stable; and in doing so, he provided two key advancements to research on cooperation. The first advancement was conceptual: he moved away from thinking of populations of “defectors” and “cooperators” to thinking of specific strategies for iterated interactions. The second advancement was methodological. He realised that many situations that were theoretically interesting but difficult to evaluate by strictly analytic methods could be addressed with simulations. Together these insights stimulated a wealth of follow-up work that continues until this day.

Extensions of Axelrod’s Work

Spatial Structures

One of the assumptions of Axelrod’s original tournament that most deviated from reality was that there was no structure determining the pattern of interaction between agents: either all agents played each other or each agent played a subset of agents at random (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981). Axelrod himself addressed this by running a spatial version of the tournament where each player only cooperated with their immediate neighbours; and at the end of each cycle, each player copied the strategy of their most successful neighbour (unless they themselves had the highest point total, in which case they maintained their current strategy). TFT performed well in this context as well (Axelrod, 1984).

The key benefit of spatial models is that they provide a method of assortment that does not depend on any selective capacity of the agent; cooperators don’t have to recognise each other; they just have to live together, separated from defectors and cheaters by some natural barrier (Trivers, 1971; West, El Mouden, & Gardner, 2011). This idea strongly relates to the concept of clusters. A single player favouring TFT cannot invade a population of AD, because in the first round when TFT cooperates, AD will get a point advantage that TFT never recovers from. However, a cluster of TFT players that have a high probability of playing each other can invade a population of AD. As stated previously, in an AD-TFT mashup, AD comes out on top; but a cluster of TFT would more than make up that difference as TFT playing itself gets a much higher point total than AD playing itself. It is worth noting that the feasibility of such an invasion is a function of the number of rounds per game (the more rounds, the greater the advantage of TFT-TFT compared to AD-AD) and the degree of clusteriness (the higher the probability that TFT plays itself rather than AD, the stronger it dominates). On the other hand, when TFT plays with itself, it is always cooperative; so an invading cluster has to do better when playing with itself than always cooperate, which is impossible for longer games (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981).

The study of how spatial structures influence the feasibility of cooperative strategies has advanced considerably since the 1980s. For example, in 2006, Ohtsuki and

colleagues suggested that the feasibility of cooperation could be determined from the payoff matrix of the game and the average number of neighbours, independent of how exactly the network is structured (Ohtsuki et al., 2006). It is worth noting that the introduction of spatial constraints greatly increases mathematical complexity compared to traditional game theory, but such problems are well suited to simulation-based methods (Nowak, 2006).

Groups

The notion of spatial structures and clusters is related to the notion of groups. Groups are clusters where the total score of the cluster has some impact on the score of the individual players. This changes the payoff matrix of the game in the sense that when you play with a group member, you care about their score as well as your own, favouring cooperation. The indirect benefits of being part of a successful group are known as *group augmentation* (West et al., 2007). The stronger the benefits of group augmentation relative to individual success within the group, the lower the temptation to defect and consequently the higher the cooperation. Another way to think about this is thinking about two levels of competition, one within groups and one between groups. If the competition between groups causes stronger selective pressures than the competition within groups, the system favours cooperators (Nowak, 2006).

The modelling of groups can be further refined by introducing migration. The easier it is to migrate between groups, the less important group augmentation becomes, because any investment in group augmentation may be lost as group members are replaced. Conversely, exploitative strategies should favour migration because they can maximise individual gain at the expense of the group and then move on to avoid sharing the cost of their selfish ways (West et al., 2011).

Mistakes

Introducing mistakes into the prisoner's dilemma was one of the earliest challenges against TFT as a viable strategy. There are two broad classes of mistakes that are of interest here: (1) misimplementation (the player is aware of having made a mistake) and (2) misperception (the other player perceives cooperation as defection or vice versa) (Axelrod & Dion, 1988). The real world is full of mistakes like this, where people fail to recognise another person, misremember a previous event, or simply misinterpret the intention behind an action. TFT deals poorly with these mistakes, because a single mistake can lead to a prolonged chain of retribution between TFT players (Molander, 1985). In the case of misimplementation, the solution is fairly straightforward – accept that you will be “punished” for your mistake in the next round and keep cooperating (Segerstrom, 1988). However, the problem of misperception is more severe. Here the best solution for TFT is to be more “generous” or “forgiving”, so that it cooperates for some proportion of trials when the other player

defects. The greater the noise, the more generous TFT should be. However, there is a cost to this generosity as the more generous the strategy, the more susceptible it becomes to exploitation.

The susceptibility of TFT to noise led Nowak and Sigmund to suggest an alternative strategy as a contender during noisy conditions: win-stay lose-shift (WSLS). WSLS cooperates when both players chose the same action in the previous move and defects otherwise (Nowak & Sigmund, 1993). The logic behind this strategy is that WSLS tries to maintain successful states and avoid losing states. When both players cooperate, it keeps cooperating; and when it successfully exploits the other player, it keeps exploiting. However, if it is being exploited by another player, it shifts to defect; and if both players defect, it cooperates, to try to reestablish a state of mutual benefit. To understand why WSLS does well in a noisy environment, consider how it plays against three alternative strategies – AD, TFT, and always cooperate (AC) – as well as itself. WSLS does horribly against AD: when it gets exploited, it shifts to defect, but the next round, when both defect, it moves back to cooperating and is exploited again, and the cycle repeats. Because AD always defects, noise in any single trial will not perturb this general pattern. Against TFT, it does okay. Both strategies begin by cooperating, but then one of them defects by mistake. If TFT defects in error, WSLS loses and responds by switching to defecting while TFT still cooperates. The result is WSLS wins and stays with defecting. In the next round, both defect, which WSLS takes as a loss and switches to cooperating. This sets up a cycle that strategy can break out of. On the other hand, if WSLS defects in error, it wins the first round and stays with defecting. TFT responds by defecting as well, and so in the next round, both defect, which WSLS interprets as a loss, so it switches to cooperating, but TFT echoes the previous defection. So WSLS loses and switches to defect. In the next round, TFT will echo the cooperation and be exploited by WSLS, and the two strategies are stuck in the same cycle. This cycle will only break if both of them happen to cooperate by mistake, leading to another period of mutual cooperation. Against AC, WSLS will cooperate, until again by noise someone defects. If WSLS defects by mistake, it will “win” and thus continue to exploit AC, and if AC defects by mistake, WSLS will respond by defecting and then exploit AC, until by noise AC defects causing WSLS to switch, and they both begin cooperating again. Against itself, WSLS begins cooperating; then when by noise one of them defects and exploits the other, in the next round they both defect; and in the round after, they are back to both cooperating again. Together, these examples paint a clear pattern; in noisy environments, WSLS has two advantages relative to TFT: when playing with itself, it is tolerant of mistakes, and when playing with nice strategies, it exploits them. This sets up a rock-papers-scissors relationship: TFT beats AD, AC beats TFT, WSLS beats AC, and AD beats WSLS; leading to interesting dynamics when allowing strategies to mutate over time. Nowak and Sigmund found that such evolutionary simulations lead to punctuated equilibria, where long periods of cooperation were followed by long periods of mutual defection, with brief turbulent periods in between (Nowak & Sigmund, 1993).

There is still an ongoing discussion concerning the conditions under which some versions of TFT outperform WSLS or vice versa (Imhof, Fudenberg, & Nowak,

2007; Rand, Ohtsuki, & Nowak, 2009; Rapoport, Seale, & Colman, 2015; Wu & Axelrod, 1995). However, Nowak and Sigmund's simulations clearly illustrate that all strategies are vulnerable to invasion when games are long enough and the environment is noisy. They also clearly illustrate that some form of conditional cooperator outperforms AD in most contexts.

Multiple Agents Interact at Once

Another obvious limitation of Axelrod's work was that it only dealt with interactions between two players. In many real-world situations, multiple actors interact at once. In game theory, these situations are referred to as N-games. Consequently, the prisoner's dilemma with more than two players is known as N-player prisoner's dilemma (NPD). There are two forms of NPD: free-riding and foul-dealing (Pettit, 1986). In the free-riding NPD, a single defection puts all cooperators worse off than if everybody cooperated, but better off than if everybody defected. In the foul-dealing NPD, on the other hand, a single defection leaves a sub-portion of the cooperators worse off than universal defection. In foul-dealing NPD, TFT is functional, whereas the free-riding NPD scenario favours more lenient strategies (Axelrod & Dion, 1988). In general, the more players in the NPD, the harder it is to establish and maintain cooperation (Bendor & Mookherjee, 1987; Joshi, 1987). This result is partly caused by the structure of the game, which makes it impossible to impose targeted sanctions on defectors. Such sanctioning, where feasible, can greatly improve the prevalence of cooperation, as will be explored in a subsequent section.

Time and Order Effects

Another assumption of game theory is that all actors move simultaneously. When this assumption is relaxed, AD and various conditional cooperators are the only stable strategies (Axelrod & Dion, 1988).

Indirect Reciprocity and Reputation

So far we have focused on direct reciprocity, where cooperation depends on the expectation that both agents will interact again in the future. *Indirect reciprocity* instead assumes that a single cooperative act can be beneficial because it improves your reputation and thus makes other agents more inclined to cooperate with you. Other agents prefer cooperating with high-reputation individuals because it increases the probability that they won't be exploited. Additionally, high-reputation individuals add value to the group, so maintaining their presence in the group provides all members with the benefits of group augmentation. Regardless of the reasons, the basic tenet of indirect reciprocity seems to hold in humans: people are more likely to donate to those that have a history of being generous, even when direct

reciprocity is unlikely (Wedekind & Milinski, 2000). In a seminal paper, Nowak and Sigmund showed that over time cooperators learned to selectively cooperate with other cooperators and formalised a rule for when indirect reciprocity benefited altruists. Specifically, they found that indirect reciprocity could support altruism when the probability of knowing another player's reputation exceeded the cost-benefit ratio of the act and when each player had multiple interactions with any other player in their lifetime (because more interactions mean more chances that high-reputation players get rewarded; Nowak & Sigmund, 1998).

This has a number of interesting implications. First, reputation systems are locked in a virtuous cycle with group size. Reputation systems ensure that cooperative players are asymmetrically rewarded, which increases group augmentation and over time leads to larger groups. Large groups both increase the total number of interactions and decrease the proportion of interactions with the same agents, further increasing the importance of reputation systems.

Second, the downside with reputation systems is that they are computationally costly: an agent needs to be able to reliably identify other actors and remember their interaction history, not only with themselves but with everyone else in the group. Furthermore, there is a natural ceiling for the power of reputation to promote cooperation, as an agent only knows the reputation of others who they have observed interacting. Language provides a means to bypass this ceiling, as it enables agents to share reputation information between themselves. Indeed, some linguists argue that gossip, the need to keep track of the reputation of all group members, was one of the main drivers of the evolution of language (Dunbar & Dunbar, 1998; Harari, 2014). More broadly, indirect reciprocity creates a cognitive arm's race between selective cooperators who want to support each other and free-riders who want to be part of the club without paying the fee (Nowak & Sigmund, 2005). This might be particularly relevant for humans, as we appear to be better at reasoning involving catching norm-breakers than decontextualised logical puzzles (Cosmides, 1989; Fiddick, 2004).

Sanctioning

There are three ways that conditional cooperators can sanction defectors that aren't covered by the traditional prisoner's dilemma framework. First, they can cut an interaction with a defector short and find someone else to interact with, i.e. *partner switching*. Second, if they know the reputation of potential partners, they can avoid low-reputation actors, i.e. *partner choice*. Finally, they can take an action with some cost to themselves that is also costly to the defector, i.e. *punishment* (West et al., 2007). Partner switching and partner choice are beneficial both because they disincentivise defection and because they directly benefit the agents engaging in the behaviour. The attractiveness of partner switching is a function of how costly it is to interrupt an ongoing interaction and the probability of finding a better partner. The effectiveness of partner choice is a function of the fidelity of the reputation system

it is based on. Both partner switching and partner choice appear to be an important incentive for cooperation among humans (Brown, Falk, & Fehr, 2004).

Punishment, unlike the mechanisms discussed above, is costly to the actor. There are a number of reasons why an actor would accept such a cost. First, punishment may incentivise cooperation from the current interaction partner in contexts where partner switching is difficult. The capacity to punish defectors does increase cooperation in humans (Fehr & Gächter, 2002; Yamagishi, 1986), especially when the punisher is seen as a legitimate authority (Baldassarri & Grossman, 2011). Second, because punishment increases cooperation within the group, it also increases the positive effects of group augmentation. Third, punishment might act as a form of signalling to onlookers that one is trustworthy, increasing the reputation of the punisher (Jordan, Hoffman, Bloom, & Rand, 2016). It is important to note that sanctioning systems can never explain the emergence of cooperation, as sanctioning systems presuppose a group of conditional cooperators who are willing to enact them, but once some cooperation is in place, sanctioning seems to play a key part in increasing its prevalence (Nowak, 2006).

More Realistic Agents

The previous sections have focused on how the structure of the game, or the tournament, in Axelrod's early work could be improved to become more realistic and what implications these changes have for our understanding of cooperation. This section will briefly touch upon assumptions made about the capacity of the agents, from the most fundamental to the most high level, and the consequences of relaxing these assumptions. The first, most fundamental quality necessary for cooperation is the capacity to quantify rewards; without it, it is impossible for an agent to determine whether they have been cheated or not (Stevens & Hauser, 2004). Clearly most animals have some ability to measure the size of ecologically relevant rewards, but the accuracy of these quantifications may be context-dependent (Boysen & Capaldi, 2014). Clearly, the more accurate the quantification is, the easier it is to enforce norms around cooperation. This opens up the interesting possibility that the invention of quantitative reasoning in general, and symbols for numbers in particular, supported cooperation in humans.

Any agent that cooperates conditionally needs to be able to identify potential interaction partners and remember their previous behaviour. Clearly, a better memory (a memory that remembers more steps from a larger set of interaction partners more accurately) allows for more complex strategies (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981).

At the fundamental level, reciprocal cooperation is a form of delayed gratification: the agent makes a small immediate sacrifice in order to reap long-term benefits. Historically, the feasibility of reciprocal altruism has been conceptualised as a function of the perspective of future interactions (Nowak, 2006). But in reality, the feasibility of reciprocal cooperation depends on the probability of future interactions multiplied by the extent to which the agent involved values the future relative to the present, i.e., their temporal discounting (Stevens & Hauser, 2004). Most

organisms show some preference for immediate rewards, and this is often rational as future rewards are more uncertain; but the higher the discount rate, the harder it is to establish cooperation. Other animals studied have much higher discount rates than humans (Green, Myerson, Holt, Slevin, & Estle, 2004), suggesting that reciprocity might be a more important motivation to cooperate for humans compared to non-human animals.

In order to engage in strategic thinking, an agent needs to have a model of the preferences of their interaction partner, and uncertainty about the other's preferences can have profound strategic implications (Kreps, Milgrom, Roberts, & Wilson, 1982). In humans, experimental evidence suggest that we model others' preferences based on our own and that we only move from this prior with difficulty (Tarantola, Kumaran, Dayan, & De Martino, 2017).

Finally, as discussed previously, indirect reciprocity depends on the fidelity of the reputation system. This in turn depends on the accurate identification of players, accurate perceptions of their interactions, accurate memory of players and their actions, and effective transmission of this information across the network of players. Consequently, increasing noise in any of these processes reduces the feasibility of indirect reciprocity.

Lessons: Factors That Improve the Feasibility of Cooperation as a Strategy

Over the course of this chapter, we have explored a number of principles that predict the feasibility of cooperation. We will conclude this section by listing the four most important ones. Manipulating one or more of these factors should influence the prevalence of cooperative behaviours.

1. **Assortment:** In order for cooperation to take hold in a competitive environment, conditional cooperators need to primarily interact with each other. This can be achieved through migrating to an environment that is difficult to access by defectors or by successfully identifying other conditional cooperators and choosing them as interaction partners.
2. **The shadow of the future:** In order for reciprocal cooperation to function, the probability of future interaction needs to be high enough to offset the current cost. This future interaction may be with the same partner (direct reciprocity) or with a different partner (indirect reciprocity), provided that there is a reputation system that is in place. Additionally, the agent needs to have a low enough discount rate to value these future interactions enough to forgo current rewards.
3. **Sanctioning:** Conditional cooperators can incentivise others to cooperate by sanctioning defection. There are various ways of sanctioning defectors that may be costly or directly beneficial to the actor carrying out the sanction, depending on the structure of the environment.
4. **Reputation:** Reputation supports both assortment and sanctioning and allows for indirect reciprocity to serve as an additional incentive for cooperation. Consequently, it has important second-order effects on the feasibility of cooperation.

These broad lessons can be applied to any context where cooperation needs to be established or strengthened, from the community level all the way up to the international arena. In some cases, cooperation at these different levels must interest; for example if we are to meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), a set of concrete goals set by the UN intended to increase the living standards of the poorest and most vulnerable while respecting the ecological boundaries of the planet. Until an absolute decoupling is achieved between economic growth and ecological degradation, meeting these goals will require difficult compromises where many communities will have to make sacrifices to assure the best possible long-term outcomes (Le Blanc, Liu, O'Connor, & Zubcevic, 2012). In this sense, meeting the SDGs requires solving an iterative multiplayer prisoner's dilemma; so the four lessons above can and should be applied so that humanity and our descendants can continue to enjoy life on this planet for many generations to come.

Using ABM to Inform Contemporary Macropsychology

Before we conclude, we want to move beyond cooperation and look at two recent cases where computational modelling has been used to understand macro-level phenomena that are of great importance to modern society: information gerrymandering and structural bias against minorities. Information gerrymandering is a means for a political party to amplify its power beyond its popular support by controlling the information flow among voters. This concept was recently explored in a *Nature* paper (Stewart et al., 2019). Most members of the populace prefer their own party's policies to be implemented, but prefer the opposing party's policies being implemented to a gridlock, the so-called consensus-seeking view. Because most people seek consensus, their vote is to some extent influenced by popular opinion: when they think another party holds the majority, they may vote with that party in order to avoid gridlock. Furthermore, the authors assume that all agents have access to a poll of the popular opinion representing some subset of the full population and constrain these polls so that each member of the public both sees and is seen by the same number of other agents. This poll might be imagined either as a formal poll or exposure to political preferences through one's surroundings (e.g. discussion with neighbours and colleagues, seeing a twitter feed, etc.). Because agents have a preference to vote with the majority, political parties can bias outcomes in their favour by maximising the number of voters that think they are in majority.

The authors list three ways in which parties can do this and quantify the effectiveness of these methods in three ways: computationally through ABM, experimentally, and observationally by fitting their computational model to real-world election data, relating to both democratic elections and parliamentary proceedings. For computational simplicity, they focused on two-party systems. The first way that a party can bias elections is to distribute supporters in such a way that as many individual polls as possible put them in the lead without "wasting" supporters on strong leads in any given poll. This aligns with the principle of traditional gerrymandering,

where lines are drawn to maximise the districts where a given party has a small but reliable majority. The second way is to introduce so-called political zealots, agents who prefer gridlock to the other side winning. It makes intuitive sense that if one party has political zealots and all members of the other party subscribe to the consensus view, the zealot party will have undue influence, and this is borne out in the modelling. Lastly, in the digital world, real zealots can be replaced by digital zealots: bots that will push a certain political opinion, regardless of the majority view. Just as with real zealots, such bots give undue influence to the party that utilises them if the other party doesn't. Interestingly, the authors find that all of these three methods reduce to the prisoner's dilemma from the perspective of the parties: if the polls are randomly assigned (no party engages in information gerrymandering), each party stochastically wins elections proportional to the popular support, with occasional gridlock. If one party uses information gerrymandering but the other does not, they can exert influence that is disproportionate to their popular support. However, if both parties engage in information gerrymandering, their influence is again proportionate to their popular support, but gridlock is also much more common, so each party can enact fewer policies than they would have been able to in a state of no information gerrymandering.

A recent preprint provides another example of how ABM may inform macro-issues, specifically the consequences of prejudice and structural inequities between the genders in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) departments (Momennejad, Sinclair, & Cikara, 2019). This preprint is also an interesting illustration of how ABM and more traditional empirical research can complement each other, as the authors point out that more empirical work is necessary to find reasonable values for some of their parameters in their model. The authors hope to launch a research project to use computational modelling to increase social justice. As a case study and proof of concept, they look at the cost of sexism in STEM. The benefit of such simulations is that they can help to quantify the cost of discrimination, both for the targeted minority and for the institution as a whole, as well as evaluating the effectiveness of different interventions and the probable time-scale of their impact.

They set up a simple simulation where each research institution has 100 agents, and 2 to 8 of these agents are then drawn into meetings. In these meetings, each agent has some probability to make a sexist comment against the opposite gender and some probability to object against sexist comments. Over time with agents' learning, when they observe a sexist comment being unopposed, they become more likely to make sexist comments in the future; and when they observe objections against sexist comments, they become less likely to make sexist comments in the future. Crucially, the probability to object is held constant for each agent throughout the simulation.

Agents only make sexist comments if their own gender is at least 50% of the attendants of a meeting. If this condition is met, a random number is drawn and compared to each agent's "sexist parameter". Agents whose threshold is exceeded by the drawn number make a sexist comment. Sexist comments incur a cost to all agents of the target gender present. Objections incur a cost to those who made sexist

comments, as well as the objector; the cost for the objector is higher if the objector is of the gender targeted by the sexist comment than if they are of the opposite gender.

These simulations assumed that men and women had the same base propensity for sexism, the same propensity to object, and the same learning rates (in other words, the genders were treated as psychologically equivalent across these dimensions). This allowed the researchers to isolate the effect of different gender ratios on sexism. They compared institutions with 10–50% women, with increments of 10%, and they found that lower rates of women were associated with more sexism directed towards women and less sexism directed towards men and that these gaps increased over time. They also found that the total cost of sexism for the institutions grew with greater gender imbalance. Interestingly, they found that affirmative action alone was insufficient to solve this problem; when an institution that had started with a 10–90% distribution was transformed to a 50–50% institution, sexism persisted, as a result of prior learning. However, increasing the objection rate together with equalisation of the distribution successfully decreased gender bias.

Though this paper deserves credit for opening a new line of inquiry, it also suffers from a number of serious limitations. Even though probabilities of sexist comments, objections, and learning rates were all empirically derived, costs were not, neither for being the target of sexism nor to raise or be targeted by an objection. The authors themselves consider this a main contribution of the paper; it has highlighted a number of parameters that need to be empirically derived in order to improve future modelling efforts. Additionally, in the 50–50 gender distributions, both genders drifted towards more sexist comments over time, which suggests that the original model may have been misspecified to be too pessimistic. Finally, the model assumed that gender distributions stayed constant over time. There was no cost threshold at which agents changed jobs. Including such parameters would allow one to investigate how gender distributions and sexism at the workplace dynamically influence one another. Together, these two studies illustrate how ABM can be used to study contemporary social issues of interest to macropsychology and how modellers and empirical researchers can collaborate to find novel insights that would be inaccessible to either group alone.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have made the case that ABM may serve as a bridge between the micro-level behavioural sciences and more macro-level quantitative social science. The chapter started with a review of the literature and the importance of definitions. Computational social science, of which agent-based modelling is a subfield, requires concepts to be clearly and precisely operationalised. This process needs to be strict enough that they can be formalised in executable code. This requirement alone is a contribution to psychology and the social sciences. We then highlighted cooperation as an example of the successful application of ABM, with a specific focus on Axelrod's early work and its extensions. Finally, we used two recent examples to

illustrate how ABM can be used to understand contemporary issues of interest to macropsychologists. We would like to conclude by reflecting on which lessons can be learned from the application of ABM in the study of cooperation.

First, the building of agent-based models allowed for the systematic evaluation of the feasibility of different strategies that supported conditional cooperation, which would have been impossible to do analytically with pure mathematics and prohibitively expensive and time-consuming to do empirically by studying human players. Second, the agent-based model provided a shared framework that stimulated discussions between social scientists, biologists, economists, and psychologists. Third, by starting with very simple abstract models and then systematically varying their complexity and realism, researchers could explore which assumptions had implications for the feasibility of cooperation and which assumptions mattered less. This in turn allowed scientists to map a set of general principles that can explain the prevalence of cooperation in a wide variety of settings. Though Axelrod's original questions about the emergence, sustainability, and stability of cooperation still aren't conclusively answered, there can be no doubt that his work stimulated profound advancements in the study of cooperation. We are convinced that many other research areas could benefit from this approach and hope that this chapter will motivate readers to consider how these methods may be applied to their own area of research. The theme of cooperation is both central to the SDGs and a fundamental requirement of national governance structures that create the settings and conditions in which citizens live. As such, it may form the basis upon which many other aspects of macropsychology thrive or fail.

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Macropsychology for Decent Work: *Sustainable Livelihood*



Stuart C. Carr, Darrin J. Hodgetts, Johan Potgieter, and Ines Meyer

Context

As we write, the French government has proposed and enacted increases in the national legal minimum wage. This policy came about as a response to the *gilets jaunes* (yellow vests) movement, which had emerged in late 2018 in the wake of a proposed hike in fuel prices. A hike, so the government claimed, would help offset global warming. Pressing issues of global warming aside, the subsequent protests reflected a feeling among low-paid individuals that the increases would make their jobs and livelihoods less sustainable, for instance due to higher cost in getting to, through, and from work. Why exactly is it that those with the least have to bear the burden of such policies the most? Protests like those of the *gilets jaunes*, and government responses to them, are manifestations of how macro (government) and meso (work) perspectives can collide and impact individuals' (micro-level) livelihoods. This weaving together of levels of action, and in particular the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives (MacLachlan, 2014), is a key feature of macropsychology.

An inherent threat to having this *sustainable livelihood* is job insecurity, whether through precarious pay, the price of commodities such as fuel, casualization of work, informality of employment, or income inequalities in society. An excellent example of applied research that bears on understanding the linkage between

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individual security, work arrangements, and society appears in Jiang and Probst (2016). These authors approached the meso-level issue of job insecurity and micro-level burnout (individual emotionalism and cynicism), through a macro-level lens (state-level inequality). Across 30 nations and 48 states in the USA, Jiang and Probst (ibid) found that countries and states with higher income inequality (captured by the Gini coefficient) also contained sharper increases in micro-level burnout from lingering job insecurity at work:

Psychological demands placed on employees [micro-level] as a result of job insecurity [middle-level] are compounded when they occur in a context of economic inequality [macro-level]. By taking a multi-level perspective on the experience of job insecurity as an economic stressor, we provide a more comprehensive picture of the complex interplay between socio-economic and psychosocial variables in employee reactions to this ubiquitous stressor. (ibid, p. 679, Jiang and Probst, 2016; parentheses added)

We agree with this need to take a multilevel perspective, one that includes micro, meso, and macro points of view. From the latter's perspective though, we argue that economic insecurity is *not* necessarily a "ubiquitous stressor" (ibid). It should not be widely occurring, even though it is. Thus in our view, it can and should be challenged, fought, and even prevented (for example, by pay reforms at work), not only from a national but also at an organizational level (for example, through pay reforms at work).

The core question for this chapter is how best to apply macro work psychology that enables freedom from job insecurity and other forms of life stressor (Sen, 1999). This aligns with SDG-8, the key objective of which is to create decent work for all (United Nations, 2018a). According to the UN's International Labour Organization (ILO), "decent work" includes achieving precisely *freedom* from job insecurity:

Decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, *security in the workplace* and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men. (ILO, 2019a, emphasis added)

In the rest of this chapter, we address the issue of "where next?" for decent work policy. We do so under the wider global framework of the SDGs in general and from the "viewing platform" of SDG-8 – Decent Work – in particular. We begin with a brief historical overview of the concept of a sustainable livelihood and in particular its intersectionality with the SDG structure and its macro goal of institutionalizing decent work for all.

History

The term "sustainable livelihood" is traceable to a macro-level focus on sustainable *development* beginning in the 1980s with the UN Brundtland Commission on the Environment and Development (1983). This Commission was charged with finding

ways to enable low-income rural communities in what were then termed “developing” countries to survive with minimal costs to their own physical environments. An example of the latter was the economic and nutritional necessity, at a time when cleaner forms of energy such as solar were not readily available, of having to use local native forest wood to cook by fire, rather than by less destructive but less affordable forms of energy (e.g. kerosene). As forested land was increasingly cleared due to the economic necessity of having to cook root vegetables over wood fires, land became less stable, more prone to flood and drought damage, and in general less able to sustain future safe and secure livelihoods.

The Brundtland Commission eventually produced an influential report, “Our Common Future” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This report introduced the idea of an environmental approach to sustainable development, which included sustainable livelihood (ibid, Item 56):

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets ... and activities required for a means of living, a livelihood is *sustainable* which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term. (Chambers & Conway, 1991/1992, p. 6)

Based on this definition, *work* as a means to creating a livelihood goes well beyond the single, formal, individualized “job” that sits at the heart of most contemporary work psychology. It embraces ideas of connectedness between my work and your work, one generation and the next, the person and society, and the capacity to bounce back from economic and other forms of shock (such as natural and man-made disasters). Later, at the 1992 UN Conference on the Environment and Development, the concept of sustainable livelihood was expanded significantly. It now included urban environments, to which many rural populations had increasingly migrated (Chambers & Conway, 1991/1992), and where today more than half of the world lives (United Nations, 2018b).

In the 2000s, the United Nations laid out the first “grand plan” for human development, the 2000–2015 Millennium Development Goals (“MDGs”). There was no strong consideration of livelihoods in general, or work in particular, as a means of achieving the primary MDG – halving global poverty (Annan, 2000). However during this period, the concept of sustainable livelihood was expanded once more, this time to include resilience against disasters such as droughts (Krantz, 2001). By the 2010s, the UN’s Rio Conference on Sustainable Development and the World Bank (2012) had included jobs and disasters, alongside energy, cities, food, water and oceans, into the beginnings of an integrated plan for poverty reduction.

Out of the Rio conference in particular came the macro-level realization that humanity needed a single integrated plan for development out of poverty (Yiu & Saner, 2014). The UN commissioned a working group to consult as widely as possible across all sectors (public, private, communal, social) and to draft a new set of global goals, covering all countries on Earth. The result of this process was the 2016–2030 SDGs (United Nations, 2018a). At the heart of these goals, whose primary focus is on eradicating global poverty (SDG-1), is SDG-8 – Decent Work for All. This goal includes tackling working poverty “in all its forms, everywhere”. SDG-8 thereby includes facing up to and tackling working poverty, defined as

economic slavery in precarious and vulnerable working conditions across the massive informal sector (Standing, 2012; World Bank, 2012). Central to addressing issues of poverty and precarity is income.

Income

If sustainability begins at home, an obvious way to enable it is for people to be paid a decent, living wage. In its centenary, the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Global Commission on the Future of Work has recommended a universal labour guarantee, including a "living wage" (2019a, p. 3). The concept of a living wage is not just pecuniary and material. It is also defined as meeting people's aspirations for a decent quality of life (and work life), being productive (at work), and enabling shared prosperity, at home and across future generations (Eurofound, 2018). Living wage campaigns have on this basis proliferated since the 1990s, responding to a growing failure of legal minimum wages to prevent "working poverty" (ibid, p. 1). Globally there are now in excess of seven times more people in work *and* in "vulnerable employment" than people in work and in secure employment(?), with many more again in work that is "precarious" (ILO, 2018a; Standing, 2016).

Accompanying this race to the bottom of the wage spectrum for a majority of the world's working population is a race to the top for a small minority (Oxfam, 2019). On one side, just under half the world's population – 3.4 billion people – reportedly subsist on less than \$5.50 a day, the World Bank's latest poverty line for extreme poverty in upper-middle-income countries (World Bank, 2018). Between 1980 and 2016, the poorest 50% of humanity only captured 12 cents in every dollar of global income growth. Meanwhile by contrast, the top 1% captured 27 cents in every dollar (Alvaredo, Charcel, Piketty, Saez, & Zucman, 2017). Wage inequality in fact has grown "in nearly all countries" over this time period (World Inequality Lab, 2018, p. 5). Wage inequality *within* workplaces, and a sense of wage injustice, could be part responsible for falling per capita productivity levels globally (ILO, 2017).

From this relatively macro-perspective, work psychology starts to look like it should ethically become a servant of empowerment rather than of the powerful (Carr, McAuliffe, & MacLachlan, 2014; Lefkowitz, 2016). It has a professional and social responsibility to hold organizations accountable to their stakeholders, including all employees (Carr, Parker, Arrowsmith, & Watters, 2016). That kind of responsibility is illustrated graphically in Fig. 1, which depicts quality of life, and work life, as a function of a wage and income *spectrum* (Carr et al., 2018).

Figure 1 turns conventional job evaluation (a process by which monetary value is attributed to work based on what the labour market is willing to pay) on its head. Instead of money being the criterion, against which we evaluate worker input, it is now worker outcome (quality of life and work life) that becomes the criterion. What the organization pays becomes an input. Historically, this marks a return to the founding ethos of job evaluation, which included social as well as economic justice (Figart, 2000).

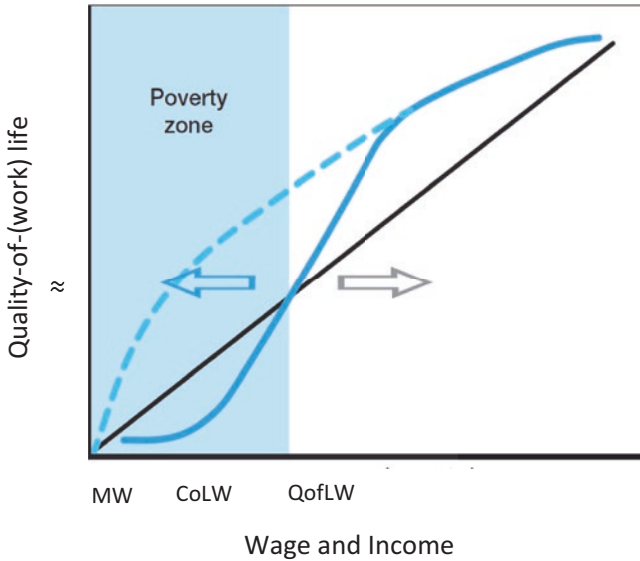


Fig. 1 Quality of (work) life along the wage and income spectrum. Key: MW legal minimum wage, CoLW cost-of-living wage, QofLW quality-of-living wage, \approx balance in quality of (work) life. (Source: Adapted from Carr et al., 2016)

Figure 1 also depicts competing theoretical relationships: The straight black line, a perfect linear correlation, is for comparison only with the continuous blue line predicting a poverty trap in the blue zone, versus the dotted line implying that low wages can be less pernicious. Along the x -axis, we already know that legal minimum wages (MW) are often less than actual cost-of-living wages (Oxfam, 2019), or CoLW. The latter provide for material subsistence rather than going further to enable a decent, quality-of-living wage (QofLW). Thus the x -axis in Fig. 1 operationalizes a wage *spectrum*.

As wage values increase, along the x -axis, the model predicts that quality of (work) life, depicted on the y -axis, will improve. “How” it improves transformatively only beyond the QofLW as the blue line predicts, or more incrementally even from MW and below, as the dotted line predicts, has remained until now unresolved (Gloss, Carr, Reichman, & Abdul-Nasiru, 2016).

Low Income

Low wages are paid to the majority of workers in the world. In a reflection of the inverse care law (Hart, 1971),¹ these are also the workers who have been largely overlooked in conventional work psychology (Berman & Jean, 2015), in favour of

¹The inverse care law originally posited that provision of medical and social care is inversely related to need. That is, those who need resources the least consume the most. In this case, workers

middle-class occupations at work and elites (Gloss et al., 2016). Living wage arguments themselves have taken a predominantly pecuniary not humanitarian approach when calculating living wage values. They have first tended to assume a particular household configuration, number of incomes, and then used various cost-of-living (CoLW) figures, for example, from consumer surveys, to calculate an hourly rate required to purchase those essential commodities (Anker, 2011; Tijdens & Fabo, 2014). As Fig. 1 points out, we still need to ask what wage enables people to experience a *quality-of-living* wage (QofLW).

Case reviews suggest that raising minimum wages towards living wages does not necessarily lose jobs and may actually increase retention (ILO, 2013). It may even bring efficiency gains to worldwide per capita productivity rates that have been flagging (Shambaugh et al., 2017). Yet, the largely case-based evidence to date (Coulson & Bonner, 2015; Fairris, Runsten, Briones, & Goodheart, 2015; Werner & Lim, 2016) has not been systematic or cogent enough to persuade most employers to shift to paying their country or county campaign living wage (see, e.g. Yao, Parker, Arrowsmith, & Carr, 2017). At societal level for instance, households are diverse, and this may render living wage values variable rather than fixed. Hence without knowing the relationship between different wage values (x) and quality of work life (y), it is always possible to argue that the value should and could be higher, or lower, ad nauseam between continuous and dotted blue lines in Fig. 1.

In order to break such impasses, Fig. 1 predicts that quality of life will vary along the wage spectrum. In the lower income third (blue in Fig. 1), employees will find themselves in a working poverty trap: For reasons of economic necessity, they cannot realize their inherent capabilities to participate fully in society and to be productive and proud citizens (Sen, 1999). Quality of life will be held in check by poor wages and income, through inability to make ends meet and incurring usurious debt (Schrage & Huber, 2018). Examples for how a poor quality of life manifests at work (i.e. on the criterion y -axis in Fig. 1) include poor job satisfaction, workplace disengagement, low organizational commitment, work-life imbalance, and a sense of disempowerment rather than empowerment (Carr et al., 2016). Only beyond a certain QofLW threshold would fortunes climb precipitately and qualitatively, from dissatisfaction to satisfaction, disengagement to engagement, imbalance to balance (\approx).

It is important to determine this threshold empirically, first and foremost perhaps by charting the relationship between income and QofLW to see what shape actually emerges. Then one can use the x -axis in Fig. 1 as a sliding scale, to calibrate at whichever point, or perhaps within what range (Yao et al., 2017), people feel like they are escaping from working poverty and poverties of opportunity (\approx). Without exceeding that threshold, however, Fig. 1 predicts that taxes and transfers will never be sufficient to break free from poverty traps. In effect, a “big push” (to QofLW) must happen to boost people’s wages, by whatever means, above a certain wage

who need the help of work psychologists the most receive the least help, while elites experience personal coaching and collaborations to enhance the productivity of low paid workers.

range threshold. This push would be a pre-condition for realizing SDG-8 (and SDG-1 – End Poverty).

Emerging empirical evidence from New Zealand and South Africa, two very different societies, suggests that the relationship between income and QoL/QoFLW is S-shaped (indicated by the blue solid line in Fig. 1). The living wage range was close to the campaigned living wage in each respective country. Most organizations in New Zealand and South Africa were not living wage employers. Yet there was a transformation from negative to positive valence, on job attitudes like job satisfaction, when wages and income climbed above \$NZ20 per hour and 12 K SA Rand per month (Carr et al., 2018). Reminiscent of Jiang and Probst (2016), this transformation in quality of (work) life was more dramatic (sharper turn upwards) in South Africa, where societal inequality was higher. Consistent with earlier evidence too, the number of household dependents did not alter the relationship significantly, implying that living wage values may sometimes be quite robust across different household compositions, but not necessarily household income. Once housing and income are secured, one or two children add only incrementally to the household bills. Of course there will be exceptions which our research could not fully probe, such as larger households on single incomes and single-parent households where the parent cannot afford childcare and is not able to work outside of the home for long periods. Hence family needs will always matter.

Importantly, too, job attitudes like job satisfaction and work engagement have links to individual (Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006) and organizational productivity (Harter, Schmidt, & Hayes, 2002). The link is reliable across economies and cultures (Davar & Ranju, 2012; Jaramillo, Mulki, & Marshall, 2005). Clearly, living wages have a potential at least to enhance prospects not only for sustainable livelihoods but also for the sustainability of organizations (i.e. for shared prosperity). A research network exploring this very possibility, of shared prosperity, is Project GLOW (Global Living Organizational Wage). GLOW is an interdisciplinary, international, multi-generational network of teaching, research, and service hubs. Its core question, along global supply chains and trade routes and using purchasing power parity (PPP\$), is whether there is a global living wage that enables people, organizations, and communities to prosper and thrive (<http://www.massey.ac.nz/project-glow>).

Carr et al. (2018) were able to show that in 2017 a monthly wage of PPP\$2000+/-200 would have been sufficient in New Zealand and South Africa. To the extent that these two economies and societies differ radically, culturally, economically, and politically, this relatively small range suggests a robustness in the figure. A residual question, answered over the 50-year course of the GLOW lifecycle, and many more economies, is whether living wages foster sustainable livelihoods for future generations from the same household and community, across all of the SDGs. These as we know include health, education, inclusion, peace versus conflict, and the sustainability of our environment. For the purposes of this chapter, however, a core point is that the concept, estimation, and evaluation of living wages can be illuminated by macro-level approaches (e.g. SDG-8) to meso- and individual-level issues (e.g. workplace engagement and quality of life, respectively). Thus

they help foster decent work conditions and improve quality of life, in organizations, in households, and for the community they sustain.

Middle Incomes

Middle classes often provide cohesion for societies, for example, by creating jobs and demand for human services (ILO, 2013). Theoretically in a second tertile on the wage spectrum in Fig. 1, this middle segment of the working population is increasingly finding itself being shunted down the spectrum, towards insecurity and hardship. A very good example, found across all sectors and in many lower-waged economies, is the institution of paying “dual salaries” (Marai et al., 2010). Trained professionals in lower-wage economies often work alongside similarly trained and experienced professionals from higher-wage economies, who are paid much more than local counterparts, based on discrepant frames of reference. Analogous double standards are arguably found in other sectors, for instance across gender pay inequities for the same job (Carr, 2013) and in the seafaring profession (this volume). In countries like Papua New Guinea (PNG), for example, the ratio between wages and income (including benefits) for expatriate-versus-host country national professionals, middle-class occupations, is often approaching 10:1 (Marai et al., *ibid*). As Marai (2014) points out, in PNG, these systems are nicknamed “economic apartheid”.

Economic apartheid means that members of the same team live in different worlds, and they are effectively segregated by their wage and income package and what it symbolizes at middle- and micro-levels: exclusion. In a practical sense, dual salaries create housing and food inflation, marginalizing skilled local professionals, and the households they often support, to the fringes of their own society, town, and community. Wages and income may even drop below the living wage threshold in Fig. 1. In PNG, for example, the colloquial phrase “zero balance” means that one’s fortnightly wage has run out half way through the pay period, leaving the family bank balance at zero (Marai et al., 2010). Such terms belie that dual salaries not only create relative poverty, with work of equal value paid unequally (SDG 10), but also absolute poverty (SDG-1, SDG-8).

A multi-method systematic evaluation of the impact of dual salaries in multiple sectors, across landlocked, island, and emerging economies, found that they were widely experienced, especially by host country national employees, as unfair (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010). This unfairness was demotivating, impacted negatively on a range of core job attitudes and intentions to leave both employer and country. Dual salaries were demotivating, stripped capacity, and fostered more reliance on expatriate labour, thereby creating vicious circles. These deleterious effects occurred largely regardless of country or sector. In countries with the highest ratios – approaching 10:1 – expatriate workers began to report that their abilities were superior to their counterparts, even though they were not in terms of human capital (Marai et al., 2010). To the extent that thinking oneself better than

one is would reduce input (“I don’t need to work hard to produce results”), dual salaries created a *double* demotivation (MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe, 2010).

Unlike country and sector, organization was a clear moderator of the degree to which the effects of dual salaries, on job attitudes and retention, became pernicious (Carr et al., *ibid*). Over 200 organizations participated in the study, and it was not possible to pinpoint exactly “how” all 200 of them – their organizational climate, morale, policies (and so on) – may have precisely cushioned or exacerbated feelings of injustice (and so on). Nonetheless, the observance of buffering effects per se implies the import of organizational-level interventions (<http://project-fair.org/>), bolstered perhaps by macro-level changes in (i) labour policy and (ii) means of job evaluation. For (ii), moving from post-colonial labour markets as the arbiters of wage levels to QofLW (in Fig. 1) would reduce the risk of unequal pay of pay for work of equal value (ILO, 2019a). An example of organizations moving to regulate pay more fairly in their own sector is “Fairness in Aid Remuneration” (Project FAIR, 2018; www.project-fair.org). In FAIR, nongovernment organizations (NGOs) are exploring the shared benefits of introducing pay reform to enable equal pay for work of equal value (above; SDG-8, SDG-10).

Upper Incomes

Earlier we noted that wage reform is not just about the lower end of Fig. 1 but also its top tertile (off the far right of Fig. 1). Particularly over the past decade or so, poverty has increasingly been viewed in both absolute and relative terms, for instance, as inequality. At a macro-level, inequality has been linked to societal health and well-being (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009) and to an escalation dynamic, with money increasingly going to the already financially very well-off (Piketty, 2014). Inevitably, perhaps, attention has also focused more and more on wages and income among the chief executive officer (CEO) class at work, in organizations (UNDP, 2017). According to the UN, CEO pay is a disproportionate drain on wages and income for the majority compared to the wage bill for the majority of labour, thereby exacerbating working poverty (ILO, 2013).

CEO wages are often unlinked, and indeed unlinkable, to actual performance: The ILO (2013) reported ratios between CEO and shopfloor post the 2007/2008 crisis of 508:1 (USA), 190:1 (Germany), and 150:1 (Hong Kong). On a purely logical basis, nobody can possibly sustain 500 or even 150 times more productivity, or input, than another human being, raising issues of both “equity” (*Ibid*, p. 89) and “efficiency” (*ibid*, p. 88). A recent study in the UK (Kennedy et al., 2019) found that British people estimated the ratio between CEO and employee at 15:1 and indicated that it ideally should be below 5:1, whereas the actual gap was closer to 150:1 (10 times public perception, 30 times the acceptable threshold). It continues to grow (Kennedy et al., 2019). Hence unbelievably, some major multinational and national companies, today, do have ratios in the thousands, ranging anywhere from 1000 to 5000:1 (*ibid*, p. 20). This again is a recipe for double demotivation.

Shocking statistics like these have prompted debate around the idea of a “maximum” wage, which has gained traction in both research and policy. In general policy terms, the ILO (2013) suggested a maximum wage *ratio*. This would mean that any CEO who wished to raise their own pay would have to raise the shopfloor’s as well. At a national level, the UK has developed a CEO-worker pay ratio disclosure regulation, which will come into effect from 2020 (ibid, 2019a). Legal accountability like this might resonate with public sentiment, including social movements such as the Occupy movement and the 99 (Hardoon, 2017). At an organizational and national level, Switzerland has introduced a “say on pay” through employee representation on company boards (ILO, 2013, p. 90) and ran a referendum on a ratio of 12:1 (which bigger firms campaigned against and won). In 2011, the Netherlands set a maximum wage for NGO CEOs, which would lose the NGO government funding and contracts if exceeded. Experimental simulations using normally intrinsically motivating games have shown that even a ratio of 2:1 can sometimes be demotivating under some circumstances (for a review, Carr, 2013). What these events and studies as a whole imply is that, as for living wages (above), “where” the actual differences are set matters for people – in this case for “knowing indifference” versus “demotivation”.

On the evidence currently available, at a macro-level, economic development is faster and more durable when wage and income are distributed fairly (Berg, Ostry, & Zettelmeyer, 2012; Easterly, 2007; IMF, 2014, 2015). Fairer distributions at a macro-level link to greater life satisfaction for individuals (O’Connell, 2004; Oishi, Kesebir, & Diener, 2011). At a middle level, organizations with higher CEO pay, and pay ratios, may have poorer human rights records (Desai, Brief, & George, 2010) and higher turnover (Messersmith, Guthrie, Ji, & Lee, 2011). They may have lower levels of work performance (Bloom, 1999), especially when the work itself is interconnected (Mondello & Maxcy, 2009). On accountability, pay disclosure is more likely when boards (who set CEO wages) and management (who receive them) are separate groups, reducing conflicts of interest (Ben-Amar & Zeghal, 2011).

Collectively therefore, available evidence suggests that maximum wages are a relevant concept for sustainable livelihoods. These are also good for the sustainability of society in general. Macro-perspectives can be coupled with middle and micro-perspective to show not only “that” wage and income need to be capped at a maximum level but also “how” setting limits can help. A new variable, the wage *ratio*, between top and bottom of the income curve can be studied as a predictor variable in its own right. The two least studied wage groups – namely the working poor and the chief executive class – become linked together through this variable. This would be turning conventional work research, which focuses largely on middle-class wage groups, on its proverbial head. The ratio is thus not only a variable but also a way of operationalizing and vertically integrating with SDG-10.

Global Mobility

Mobility has become a major issue of our time, with record numbers of asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors, migration routes, diversities of origin, destination, education levels, and skills (<https://www.oecd.org/migration/Is-this-refugee-crisis-different.pdf>). From a work perspective, on one hand, people often move to find a decent job and brighter future for themselves and future generations. On the other hand, people stuck in rust belts and depressed job markets may fear that newcomers will take their employment. In response to such issues, the SDGs aim to share prosperity by fostering integration and inclusion at work and in society:

Goal 8.8, Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments of all workers, *including migrant workers*, particularly women migrants, and those in precarious employment; ... 10.2, ... empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all *irrespective of* age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, *origin*, religion or economic or other status; ... [and] 10.7, Facilitate orderly, *safe, regular and responsible* migration and *mobility of people*, including through implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies. (ILO, 2019b)

Sometimes used pejoratively and sometimes taken that way, terms like “refugees”, “asylum seekers”, “(im)migrant”, and “expatriate” are today widely used in the media and in macro-level policy-speak (e.g. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxKzfQWyr4>). Yet to many of us, they are confusing and potentially misleading. Strictly speaking, “refugee” is a legal term, defined by UNHCR (the UN High Commission for Refugees) as “Someone who has been forced to flee their country because of persecution, war, or violence”; an “asylum seeker” is “Someone whose request for asylum has yet to be processed”. “Migrant” means either (a) an animal that migrates, or (b) a worker who moves from place to place to do seasonal work, or (c) not a refugee, displaced or otherwise “forced” to leave their home. According to UNESCO (n.d.; emphasis added), “Migrants are people who make *choices* about when to leave and where to go, even though these choices are sometimes extremely constrained”. This kind of definition, ranging in degree of choice from seeking refuge at one end to expat adventure at the other, is inclusive of all forms of global mobility.

“In the first place, we don’t like being called ‘refugees’ ... We did our best to prove to others that we were just ordinary immigrants... We wanted to rebuild our lives, that was all” (Arendt, 1943)... That same idea fuels the struggle of displaced persons today. Whether driven by hunger, violence or poverty, they arrive in their host country hoping to become ordinary – different in ethnicity and culture, perhaps productive citizens... As the UN and its member states aim to tackle the policy needs of human mobility, let them not forget that millions of migrants and refugees experience blurred and interconnected situations, and everyone is just seeking a place to call home. (Nair, 2017)

Undergirding all of these categories, and choices, is the dignified search for a sustainable livelihood. Such efforts are brought into stark relief when we consider Zimbabweans who work in South African hospitality for “zero wages” (tips only) and who are arguably part refugee, part migrant, and part expatriate. They are seeking a better life, and future, and are willing to take all kinds of risks, and costs, for

that to happen. On a wider scale too, according the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), “Refugee flows tend to concentrate in countries with the most favourable economic conditions. A *strong jobs market seems to be the most important determinant of flows* for main refugee groups” (ibid, 2016, p. 1, emphasis added).

Of course jobs and wages, and occupational options, are not the *only* reason that people choose global mobility (Carr, 2010). Motivation theory suggests that, in addition to moving to escape economic apartheid at home and/or perceived economic opportunities in offshore economies, people also leave one country (and stay in another) for career reasons, for family and other affiliations, for cultural opportunities, and for political reasons (Jackson et al., 2005). These motives often act in concert, as a series of pushes and pulls that can “trickle up” towards macro-economic levels (Carr, Inkson, & Thorn, 2005). In respect to repatriation of skilled labour, for example, expatriated New Zealanders reported being more likely to repatriate to their home country when they also reported relatively high affiliation motives (family, friends) compared to achievement orientation (e.g. in their careers). Theoretically, on the emigration side of the “human and social capital” ledger, such dynamics may alter the national balance of social vs. enterprise motivation – creating a policy choice for governments about which they prefer to encourage (Inkson et al., 2007).

Of course such dynamics from emigration may be offset by the talents coming into a country economy. This dynamic will only fully ensue if the incoming talent is recognized, respected, and integrated and is itself open to new experience (Hudson & Inkson, 2012; Kealey, 1989; Ones & Visweswaran, 1999). “Brain waste” (Mahroum, 2000) is a term that was coined to capture the waste of talent that ensues when global mobility is thwarted by prejudice and discrimination in the new country. A great deal of research shows “that” skilled immigrants from some countries experience prejudice and discrimination, both in terms of job access (access bias) and opportunities for promotion once in a job (treatment bias). Much less research shows “why” this happens and thereby “how” it can most sustainably be addressed.

One reason why integration at work is often blocked is that people are motivated towards similarity and dominance, rather than diversity and social equity. A policy-capturing study of brain waste in New Zealand asked subject-matter experts (with more than 10 years of selection experience) to predict which of a series of candidates (all equally qualified for the job and originating from different countries) would likely get. This was done across a series of jobs highlighted as key for national development (Coates & Carr, 2005). Candidates from countries that were perceived as less similar, and less “developed” on the UN *Human Development Index* itself, were less likely to get the job. When explaining their experience-based predictions, the SMEs indicated that both similarity-attraction and social dominance were salient, if largely implicit, human factors during job selection: “They feel that people who come from a *standard of living most similar to New Zealand* will fit into the environment more easily” (ibid, p. 590).

Findings like these, which reflected country values and standings (Li, 2016), imply a role for organizations to improve organizational policy in selection and training. For example, the more that selection (and placement) processes are

structured, the less room there may be for implicit biases to express themselves (DeKock & Hauptfleisch, 2018). Further, initiatives to address such issues, including cross-cultural training, are most effective when they involve actual work sample tests, critical incidents, and training for both expatriates/sojourners/immigrants and hosts (Selmer, 2010). At a more macro-level, organizations need to become more involved in policy discussions and debates. Only by including themselves more in multi-lateral, supply chain policy formation (including for living wages) will organizations, in particular multinational corporations, become more accountable to, and help foster, shared prosperity under the SDGs (The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (THP), 2015).

A similar, macropsychology point applies at the societal level. The onus for acculturation is not solely on the individual who comes to a new country and culture to work. The onus is arguably more on wider systems and policies in the host society (Berry, 2010a, 2010b). In countries that lionize assimilation, an assimilation style may be a better fit with majority expectations, whereas in a setting that stresses bicultural or multiculturalism, an integrationist style (respecting more than one identity) may be more sustainable for newcomers and host communities alike. Striving to integrate will not work if the host community is overtly assimilationist and/or racist. In such circumstances, separation may be the least unsafe option for all sides, at least in the short to medium term. In this sense, psychology cannot recommend any “universal” work acculturation style, based on the needs of workers, either material or social. On a process level, however, individual/group psychology can still inform macropsychology. For acculturation styles to sustain, they may need to become vertically integrated from one level to the next, across societal, organizational, communal, and individual levels (Carr, 2013).

Future Work

Another dividing line in the world of work, in addition to income disparity and acculturation, is the distinction between employment that is formal and informal employment. As we have seen above, at least half the world’s working population inhabits a work environment without labour laws, structured hours, job contracts, and so forth. The work they do is often dangerous, poorly paid, and precarious in multiple ways. It can also be life-saving, as in many micro-enterprises, which may not be able to sustain the financial costs of transitioning into formal employment (CSEND, 2014). Informal work is not second-class work. That kind of distinction, actually a form of exclusion, is unfortunately replicated in work psychology itself, which has in the past tended to focus only on middle-class occupations in formal sectors (Gloss et al., 2016; UNDP, 2014).

Working on a street corner, hustling in order to survive, is no less a job than hustling behind a desk in a bank (Duck & Warfield-Rawls, 2012; Groot & Hodgetts, 2015). A range of skills and capabilities are required in order to earn a living wage in such informal situations. Work psychologists need to learn more about such

forms of informal work and how these fit within the broader economy and society. We might focus on how to render some of these jobs safer and more sustainable, as well as identifying the skills that might form a basis for transitioning such workers, where appropriate, into work in the formal economy. Transitions to formal work may or may not be aligned with workers' aspirations in the informal economy. If they are, skills gained through informal work, e.g. working in a car chop-shop, may be usefully mapped onto competencies required for more formalized forms of car work, as part of a placement process. Training programmes can also be designed that will aid informal workers, and enterprises, to transition from one sector to the other, whether through teaching the skills of navigating red tape (Ivory, 2003) and/or by addressing issues such as trust in government agencies, employers in the formal economy involved in training and development, and the collection and use of tax money (Tchagneno, 2018).

Automation has already changed the world of work, and it clearly has the potential to be a force for good as much as bad, depending on how it is managed (Arrowsmith, 2017). Examples of the former include replacing human minesweepers and clearers with tarmac-laying robots in conflict zones and replacing dirty and dangerous jobs in general with smart machines. These machines generally over-replace human operators, thereby adding to job insecurity and societal levels of inequality (SDG-10; McKinsey Global Institute, 2017). Such automation does not have to be a zero-sum game, or conflict of interests, between robot and person. Human operators who are replaced by machines can be offered additional education and in-work training on how to maintain and *manage* the machines. There should also be an option to say no to automation, if the mid- to longer-term consequences are likely to be negative. Examples of this include any situation in which productivity gains from automation do not fund (or seed) replacement jobs (Graetz & Michaelks, 2015). For example, if automated fruit harvesters replace seasonal workers, in the longer term, their absence may eventually close local shops and businesses – the very antithesis of a shared prosperity.

Automated workers are cheap and do not pay any taxes, so taxing them may be one part solution to lowering the threat they pose to sustainable livelihoods. Another way of reducing their risks to sustainable livelihoods is through a state transfer payment, widely known as UBI (universal basic income). As the name suggests, and in contrast to cash conditional transfers (Barham, Macours, & Maluccio, 2013; Langou & Forteza, 2012), the UBI payment is made *unconditionally* to all adults of working age, regardless of skills, income, job, background, or location, and irrespective of any expectations for education or training. In theory, it grants people freer choice, in effect much like a living wage is designed to do, but without any connection to a specific workplace or job. The idea is that the person will escape the poverty trap zone in Fig. 1 and thereby choose more freely what they do (or not) in their occupational life. In principle, therefore, as well as potentially adding to pecuniary and symbolic values of working, a UBI could actually end up forcing employers to offer more to potential employees, rather than less (and less).

UBI experiments are being trialled around the world, in diverse economies and cultures including India and Canada, Kenya, and Finland (Psychologists for Social Change, 2017). It is probably fair to say, at this stage, that the jury is still out on their

efficacy and longer-term effects. What can be said however is that macro-level interventions can help to make livelihoods sustainable and less stressful for low-income people into the future. Large-scale collection of Big Data gives psychologists the opportunity and perhaps the obligation to develop psychology, as much as a population science, as it is an organizational- or an individual-level science (MacLachlan, Mannan, Huss, & Scholl, 2019). The concept of a UBI is based on ancient notions of the commons and brings us back nicely to where we started this chapter when we described how to enable freedom from working poverty, and poverty traps, through some form of living wage. In that respect, Fig. 1 reminds us that, like the living wage, UBI is still being trialled as if it was a single datum, rather than a spectrum of potential values. Until we know how *different* values of a UBI link to sustainable livelihood, the jury for (or against) UBI will stay out.

Finally, there are many more forms of macro issues that are relevant to work psychology than we were able to raise in this short chapter, as well as issues we have not addressed directly such as SDG-5 – Gender Equity. Groups such as the *Me Too* movement have forcefully re-invigorated debates regarding gender equity, which are clearly related to the issues already discussed in this chapter – from living wages to dual salaries and the over-representation of males at executive levels. Enacting laws against discrimination have some potential to move this particular needle. In the near future, this includes motivating organizations across all sectors to disclose ratios about equitable gender representation and remuneration. Organizations can also subject their policies against policy checklists, such as the United Nations’ Global Compact Checklist Gender Gap Analysis Tool (<https://weeps-gapanalysis.org/>). A similar tool, *EquiFrame*, is used for assessing inclusion of diversity more widely (Mannan, Amin, & MacLachlan, 2011). More broadly again, the OECD has developed a set of guidelines, with National Contact Points, to respect human rights at work, including across supply chains that straddle inside and outside of OECD countries themselves (OECD, 2011). All of these instruments were developed, at a macro-level, for use *across* levels, including businesses and other forms of organization, and by work psychologists (Saner & Yiu, 2014). Like macro-work psychology in general, and like the SDGs themselves, such structures have ongoing potential to render organizations more accountable and to make livelihoods more sustainable.

Summing up, this chapter has argued that work psychology as currently conceived and practised is out of touch with the everyday life of the majority of workers in the world today. Jobs as we know them are more the exception than the rule. Without throwing out the baby with the bathwater, we need to expand our concept and practice to include future generations, households, groups, and whole societies. In that sense, macropsychology is a form of sustaining our own livelihoods as work psychologists who rather than serving power choose to speak truth to it.

Acknowledgement on sustainable livelihood based on, and draws from, courses on which we collectively teach, research, and consult, *sustainable livelihood*. Accordingly, we wish to thank the many students, staff, and researchers who have freely and invaluablely contributed to the course, and thereby to this chapter, across South Africa, New Zealand, and a range of countries, economies, and cultures. Kia ora Koutou!

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A Macropsychology Perspective on Humanitarian Work Psychology



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Introduction

Humanitarian work psychology (hereafter, HWP) focuses on the application of research findings from work and organisational psychology (WOP¹) to organisations involved in providing humanitarian aid, as well as the adoption of a stronger humanitarian/pro-social focus in all organisations, whether within or outside of the humanitarian sector. Throughout this chapter we distinguish explicitly between these two strands of HWP, in an attempt to emphasise the importance of each for the field and to highlight the breadth of work which fits within the scope of HWP. The work psychology of humanitarian organisations (i.e. humanitarian work-psychology, or HW-p) refers to systematically extending WOP into the previously under-examined humanitarian sector. The second strand refers to making work psychology more humanitarian (i.e. humanitarian-work psychology, or h-WP), and as such includes and builds upon a growing body of existing research in WOP that looks at issues of justice, inclusion, and decent work for all employees in all organisations,

¹We acknowledge that, depending on region of the world, the field may be referred to as industrial-organizational psychology, organisational psychology, or work psychology. We have chosen the inclusive “WOP” for the purposes of this chapter.

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regardless of sector. We refer to these two strands of HWP through the moving use of a hyphen and capitalisation to denote emphasis, as follows: h-WP and HW-p.

As a discipline that extends across borders and that considers populations in both higher- and lower-income countries, HWP naturally benefits from a macropsychology focus. HWP functions in a context where the kinds of power and structural inequalities abound that make a macro focus necessary (MacLachlan, 2017). Take, for example, an HW-p practitioner interested in working with a humanitarian aid organisation to help streamline its provision of services. Because the said organisation may be functioning in a very different socioeconomic and cultural context from that in which the practitioner was trained, with power structures completely disconnected from those with which s/he is familiar, effective work must involve attention to the various forms of inequality that may exist (a) within the aid organisation targeted, (b) between the aid organisation and its surrounding community, (c) between the aid organisation and the government of the country in which it presently operates, and (d) some other unforeseen form of inequality that makes the application of psychological findings and best practices anything but straightforward.

Because issues of systemic power, income, resource, and other inequalities have always been central to HWP in ways they may not have been to disciplines that developed earlier in psychology's lifespan, we suggest that a macropsychology focus has to some extent always been a hallmark of HWP. It is only more recently that the language to describe it as such has emerged, with the work of MacLachlan (e.g., MacLachlan, 2014). The importance of understanding how psychological research can contribute to understanding and improving our global context is the backbone of HWP, but few areas of psychology have emerged in a context that specifically requires a consideration of what have come to be termed 'macropsychology' factors in the way HWP has.

A natural place to start, in considering a branch of psychology focused on humanitarian organisations and humanitarian issues, is with one of the most sweeping humanitarian undertakings extant: the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These goals provide a sense of the breadth of the work required of HWP and the type of broad-based agenda that may drive the field going forward. This chapter begins by outlining a clear connection between HWP and the SDGs. We then turn our attention to the kinds of structural impediments, with respect to how contemporary research is conducted in psychology that potentially interfere with our ability to achieve the ideals of HWP. Although such impediments exist, we argue that the adoption of a macropsychology lens can specifically help in circumventing them. To demonstrate this, we provide examples and review literature from both HW-p and h-WP, which clearly make the case for the value of a macropsychology perspective. Finally, we consider what the future of HWP may look like and how macropsychology may play even more of a role in that future.

HWP and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a set of 17 broad goals adopted in 2015 to build upon the success of the Millennium Development Goals and to serve as the United Nations Agenda 2030. The SDGs target the elimination of poverty, both directly and through topics such as hunger, wellness, economic growth, and decent work (United Nations, n.d.). As organisations and nations work together on this challenging and vital set of goals, HWP has the opportunity to both draw on its own growing knowledge base and to integrate research and best practices from WOP and other disciplines, to achieve them. Furthermore, because the issues addressed by the SDGs deal with fundamental issues of inequality, any solutions HWP offers naturally align with and benefit from inclusion of a macropsychology approach.

As already noted, the most substantial literature on which HWP draws is that of WOP, which includes broad topics such as employee selection, training, motivation, and organisational development. HWP differs from ‘standard’ WOP in key respects that align well with a macropsychology focus. Specifically, HWP attempts to identify and redress embedded biases and power imbalances. HWP has a strong social justice ‘core’ that often guides decisions related to the questions being asked and the populations being studied. WOP as a broader field has a broader focus. However, as we will outline below, researchers in the WOP literature have made numerous contributions to the SDGs without explicitly aligning with HWP.

Gloss et al. (2015) note that WOP researchers and practitioners already attend to issues central to the SDGs. For example, the authors point out that a broad focus on worker welfare has a number of effects, including improvement of private sector productivity (which then has the potential to help drive change in other sectors) and general worker well-being. Foster et al. (2016) build on these ideas, noting that accomplishing the SDGs ‘requires effective work, workers, and organizations’ (p. 137) and argue that even goals that do not immediately seem to benefit from WOP ultimately should. Their example was SDG 6, ‘Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.’ Issues of water and sanitation may not be among the first to come to mind when considering WOP, but such initiatives must still be staffed, require their staffs to be trained, benefit from performance management systems, require the building and supporting of effective teams – all of which are topics WOP has studied extensively and can be used to help aid-delivering organisations.

The SDGs are not only relevant to aid-dependent contexts but also have relevance in higher-income economies. Although the former contexts tend to spring most readily to mind, we must consider the SDGs from the perspective of improving the lives of vulnerable and marginalised individuals in *all* contexts; the goal, ultimately, should be to ‘leave nobody behind.’ This means, for example, including migrants and refugees in higher-income contexts or employees with disabilities. Explicitly recognising the important role of the SDGs within all contexts, including

higher-income economies, is important for shifting the rhetoric away from the global ‘north’ aiding the ‘south’ and recognising the sub-standard treatment of some groups of individuals in so-called ‘developed’ countries, thereby taking responsibility for improving human welfare in all settings around the globe. Building on this need to develop a more balanced focus where the experiences of *all* workers are represented, the next section reviews two criticisms of the field of psychology, that it is WEIRD and POSH. HWP represents an attempt to counter these criticisms, and we will argue later; macropsychology provides another framework to support the expansion of the wider discipline to become more balanced.

Conventional Psychology Is WEIRD and POSH

A challenge that any discipline may have, in adopting a macropsychology focus, is understanding and overcoming the discipline’s existing frameworks and inherent biases. Pursuing goals such as the SDGs requires a breadth of focus that may not be normative. This is certainly the case for WOP, and despite its origins, may be the case for HWP as well.

Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) describe the WEIRD participants often utilised in psychological research. Their observation is not a value judgement as to the normalcy of psychological populations (or, at least, not the value judgement that might seem immediately apparent) so much as a description: based on where much psychological research is conducted and published, research subjects tend to be drawn from populations that are *Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic*. The authors argue that such WEIRD populations likely do not accurately represent the human species as a whole and may, in some cases, actually be outliers in domains as diverse as visual illusion perception and social motivation (Henrich et al., 2010). Using the relatively narrow portion of the human population that qualifies as WEIRD to draw conclusions about humans in general is, as they would argue, problematic. Their conclusions are notably consistent with prior calls to action, such as that of Arnett (2008), who noted that American psychology tends to focus purely on Americans, who comprise less than 5% of the population of the planet. American psychology, however, ‘can no longer afford to neglect 95% of the world given that many of the problems psychology can potentially address *are worse among the neglected 95% than in American society*’ (Arnett, 2008, p. 602, emphasis added). The narrow focus of contemporary psychology presents a clear challenge to developing a truly global psychology. Within the WOP domain a related issue has received recent attention – that of a POSH bias.

Gloss, Carr, Reichman, Abdul-Nasiru, and Oestereich (2017) argue that WOP tends to have what they refer to as a ‘POSH’ perspective – that is, one with a bias towards *Professionals, Official work in the formal economy, dealing with groups who tend to be Safe from institutionalised discrimination, and who tend to live in High-income countries*. The case Gloss et al. (2017) make for the problems inherent in the POSH bias is compelling. By tending to focus on professionals, WOP ignores

workers, particularly those in low-skill positions or whose jobs require minimal education. An emphasis on the formal economy ignores those whose work is not explicitly covered by legal or other arrangements (e.g., street vendors or home-based garment assembly; Bivens & Gammage, 2005), resulting in the exclusion of a vulnerable element of the population from the larger WOP literature. Based on data presented by Gloss et al. (2017), POSH populations tend to be less subject to discrimination than populations in parts of the world that are not focal to WOP researchers, creating at best another imbalance in the focus of our research and at worst leading to an incomplete and inherently (if unintentionally) biased science underpinned by theories that are not applicable to significant numbers of people. Add to this the recent ‘replication crisis’ in psychology, in which a large percentage of high-profile studies failed to be replicated, even under similar contextual conditions (Open Science Collaboration, 2015). It becomes clear that more must be done to establish and then verify key research results both across different geographical and economic contexts, as well as across time. Finally, a focus on high-income countries ignores the effects that income has on factors such as wellness and life expectancy. The lived experience of individuals in lower-income countries is markedly different from that of researchers in higher-income countries. Such cultural ‘blindness’ can be difficult to overcome. A question we must ask, then, is what can be done about this situation. HWP has already begun to explicitly address it by engaging in projects in non-traditional settings and by bringing together networks of researchers across the globe, but a further part of the answer may be a stronger macropsychology focus.

The Importance of a Macropsychology Perspective

Many of the problems delineated in the prior section are, at least in part, a function of psychology’s tendency as a field to adopt a ‘micro’ rather than a ‘macro’ perspective. Adopting a macropsychology perspective allows us to not only begin to move past historical problems of WEIRDness and POSHness, it provides a different mode of understanding – what MacLachlan (2014) refers to as ‘understanding up.’ Rather than asking, ‘What happens when we implement this new training intervention?’ or ‘How do applicants react to this hiring measure?’ (both of which are the types of questions that reflect common applied problems in the WOP domain and focus on the micro level), macropsychology encourages us to ask, ‘What does the effectiveness of this training intervention tell us about the context in which work is being done?’ or ‘How do the behaviours of candidates for field workers in this NGO affect the jobs they end up doing and the people with whom they interact?’, thereby examining the impact of micro-level actions, behaviours or interventions at the higher, meso, level. Macropsychology considers not only the immediate effects of our psychological interventions but also how those interventions may interact with, or influence, existing power differentials unique to the context in which the work is being done.

As well as considering how the micro-level can impact the meso-level, we can follow ‘understanding up’ into higher levels, for example from meso-level to macro-level such as through understanding how (meso-level) HR practices in organisations perpetuate existing (macro-level) inequalities and biases, like exploring how organisational reward structures impact the Decent Work Agenda. The process of ‘understanding up’ (MacLachlan, 2014) can therefore provide insights about how micro-level interventions can influence macro-level social policies, structures, systems, and institutions. Within the context of HWP, the idea of macropsychology and ‘understanding up’ might be particularly relevant. HWP focuses on individual-level issues and solutions but is underpinned by a desire to enhance human welfare and to address various forms of structural inequalities – i.e., macro-level issues.

A macropsychology perspective makes it difficult, if not impossible, to study only WEIRD populations, given the relatively small proportion of the world they reflect, and makes the POSH bias both obvious, and obviously necessary to circumvent. In this regard, the kind of work done in HWP again reflects a natural macropsychology focus. For example, within the domain of humanitarian work: understanding how people-management works *in aid organisations*, understanding how projects can be best *organised for effectiveness*, understanding the impact of programme and project evaluation *on local communities*, and understanding how *aid funding is delivered* – all reflect questions of context. Furthermore, in considering the context of organisations in higher-income settings, particular h-WP-related research questions begin to emerge. Examples might include questioning *who* is consistently absent from decision-making processes, or the ways in which existing organisational structures are biased against particular groups, or the ways in which organisations need to adapt to external pressures such as the need to facilitate integration of refugees into workplaces. Those contexts will clearly be embedded in other unique contexts that require HWP researchers and practitioners to move beyond the immediate/micro and consider a more macropsychological/systemic approach.

To demonstrate this, we offer brief reviews of work done from both an HW-p and h-WP perspective, highlighting those that already reflect or benefit from a macropsychology approach. We then return to a consideration of how the topics reviewed – and others besides – may benefit even more from an enhanced macropsychology perspective, going forward.

Humanitarian Work-Psychology (HW-p)

In this section, we talk about a small but growing field of research that falls within the intersection of two established bodies of research – WOP in the non-profit domain and WOP in international work contexts. Humanitarian work-psychology examines the application of science to workplace issues facing individuals, teams, and organisations in international *and* non-profit humanitarian settings. This includes both organisations focused on promoting long-term community

development and aid, as well as those responding to humanitarian crises and natural disasters. This research focuses on poverty reduction in non-traditional contexts, sometimes called ‘industrial-organisational (I-O) psychology without borders’ (e.g., Gloss & Thompson, 2013). It also draws a distinction between research focused on aid workers themselves – such as emotional exhaustion amongst aid workers (Foo, 2016), well-being amongst international humanitarian aid workers (Cardozo et al., 2012), recruitment and selection of aid workers (Hudson & Inkson, 2006), and performance and work engagement of community health workers (Vallièrès & McAuliffe, 2016; Vallièrès, McAuliffe, Hyland, Galligan, & Ghee, 2017) – and research focused on the recipients of aid projects such as Abdul-Nasiru and Toaddy’s (2016) work on how mobile phone technology can improve educational outcomes in Ghana. In this section, we briefly overview two examples of current research on HW-p (INGO reward and post-disaster volunteer management).

Our first example of current research on HW-p showcases a research project examining equity in international NGO contexts, specifically through considering the reward policies and practices of aid organisations themselves. The past three decades of research into organisational justice have produced a wealth of understanding about perceived fairness at work (for review see e.g., Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Colquitt et al., 2013; Rupp, Shapiro, Folger, Skarlicki, & Shao, 2017), while recognising that the concept and perceptions of fairness in organisations differ across cultures and individuals (Furnham, 2012; Oltra, Bonache, & Brewster, 2013). Little is known about the relevance of these theories for the aid context, however, where issues of social justice and fairness may be more salient. Focusing on distributive justice, Project ADDUP surveyed 1290 employees from 202 organisations in Malawi, Uganda, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, India, and China in order to gain insights into national and international employees’ perceptions of the way they were rewarded in comparison with their (similarly skilled and qualified) national and international colleagues. Wide variation in national-international pay was found, with an average gap of international staff earning four times the amount paid to their comparable national colleagues; the widest gap (10:1) occurred in Solomon Islands. Findings suggested that in organisations where pay gaps between national and international staff were widest, feelings of injustice, demotivation, and turnover intentions were highest. Given the goal of the international aid and development sector to build local capacity and alleviate poverty, the authors argued that reward policies may be undermining aid projects before they had even begun (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010).

Building on these findings, and in response to feedback from HR and reward practitioners within the field to work on addressing – not only diagnosing – the issues, a follow-on project (Project FAIR [Fairness In Aid Remuneration] – www.project-fair.org) was born. This project focused on gathering evidence from senior practitioners in international NGOs about alternative methods for structuring reward. Findings identified three broad types of reward systems in use: (1) the traditional dual salary system, where national and international staff are paid on

different scales (based on national and global benchmarking); (2) the single salary system, where all staff are remunerated on a single scale, but where higher grades may be supplemented to be more attractive globally; and (3) the hybrid system, which varies widely between organisations but falls somewhere between the other two systems (McWha-Hermann et al., 2017). This project has provided a repository of case studies for organisations to review as they consider changing their reward system, as well as an online toolkit to help work through different strategic considerations that are required before making any decisions. Research continues to examine pay justice in international aid organisations, exploring impact on capacity development and aid worker identity, as well as the role of living wages in aid organisations, all with the clear macro contribution in mind of ultimately reducing global poverty and enhancing local employee capacity.

Our second example of current research in HW-p builds on WOP work into volunteering (e.g., Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008, 2014). WOP research specific to the humanitarian context has begun to look at the important task of coordinating volunteers in response to natural disasters (Wright & Foster, 2018). Getting appropriate help to a disaster zone following a natural disaster is a complicated task and historically not one that has been done in any systematic way, but WOP psychologists are looking at ways to streamline recruitment and selection to ensure timely deployment of the most effective people (Hui, Zhou, Chan, Zhang, & Fan, 2013). Sending the wrong people to volunteer immediately following a disaster, or allowing people to self-select to help in a disaster zone, has the potential to hinder rescue operations and ultimately presents a significant potential threat to life, both to victims through unnecessary delays in rescue operations, as well as to volunteers through inadequate skills for the disaster context. Other WOP psychologists are examining the potential for online volunteerism as an alternative to sending volunteers on short-term aid assignments (Atkins & Thompson, 2012). The SmartAid project argues that skilled professionals in higher-income settings can collaborate online with counterparts in a lower-income setting in order to build skills quickly and efficiently, enabling higher efficiency and potentially greater impact of aid projects.

HW-p is more than just applying WOP theory to new contexts; it also includes innovative ways of thinking about, and defining, work. This includes, for example, thinking about work that exists beyond traditional organisational boundaries, such as the work of Saxena (2016), which used WOP tools to understand the spread of communicable diseases in rural India or work which examines workers in the informal sector (which makes up a vast majority of workers in many lower-income countries). It also focuses on innovative use of WOP tools in humanitarian contexts and how these tools can bring added value. For example, Meyer, Kanfer, and Burrus (2016) highlight how applying WOP knowledge from the literature on teams and teamwork can help to streamline and strengthen the process through which team-based incentives are used within a community setting in rural India. Although goal-setting interventions are common in WOP, applying such interventions to work done by Indian healthcare workers created an opportunity for Meyer et al. (2016) to develop effective team-based incentives which demonstrably increased both the motivation and performance of frontline healthcare workers, thus increasing the

quality of maternal and child healthcare provided to the local community. Careful adaptation and application of WOP knowledge can lead to efficiencies that can potentially have substantial impact on the extent of reach of a project. For example, cost-saving can mean more community members can be recruited for programmes and improved systems can mean higher quality delivery of services.

HW-p is somewhat of a new frontier in WOP, then, through both application of bread-and-butter theories and tools of the discipline to a new context, as well as through innovative application and thinking beyond the scope of traditional work contexts. Current research has only begun to scratch the surface of the challenges that exist within organisations in the humanitarian and aid sectors. Integrating a macropsychological perspective which examines individuals within their organisational and societal contexts will be valuable for future work in HW-p. At its core, HW-p work explicitly aims to contribute to poverty reduction and to apply the theories and tools of WOP to humanitarian and aid initiatives. Through HW-p, the frontiers of WOP are already being expanded and redefined to look at different political, economic, and cultural competencies (Carr et al., 2013). This is crucial in a social and international research context where dynamics of dominance are oft neglected, but deeply institutionalised, thereby allowing existing inequalities to persist – or even grow. As part of this expansion and redefinition, it is crucial that we not only expand the content of our research projects but that we develop international research collaborations that are led by local researchers and that work to develop locally appropriate theories. We must recognise that just as our research has tended to focus on WEIRD and POSH populations, so too have our researchers tended to be drawn from them, serving to further perpetuate existing biases.

Humanitarian-Work Psychology (h-WP)

A macropsychology perspective allows us to naturally consider how organisations that are not part of the humanitarian ‘sphere’ can help to address the various power and structural inequalities that exist and a number of distinct (but potentially convergent) streams of research exist that are relevant to such a discussion. Our goal in this section is to introduce a few such streams, to provide the reader with a sense of the breadth of h-WP and some of the work being done that has the potential to support (directly or indirectly) initiatives such as the SDGs.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has a long history in traditional business disciplines. Initial discussions of the topic occurred in the 1930s and 1940s, but prominent authors (e.g., Carroll, 1979, 2016) suggest that the modern understanding of CSR properly dates to the 1950s. The definition of CSR has shifted over the years,

as evidenced by Dahlsrud's (2008) analysis of 37 published definitions of the construct, but the term generally refers to a recognition that organisations have responsibilities to benefit individuals and groups beyond themselves and that one of those groups is society itself (Carroll, 2016). Although Carroll (1979, 2016) notes that CSR includes economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary/philanthropic responsibilities, the latter two may take central stage from an h-WP perspective.

McWilliams and Siegel (2001) defined CSR as 'actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interests of the firm and that which is required by law' (p. 117). Attempts to influence the broader social good clearly move the topic into the h-WP domain and can include community outreach, pursuit of more environmentally-friendly policies, and partnering with non-profits. The adoption of CSR initiatives allows companies that are traditionally profit-driven to contribute to causes of regional, national, or global import. Such initiatives have been shown to not only make organisations more attractive to prospective candidates (e.g., Greening & Turban, 2000) but to be related to increased job satisfaction and decreased turnover intentions (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2015).

CSR has demonstrated its growing impact through the emergence of initiatives such as the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC; <https://www.unglobalcompact.org>). The UNGC is an international sustainability initiative designed to help organisations pursue societal goals related to issues ranging from human rights to the environment. A UNGC report (Hayward et al., 2013), documenting a survey of over 1000 global CEOs, made it clear that companies recognise the importance of sustainability-focused initiatives – even if the business value can be hard to quantify. Continuing to bring organisations from around the world together, to engage in important conversations related to CSR and sustainability, is vital. As of the writing of this chapter, the UNGC included over 9500 signatory organisations from over 160 countries. With companies increasingly aware of CSR, and coordinating efforts around larger societal goals (such as the SDGs), more research is needed on how to successfully implement and support CSR initiatives and demonstrate their business value. Additional work to integrate CSR activities into mainstream organisational strategy may also be valuable in organisations where CSR activities fall under the responsibility of a single CSR department. In such organisations, CSR can be compartmentalised such that social outreach initiatives may be handled by a relatively small number of employees, without impacting the broader organisation or workforce who often continue to operate in the pursuit of more traditional organisational goals (e.g., profit). In collaboration with initiatives such as the UNGC, HWP can ideally help turn CSR from a strategy into a more formal facet of the organisation's culture, which cannot help but in turn lead to broader social change.

Ultimately, CSR may be one facet of a constellation of related ideas that help h-WP (and HWP more broadly) adopt a macropsychology focus. For instance, Rupp and colleagues (e.g., Rupp & Mallory, 2015; Rupp, Skarlicki, & Shao, 2013) offered what they termed a 'person-centric approach' to CSR, taking what has sometimes been a relatively high-level, strategy-driven subject and emphasising CSR-relevant employee attitudes and perceptions. Although this micro-focus may seem inconsistent with a macropsychology approach, the authors make it clear that

any person-centric understanding of CSR must take into account cultural values (Rupp et al., 2013). Context, again, is key. Other authors (e.g., Stephan, Patterson, Kelly, & Mair, 2016) suggest that CSR is a key research area to help understand how organisations effect positive social change (PSC), along with social entrepreneurship and ‘base-of-the-pyramid’ research. ‘Base-of-the-pyramid’ research examines organisational strategies to generate sales in low-income markets to address poverty while also making profit (Prahalad & Hart, 2002). A focus on PSC, as described by Stephan et al. (2016), involves considering outcomes at all levels – from the individual to the societal – and a framework like macropsychology that encourages such broad-based views can only be helpful in achieving PSC/CSR-related goals.

Decent Work

SDG 8 calls for ‘Decent Work and Economic Growth’ (United Nations, n.d.). The concept of ‘decent work’ is not new; Ferraro, Dos Santos, Pais, and Mónico (2016) trace the development of the concept from its 1919 foundations through its inclusion in the SDGs. Decent work has long been a staple of the United Nations’ human rights policy and was formalised in a report by the Director-General of the International Labour Organization (ILO, 1999). As presented in that report, decent work centers around the idea that jobs should not only be available but that they should be of ‘acceptable quality.’ The understanding of decent work has continued to evolve, with recent authors offering expansions and clarifications on the idea. For example, Peruzzi (as cited in di Fabio & Maree, 2016) argued that decent work has four dimensions, when viewed from a human rights perspective. These are the freedom to choose the work done, income equity, security (e.g., access to health care), and dignity. As with any complex domain, however, multiple ways of understanding decent work exist. The ILO, in a 2013 report, provided 11 ‘Legal Framework Indicators’ (e.g., employment opportunities, adequate earnings, and productive work) deriving from 21 broader topics viewed as key to decent work (ILO, 2013). The complexity of the idea of decent work highlights the key need for future research on the topic.

It makes sense, given the role of the ILO in pushing for decent work, that much of the early research came from researchers in sociology, economics, public policy, and related fields (Blustein, Olle, Connors-Kellgren, & Diamonti, 2016). Psychology, however, has also made contributions. Research and theory in vocational and counselling psychology (e.g., Blustein, 2006) has placed decent work at the centre of the Psychology of Working Theory (PWT; Duffy, Blustein, Diemer, & Autin, 2016), which hypothesises that decent work will be predictive of outcomes such as survival needs, social connection needs, self-determination needs, and overall well-being. Clearly, there is a role for psychological research in better understanding decent work, as is made clear by early findings from a recent HWP research project on living wages, which pulls together researchers from more than 30 countries (e.g., Carr, Parker, Arrowsmith, & Watters, 2016).

It is surprising that there is relatively little research extant on the topic within psychology (Saxena et al., 2015). Although decent work has been of interest within h-WP, as can be seen from Carr et al. (2013), who argued forcefully for ‘evidence-informed approaches to developing, and maintaining, decent work’ (p. 24), much research remains to be done. One recent and encouraging stream of research is that of Ferraro and colleagues (e.g., Ferraro, Pais, Moreira, & dos Santos, 2018), who found that characteristics of decent work are predictors of work motivation. Given the importance of a motivated workforce, a better understanding of how to create work that is more meaningful and fulfilling (i.e., decent work) can only help organisations of all types. Decent work is, after all, not a concern limited to lower-income regions; all workers benefit from having work that is ‘decent’ and better understanding of how to provide the opportunity for such work is arguably both a practical and a moral issue.

An encouraging development that will enable research on decent work to move forward is the publication of psychometrically sound measures of the construct. To date, at least two such measures have been put forward. The first, Ferraro, Pais, dos Santos, and Moreira’s (2016) Decent Work Questionnaire, focuses on worker perceptions of decent work. Another, Duffy et al.’s (2017) Decent Work Scale, builds on Duffy et al.’s (2016) PWT and includes items assessing each of the five components of decent work outlined by their model. The availability of high-quality measurements of decent work will be central to further research on the topic.

Many questions related to decent work remain to be addressed. These include how jobs can be effectively designed to provide decent work, how workers can be given the training/tools they need to make work meaningful, how we might best assess whether work meets the needs (both fiduciary and non-fiduciary) of the worker, and many other topics that WOP and h-WP are well-positioned to address. Moreover, from a macropsychology perspective, the meaning of ‘decent work’ will likely depend on local, regional, and national context, so adopting a broader perspective than is standard in psychological research may be required.

The Informal Economy

An issue related to decent work is the informal economy/sector, which includes ‘businesses that are unregistered but derive income from the production of legal goods and services’ (Nichter & Goldmark, 2009, p. 1456). The ILO (2019) estimated that the informal sector constitutes more than 60% of the world’s population. The lack of registration and formal oversight leads to increased risks for workers in terms of both general unfair treatment and potential exploitation (Saxena et al., 2015). Moreover, it has been shown that for many types of work in the informal sector, a common characteristic of workers is poverty (Blunch, Canagarajah, & Raju, 2001), with many of the ‘working poor’ part of the informal, rather than formal, economy. Researchers in WOP have pointed out that the working poor, and indeed the informal economy as a whole, are not focal to ‘mainstream’ WOP. Instead,

organisations from the 'Fortune 500' tend to be over-sampled, despite those organisations employing less than 0.3% of the world's population (Woo, Keith, & Thornton, 2015).

Given the aforementioned linkage between participation in the informal sector and living in poverty, it is noteworthy that the elimination of poverty, as one of the most critical SDGs, has received attention from WOP and HWP (e.g., Carr, 2007). This is vital, as authors have argued, that one pathway to reducing poverty is better support for the working poor (Chen, 2012). Such support can be found in h-WP, in ways described by Berry et al. (2011). Researchers and practitioners of h-WP, based on their WOP training, have particular skills in areas such as information gathering, data analysis, training, assessment, and evaluation; to truly support participants in the informal economy, we must understand their experience, and must do so from a perspective that attempts to not simply apply methods from the formal economy.

At the same time, we must recognise that the informal sector is not something that only exists in lower-income areas but rather is a global phenomenon impacting more than half of the world's population. For instance, precarious work, such as the 'gig economy' occupied by many freelance, short-term workers (Kuhn, 2016), not only exists but also thrives in high-income economies. Given the rise in Uber/Lyft drivers, food delivery persons, and other types of work that offer flexibility without on-going oversight, WOP has to recognise that workers in the informal sector are part of virtually every economy. To understand those workers and their experience, we must once again consider context and take lessons from a macropsychology perspective on how to best understand and study informal sector participants. Doing so provides us with the best means of supporting them, improving their work and non-work lives, and offering guidance to organisations engaged in outreach to this growing and under-studied segment of humanity.

Diversity and Inclusion

Issues of diversity and inclusion are widely discussed and researched in WOP. Despite the term 'workforce diversity' only having gained popularity in the 1990s (Roberson, Ryan, & Ragins, 2017), issues related to understanding the contributions and needs of diverse populations have long been of importance to organisations. As research on the topic has developed, it has progressed from attempts to understand diversity-related issues or problems – such as unfair discrimination and bias – to an understanding of the benefits that organisations accrue by virtue of a diverse workforce (Shore et al., 2011). These benefits are again not restricted to lower-income contexts. Organisations operating in higher-income contexts must also consider the treatment of marginalised populations, including transgender employees (e.g., Brewster, Velez, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2012), the broader LGBT employee population (e.g., Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard, & Sürgevil, 2011), and employees with mental illness (Follmer & Jones, 2018). The tendency to stigmatise those who are

perceived as different from the majority knows no national or cultural boundaries, and aiding those who have been subjected to such treatment is important for h-WP research and practice.

Interestingly, as research has progressed, commenters have pointed out shortcomings in how we understand and discuss diversity and inclusion. Roberson et al. (2017), for example, reviewed diversity-related research as represented primarily in the prestigious *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Despite this journal being recognised as a 'top-tier' outlet for WOP research, the authors noted that their review naturally adopted a 'US-centric lens' (p. 483), which would clearly restrict the types of conclusions that might be drawn. Other authors have called for a global perspective on diversity and inclusion; Farndale, Biron, Briscoe, and Raghuram (2015) described three challenges in developing such a perspective. First, they noted that diversity and inclusion definitions will likely be context-specific and called for single-country studies to help understand the meaning of the concepts on a country-by-country basis. Second, to the extent any general conceptual understanding of 'diversity and inclusion' is even possible, it must recognise the increasingly global nature of work. To do this, in addition to the within-country studies the authors called for, between-country studies of diversity and inclusion must occur. Finally, from a pragmatic perspective, they noted the importance of linking diversity and inclusion practices to performance outcomes, at multiple levels ranging from individual to organisational performance.

h-WP is in a position to help answer the call for increased research on diversity at work from a variety of perspectives. For example, Ariss, Koall, Özbilgin, and Suutari (2012) discussed issues related to skilled migrant workers, which they noted was an under-theorised area. Issues related to global mobility more broadly have been discussed within h-WP circles for some time, as evidenced by Carr's (2010) edited volume on the topic. Within that text, multiple authors, including Carr himself, note that a better understanding of immigrant and refugee work experience is a natural focus for WOP; a European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology (EAWOP) event focused on Refugees and Work (Klehe, Zikic, & Deros, 2019) demonstrates the continued focus on this topic. The unique experiences of immigrant and refugee workers make addressing their integration a specific opportunity for h-WP, because successful integration of displaced workers is ultimately both a humanitarian and a work psychology issue. Moreover, consistent with the arguments of Farndale et al. (2015), such integration requires an understanding of (1) the work context in both the original and new 'home' countries, (2) how the workers' experience may differ from one context to the next, and (3) how to both understand and communicate performance expectations to workers in their new context.

The core of h-WP, we would argue, requires it to reflect on and deal with complex issues of diversity and inclusion. As in other areas, it is almost certain that a macropsychology focus both encourages and enables a better understanding of these critical issues.

The Future of HWP, Macropsychologically

HWP both naturally benefits from and, to some extent, has already embraced a macropsychology perspective. Moreover, the approach naturally adopted by HWP helps to address one of the original WEIRD-related criticisms. Ceci, Kahan, and Braman (2010), writing in response to Henrich et al. (2010), noted that even if more diverse samples are utilised in psychological research that may not be enough if it ‘leaves unaddressed other threats to generalization, including the restricted physical, ideological, and attitudinal parameters of most research, and the omission of social meanings that participants attach to their choices’ (p. 87). They argue that a focus on contextual variables is necessary, which we suggest is precisely what macropsychology encourages us to consider and what HWP *must* consider if it is to be effective. In addition, a focus on contextual variables will also force us to turn our attention to ourselves, as researchers; our personal and professional contexts will also create limiting factors in our research and practice and require that we seek collaborators in contexts very different from our own.

The question that remains is where do we go from here and how do we continue to encourage this type of broad focus in an emerging and important area of psychology? One starting point, which because of its scope requires a perspective informed by macropsychology, comes from the SDGs. The broad focus of the SDGs on improving the lives and livelihoods of billions of our fellow humans requires that we re-think how we conduct research and how we engage in practice directed at organisations. Perhaps more critically, though, it suggests that we need to consider how to update our training of future psychologists. HWP, as it stands, often seems to be a ‘niche’ within the larger WOP field. The focus on WEIRD samples, and the POSH bias imposed by the cultural blinders with which many work and organisational psychologists are trained, must be addressed as we educate the next generation of psychologists. Skills that have previously not been part of graduate training, such as the drafting of policy briefs, should be taught. Policy briefs can be an effective way to provide evidence to decision makers in a digestible manner and as such can act as a ‘bridge’ between research and practice. They enable articulation of research in a way that ensures its application in the real world, with real impact and consequences, and facilitate development of academic–practitioner partnerships. Greater emphasis on the limitations of traditional research approaches and the value of thinking more broadly – more ‘macro’ – must be emphasised. We must, at every step, consider how to educate students not simply in the science and practice of WOP/HWP but how to encourage them to think of the impact of their work at a broader, more systemic level, and how to question the sources and biases inherent in their own knowledge.

One important future contribution of macropsychology is the role it can play in unifying the two strands of HWP introduced early on. The HW-p/h-WP distinction utilised throughout this chapter has been presented previously (Carr, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2012) and to some extent reflects a desire to make salient those areas of WOP research that have traditionally been on the fringe. Adopting a

macropsychology perspective has the potential to unify the two strands by extending the focus to examine psychological issues in context. For example, an extensive body of research by HWP researcher Professor Virginia Schein has focused on workplace gender issues. Her work has examined women's experiences within Nicaraguan work contexts (reflecting an HW-p focus; e.g., Schein, 2003) and at the same time examining sex-role stereotypes and their implications for women's progression into managerial roles (an h-WP focus; e.g. Schein, 1973). A macropsychology approach highlights systemic issues and larger-scale inequalities in which traditional psychology research is embedded, and in doing so, informs *both* the HW-p and h-WP research on the topic. If consideration of macro-level variables can connect the two 'streams' of HWP in a consistent fashion, this could be a huge step forward for the field in how we understand and generate knowledge.

Given the state of the world and the state of psychological research, the field needs to reconsider what it values and, as a reflection of that, what it rewards. Future psychological research needs to ensure a greater interface between research psychologists, the practitioner community (broadly defined), NGOs, and government (particularly those facets of government involved in international aid delivery, obviously). When there have been successful initiatives, it is often because of the willingness of psychologists and others to step outside their 'traditional' roles and consider broader contextual and systems issues than is often conventional. This includes psychologists doing things like working in government, providing consultation and guidance to the U.N. (Scott, 2011), and adopting more formal – and more visible – advocacy roles (e.g., Bradley-Geist & Ruch, 2017). Two of many possible examples are Telma Viale's work with the International Labour Organization (see Carr, 2012) and Lori Foster's service with the Obama White House Social and Behavioral Sciences Team (Kirkpatrick, 2015; Meyer, Carr, Foster, Lace, & Mallory, 2019). The development of HWP and macropsychology has the potential to bring research on global issues into the mainstream of psychology, and in doing so, assist with redefining the goals of the field and mapping career paths for future psychologists.

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Inclusive and Sustainable Urbanization: Using a Macropsychology Perspective to Strengthen the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals



Raymond Saner, Lichia Yiu, and Julia Lazzaroni

Urbanization of the World's Population and the Need for Sustainable Urban Development

The world population has grown exponentially since the twentieth century to around 7.7 billion people today (UN Population Division World Population Prospect 2019). Urbanization is projected to grow from the 55.3 percent of the world's population that lives in urban areas today or 4.2 billion in 2018 to an expected increase of 68 percent by 2050 (United Nations, 2018).

Economic opportunities offered by the urban markets and interactions have proven to be an irresistible pull to the rural population in search of a better tomorrow. The key challenge of mass urbanization is that many cities today are not equipped to accommodate such a large surge of inhabitants nor in dealing with public health or natural disasters. This is especially true in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), where urban infrastructure is less developed and has seen a large influx of inhabitants to areas already facing employment, housing, and sanitary challenges.

In 2018, 548 cities globally contained one million people or more, but by 2030, there will be 706 cities with populations of one million citizens or more (United Nations, 2018). Most of the projected urban growth will occur in low- and

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middle-income regions, such as Asia and Africa, which are facing already serious capacity gaps in providing adequate public services for their citizens in cities.

As the population of cities continues to grow, more cities are also growing into “mega-cities, which are cities that contain ten million inhabitants or more (UN DESA Population, 2018). As highlighted by the UN (2014), “close to half of the world’s urban dwellers reside in settlements with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants, while around one in eight live in 33 megacities with more than 10 million inhabitants. By 2030, the world is projected to have 43 megacities, most of them in developing regions,” representing 8.8 per cent of the global population or a projected 752 million people. The UNDP (2017) estimates that “nearly 40 percent of the world’s urban expansion may be in slums, exacerbating economic disparities and unsanitary conditions.” Without proper functioning of public administrations and strong institutions to provide citizens living in dense proximity with basic services, conditions conducive to health and human well-being will not be met.

Urbanization is one of the most important drivers that will shape the global economy in the coming decades (Saner, Saner-Yiu, Gollub & Sidibe, 2017). Throughout history, “cities have been the main centers of learning, culture and innovation. It is (therefore) not surprising that the world’s most urban countries tend to be the richest and have the highest human development” (UNDP, 2017). With this said, one has to note that urbanization does not automatically lead to higher level of human development, nor economic growth. Governance and strong institutions matter in achieving desired outcomes. This chapter aims to provide a short overview regarding opportunities and challenges of urbanization and offer a macropsychology framework in conceptualizing decision-making for urban policy design. Subsequently, a discussion will follow on the use of evidence (data) and robust feedback mechanisms in achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in urbanized territories and communities, particularly the SDG Target 11.3 for Inclusive and Sustainable Urbanization.

Benefits and Opportunities of Urbanization

When policies and laws are equitable, rights-based, and socially inclusive, all inhabitants can benefit from the opportunities that cities can provide. When these policies are missing, inequalities are common. For example, a 2014 UN-Habitat report stated that “more than two thirds of the world’s population live in cities in which income inequalities have increased since 1980.” Examples of inequality are for instance when rural migrants move to urban areas who are undereducated and underskilled. Negative perceptions of these internal migrants are often the result of differences in customs, world views, and daily practices. At the intergroup level, it also stems from an unspoken sense of social hierarchies and superiority. If properly managed and planned, cities can offer economic development opportunities and access to basic human services to all, and at the same benefit from a larger population in terms of labor supply, consumers, diversity, and human ingenuity. This

greater supply of labor who tend to be more willing to settle for the lesser working conditions could present an additional, sometimes comparative, advantage in global economic development.

Globalization has given rise to global production patterns, entailing emerging global supply chains. LMICs, through a cheap labor force, participate in the production of goods for a globalized market. Participation in these global supply chains has helped to create higher value local production and jobs in the global South, and resulted in rapid expansion of cities, where transportation and telecommunication services are more advanced and readily available for global connectivity. As observed by Saner, Saner-Yiu, Gollub, & Sidibe (2017, p. 26), “concentrated economic and social interactions create a vibrant market and fertile environment for innovation in ideas, technologies, products, services and processes” in the urban and peri-urban territories, forming a virtuous cycle where human effort begets productivity gains, then leading to greater prosperity and greater opportunities for many.

With a large population of people who live and work in close proximity to one another, the spread of innovation through mutual learning takes place in an organic manner and with speed. Such innovativeness also enhances human development and access to capabilities. Over time, the engine of wealth creation and well-being promotion also encourages entrepreneurship and breakthroughs. This virtuous cycle has been visible in the rise of East Asian economies and later followed by Southeast Asia countries. As the consumption capacities of the population continues to increase, more companies will emerge to provide services for this population, and in turn these newly formed companies will provide paid formal employment opportunities with improved working conditions to a higher proportion of people living in the cities. Economic activities increase, alongside better quality education and lifestyle-related services from culture to entertainment.

Different groups of people can access to participate and to benefit from the opportunities that cities can generate. For example, the female labor force participation is greatest in cities and “indicators of general health and well-being, literacy, women’s status, and social mobility are typically highest” (Cohen, 2006, p. 64).

Not only urbanization and growing populations present challenges, but also new economic possibilities. It is also common in history to witness the decline or stagnation of great cities. To enjoy sustained development, a dual process needs to take place. On the one hand, it is important to continue on the path of economic development through fostering comparative advantage. Yet over time, the cities need to shift their focus from cheap labor to higher quality of skills and goods and services, a shift to competitive advantage, as conceptualized by Michael Porter in the 1980s. On the other hand, cities need to reinvest their “profits” to continually upgrade basic infrastructure and human services. Such generative investment is needed to ensure sustainable growth of the city.

According to the United Nations (2014), “providing public transportation as well as housing, electricity, water, and sanitation for a densely settled urban population is cheaper and less environmentally damaging than providing a similar level of service to a dispersed rural population.” Due to the density of most cities, resources can be bundled up and spread across the city far cheaper than if a city is widespread

from a per capital point of view. As reported by the United Nations, African urbanization can drive industrialization. Both urban and rural areas can develop value chains based on local resources and capabilities and promote sustainable food systems by becoming more efficient and inclusive. Such initiatives will benefit urban and adjacent rural areas at the same time. Similar trend can be predicted in India. India, as the second most populous country globally, has only 34.5% of its population living in the urban area, representing approximately 475 million of the total population out of 1,380,004,385 in 2019 according to the UN Population Division (2019). By opening its door to foreign investors and engaging in the global supply chains, for example, offering back office support and customer services to the major companies of the world, India has seen the rise of cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad due to their IT prowess and tourism capital. Yet, many of the migrants moving to major Indian cities are missing out on the economic benefits of urban living, a phenomenon that calls for more inclusive and equitable development policies.

As proposed by Saner et al. (2017, p. 26), “poorly managed urban growth can reduce the economic benefits of urban concentrations and increase material and immaterial costs.” It is therefore crucial for governments to prepare for urbanization to achieve the benefits that can arise and lessen the challenges that are going to occur.

Challenges and Risks of Urbanization

Even though there are many benefits to urbanization, if governments are not ready and do not have proper policies in place, there are many challenges that can arise. The largest problems are “urban sprawl, inefficient public transport infrastructure, energy inefficient buildings, air pollution, social exclusion and a lack of basic services such as energy, water and waste” (Saner et al., 2017, p. 27).

According to the UN, the number of people living in slums across the developing world rose from 689 million to 880 million between 1990 and 2014. Slum dwellers are not totally deprived of opportunities where informal economy thrives. For example, the Dharavi slum in Mumbai is home to an estimated one million people and produced an economic output estimated at USD 1 billion a year (Chandran, 2016). However, crowded urban sprawls in low-to-middle income countries (inter alias LMICs) have their predictable perils. Large numbers of people living in make-shift dwellings, without proper water supply and sanitation and in close proximity, can pose public health and other security hazards. Lacking public services and oversight by public authorities, crime gangs can rule over slums and become a state within a state.

Roads in unplanned or reactive urban areas are often loaded with heavy traffic and congestion. Public transportation in many of the newly expanded urban areas tends also to be underdeveloped and inadequate to serve the population in their daily activities. Inadequate mobility is often attributed to inefficient economic activities and lower productivity of an urban center, resulting in not only economic costs but

also in social costs in the form of exclusion. With more people in a smaller area with overburdened infrastructures, a vicious cycle operates due to “dense population, low efficiency and high negative spillover effect of production and daily activities” (Saner et al., 2017, p. 27). The downside of the unplanned and poorly responded urbanization includes also pervasive negative social and environment consequences. Megacities are often “responsible for driving climate change, inequality and exclusion, as well as the breakdown of traditional family structures, which leaves elderly people isolated and vulnerable (Torkington, 2016).

The speed and scale with which urbanization is expanding are causing challenges for LMICs. While cities in high-income countries (HICs) also face obstacles with a large migration of people, larger government expenditure in HICs may aid the transition. LMICs lack resources and institutions to provide people with basic human rights at such a substantial scale. As observed by Cohen (2006, p. 64), “each year, cities attract new migrants who, together with the increasing native population, expand the number of squatter settlements and shanty towns, exacerbating the problems of urban congestion and sprawl and hampering local authorities’ attempts to improve basic infrastructure and deliver essential services.” This observation remains true in many LMICs to this day. With resources already scarce in LMICs, new migrants are competing with local residents for housing, employment, education, health, and other necessities for daily survival. Intra-communal tension or outright conflict and other public security concerns could deplete governments’ time, resources, and public financing, thereby making the required upgrading of infrastructure and social integration less likely and diminishing the possibilities of strengthening innovation and growth of a complex urban system.

Due to diverse cultural and historical contexts, there is no one formula to achieve sustainable development and provide higher quality of life and standard of living. Cities at varying stages of development are limited in their policy choice and margin of maneuver. While quality education for all elementary school children could be a laudable policy objective, many cities find it hard to expand their educational system and secure enough qualified teachers to realize this goal, especially in resource-constraint cities and countries. Many countries and cities are also unable to properly put policies in place to facilitate the integration of new migrants and their families because there is a lack of robust governance and measurement systems to ensure that proper policies are created and implemented. The policy-making, coordination, and regulation capacities could be measured by the following four indicators: regulatory quality, rule of law, societal consultation, and use of evidence-based instruments (Thijs, Hammerschmid & Palaric, 2018). In a similar vein, small cities need to acquire or equipped with adequate policy-making and administrative capacities in order to perform. In view of the heterogeneity of the size of small cities, it is no surprise that quality and performance of the public administration can vary greatly due to control of resources and cost-efficiency of the public services.

The size variation of small cities can be illustrated by the example of the United States. “Of the nation’s 328.2 million people, an estimated 206.9 million (about 63%) lived in an incorporated place as of July 1, 2019. About 76% of the approximately 19,500 incorporated places had fewer than 5,000 people. Of those, almost

42% had fewer than 500 people” (United States Census, 2019). Putting things into perspective, it is no exaggeration to say that many of the public administration of small cities will not be able to deliver the needed essential services on their own without some coordinated effort with neighboring administrative territories. While cities with a size of 500,000 to 1 million population will represent more than a quarter of the world population by 2030, according to the UN (UN DESA Population, 2018), with unchecked inflow of migrants, many such cities in the LMICs will not be able to cope. Therefore, it is urgent to support the capacity building at the subnational level with the smaller municipalities to better manage the downsides, which involves making strategic decisions on allocation of resources concerning who gets what and why. The new settlement areas, also known as informal settlements, around the cities tend to suffer from under-investment, benign neglect, or downright discrimination.

Macropsychology that applies psychological principles and methods “to factors that influence the settings and conditions of ...lives” (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851) would be well disposed to offer support and guidance in strengthening the institutional capacity to manage power distance, conflict of interests, coordination, and citizen participations. This is to presuppose that psychologists are willing to make a contribution to the policy-making process and go beyond the individual focused orientation and analytic model. Instead, they would embrace a more macro perspective that encompasses politics, economics, institutions, systems, and structures to solve those interwoven and multilayered problems at the nexus of urbanization, public administration, and the broader economic, structural, power, social justice, and cultural determinants of policy choices. At the same time, macropsychologists may assist the civil servants in understanding their own roles and discretionary influence in managing the power structure within the administrative hierarchy.

By strengthening the administrative capacities and being more inclusive, disasters due to climate change, civil strives, and other modern social diseases can be better mitigated. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (inter alia SDGs) has included one distinctive goal, i.e., SDG 11, “Make cities and human settlements, inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.” As proposed by the UNDP (2020), “Making cities sustainable means creating career and business opportunities, safe and affordable housing, and building resilient societies and economies. It involves investment in public transport, creating green public spaces and improving urban planning and management in participatory and inclusive ways.” While the SDGs are highly interdependent and indivisible, SDG 11 stands out and offers city decision-makers and public officials a road map with clear entry points in building forward their homeland as an integrated ecosystem in a sustainable manner. Accordingly, inter-ministerial coordination and policy coherence are also important pillars for well-functioning public institutions (Saner, 2010, 2011). By establishing clear governmental structures that will set up a transparent and better measurement and planning system, achieving SDG Target 11.3, “Inclusive and Sustainable Urbanization,” could be accelerated. Details regarding the SDG 11 and intervention strategy through a macropsychological perspective in creating an enabling environment and social conditions are presented below.

SDG 11, SDG Target 11.3, and SDG Indicator 11.3.2

The 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs), as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, are development targets with measurable indicators that member countries of the United Nations agreed to reach by 2030. Each country is responsible for achieving their national SDG goals and targets. The SDG indicators are intended to help countries measure implementation progress of each of the 17 goals.

This chapter adopts an abductive approach in order to derive actionable knowledge to achieve SDG 11 which aims to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (“Global indicator,” 2018a). This SDG is crucial for the attainment of SDGs of any country because “the urban population is expected to reach 60% by 2030, with urban areas growing at a rate of 1.3 million people every week” (Saner et al., 2017, p. 26). To mitigate the negative impact of rapid urbanization and to maximize potential positive aspects out of urban transition, it is important to find ways to successfully operate via interconnected organizations embedded in the same urban ecosystem that represent a natural “experimentation” for achieving SDGs at a national level. The Local Authorities Major Group stated in its webpage that urbanization trends, as well as the level of resources consumption in urban areas, confirm that cities are the ultimate space for tackling the barriers and exploring opportunities for effective policies for sustainable development (2016).

SDG 11 consists of 11 targets and 15 indicators.³ They offer a framework for devising the policy content and engaging with all the stakeholders for a partnership dialogue. SDG 11’s target 11.3 is specific to urban development and central to the narrative of this chapter. The target is defined as:

11.3: By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated, and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

Every SDG target is expected to be measured by a corresponding indicator (IAEG-SDGs, 2018a). And the related indicator for SDG Target 11.3 is defined as follows:

11.3.2: Proportion of cities with a direct participation structure of civil society in urban planning and management that operate regularly and democratically.

All SDG targets are grouped into three categories of quality: Tier I, Tier II, and Tier III. A Tier I indicator means that an effective method exists to measure SDG targets as well as a methodology or standards that can monitor the progress of an SDG implementation. However, after 4 years of SDG implementation, the indicator developed so far to measure the implementation of SDG Target 11.3 remains a poor Tier III indicator.

Indicators categorized as Tier III means that there is “no internationally established methodology or standards yet available for the indicator, but methodology/standards are being (or will be) developed or tested” (IAEG-SDGs, 2018b). This

raises the question of whether Target 11.3 can be monitored and evaluated. Looking at SDG Target 11.3 more closely, the statement appears to be too broad making it impossible to formulate an indicator that solves the necessary steps outlined above.

The 11.3.2 indicator presupposes the existence of direct participation and of democratic operations, which implies that countries or city administrations need to be able to practice constructive relations with its population in order to be able to achieve the implementation of SDG Target 11.3. Out of 211 countries, only 20 of them have a direct democracy (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2008). There are varying forms of direct democracy but many countries are unable to implement SDG Target 11.3 because of the implications of indicator 11.3.2.

A direct democracy is one where citizens through their representatives are tasked with co-designing policies to be discussed in public and later voted on by the public. This can cause difficulties with the implementation of SDG Target 11.3 because civil society organizations are not always well informed of such policies at the global scale. This is the reason why it is important to improve SDG Target 11.3 by adding inter-ministerial coordination and policy consultation to ensure that proper planning and management systems are in place and working. Accordingly governments can create proper and appropriate systems in cities before their size accelerates into large urban territories overwhelming a city's physical and social infrastructures.

The SDG 11.3.2 indicator was developed by the UN-HABITAT, an organization which holds the custodian role and responsibility to develop this indicator toward a Tier II or Tier I status. UN-Habitat has not been able to improve the current SDG Target 11.3 from a Tier III indicator to higher tier because governments are not collecting proper data and hence achievement of SDG 11.3 cannot be measured at present. Therefore, citizen science and related technology is urgently needed for data generation and analysis in order to strengthen the existing SDG 11.3 indicator and possibly propose additional in-between indicators to move the process forward.

Key aspects for a successful implementation of SDG 11.3 are efficient inter-ministerial policy coordination and effective consultation with key stakeholders (business, civil society). Both mechanisms imply collaborative working relation and a process of co-designing and consensus making. Data about both functions are not easily available, and hence the crucial indicator needed to measure the progress of implementation of SDG 11.3 is still missing. New diplomacy, which entails relations and negotiations between state and non-state actors with the intent of avoiding conflict and exploring common ground *proposed* by Saner & Yiu (2012), could potentially offer as the "means of implementation" according to the given indicators and help analyze the relational arrangements between the city government with its local residents being represented by associations or other formal constituencies.

Local participation for SDG 11.3 implementation could generate the information needed for data collection through, for instance, the use of information technology (ICT), including monitoring systems and citizen participation; if these systems cannot be installed in time, cities will not be prepared for ongoing urban expansion and unable to maintain their resilience. The desired virtuous cycle characteristic of a

dynamic urban area will not become realty and citizens will face multiple challenges confronting many urban areas as described in preceding section and miss out on the economic benefits of urban living described above. For the policy makers planning smart cities of the future able to achieve SDG 13 will need to adopt a “systematic and sympathetic understanding” (MacLachlan, 2014) of an expanding city’s lived complexity and crossover to many unfamiliar fields of practices by taking into account multi-level compatibility of intervention measures for today and for the future.

Macropsychological Framework (MacroFrame)

The issue at hand – implementation of SDG 11 (Urban Development) – and how to find ways to improve the respective indicator SDG 13.2.2 go beyond the traditional sphere of work and knowledge of psychology, which has and continues to focus mostly on the behavior of individuals despite of the pioneering work done by Stuart C. Carr, Tony Marsella, and Malcolm MacLachlan. To improve the well-being of people living in cities, multiple factors need to be addressed in a well-aligned manner as possible factors influencing positively or negatively the state of being city dwellers; hence, MacLachlan (2014) defined the broader scope of macropsychology as follows: “the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives.” This builds on similarly broader perspectives on psychology that have been proposed by Wessells and Dawes (2007) focusing on HIV interventions, and Jaspal, Carriere, and Moghaddam (2015) focusing on factors influencing identity.

Our previous work has also contributed to broadening the analytical scope of psychology, as we have previously written about humanitarian work psychology and the global development agenda (Yiu & Saner, 2016); on negotiation and health diplomacy of the tobacco convention (Saner & Yiu, 2017); and on large-scale OD interventions at national government level (Saner & Yiu, 2018). Applying concepts developed in our recent study (Saner & Yiu, 2019), the following figure helps to visualize the different levels of policy interactions and contexts which impact the outcome of SDG 11 implementation (Fig. 1). MacroFrame is a framework for multilevel policy implementation of SDG 11.

Implementing the SDGs requires interaction of enablers and constrainers at four different policy levels: meta, macro, meso, and micro. Each context contains its socioeconomic and environmental determinants of sustainability and is constituted with divergent stakeholders within each context. The leading level is the *meta-level*, meaning the General Assembly of the United Nations whose members negotiated and continue to amend the 2030 Agenda and its 17 SDGs. The next layer is the *macro-level* representing the national governments whose task is to contextualize the global policy vision and to implement the SDGs domestically. The governments’ task consists of several steps. At the start, countries need to contextualize and set their own SDG strategy. The 17 SDG goals should be prioritized according to a country’s development needs and growth expectations and resources

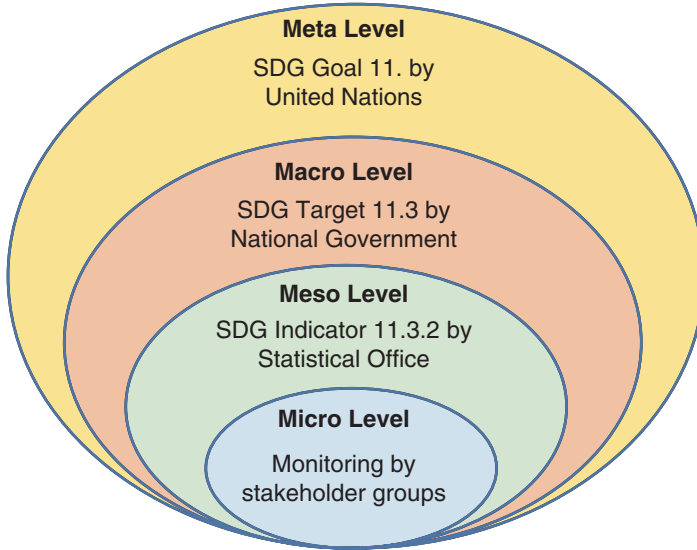


Fig. 1 Multilevel policy implementation of SDG 11. (Adapted from Saner & Yiu, 2019)

availability. This entails designing an SDG strategy that complies with the core dimensions of the 2030 Agenda based on the assumption that the SDGs are indivisible goals that should integrate sustainable economic, social, and environmental development.

In view of limited financial and technical resources, it is inevitable that countries have to face policy trade-offs while not losing sight of inclusion and equity of all groups within the society. Designing a 2030 strategy entails negotiations with external and internal stakeholders with empathy and respect. Policy consultation with the stakeholders and coordination with other line functions are needed to make a national SDG strategy inclusive and equitable; but countries differ in regard to the extent they want to practice transparency, participation and partnerships during this phase of SDG implementation. Stakeholders external to governments like business and civil society might be invited to contribute to the design, monitoring, and evaluation of a country's SDG implementation to varying degrees – sometimes on a regular basis in the form of consultation and sometimes only occasionally and more in the form of hearings or public information events.

Measuring the extent of implementation and progress made by the national governments is supposed to be done by the respective national statistical offices that often have an autonomous agency status and hence are given a meso-level status of the SDG implementation process.

The task of the statistical offices or agencies is to collect the respective data needed to assess the progress made of individual SDG targets. Some of the methods used to collect data are quantitative methods, e.g., through household surveys, and more qualitative methods such as interviews of stakeholder groups. Participation by external stakeholder groups in the data collection processes is at times welcome by some governments and at other times some governments restrict collaborative forms

of data collection and data analysis. EquaFrame developed by MacLachlan, Khasnabis, & Mannan (2012), a policy analysis tool focusing on inclusiveness and human rights in the given health policies, could be adopted to safeguard the validity of the evidence collected for policy purposes. EquiFrame identifies “the degree of commitment of a given policy to specified *vulnerable groups* (italic added) and to Core Concepts of Human Rights” (Mannan, Amin, Maclachlan, & the EquiAble Consortium, 2011, p.4). Social inclusion, therefore, is the core value proposition of the EquiFrame. Social inclusion is one of the key principles of the SDGs. Development of a MacroFrame can leverage the experiences and knowhow accumulated since the inception of EquiFrame.

Staying with focus on SDG 11, the next level is the *meso-level* which entails implementation of Target 11.3 through multi-stakeholder participation and contribution measured by the application of 11.3.2 indicator. Multi-stakeholder participation here means contributions by business as well as organizations from civil society.

The final level, namely *micro-level*, means the measurement of implementation process by stakeholder groups through monitoring from a bottom-up perspective as explained below.

Monitoring at the *meta-level* is done through a review process organized by the UN DESA in the form of an annual Global SDG Report and a Voluntary National Review process for mutual learning culminating in the annual meeting called High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) which is held annually in July in New York. Monitoring at the macro-level is left to the countries to decide on how they want to conceive monitoring.

Monitoring could be organized in cooperation with or without external stakeholders (business and civil society). In some countries, NGOs have formed a “shadow SDG review team,” which acts independently and reviews their respective government’s implementation of the SDGs (Saner, Yiu, & Nguyen 2019). Monitoring by such SDG shadow groups is a ground-up process that some governments welcome, while others keep distance from initiatives emerging from grass-root level constituencies considering them critical or even hostile to the governments’ performance record.

Bottom-up monitoring is different from top-down monitoring, such as through statistical offices or other government offices. Data collected from this perspective tend to be statistical averages in aggregated form which obscure the disparity between different population groups and locations rendering them less actionable at the local or city level. Top-down monitoring is in fact most of the time a form of mini-evaluation of targets which excludes inputs from civil society stakeholders sometimes characterized as “unsolicited.”

Coherence in Planning and Management of Cities

The complexity of the SDGs dynamics and the resources needed to implement them, policy coherence is important for ensuring that policies are adequate and sustainable within the whole of government. Consequently, it is crucial to look at

the effects that policy coherence has on policies regarding sustainable development and the well-being of people living in other countries, and also of future generations (Morales & Lindberg, 2017), or the lack of it.

Policy coherence for sustainable development (PCSD) is embodied in SDG Target 17.14 as a cross-cutting means of implementation (OECD, 2017, p. 13 [1]). This ensures that progress achieved in one goal contributes to, rather than undermines, other goals. Nine OECD countries and six SDGs were the focus of the 2017 Policy Coherence Summary report published by the OECD. The countries were Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Korea, Mexico, Norway, Switzerland, and Turkey. Through their Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs) presented at the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) in July 2016, it could be seen that there are a wide variety of starting points and paths that can be taken to implement SDGs (OECD, 2017, p. 13). It was at the HLPF that eight key building blocks for enhancing policy coherence in SDG implementation were discussed and policy values suggested:

1. *Political commitment and leadership* – to guide the whole of government action and translate commitment on the SDGs into concrete and coherent measures at the local, national, and international levels.
2. *Integrated approaches to implementation* – to consider systematically inter-linkages between economic, social, and environmental policy areas before making decisions.
3. *Intergenerational timeframe* – to make informed choices about sustainable development considering the long-term impact of policy decisions on the well-being of future generations.
4. *Analysis and assessments of potential policy effects* – to provide evidence on the potential negative or positive impacts on the well-being of people in other countries and inform decision-making.
5. *Policy and institutional coordination* – to resolve conflicts of interest or inconsistencies between priorities and policies.
6. *Local and regional involvement* – to deliver the economic, social, and environmental transformations needed for achieving the SDGs and ensure that no one is left behind.
7. *Stakeholder participation* – to make sure that the SDGs are owned by people, diverse actions are aligned, and resources and knowledge for sustainable development are mobilized.
8. *Monitoring and reporting* – to better understand where there has been progress, why there has or has not been progress, and where further action is needed (OECD, 2017, p. 13–14) (Fig. 2).

Since there is no one-size-fits all formula for ensuring the attainment of SDGs, each country is responsible for creating its own SDG policies that match its governmental goals. This “no single blueprint” concept, i.e., no single path to a solution when it comes to enhancing policy coherence in SDG implementation, was a lesson learned from the first year of the collective reflection regarding operationalizing 2030 Agenda. There are “different approaches, visions, models and tools available to each country, in accordance with its national circumstances and priorities” (OECD, 2017, p. 18). It is through forums such as the HLPF and “through the

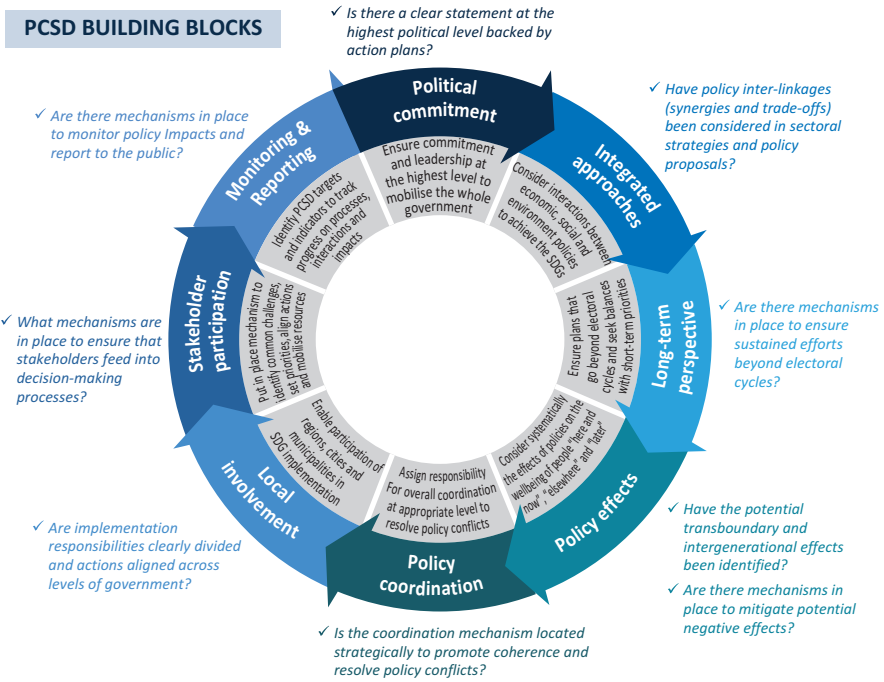


Fig. 2 The eight building blocks of policy coherence for sustainable development. (Source: OECD, 2017)

mutual exchanges of experiences and discussions on what works and what does not, where countries can improve the content of national strategies, strengthen institutional mechanisms, address transboundary impact and ultimately enhance policy coherence in the implementation of the SDGs” (OECD, 2017, p. 18).

The eight building blocks listed above can be used as a framework to establish policies that are unique to each country as well as to each city which is committed to achieve SDG 11. If all eight can be implemented correctly, policy coherence should be greater resulting in more effective use of limited resources and fair deployment of public services and policy implementation. To contribute to this policy coordination process, some recommendations, drawing on a macro psychology perspective presented in Fig. 1, are made.

Way Forward

Local-Level Participation

Local governments are the governments in close contact to citizens, so they are crucial in providing support to large populations. The countries that have faced difficulties are the ones that have not had the proper census data of their citizens, which

has resulted in different levels of government policies not being well coordinated. This is especially true in LMICs where small city governments do not have sufficient technical or managerial expertise to handle new responsibilities that urbanization or SDGs presents.

Local governments are tasked with providing basic infrastructure and services to residents within the national development plan and budget allocation. Small cities that are growing rapidly, however, can exercise government entrepreneurship and seize critical opportunities in bypassing old technologies and for implementing efficient, ecologically sound practices that can contribute to shaping a more sustainable future, such as automating some of the public administrative functions so that 24/7 access could be made possible.

Many cities have plans and policies created that are meant to deal with urbanization. Many of these well-intended policies, however, have not been implemented due to resistance from interest groups, poor urban governance, erroneous critical assumptions, and bureaucratic rigidity, despite changing conditions such as changing weather patterns and heightened climate vulnerability. It should also be said that newly settled areas also lack social capital to create a sense of belonging and identification for the local community to function as a collective.

With changing technology and citizen expectations, it is important for different government units to communicate with one another about policy adaptations within the overall goals. Steady and reliable flow of feedback needs to be maintained through the different levels of government involvement and within civil society and business stakeholder agreements (Saner et al., 2017, p. 25). Policies regarding public goods, for example, have changed in many countries from privatization to user pay principles increasing barriers of access and participation.

Many national governments have adopted new public management philosophy and approaches to regulate their relationship between the states and its citizens. In this context, some governments also became more decentralized and devolved certain responsibilities to lower levels of administration to provide service delivery and devise innovative financing initiatives for projects, such as concession or private-public partnerships for project financing. There are three forms and levels of local governments: regions, towns, and small municipalities; intermediary cities; and peripheral cities metropolitan cities (Saner et al., 2017, p. 28). It is important to determine which government level is better tasked with handling different objectives, because it will help them in being more efficient and effective when dealing with residents.

For local governments to address large-scale problems such as economic sustainability or environment sustainability, they need to understand the proper structural, institutional, and human resource conditions of their specific area to be successful with the local SDGs successfully. As proposed by Saner et al. (2017, p. 29), "Implementing the SDGs at national or subnational levels of government means knowing and working with policy trade-offs and seeking multiplier effects through bundling goals as much as this is possible." Local governments are also tasked with complying national government goals and contextualizing them at the local level. The city or municipality level has to look at the strategies they want to use and

negotiate with stakeholders at the city level how the overarching goals could be achieved. While at the same time, local officials need to influence the administrative hierarchy in order to achieve some flexibility concerning key performance indicators and policy sequencing. Application of macropsychology to factors influence these settings and conditions could make these task demands more manageable.

Working with other sectors is crucial for answering large, complex questions because one sector does not have the expertise or the resources to solve all the 17 SDGs alone. Partnerships and teamwork will be inevitable. Government officials need to work in a horizontal, cross-sectoral manner to integrate all the necessary components together, as opposed to working vertically in their respective domains. This particular task portfolio requires competencies and perceptual capacities normally not demanded of local or city government officials. Capacity building at both individual and institutional levels will be necessary.

Looking at the requirements of governments imposed by the SDGs implementation is not enough. There needs to also be citizen participation in articulating policies, so governments can better aid support their residents by providing services that are needed at a timely and inclusive manner. Citizens need to support policies that create better social conditions and enhance social cohesion. People-centered policy-making is essential for success, after all people are an integral part of the city life and can make or break the future of the city.

Mechanisms, Tools, and Management Knowhow

Governments should be then held accountable for their policies and asked to ensure that all rules are followed and that transparency is enacted. Residents should know where funding is going and what projects governments are implementing. National governments cannot control city life without keeping constant interactions with the lower levels of a government's public administration. The last objective for a city to be livable is inclusiveness which strives to eliminate past discriminations and promotes collaboration and respect by both the governments and its residents to coexist in a dense city environment.

As observed by Saner et al. (2017), "these expectations have to be met by a well-functioning administrative mechanism at the local level consisting of robust organizational and management tools, clear work procedures which define cross-sector roles and responsibilities and skilled civil servants. Unfortunately, these conditions are often missing at the local administrative level in LMICs" (Saner et al., 2017, p. 31). LMICs need to have better measurement and feedback systems in place so that their own governments can improve with the large demand of tasks that they will receive with an increase in urbanization. Multitude of interaction and research tools are available from psychology to be deployed for good effect, such as focus groups, force field analysis and nominal group techniques (MacLachlan, 2014).

Funding is part of the obstacle confronting LMICs in implementing SDGs. Local governments are particularly challenged to improve access, coverage, and quality of

services which are necessary for successful implementation of the SDGs without necessarily getting a budget increase. “For them to operate efficiently local governments need, among other things, competent personnel and good organizational structures” (Saner et al., 2017, p. 32). If developing countries could invest in institutional learning and better understand how to create a strong government, then they could start to tackle the SDGs that are important in their country, especially SDG Target 11.3, since once taking off cities could become engines of sustainable development and related innovation.

Management is the key ingredient in getting sustainable economic prosperity at the local level, but only when national and regional policies are compatible, which can only be achieved through transparent coordination (ISO 18091, 2014, Introduction). Thus, many of our recommendations would be familiar to organizational and social psychologists working in applied contexts but are conventionally seen as “less psychological” in the broader SDG context considered here.

These include having good data for the better understanding of behavioral change; establishing clear communication with people; ensuring mechanisms for timely feedback on initiatives which can be flexibly adapted; understanding the structural, institutional, and human resource conditions necessary to produce behavioral change and well-being; working cross-sector in a more holistic manner rather than in narrow vertical programs that do not intersect; and having robust organizational and management tools that specify workflow with clear work procedures.

Recommendations

1. The interdependence of urban development requires strategies that are inter-sectoral (e.g., health, housing, food, clean water and air, education, employment, and security). Because a macropsychology perspective embraces systems thinking, it can be used to address developmental challenges in a holistic, effective, and efficient manner; and from a multi-level perspective including the meta-, macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of urban development.
2. Such multi-sector urban development policies are difficult to implement and can easily go astray. Hence, measurements through appropriate indicators are necessary to avoid misdirection of development resources and concomitant conflicts and hardships of urban populations depending on sustainable development policies. Additional indicators to SDG 11.3 need to be identified and added to the current list of indicators. These additional indicators could be geared toward “means of implementation,” necessary for the realization of SDG 11.3.
3. Designing an SDG implementation strategy for urban development requires prioritization of the SDG goals. Not all can be implemented at the same time; hence, policy trade-offs are inevitable without sacrificing the principles of inclusiveness and fairness. In order to avoid conflicts over trade-offs, governments should apply the 2030 Agenda principles which are participation, inclusion, accountability, transparency, and partnership within the government and with external stakeholders as much as this is politically possible.

4. Without involvement of key stakeholders in national implementation at meta-, macro-, meso-, and micro-levels, the sustainability of a country's SDG strategy might be in jeopardy, especially since changes of governments will occur in most countries over the remaining 9 years till 2030. Each new government might set new priorities potentially contradictory to the previous government's strategy, thereby putting sustainability of SDG implementation at risk.
5. Monitoring should not only be top-down but also bottom-up. If it is only top-down by statistical offices (meso-level), data collected might be incomplete or even wrong and misleading. Matching top-down data collection with bottom-up data collection gives a fuller picture of a country's SDG implementation status and guarantees higher changes of acceptability by the country's citizens and residents.

Conclusion

With growing urbanization, most inhabitants of the world will migrate to cities before 2050. It is imperative to create governmental systems that promote effective governance through inter-ministerial coordination and policy coherence before 2050. In this mega transformative process, governments at all levels need to understand and manage human behavior in a positive way that gives value and identity (brand) to place, as well as instilling a sense of pride and obligation to good citizenship. Planning and management systems that incorporate macropsychological thinking will help achieve SDG Target 11.3, which aims to *enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated, and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries*.

SDG Target 11.3 still remains a Tier III indicator ever since the establishment of the 2030 Agenda in 2015. This raises the question as to whether the SDG 11.3 target can be achieved in a structured and planned manner. Looking at SDG Target 11.3, the statement is too broad and it is impossible to devise an indicator that meets all of the necessary steps explained above. This chapter has looked at the planning and management of cities and has given recommendations for monitoring systems to track the progress made concerning SDG Target 11.3 in order to move the existing indication into the Tier I category.

For practicing inter-ministerial coordination (IMC) and policy coherence, strong governments are needed for the creation of cohesive and effective teams that will tackle a form of professional policy-making that will ensure the long-term well-being of citizens. IMCs are difficult to create because of the many variables and incentives that are present between different sector members. When developing policies, it is important to divide up the concept and tasks into various areas and stages. There has to be a genuine motivation that all members share, for there to be change in each area, that is, motivation as both an individual attribute and a collective value. This is more important than establishing concrete rules because many things need to adapt with the different moving parts that are involved (Ionita, 2005, p. 15).

Once IMC has been established, it is important to create monitoring systems to build cohesion and communication among members. Proper data collection methods are needed to guarantee that IMC partners can move toward creating policies that will help achieve SDG Target 11.3. “To enhance the efficiency of their policy-making procedures, these countries should introduce mechanisms for policy coordination, improve the government’s access to information, and provide technical training for their economic policy-makers” (Saner, 2010, p. 129).

Data and monitoring systems are the most important tools to accomplish resilient and sustainable cities because policies need to have the well-being of citizens in mind in their creations. Providing access to training programs for countries is crucial so that monitoring systems can function accurately. To strengthen policy coherence for LMICs’ collective decision-making, communication, learning and implementation capacities of governments needs to take place in order to enable an urban government to face large change due to large size population growth (OECD, 2019). Similarly, human capacity needs also be strengthened to deal with the lived complexity when responding to the needs of residents. This is where psychology meets sociology and gives rise to macropsychology and its technologies. Examining the embedding context and preexisting conditions of particular policy choice, macropsychology could open up new potentials and create new capabilities to deal with some of the most wicked challenges of inequity, exclusion, and injustice.

Governments need to be strong because they are the central component for IMC and policy coherence at all levels of administrative hierarchy. This is why communication and learning opportunities need to be provided to anticipate the inevitable changes that will occur during SDG implemented. By implementing proper communication and measurement systems, members become more accountable for their actions, and transparency within groups can be achieved. Once these systems are implemented, city governments and the members of IMC groups can develop policies and ensure their coherence to make their cities more resilient and sustainable through the implementation of SDG Target 11.3.

In conclusion, this chapter articulates the need for a macropsychological perspective and suggests a paradigm shift toward a comprehensive and broad understanding of psychology incorporating psychological knowledge fields and specializations which address social structures, institutions, and policies. Taking the topic of this chapter as an example, each of the multilevel factors influencing the sustainability of a city’s development today needs to be part of a city’s comprehensive planning. And in the future, this would mean applying knowledge available from different subfields of psychology, namely, political psychology, urban development psychology, managerial psychology, social psychology, and economic psychology and anthropological psychology (e.g., regarding external and internal migration). A more comprehensive approach is possible and is needed to ensure sustainable and equitable development of cities and urban communities.

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How to Increase the Likelihood of Making the Sustainable Development Goals a Reality: An Enhanced Model of Deliberative Democracy and the Role for Psychologists Within It



Kenneth McKenzie

Introduction

This chapter looks at the greater role that could be played by psychologists in helping policymakers make progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). By *psychologists*, I mean academic psychologists. A case may be made for looking at how all kinds of psychologists may play larger and more effective roles in the policymaking around SDGs, but the lack of readily examinable datasets and peer-reviewed literature in the area of the policymaking contributions of consulting psychologists means that it is more practical to focus on the work of academic psychologists. This chapter argues that the most viable way for psychologists to insert themselves into the heart of SDG policy processes is by playing their part in helping to bring citizen, expert, and policymaker opinion together in deliberative democracy exercises around how best to construct better policy processes that would boost the likelihood of reaching the SDGs. By *policy processes*, I mean the full range of activities from initial consultation around a policy area, through to idea generation to address the policy area, designing said policy, and evaluating the effects of such a policy (such a perspective is necessarily larger than a focus on *policymaking* by itself). This larger perspective is in line with the call for a shift towards a more inclusive way of formulating, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating policy to ensure that marginalised groups are not shut out from the policy arena; a central consideration in SDG policies (see Huss & MacLachlan, 2016).

Macropsychology has been described as applying psychology to the settings and conditions in which we live our lives (MacLachlan, 2014; MacLachlan, Mannan, Huss, & Scholl, 2019). The SDGs attempt to explicitly change just such settings and conditions, across 17 “Goals”, ranging from education to justice, and employment

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to health. In examining the potential barriers and facilitators to psychology contributing to the SDGs, this chapter is structured into four parts. Part One looks at how behavioural economists have acquired (and are likely to maintain) pre-eminence in the ‘human side’ of SDG public policy, thus shrinking the policymaking space within which psychologists are likely to operate. This part of the chapter pays particular attention to some lacunae in the formation of psychologists when compared with the formation of behavioural economists. Unless and until a convincing case is made as to how and where psychologists can help improve policymaking outcomes, over and above the inputs of behavioural economists, I argue that psychologists are unlikely to have significant influence on SDG policymaking.

Part Two puts forward a simplified model of standard policymaking and argues that this model is not built to meet the policy challenges posed by the SDGs. I argue that a model of deliberative democracy stands a much better chance of helping to realise the SDGs.

Part Three outlines some fresh methods in policymaking, classifiable under the broad heading of deliberative democracy models that show promise in terms of helping to advance policies in SDG domains. I argue that this relatively new set of methods offers an opportunity for more psychology to be ‘added’ to policymaking processes. The ‘product’ would be enhanced models of direct democracy.

Part Four sounds a note of caution to all academics, not just psychologists: it argues that their preferred mode of engagement with policy (working with governments and other statutory bodies) is in danger of being bypassed by non-statutory actors, be they the philanthropic wings of for-profit groups or social entrepreneurs.

Part One: Pre-eminence in the Application of Social Science to SDG Policies: Comparing Behavioural Economists and Psychologists

Butz and Torrey (2006) claim that at the start of the twenty-first century, there was a shift away from elegant descriptions of and nuanced understanding of intellectual problems using social science, in an attempt to build better interventions using social science. This claim offers a clue as to how behavioural economists have moved to the front in terms of policymaking across high-income countries and are likely to maintain this position for policies to advance SDGs. The clue lies in the move away from an academic examination of independent variables as being correlated with certain outcomes, to a model of an engaged academic, working on applied problem-solving with the aim of addressing core public policy concerns. It is arguable that this shift favours the economist at the expense of the psychologist.

If the central problem (for psychologists) is how to get more psychologists working in public policy roles linked to delivering the SDGs, we need to look at why they are not currently in the front line of policymaking generally. The first explanation I put forward lies in the differences between the training of psychologists and behavioural economists in their respective doctoral programmes, while the second

explanation lies in the increasing dominance of the large-scale randomised controlled trial in public policy evaluation.

First, considerable differences exist in the nature and amount of statistical and methodological training at doctoral level in the two disciplines. When one considers that the growth of scientific understanding of implementation science and public policy programme evaluation is heavily influenced by economists (for an example, see Heckman & Vytlačil, 2007) it is unsurprising that the continued emphases on specific kinds of statistical and methodological training in economics as a discipline give economists an advantage over psychologists in taking a central place in policy-making. A further difference at doctoral training level is the lack of a shared framework between psychology and other social sciences. It is possible to see a convergence in social science concepts and methods, bringing economics, human geography, political science, and sociology, for example, closer together in terms of learning and using an increasingly common (and invariably quantitative) framework to describe phenomena in the public sphere, including the study of policymaking (see the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and methodology in the Netherlands as an example: <https://ics-graduateschool.nl/>). Psychologists in doctoral training programmes do not have the same access to this common training framework (and arguably there is another, less formalized benefit psychologists miss out on in terms of access to the interplay of ideas across disciplines that such environments foster). As a result, it is arguable that in the future, early career psychologists will know less than other social scientists about the frameworks used to understand policy processes, and indeed they will arguably understand less about how societal forces operate.

Second, the growth of randomised controlled trials (RCTs) as the preferred method underpinning policy evaluation leaves psychologists at a disadvantage in policymaking. While many psychologists draw on qualitative approaches to inform their work and to answer research questions, there seems to be limited room at best for this within the world of public policy (although there is evidence of a rise in the use of qualitative approaches to inform public policy: Lewin and Glenton note in their 2018 paper that the World Health Organization is just one supranational body that is increasingly drawing on qualitative frameworks to enhance policymaking inputs). Large RCTs are expensive and so there is a financial scale to an RCT that can look more impressive to a civil servant or a legislator when considering how to boost SDG policymaking capacity.

It is worth bearing in mind that it is not necessarily psychological concepts that are lacking when it comes to policymaking: one could plausibly argue that the raft of behavioural economics interventions is testament to the success of psychological thinking as so many of the concepts contain much that psychologists would call their own (see *Nudge* by Thaler and Sunstein (2008), and *Advances in Behavioral Economics* by Camerer, Loewenstein, and Rabin (2004), as two influential works containing much that would be easily understood by a graduate psychology student as being psychological in form). However, the academic work done by behavioural economists tends to not feature in the main psychology journals, while in policy-making, the major consulting roles are held by economists who have incorporated

aspects of psychological science, but do not claim to be psychologists (see the case of the Behavioural Insights Team in the UK, <https://www.bi.team/>). Psychology, then, appears more marginal than behavioural economics in policymaking.

However, a case is to be made for bringing psychologists to the fore in a specific area of SDG policymaking: that area is in helping to close the gaps that exist between the recognition that the SDGs are intrinsically good things and the policy steps that need to be taken at national and supranational level to act on this recognition. The United Nations has proposed a set of steps to help ‘bolt on’ the SDGs to national policymaking environments. There are three steps to this process. The first step entails auditing policies at national, sub-national, and local levels, then comparing the audit results with the SDG targets to identify the gaps. The second step involves setting nationally tailored targets: making the SDG goal feasible to implement at the national level whilst still ensuring it is an ambitious improvement on what exists within that jurisdiction. Finally, an integrated systems approach is adopted to knit together thinking and planning around the resources and constraints that apply at the intersections of local, sub-national, national, and supranational operations to ensure the policymaking environment is one favourable to SDGs (see The Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2016). Psychologists have an insightful perspective about how to use designs to change people’s attitudes and behaviours, and I argue that their work may be used to enhance existing models of deliberative democracy to yield a greater prospect of realising the SDGs. More specifically, I argue psychologists may become critical in bringing together citizen, expert, and policymaker opinions in one setting, thus increasing transparency and realism in SDG policymaking.

Part Two: Why SDG Policymaking Needs a Revitalised Model of Policymaking

A simplified model of policymaking would centre on policymakers devising policies without much public input; indeed, the only public input for the bulk of public policies that are made is an indirect one, in the shape of a vote at election time (indirect because elections are rarely decided by something that is agreed to be the single issue by voters). Political parties interpret a vote as a licence to proceed to draw up a set of legislative measures without recourse to the voters for any one measure: political administrators execute the policy on behalf of the political party that holds power. The work of the political administrator is removed from public input (for discussions on the nature of political power and the relative roles of policymaker and voter in political action, see Elster, 2007, pp. 388–443; Przeworski, 2010, *passim*, and Rueschemeyer, 2009, pp. 152–227).

Expert input to policymaking is of course sought: convened panels of expert inputs (see the Royal Commission model in the United Kingdom and Australia as two examples) are used to help shape public policy. By *experts*, I mean those qualified people working outside the political system. More cynical observers question

the degree of power accorded to experts, but it is a fact that experts have contributed to the shaping of public policy goals and their implementation across the high-income countries (for an American example, see Nichols, 2017).

However, this settled arrangement of scheduled public voting for parties, coupled with occasional recourse to experts, seems to be insufficient when faced with the kinds of challenges posed by the SDGs. This is in part due to three things: first, the problem of the performance of democracies on delivering certain goals; second, the change in the roles played by activists, and third, the relative lack of authoritative models of supranational governance and policy implementation in the domains of the SDGs (while recognizing that of course as noted earlier, individual countries will have prior policy objectives and commitments). Let us take each of these in turn.

First, it is commonplace to state that the performance of many democracies has been found by their citizens to be deficient. The years since the recession of 2008 have seen a rise in the amount of claims made about the unhealthy state of democracy (see Foa & Mounk, 2016). The rise of populism within wealthy states has been attributed to the lack of any major equalising change in income distribution and stagnant social mobility (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2018), while issues such as regional instability, inter-ethnic conflict, corruption, and climate change have placed enormous strain on low- and middle-income states, democratic or not. In wealthy states, some social scientists argue that policymaking failures to address recurring socio-political concerns are worsened by the increased apathy of voters; they point to rising levels of dissatisfaction with democracy as being likely to have further negative impacts on the *performance* of democracy, as it were, in nation-states. Against this, Przeworski (2010) cautions against expecting too much from democracy: he argues that democracy should be viewed as a fair and agreed way of transferring power within a political system, or as he puts it, ‘Democracy is when incumbents lose elections and winners assume office’ (p. 117); whereas expectations of democracy have increasingly and erroneously become bound up with desirable civic and public policy outcomes, in particular on distribution of wealth.

Second, the changing roles of activists are especially pertinent to SDG policy goals. We are increasingly seeing activists from outside the policymaking system exert more and more influence on policy processes. Activists such as Malala Yousafzai or Greta Thunberg have generated much coverage and momentum around the issues of girls’ education in poorer nation-states and climate change, respectively. On climate change, there is a mass of expert opinion on the role played by anthropogenic factors in worsening global warming, yet neither the new activism nor the expert consensus have yet proven sufficient to remould public policy on curbing global warming.

Third, it must be remembered that the policymaking process in high-, middle-, and low-income states was not designed to treat activist and expert opinion as being of equal weight with the thinking, goals, and working processes of policymakers. Moreover, while climate change is a supranational problem, the policymaking process is still in the main built on the unit of the individual nation-state (notwithstanding the Green Climate Fund meeting of February 2019, with almost 200 countries

signing up to fund the integration of climate information and risk modelling by low- and middle-income countries into their policy frameworks). The lack of sensitivity in the policymaking process to ‘outside’ inputs, plus the lack of a powerful supranational mechanism to tackle SDGs, help to explain that while we have some shared recognition of the validity of the warnings made by climate change scholars and activists, we still have no binding set of policies or even a consistent set of policy processes) that may be implemented authoritatively across the world.

There seems to be solid grounds, therefore, for moving towards a democracy with more obvious mechanisms for generating a consensus around major policies, including the SDGs. After all, ‘consensus democracy’ has been shown to be a better form of democracy than its majoritarian form: ‘in representing minority groups and minority interests, representing everyone more accurately, and representing people and their interests more inclusively.’ (Lijphart, 1999, p. 275). The climate change example illustrates the need to ‘flip’ from the standard policymaking model of policymakers devising and implementing policies largely by themselves, to bringing experts, citizens, and policymakers together to collectively shape policy around SDGs. Part Three claims that deliberative democracy models (DDMs) show promise in boosting the chances of realising SDG policies. Part Three also outlines the conceptual and practical aspects to that need to be considered when looking at how DDMs may be used in interventions and designs to help advance SDG policymaking.

Part Three: Bringing Citizens, Experts, and Policymakers Together to Improve SDG Policymaking

Two main DDMs are presented briefly here: the *citizens’ jury* and the *national conversation*. Both show some promise but are not presented here as panaceas to the problems posed around how to make SDG policy processes work.

DDMs are a broad set of designs to deepen the understanding of citizens of the relevant policy issues and to take account of citizen opinion in policymaking. Perhaps the classic example of DDMs is the case of the *citizens’ jury* (for a classic account, see Smith & Wales, 1999). Relatively common in Germany, and to a lesser extent in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, the citizens’ jury design typically attempts to resolve a local policy issue, often around environmental or planning decisions (see Voss & Amelung, 2016). The schema for the design is for expert input to be presented to a small number of citizens (the jury) from the affected community, and for this jury to have the chance to ask questions of the experts, and then to debate amongst themselves as to what should be done.

In the United Kingdom, a different kind of DDM featured at the start of the century. The Big Conversation was a policymaking idea initiated in 2003 by the then Labour government to help quell growing dissatisfaction around a number of domestic policy issues. The Big Conversation consisted of a set of round table

discussions across the United Kingdom with voters, public servants, and other members of the public policy system on enduring public policy problems, particularly in crime, education, and housing. The sessions focused on how to improve things at a national level, as distinct from looking at the issues solely through a local lens. They were ridiculed by the political opposition and by media pundits as being a ‘talking shop’ rather than an adjunct to policymaking and sank from view soon after they started (Tonn, 2005).

Recent developments in policymaking processes in Ireland and France offer lessons to how we should reconsider SDG policy processes. In Ireland, the Citizens Assembly is a classically designed citizen jury type of DDM that took the divisive issue of abortion rights and resulted in a sequenced, logical set of steps to bring a referendum to the Irish people to say yes or no to having abortion legalised within the country. Critical to the success of the Citizens Assembly was the recognition by politicians and the general public that a change had indeed occurred in how Irish people thought about abortion (for a review of the model’s workings, see Suiter, Farrell, & O’Malley, 2014).

In France, President Macron began an exercise, *le grand débat*, similar to the Labour government’s Big Conversation, where he toured the country talking to mayors about their views on what needed to be done to help France perform better across (an often inchoate) set of policy domains. Coupled with this tour was an organised event in March 2019 where 60 intellectuals were invited to the Élysée Palace to give their views on what was going wrong with France and how this could be changed (through the lens of how the ‘typical’ French person felt about the nation and their own lives); this initiative was criticised by some as being an attempt to show inclusion of expert ideas rather than to actively insert them into the policymaking process (*interview with Jacques Juillard, L’Express, August 2019*). Ledgers were opened in town halls to allow people to write their views on what needed to be done to improve life in France, and a website was opened to allow people to express such views online. Also in 2019, an initiative was announced to look at reformulating France’s environmental policies, with six sessions of deliberations, with each session lasting three days. There is a significant logistical aspect to organising such DDMs: the budget for this one set of deliberations was €4.3 million, with compensation offered to participants to cover their time of work, and childcare costs for lone parents also included. A bank of up to 400,000 citizens was contacted from telephone directories, with 150 citizens being drawn by lottery from this database, and the citizens drawn having to attend all six sessions. The sample was representative for men and women, but it included an extra weighting for people without higher education (*logistical details from <https://www.lecese.fr/content/la-convention-citoyenne-pour-le-climat-au-cese>*).

Three major criticisms are levied against such DDMs. The first concerns *legitimacy*: the small scale of the citizens jury design and the cases of the Big Conversation, Citizens Assembly and *le grand débat* pose a problem for policymakers: on what basis can one build a national (or potentially supranational, in the case of the UN SDGs) policymaking process if the number of citizens involved is so small? (see Przeworski, 2010, p. 110).

The second concerns *representativeness*: how accurately do DDMs reflect the political thinking and feeling of the broad set of adults who are eligible to vote? Elections and referendums are necessarily more representative exercises as they always ‘show(s) the extent to which citizens are actually interested in being represented’ (Lijphart, 1999, p.284) and so the policymaker is on safer ground in vindicating their policymaking process and actions based on elections and referendums and not on DDMs. Neuman’s (1986) idea of the *three publics* is pertinent to this debate. Neuman claims that the adult population in the United States (here standing as an instance of a high-income nation-state) is made up of three layers according to political interest. Approximately 5 per cent are committed to politics as an exercise and are avid consumers of political views and issues; this per cent is the policymaking class and others with some degree of direct or indirect influence over and above voting on policymaking (for example, journalists or academics). The bulk of the population, around 70 or 75 per cent, is composed of people who pay periodic attention to political events; they vote consistently or inconsistently and they have widely varying levels of political engagement; this group is the one targeted by political parties and other political actors for their votes (or support in other forms). The third group is the politically disaffected; this is a rump of around 20 per cent of adults eligible to vote but who take no interest in political affairs; they are persistent non-voters. They are ignored by political parties and other political actors, and in Neuman’s view, are overlooked by the media. It seems logical that the kind of people who will take part in DDMs are more common among the upper ranges of Neuman’s three publics, and therefore it could be argued that DDMs are not effectively capturing the broad public’s thinking nor making public thinking more sophisticated as a whole (although the case of the abortion referendum in Ireland after the work of the Citizens’ Assembly challenges this, and the future outputs of the work in France on new ways to shape environmental policies will also be a test of the validity of this criticism).

The third criticism is the *ecological validity* of the DDM process versus the consequences attached to policymaking in the real world. DDMs are built around experts presenting arguments to citizens to debate them, but the consequences of the decisions are different in a DDM model as against a real-world setting. Actual policymaking requires making hard choices and choosing to allocate scarce resources to one policy item to the exclusion of another. Living with the consequences of those decisions is a different reality to a measured debate in a DDM conducted on the grounds of a university. The Brexit impasse in Britain from 2016 onwards is a pertinent test of the logic here: what kind of debate is possible when the issues tend to be presented in a simple binary? How do group identities impinge upon the deliberation of a policy decision to be applied to the whole nation? Can a DDM have similar impacts in a first-past-the-post system versus proportional political systems? It is fair to conclude that we lack a common set of tools to inform an understanding of how we can best operationalise the study of bringing in end users into public policy processes, other than relying on accounts of their stated preferences in opinion poll or jury-type exercises, which are the main underlying features of DDMs.

If there are problems around legitimacy, representativeness, and validity with DDMs, what then may be said about drawing on expert inputs? There is a clear expert input to SDG formulation, based on accumulated data analysed and presented by academics. To what extent should policymakers involve experts more centrally in the framing and execution of specific SDG policies on the ground? One pertinent model that has a long track record in being used in some areas of policymaking is the Delphi process. Originally conceived as a way to rank priorities and allocate resources in national defence policy in the United States, the Delphi process has gone on to feature in many tasks around priority identification among experts. In simple form, the Delphi process consists of asking expert contributors for their views on a series of competing approaches/items within a policymaking process. The views are elicited as preference rankings, with the least favoured preference(s) voted off at each round until there remains one item/policy around which the experts may be said to have reached a consensus. The main benefit of the Delphi process is that it brings a finality of outcome to what are inevitably subjective inputs. Although not a pure Delphi model, the Copenhagen Consensus model (<https://www.copenhagenconsensus.com/>) in international development has some similarities with the design and intent of a Delphi. In the Copenhagen model, a range of different policy items requiring investment that confront governments across low-income countries are brought by the government of a specific low-income country to a panel of experts. The experts use a quantitative outcome, the return on investment per dollar invested, and use econometric modelling to compute the return for every policy item presented. The output of the exercise is a ranked list, with the policy generating the highest return over time ranked number one, and other policies ranked according to their lower returns. The exercise is not intended to be binding on the government bringing the policy items to the table, but it is designed to raise the level of transparency and logic around the policymaking process. The Copenhagen model is one way of using expert input to help policymakers decide what they should do next by means of an agreed quantitative outcome measure.

A gap must still be bridged, though, between the expert recommendation on any one SDG and the public endorsement of that policy goal. I argue that hybrid DDM designs that blend experts, the general public, and policymakers, are built on the recognition that mutual influence to change the views of all parties is desirable, should feature more in SDG policymaking. Rudiments for a model for how these may work are to be found in research exercises assessing the public's views on the worth, pace, and direction of some laboratory science research programmes. The *citizen engagement with science model* comes with a growing body of peer-reviewed literature on what happens when practising scientists explain their work to citizens, on how citizens react to these explanations, and on how the scientists themselves reflect on the foundations of their research programme (see https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/communities/sites/jrccties/files/mc10_rio_sio-lopez_mobility_reading.pdf) This interpenetration of scientific and citizen reflection is, I argue, much less common among policymaking communities but offers a potentially productive way to help shape SDG policymaking.

Scenario planning models have long featured in training programmes for executives in the for-profit and not-for-profit world alike (see the Oxford Scenarios Programme for an illustration of how they work and their purported benefits, <https://www.sbs.ox.ac.uk/programmes/oxford-scenarios-programme>). They would seem to be an ideal arena for bringing together citizens, experts, and policymakers on SDG policy formation, as they allow for greater fidelity to the real world of SDGs because they are built to incorporate a dynamic element to the phenomenon being played out: as participants act, the scenario changes in front of them.

A linked model is that of *serious games*: classically, this is where participants use computer game set-ups to learn or practice a skill and so they are used as high-fidelity training exercises in skilled work domains such as firefighting or emergency medicine. Recently, there has been a rise in the amount of serious game applications to mimic real-world policy problems in areas such as environmental asset management, disaster response, and energy resource usage (see Dörner, Göbel, Effelsberg, & Wiemeyer, 2016, for a review). The learning opportunities presented by unexpected or undesirable turns of events makes serious games a fertile area that psychologists should explore more with policymakers around SDGs.

Transposing the beneficial dynamic aspect from scenario planning and serious games to real democratic exercises around SDGs could take the form of citizens, experts, and policymakers being asked to think more deeply about the consequences of their preference and to view their preferences as operating within a homeostatic system: allocating resources to policy goal X means taking them away from policy goal Y or choosing Method 1 to implement an agreed policy means not exploring Method 2. Mechanisms with proven efficacy in achieving this deeper thinking are difficult to find but could include adding in an instruction or feature based on a thought experiment like Rawls' veil of ignorance, where participants have to generate a social contract for everyone, but they have to suspend their sense of their own talents, rights, and demographics, and imagine instead that they have an equal chance of being harmed or favoured by the policies they set. An experimental design by Fehr and Gächter (1999) on co-operation and retaliation in resource allocation games is also a useful candidate to consider as a mechanism to deepen participant consideration around SDG policymaking exercises. Making this concept work at a national level in a ballot is much harder to imagine.

Part Four: The Bypassing of Traditional Policy Actors by Philanthropists, Advertising Agencies, and Social Entrepreneurs

It would be a mistake to think that the model proposed here of using enhanced designs in DDMs to bring together citizen, expert, and policymaker inputs is going to be valid for the lifetime of SDG policymaking to 2030. Modifications would need to be made for three reasons: first, the rise of mass dissemination by social entrepreneurs and social activists of scientific understanding of how to make behaviour

change happen (with respect to one or more of the SDGs); second, the growth in mass communications campaigns built by advertising agencies, funded by states and other policy actors; and third, the scale of involvement by philanthropists, the philanthropic wing of for-profit organisations, and social entrepreneurs, in executing policies. Let us take the mass dissemination point first.

If one agrees with George Miller's sentiment that the aim of academic psychologists should be to 'give psychology away', then it may be said that that job is being done by non-psychologists. On climate change, the website www.climateconviction.org contains resources on the scientific understanding of climate change denial, and barriers and triggers to behaviour change, among other things. The accompanying book by George Marshall, *Don't Even Think About it* (2014), has sold hundreds of thousands of copies, dwarfing the number of citizens that any scientifically built DDM could reach. The French documentary *Demain* (<https://www.tomorrow--documentary.com/>) identifies solutions for climate change action that can be adopted across a range of levels, from individuals through to states, and has been distributed in 27 countries. Malala Yousafzai's Nobel Peace Prize in 2014 brought the issue of equal access to education for girls across the world to an unprecedented number of people, and this number grows when one looks at sales of her books and views of her documentary. Psychologists must ask themselves what part, if any, they could play in this mass dissemination of concepts that help prepare the ground for the advancement of (some) SDGs.

Advertising agencies are being called upon to build mass communications campaigns designed to help soften resistance among some strata of the public (and some policymakers) to a range of SDGs. Psychologists have a long history of working with advertising agencies on public health promotion campaigns with government as the client (see Greer & Bryant, 2005) and this model may well be one that is applicable to framing how psychologists can again work on mass communications efforts around the SDGs. The final design such campaigns is made not by psychologists or other academics but by strategic planners who are more likely to use a range of resources such as Pew Research Center (<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/>) or the World Values Survey (<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>) instead of primary data collection tools such as DDMs (because DDMs are relatively rare and take a long time to produce recommendations).

Finally, organisations such as the Gates Foundation and Google.org operate with considerable resources in SDG domains; such resources often surpass those of state actors. Such philanthropic organisations often have different modes of consulting, decision-making, and working, and therefore may not sit easily in the ways of operating preferred by state actors. Smaller social entrepreneur-led organisations are tackling a range of SDG policy execution problems, while other corporations are playing a growing part in doing social good (see <https://www.fastcompany.com/most-innovative-companies/2019/sectors/social-good> for an indicative sample of such organisations). There is promise in the rate of growth of the UN Global Compact, where thousands of companies have signed up to observe human rights practices consistent with the SDGs at work and in their supply chains (see unglobalcompact.org). What kind of roles, if any do psychologists play in their daily workings? What kinds of roles, if any, will they play? There is a lack of literature in this area.

Conclusion

Colin Crouch (2000) wrote that the practice of democracy was shrinking to an ever-smaller group of technocrats deciding policy far away from the ballot box. In his view, although elections would still take place, they would be hollowed out, in that policies would be deliberated upon elsewhere, without any substantive voter input. It may sound odd, then, to conclude this chapter by restating that it is through blending (external) expert inputs with those of citizens and policymakers that I argue we get the most useful model for understanding how to realise the SDGs. Furthermore, this chapter argues that psychologists are well placed to contribute their expertise to building more dynamic models of DDMs; such dynamic models bring the consequences that apply in the real world to policy deliberation exercises. The nature of action around SDG goals is much more nuanced than a simple model of state-led policymaking with some expert inputs as a periodic feature. The range of actors has broadened, the kinds of tools they use to shape public thinking are either unfamiliar to psychologists or not favoured by them. I argue that within academia, behavioural economists currently hold an advantage over psychologists in all areas of policy process, including SDG policies. Psychologists must find and defend an effective position to gain relevance in the future world of SDG policymaking, not to state their own ego but rather to make sure that the different perspectives they bring about how humans make sense of the world, allied to their use of methods that open up to allow people and groups of lower power to contribute to policymaking, complement and enhance the work of other social scientists.

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A Macropsychology Perspective on Food Systems



Joanne McVeigh

Introduction

How to sustainably and ethically provide adequate food for a projected 9 billion people by 2050 is a pivotal social and environmental concern (Kennedy & Liljeblad, 2016). According to the ‘2019 State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World’ report (FAO et al., 2019), increasing numbers of people are experiencing hunger; with almost one in three people experiencing at least one type of malnutrition (WHO, 2018a). The ‘double burden of malnutrition’ refers to the co-existence of both undernutrition and overweight and obesity, impacting the majority of low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (Popkin et al., 2019). In several countries, undernutrition and obesity occur concurrently, even within the same household (WHO, 2018b). Malnutrition and obesity are bedfellows – both the result of food and nutrition insecurity (Hammond & Dubé, 2012). Therefore, in addition to undernutrition, families living with food insecurity may be at higher risk for overweight and obesity due to the increased costs of nutritious food, the stress associated with food insecurity, and physiological adaptations to food restriction (FAO et al., 2018). Undernutrition and obesity are becoming increasingly interrelated due to changes in food systems, requiring a new approach to simultaneously address these health issues (WHO, 2019a).

In the mid-twentieth century, a shift occurred in high-income countries (HICs) towards diets comprised of highly refined food, alongside meat and dairy products high in saturated fat, and this trend has been increasing also in LMICs (Friel & Lichacz, 2010). This Western diet, created by the industrialized food system, has been detrimental to population health (Hawkins, 2019). Good health is dependent on good nutrition, and malnutrition accounts for more disease than any other causal

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factor (Global Nutrition Report, 2018); with unhealthy diets being amongst the top risk factors for the global burden of disease (Dietz, 2020; WHO, 2018a). The World Health Organization (2019b) estimates that 3.7 million lives could be saved by 2025 through a greater focus on nutrition in health services. However, nutrition is not typically prioritized in healthcare services (Darnton-Hill & Samman, 2015). For example, in a systematic review of nutrition in medical education, Crowley and colleagues (2019) reported that nutrition is inadequately included in medical education across countries, and that institutional commitment is needed for obligatory nutrition education in medical training.

Concurrent to its adverse effects on malnutrition and health, the global food system influences, and is impacted by, environmental degradation. The food system generates a substantial proportion of deforestation, loss of biodiversity, and 20–35 percent of greenhouse gas emissions (FAO & WHO, 2019). In turn, a proliferation in heat stress, water shortages, tropospheric ozone, and carbon dioxide endanger agricultural production worldwide in relation to quality of crops, which could considerably impact on global food security and population health (Lindgren et al., 2018). Food security and the sustainability of food systems globally may therefore be at risk, as a result of climate change and increasing pressure on natural resources (FAO, 2017).

Current food systems are therefore also a source of environmental destruction and the most significant cause of disease and premature death, and as such are also “the single most powerful lever we have for achieving ecological health and human health” (Swinburn, 2019, p. 1). Studies indicating a relationship between healthier diets and decreased pressure on the environment have resulted in the concept of ‘sustainable diets’, which can simultaneously improve health and the ecosystem (Meybeck & Gitz, 2017). Changes resulting in better population nutrition and health will simultaneously reduce the carbon footprint of food systems (De Schutter, 2020; Lindgren et al., 2018). A food system that merges diet-related health, economic, and environmental goals can produce healthy foods, while providing economic gains for farmers and businesses, using techniques that are environmentally sustainable (Parsons & Hawkes, 2018).

The field of psychology, as the ‘study of human behaviour’, is well positioned to provide much insight into the study of food systems, and to support a transformation of the global food system. However, psychology has conventionally focused on individual determinants and interventions for health and well-being. Effectively addressing the double burden of malnutrition will necessitate significant societal shifts in relation to nutrition, and sustained change that is scaled up to the global food system (Wells et al., 2019). A macropsychology perspective is therefore needed, which enables us to address “the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives” (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851). Using a macropsychology perspective, psychology will need to address food and nutrition as a complex and adaptive food system; necessitating collaboration and interdisciplinarity, systems thinking, and a rights-based approach.

Global Action on the Right to Food

Global commitment and action to address malnutrition include the ‘United Nations Decade of Action on Nutrition (2016–2025)’ and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Baker et al., 2018). The right to food is also recognized by several international legal instruments, particularly the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and international instruments for specific population groups including the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (FAO, 2019). A human rights approach focuses on structural determinants of food insecurity, rather than focusing solely on the consequences (Pollard & Booth, 2019). This also includes the right of marginalized and vulnerable groups to participate in policy processes to promote food security (FAO, 2005). The human right to food is pivotal to the realization of all other rights (Ayala & Meier, 2017; FAO & WHO, 2019), and is therefore central to the fulfilment of the SDGs.

The right to food security and adequate nutrition (UN General Assembly, 2015, p. 15) is enshrined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in Goal 2 to “end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture”. Agriculture is the largest employer globally and main economic sector in several countries (FAO, 2018). Agriculture must be targeted to mitigate poverty and increase incomes and employment, as globally three-quarters of people living in extreme poverty reside in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their food and income (FAO, 2018). As suggested by Perroni (2017), “paradoxically and perversely, the majority of people vulnerable to food insecurity and famine are farmers”. Investment in nutrition will enable countries to fulfil the SDGs (WHO, 2019b), due to the interdependence of SDG2 and other SDGs. Indeed, food and agriculture are at the core of the 2030 Agenda and critical to realizing several of the SDGs, such as ending hunger and poverty, sustainable use of natural resources, gender equality, reducing vulnerability to conflict and crises, addressing climate change, realizing inclusive economic development, and creating more just and peaceful societies (FAO, 2018).

Inequities in Food Security

According to the Committee on World Food Security (2014, p. 9), “food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, economic and social access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”. Food security comprises four pillars of availability, access, utilization, and stability (Committee on World Food Security, 2017). The concept of ‘food security’ differs from that of ‘nutrition security’; the latter denoting access to ample food nutrients, as a result of household food security, healthcare access, and fulfilment of other basic needs (Pérez-Escamilla, 2017). Food security must therefore go beyond the adequate production of food, to ensure access to nutritious food (Ayala & Meier, 2017).

Food insecurity is a complex socioeconomic problem, comprising lack of access to adequate, safe, and nutritious food to fulfil dietary needs (Aceves-Martins et al., 2018). Moderate to severe food insecurity is experienced by approximately 2 billion people globally, mainly in LMICs; although it is also experienced by 8 percent of the population in Northern America and Europe (FAO et al., 2019). Indeed, household food insecurity, as a result of financial constraints that limit access to food, is a significant health problem in HICs (Tarasuk et al., 2019). For example, while Ireland was ranked, alongside Singapore, as the most food secure country globally in 2018 and 2019 by the Global Food Security Index (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019), these statistics conceal inequities in access to food, with one in five children in Ireland going to bed or to school hungry (O'Toole, 2019). This also speaks to the "importance of including exclusion" in relation to evaluating food poverty (Erbe Healy, 2019, p. 105).

Food insecurity is associated with dietary patterns of lower consumption of fruits and vegetables and higher consumption of energy-dense food (Gregório et al., 2018). Socioeconomically disadvantaged people in HICs confront a calories-per-dollar trade-off, alongside greater stressors, rendering them especially vulnerable to poor dietary choices (Harrison & Taren, 2018). Health risks related to diet are therefore experienced unequally across populations, whereby socially disadvantaged groups in high- and middle-income countries are more likely to have unhealthy diets and higher levels of nutrition-associated diseases (Friel et al., 2017). Because access to food is associated with socioeconomic power, discrimination, and inequality, some people experience significant barriers to accessing a healthy diet (WHO, 2018a). Social inequities such as poverty are associated with poor nutrition across both LMICs and HICs, and amongst particular social groups within countries (Perez-Escamilla et al., 2018).

Population groups who experience social exclusion and marginalization are at heightened risk of food insecurity (FAO et al., 2019). As suggested by Walker and Fox (2018, p. 944), "issues related to food insecurity are, at root, issues of marginalisation (based on social identities and positioning)". Social groups who are especially vulnerable to malnutrition include children, adolescent girls, people who are ill or immuno-compromised, and indigenous people (Global Nutrition Report, 2018). People at increased risk of food insecurity also include *people with disabilities* (IDA, 2018; Schwartz et al., 2019); *people living in conflict-affected contexts* (Martin-Shields & Stojetz, 2018; Tranchant et al., 2019); *people who are homeless* (Crawford et al., 2015; Share & Hennessy, 2017); *people with low socioeconomic status* (Chakona & Shackleton, 2018; Power et al., 2018); *ethnic minorities* (FAO et al., 2019; Power et al., 2018); *women* (FAO et al., 2018; Johnson et al., 2018); and *older adults* (Vilar-Compte, 2017; Wang & Bishop, 2019).

Food insecurity is experienced by the most vulnerable people in societies, not due to a lack of food production, but as a result of policy failures (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2013). There is not a scarcity of food, but a lack of political will (O'Toole, 2019). Beyond technical knowledge, addressing malnutrition will necessitate political commitment to national and subnational policies, systems, and resources that promote adequate nutrition (Baker et al., 2018). To effectively address

food insecurity, policies must focus on social justice and health inequalities (Roncarolo & Potvin, 2016). As proposed by Blay-Palmer (2016, p. 1), “a lack of food is a symptom of a lack of power in a system that privileges free market principles over social justice and the protection of human rights”. The social determinants of health must be addressed, such as access to food security, healthcare, education, and employment (Perez-Escamilla et al., 2018). Food policies are therefore needed that facilitate economic growth, social security, education, and health, and protection of the environment (Smith, 2016).

Psychology’s Place on the Food Chain

Several fields of psychology address issues relevant to food and nutrition, including *health psychology* (Houben & Jansen, 2019; Radin et al., 2020); *clinical psychology* (Lydecker et al., 2020; Stice et al., 2016); *cognitive psychology* (Dai et al., 2020; Korb et al., 2020); *social psychology* (Bowe et al., 2019; Hackel et al., 2018); *environmental psychology* (Graham-Rowe et al., 2019; Krpan & Houtsma, 2020); *consumer psychology* (Boeuf, 2019; Ye et al., 2020); *paediatric psychology* (Luke & Flessner, 2020; Whitsett et al., 2019); *biological psychology* (Franken et al., 2018; Testa et al., 2020); and *genetic psychology* (Zhou et al., 2019, 2020). From these and other research fields in psychology, much insight has been gained on the interface between mental health, well-being, and food and nutrition. Some of this research – on ways in which mental health and nutrition converge – is briefly described below.

Food insecurity is a predictor of, and outcome of, poor health (Vilar-Compte et al., 2017). However, food insecurity is a largely overlooked social determinant of mental health (Shim & Compton, 2020). Food insecurity adversely impacts on physical, social, emotional, and cognitive development (Pérez-Escamilla, 2017) and on mental health problems including anxiety and depression (Gregório et al., 2018; Jessiman-Perreault & McIntyre, 2017). The interaction between malnutrition and mental disorders may be regarded as a ‘syndemic’, described as “the adverse interaction of diseases of all types... most likely to emerge under conditions of health inequality caused by poverty, stigmatization, stress, or structural violence because of the role of these factors in disease clustering and exposure and in increased physical and behavioural vulnerability” (Singer et al., 2017, p. 941). Food and nutrition security may therefore be social prerequisites for mental health.

The prevailing treatments for mental health problems of pharmacotherapy and psychotherapy prevent less than half of the burden of disease, necessitating additional strategies; one alterable risk factor for mental health problems is nutritional diet (Marx et al., 2017). Studies reporting specific benefits from a nutritious diet are increasing rapidly (Holford & Burne, 2006). In numerous studies, dietary pattern has been shown to precede psychiatric symptoms, providing support for a direction of causality whereby diet impacts mental health (Rucklidge & Kaplan, 2016); although antecedence of change in one variable before change in another variable does not necessarily prove causality (Mujcic & Oswald, 2019). The consumption of

fruit and vegetables may protect against risk of clinical depression and anxiety (Mujcic & Oswald, 2019). For example, in a UK representative longitudinal study, Ocean et al. (2019) reported that mental well-being responded, through a dose-response relationship, to increased quantity and frequency of consumption of fruits and vegetables.

In this regard, there is a developing evidence base within the field of *nutritional psychology* on nutritional causes of, and interventions for, mental health problems (Clay, 2017). Similarly, the developing field of *nutritional psychiatry* aims to generate a scientifically robust evidence base on the impact of diet and nutrients on different aspects of mental health (Adan et al., 2019). As contended by Sarris et al. (2015, p. 271), “although the determinants of mental health are complex, the emerging and compelling evidence for nutrition as a crucial factor in the high prevalence and incidence of mental disorders suggests that diet is as important to psychiatry as it is to cardiology, endocrinology, and gastroenterology”. Nutritional psychiatry has provided empirical support for quality of diet as a risk factor for mental disorders (Marx et al., 2017).

Concurrent to advances in research on the impact of dietary patterns on mental health, research has proliferated on the potential effects of non-pathogenic microbes on mental health (Logan, 2015). The ‘microbiome’ influences the balance between health and disease and is significantly impacted by diet (Ercolini & Fogliano, 2018). Trillions of microbes in the gastrointestinal tract, the microbiome, impact health in numerous ways; and there is increasing evidence that such microorganisms impact on mental health (Weir, 2018). A large majority of the ‘feel-good’ hormone serotonin and neurotransmitters such as stress-relieving GABA are produced in the microbiome – often referred to as ‘the second brain’ (Dow, 2018). Bacteria can influence emotions by altering neural signals in the vagus nerve, the column of nerve cells linking the gut and the brain (Axe, 2016). A mechanism by which diet may influence the risk of mental health problems is through inflammation, as diet modulates inflammatory processes, and severe mental disorders such as major depression disorder, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia are associated with elevated inflammation (Firth et al., 2019). An unbalanced microbiota that stimulates an immune response is termed ‘dysbiotic’ and can result in inflammation, a significant contributor to depression, anxiety, and to mental decline (Anderson et al., 2017). Of note, the immune system is a crucial communication pathway between the gut and brain, which plays a significant role in stress-related psychopathologies (Dinan & Cryan, 2017).

Mental disorders such as depression and anxiety are frequently comorbid conditions with gastrointestinal illness, indicating a possible bidirectional relationship between mental health and gastrointestinal health (Aslam et al., 2018). Bidirectional brain-gut-microbiome interactions are empirically supported, with changes in such interactions being involved in the pathogenesis of brain-gut disorders including irritable bowel syndrome, alongside psychiatric and neurological disorders such as affective disorders, autism spectrum disorders, and Parkinson’s disease (Martin et al., 2018). As emphasized by Allen et al. (2017, p. 11), “within clinical practice, psychologists should be aware of the high comorbidity of psychological distress

and gastrointestinal problems. There is likely much potential for the amelioration of gastrointestinal problems (e.g., through intervention in diet, probiotic supplementation or medical treatment) to assist in the management of psychological disorder and vice versa". Therefore, behavioural interventions addressing the consumption of a nutritious diet can have a positive psychological impact, mediated through the gut microbiome (Allen et al., 2017).

An intriguing area of research, intersecting both micro and macro levels of analyses, is the microbiome as a biological mechanism for the social gradient of health. Due to social determinants of health, socioeconomically disadvantaged groups experience greater health problems, resulting in health inequalities (Marmot, 2005; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). While the social gradient of health is well established, the biological mechanisms of this association between health and inequality are not yet well defined (Bowyer et al., 2019). Income inequality may play a role in maladaptive changes in the microbiota of particular social groups; this may contribute to the health disparities that are evident between low-income and high-income populations in HICs (Harrison & Taren, 2018). In HICs, a 'disparity of microbiota' may exist therefore amongst socioeconomically disadvantaged populations (Logan, 2015). Variances in the microbiota between social populations may mediate differences in health across socioeconomic groups (Bowyer et al., 2019). Research indicating variations in microbiota across socioeconomic groups may therefore help to explain mechanisms of socioeconomic disparity in chronic disease, and inform interventions to address such disparities (Miller et al., 2016).

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Almost 25 years ago, in their article titled 'The inescapable nature of politics in psychology', Fox and Prilleltensky (1996) argued that attempting to disconnect psychology from the field of politics would limit the extent to which psychology could promote well-being and social justice. Similarly, Katona (1979) contended that psychologists should be involved in exploring macro processes; and Marsella (1998) echoed the sentiment by asserting that psychology should address global contexts and conditions. However, several health fields have historically focused on health determinants and treatments at the level of the individual (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). Amongst these is the field of psychology, which has traditionally focused on individual determinants and interventions for health and well-being. Although individual interventions are of value, such interventions without broader, structural change may be unsuccessful; or view systems failings as failings within the individual (MacLachlan, 2017).

Psychology's approach to the study of food and nutrition has also primarily been directed at the micro (individual) or meso (institutional and social) levels – mainly addressing 'downstream causes' that are the focus of much psychological research (Short & Mollborn, 2015, p. 3). However, effectively addressing the double burden of malnutrition will necessitate significant societal shifts in relation to nutrition and

public health, and sustained change that is scaled up to the global food system (Wells et al., 2019). Addressing food insecurity is therefore dependent on broader change, including public policy and social norms (Shim & Compton, 2020). As suggested by Lawrence et al. (2010, p. 2), without accounting for wider contexts, we “mask broader socioeconomic settings, along with the actions of powerful corporations and global regulating bodies, which shape the ways foods are grown, distributed and ultimately end up – or for a growing number, don’t end up – in the mouths of consumers”.

The field of psychology, as the ‘study of human behaviour’, is well positioned to provide much insight into the study of food systems. Psychology’s contribution, however, must be part of an interdisciplinary collaboration to address the food system. Insights from multiple disciplines are required to address the complexity of socio-ecological food systems (Kennedy & Liljeblad, 2016). Diets are shaped by numerous socioeconomic factors such as the cost of food (impacting on the availability and affordability of nutritious food), income, individual preferences and beliefs, cultural traditions, and environmental factors such as climate change; therefore, food systems that promote a healthy diet necessitate the participation of numerous sectors and stakeholders (WHO, 2018c). As suggested by the EAT-Lancet Commission (Willett et al., 2019, p. 39), a “Great Food Transformation will only be achieved through widespread, multisector, multilevel action that includes a substantial global shift towards healthy dietary patterns, large reductions in food loss and waste, and major improvements in food production practices”. For example, Pollard and Booth (2019) have called for academics to play a critical role in providing an independent evidence base to develop and evaluate policies and programmes on food insecurity, and to test prevalent assumptions and models of food insecurity. To realize sustainable food systems, more collaboration is also required between the social and natural sciences (Hinrichs, 2010). As contended by Dangour et al. (2017, p. e9), “our ability to plan sustainable, equitable, and healthy food systems for the future requires integration of methods from distinct disciplines, innovation in analytical approaches and intersectoral policy analysis and engagement”.

Relatedly, a systems approach is needed to understand and influence food and nutrition security, by focusing on interconnected systems across disciplines (Hammond & Dubé, 2012). Policies must address the interrelatedness of different factors across the food system (Kharas & Noe, 2019). Food systems incorporate a complex combination of interactive factors that impact on areas including health, the environment, and the economy such as the livelihoods of farmers (Parsons & Hawkes, 2018). A systems-thinking approach is therefore required that reconceptualizes linear food-supply chains as complex, dynamic, and adaptive food systems (Swinburn, 2019). The aggregate food system must be addressed (FAO & WHO, 2019) comprising “the production, processing, marketing, and purchase of food and the related consumer behaviours, resources and institutions” (Dangour et al., 2017, p. e8). Systems thinking can traverse disciplines, and enable interventions at different points or levels in the causal chain. To effectively address food and nutrition as a complex and adaptive ‘food system’, the field of psychology will therefore need

to embrace systems thinking. As psychology can adopt system-based approaches to examine human behaviour (Allen & Prospero, 2016), it is well positioned to use and contribute to systems thinking in relation to food and nutrition security.

Consistent with a macropsychology perspective, psychology must also adopt a rights-based approach to food and nutrition security. A human rights approach focuses on structural determinants of food insecurity (Pollard & Booth, 2019). As suggested by Migacheva (2015, p. 147), “human rights policy faces a myriad of challenges and important questions; one may visualise it as a large puzzle, comprised of a great number of pieces. Psychological knowledge occupies an important place in this puzzle”. While the aims of both human rights and the field of psychology are highly congruent, there has historically been a gap between rights and psychology (Sveaass, 2019). However, there is an increasing concern and knowledge amongst psychologists of human rights and global issues more broadly (Staerklé et al., 2015).

Conclusion

The food system is a cause of both health-related and environmental harm (Höijer et al., 2020). Furthermore, equitable provision of nutritious food is not provided by the current food system (Dangour et al., 2017). Within countries, populations with lower socioeconomic status are disproportionately affected by undernutrition and overweight and obesity (Friel & Lichacz, 2010). Social inequities such as poverty are associated with poor nutrition across both LMICs and HICs, and also amongst particular social groups within countries (Perez-Escamilla et al., 2018). A human rights approach is essential to fulfil the needs of vulnerable populations who are most at risk from the global causes of food and nutrition insecurity, including climate change and natural and human-made emergencies (Ayala & Meier, 2017).

Collaboration is needed to facilitate domestication of international human rights standards, with the involvement of a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including people experiencing food and nutrition insecurity, governments, academics, international organisations, civil society, and the private sector (Ayala & Meier, 2017). Relatedly, a systems approach is needed to understand and influence food and nutrition security, by focusing on interconnected systems across disciplines (Hammond & Dubé, 2012).

The ‘2019 Global Food Policy Report’ emphasizes that a transformation of the global food and agricultural system is urgently required in order to realize the SDGs by 2030 (Fan, 2019). The field of psychology can play an integral part in the global food transformation by contributing to the development of policies, systems, structures, and institutions that are conducive to equitable and sustainable food and nutrition security. To succeed in doing so, psychology will need to address food and nutrition as a complex and adaptive food system, embrace collaboration and systems thinking, and espouse a human rights-based approach.

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Psychological Governance and COVID-19: A Case Study in Macropsychology



Joanne McVeigh and Malcolm MacLachlan

Psychological Governance and COVID-19

In “The Psychology of Pandemics,” Steven Taylor (2019) argues that pandemics are caused and contained by how people behave. Ultimately, a viral pandemic such as COVID-19 is controlled when people agree, collectively, to take certain actions. The response to COVID-19 has required – in quite an unprecedented way – governments globally to try to change people’s daily behaviour by influencing their attitudes, formulating and implementing new policies and laws, changing the physical environment in which their citizens are free to move around, and managing their worries and fears about contamination.

The World Bank (2019) defines governance as the “traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes ... the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and *social interactions among them*” (italics added). It is evident, therefore, that the social sciences are inherently a domain of governance. In the context of how individuals, groups, and whole societies respond to COVID-19, knowledge and insights from the social and behavioural sciences are crucial to inform population behaviour change that follows guidance of epidemiologists and public health experts (Van Bavel et al., 2020).

How people behave, why they do so, and how to shape such behaviour, is the focus of *psychological governance* (see Bajwa, 2020; Jones et al., 2013a, 2013b; Jones & Whitehead, 2018; Perriard-Abdoh & Murray, 2020; Pykett, 2017; Pykett et al., 2017). Psychological governance may be defined as “forms of largely state-orchestrated public policy activity (though ‘non-state’ actors are widely involved) that aim to shape the behaviour of individuals, social groups or whole populations

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M. MacLachlan, J. McVeigh (eds.), *Macropsychology*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50176-1_14

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through the deployment of the insights of behavioural and psychological sciences” (Pykett et al., 2017, p. 2). This concept has been the catalyst for the *Psychological Government Programme* established by the British Psychological Society, which aims to support policy-makers in recognising the psychological impact on citizens of government policies and decision-making (Bajwa, 2020). The Psychological Government Programme aims to formulate scalable, evidence-based, and psychologically informed solutions for policy development (Perriard-Abdoh, 2019). The programme aims to not only revise policies, but to reform how policies are developed (BPS, 2019a). For example biases, heuristics, and groupthink often feature in political decision-making; therefore, availing of psychologists’ expertise and insight can be greatly beneficial for policy-makers (Perriard-Abdoh & Murray, 2020). As proposed by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2019b, p. 1): “Any government serious about improving the lives of the public and understanding why intractable social problems persist must ensure that their policies and interventions are based on an in-depth understanding of human behaviour”.

A century ago, social psychologist Graham Wallas proposed that “we must aim at finding as many relevant and measurable facts about human nature as possible, and we must attempt to make all of them serviceable in political reasoning” (Wallas, 1921, p. 140). While the psychological and behavioural sciences have been influencing governance since at least the nineteenth century, several governments have been increasingly relying on evidence from these sciences throughout the past two decades (Jones & Whitehead, 2018). Since the 1990s, there has been an increased focus on strengthening citizens’ participation in policy-making, including the co-production of policy between government and representative groups; while, concurrently, there has been an increasing influence of experts, such as scientists and academics, in designing evidence-based policies including behavioural change strategies (Pykett et al., 2017). A growing movement is therefore evident to integrate the field of psychology into government (Yokum, 2016), and concepts such as “people-centred” and “well-being” have returned to policy agenda (Perriard-Abdoh & Murray, 2020).

The Icelandic Prime Minister Katrín Jakobsdóttir has called for governments globally to prioritise environmental and family-focused policies above those focused on economic growth, chiming with appeals by the Scottish First Minister and New Zealand’s Prime Minister for global well-being agendas by governments (Psychological Society of Ireland, 2020). In “The Rise of the Psychological State,” Jones et al. (2013a, p. 1) contend that advances in psychology and microeconomics have led to the increased use of “behaviour change agenda” in public policies and strategies used by States globally, including approaches such as cognitive design, choice editing, default setting, peer-to-peer pressure, and norm formation. Behaviour change approaches are based on the perceived need to prompt people’s choices, to mitigate their cognitive biases such as psychological priming, short-termism, and acting based on emotion rather than logic (Pykett, 2017).

In this regard, many academics and policy-makers have shifted their alignment from neoliberalism to *neuroliberalism*, which challenges the idea of the inherent “rationality” of people’s behaviour; resulting in policies that aim to “nudge” people

to act in beneficial ways for themselves and broader society (Carter, 2020). Neuroliberalism aims to address numerous socioeconomic concerns, such as personal debt, climate change, and unhealthy lifestyles; with some branches of neuro-liberalism focusing on correctional approaches to cognitive biases and harmful behaviours, and other branches examining how to strengthen people's emotional intelligence and intuitive decision-making (Whitehead et al., 2017).

Importantly, however, behavioural interventions such as “nudges” may be viewed as denying individuals their right to make their own choices in their own interests (contingent upon them not infringing the rights of others), and to live their own concept of the good life, not as decided by policy-makers (White, 2016). In their examination of Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and psychological governance, Jones et al. (2013b, p. 163) argue that “the emergence of psychological forms of government possess serious implications for politics and publics since they can bypass individual choice, reflection and self-government”; chiming with Foucault's (2008, p. 7) concept in *The Birth of Biopolitics* of police states taking “charge of activity at the most detailed, individual level”. Research on psychological governance is exploring how, increasingly, States are purposefully governing in a covert way (Jones & Whitehead, 2018). Ethical and constitutional concerns in relation to neuroliberalism therefore include its impact on the autonomy of citizens, and questions surrounding the function of government in societies (Whitehead et al., 2017). Regardless of one's opinions on the ethics of behavioural change agenda, it is clear that using psychological or behavioural sciences to guide policies can have a significant impact (Halpern, 2015). For example the UK Behavioural Insights Team (BIT), a de facto Council of Psychological Science Advisers, informs government policies in relation to behavioural approaches (Halpern, 2015).

COVID-19 – A Case Study in Macropsychology

The response to COVID-19 has necessitated governments globally to try to change people's daily behaviour. In addition, an effective response has required that governments ensure and secure a strong sense of social coherence and positive collective identity. Thus, how governments have responded to addressing their population's psychology in the context of COVID-19 presents us with a – sad and regrettable – naturally occurring case study in macropsychology. We have previously defined macropsychology as “the application of psychology to factors that influence the settings and conditions of our lives” (MacLachlan, 2014, p. 851); similar to the macro focus of the field of economics. Such settings and conditions refer to both the broader social and physical environment, recognising that psychological thought both shapes and is shaped by such settings and conditions. Macropsychology aims to strengthen a neglected perspective in psychology, one that incorporates social structures, systems, institutions, and policies into its purview (Carr & MacLachlan, 2014; MacLachlan, 2017; MacLachlan et al., 2019).

Many psychologists already adopt this macro focus, including psychologists' work on poverty (Carr, 2013), culture (Berry, 2017, 2019; MacLachlan, 2006), social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and the community (Kagan et al., 2011). However, these socioeconomic concerns these socioeconomic concerns are frequently not adequately reflected in our conceptualisation of psychology. From the macrolevel, psychology can identify how social structures, systems, policies, and institutions can most effectively promote psychological well-being. Much research is currently being conducted by psychologists on the impact of the pandemic, and how we might best address it (Warren, 2020). In this chapter, we examine the different types of public communications adopted by countries to engender a collective response to the pandemic. We consider these messages in the context of broader psychological processes that may impede or facilitate their effectiveness in the context of COVID-19.

Psychological Challenges and Responses to COVID-19

COVID-19 has presented many psychological challenges, and countries have differed in their responses to such challenges, some of which have been conducive to well-being at the population level. Below we examine slogans used to motivate population responses to COVID-19 in a sample of countries.

Table 1 illustrates the range of slogans that have been used to try and capture the public's imagination and instil a positive collective response to the pandemic. While we do not aim to evaluate these relative to each other – accepting that they may represent distinct cultural values – it is noteworthy that some of them convey quite different imperatives for their populations. These slogans range from encouraging citizens to stay at home (Australia), continuous care (Brazil), not panicking and being cautious (India), collectively saving lives (South Africa), promoting specific individual behaviours (UK), and it being a shared challenge (Ireland). These macro-messages are intended to motivate behaviours that can reduce the spread of COVID-19. That such messaging is indeed important is supported by an online experiment that investigated communication strategies to encourage social

Table 1 Slogans used to motivate population responses to COVID-19 in selected countries

Country:	Slogan used to motivate population response to COVID-19:
Australia	“Stay home – stop the spread”
Brazil	“Care continues”
India	“Say no to panic, say yes to precautions”
Ireland	“In this together”
South Africa	“Together we can save lives”
UK	“Hands, face, space: Wash hands, cover face, make space”

distancing. Findings indicated that the thought of infecting vulnerable groups, or large numbers of people, could be used to promote social distancing (Lunn et al., 2020), as evoking emotion alongside information can motivate increased social distancing (ESRI, 2020). Correspondingly, a Spanish study on the psychological impact of COVID-19 on the general population reported that satisfaction with information regarding the pandemic was associated with better mental health (Rodríguez-Rey et al., 2020).

Taylor (2019) argues that psychological factors play a central role in pandemics, including *mitigation of the spread of infection*, for example in relation to adherence to vaccination and social distancing; psychological *coping*, including increased prevalence and severity of psychological problems such as depression and anxiety; and *broader societal issues*, including stigmatisation and xenophobia. We now focus on just a few macropsychological factors that may influence the response to COVID-19.

Task-Shifting

In countries where COVID-19 has been associated with an increase in the demand for mental health services, one of the strategic responses to address this demand can be task-shifting for the provision of psychosocial support (Vigo et al., 2020). Task-shifting has been found to be an effective strategy to overcoming health workforce shortages and supporting mental health systems (Javadi et al., 2017). Task-shifting is the redistribution of tasks whereby “specific tasks are moved, where appropriate, from highly qualified health workers to health workers with shorter training and fewer qualifications in order to make more efficient use of the available human resources for health” (WHO, 2008, p. 2). Where possible, “task-sharing” rather than “task-shifting” should be implemented, signifying the involvement of psychologists, psychiatrists, or other mental health specialists, who can provide on-going supervision, quality assurance, and support for less qualified health personnel (Wainberg et al., 2017). In low-income countries, where there is an acute shortage of skilled health workers, community health workers are therefore vital in the provision of healthcare (Chebolu-Subramanian et al., 2019). Indeed, it has been suggested that Community-Led Action more broadly, through collective decision-making and action by communities, can help to prevent the spread of the virus (McCrossan et al., 2020). Since responses to COVID-19 need to be adapted to local contexts (Galea, 2020), community leadership and buy-in may therefore be crucial in effectively addressing the pandemic. The adoption of a macropsychology strategy of shifting mental health expertise to low-level cadre may therefore be expedient and is supported by evidence of effectiveness (Deimling Johns, Power, & MacLachlan, 2018).

Misinformation and Conspiracy Theories

A new virus, which leads to an outbreak, can give rise to rumours and false reports (Mayo Clinic, 2020). In effect, fear and mistrust can instigate rumours and misinformation (McCrossan et al., 2020). For example, a recent study examining YouTube as a source of public information on COVID-19 (Li et al., 2020) found that more than one-quarter of the most viewed YouTube videos on the coronavirus included false information, which had been watched by millions of viewers globally. The global spread of misinformation on COVID-19 presents a critical risk to public health (Zarocostas, 2020). For instance, in Iran, the belief that consuming methanol could prevent morbidity from COVID-19 is reported to have led to hundreds of deaths (Robson, 2020). Furthermore, misinformation about how the coronavirus can spread is reported to have resulted in abuse and attacks directed at healthcare workers globally (McKay et al., 2020).

The pandemic has also given rise to several conspiracy theories. Conspiracy theories are a particular form of belief system, with four typical features: the world or event is alleged to be different to what it seems; there is a perceived cover-up by powerful individuals or organisations; a minority of people accept the theory; and the theory does not hold up against scientific evidence (Freeman & Bentall, 2017). Conspiracy theories can have serious implications for public health, the environment, and social cohesion. For example an association has been established between conspiracy theories and fear of vaccination, denial of climate change, prejudice, and extreme political beliefs (Van Bavel et al., 2020).

Several conspiracy theories regarding COVID-19 have been instigated by individuals, groups, and governments, which challenge scientific findings and may have weakened initiatives to prevent the spread of the virus (Rubin, 2020). For example, the *QAnon* movement, which incorporates a wide range of complex conspiracy theories (ADL, 2020), has propagated theories about COVID-19, such as construing coronavirus as a Chinese bioweapon to prevent Trump's re-election by damaging the US economy (Argentino, 2020). Numerous studies have reported an association between medical conspiracy beliefs and unwillingness to partake in self-protective behaviours (Allington et al., 2020). For example, an online survey study conducted by Allington et al. (2020) reported a negative relationship between conspiracy beliefs on COVID-19 and health-protective behaviours; a positive relationship was found between conspiracy beliefs on COVID-19 and availing of social media to obtain information on the virus. Similarly, an online survey by Freeman et al. (2020), with 2501 adults in England, found that a higher degree of belief in conspiracy theories on COVID-19 was associated with lower adherence to all government recommendations and lower willingness to be tested for the virus or to be vaccinated; an association was also found between such conspiracy beliefs and paranoia, climate change conspiracy beliefs, and mistrust in institutions and professions.

The worldwide campaign "Stop the Spread" is being promoted by the World Health Organisation, to dismantle the "infodemic" of misinformation on COVID-19

across a wide range of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, and Latin America (WHO, 2020). The World Health Organisation has also established a new platform named “EPI-WIN: WHO Information Network for Epidemics” (www.who.int/teams/risk-communication), and is working alongside social media platforms including Facebook, Twitter, and Pinterest to prevent the spread of false information on the pandemic (Charlton, 2020). Moreover, data scientists and communication researchers are examining social media messages to investigate the infodemic, such as the COVID-19 “infodemic observatory” (see <https://covid19obs.fbk.eu/#/>) established in Italy’s Bruno Kessler Institute, an A.I. research organisation; which employs automated software to monitor 4.7 million tweets on coronavirus every day, including the emotional content, the reliability, and the region of the message source (Ball & Maxmen, 2020).

Psychological science is well positioned to inform public and policy debates on this issue. While there has been an increasing interest in the psychology of conspiracy theories (Douglas et al., 2017; Goreis & Voracek, 2019), psychological research in this area dates back several decades. For example, psychologists William McGuire and Demetrios Papageorgis conducted intriguing research in the 1960s on how to build immunity against persuasion (McGuire & Papageorgis, 1961, 1962). As suggested by Robson (2020):

...psychological research might help us to stem the spread of false claims using a form of inoculation. When that strategy is combined with health campaigns that use the cutting-edge psychology of persuasion, some scientists even hope that we may reach a kind of ‘herd immunity’ against misinformation.

Knowledge from the social and behavioural sciences is crucial to inform population behaviour change that follows guidance of epidemiologists and public health experts during the pandemic (Van Bavel et al., 2020). The effectiveness of such information may however rely on another key macropsychological factor – trust.

Trust in Government

Crises, such as the current pandemic, can influence public attitudes towards governments. Trust between governments and citizens can be weakened by a perceived lack of leadership and effective policies (OECD, 2013). For example, a recent online survey across the UK, USA, Germany, and Italy, assessing attitudes on measures adopted by governments to prevent the spread of COVID-19 ($n = 2006$), found that respondents would have preferred their governments to act faster in the UK and USA, and respondents in these two countries were less trusting of their governments than those in Germany and Italy (Strandberg, 2020). Similarly, an online survey assessing the effects over time of the pandemic on life and work in the EU (Eurofound, 2020), with more than 85,000 respondents, found a substantial decrease in trust in national governments and the EU, and low levels of trust across several countries. Respondents’ trust in the EU was on average less than their trust in

national governments, signifying the observed need for a coordinated response across the EU. Trust in the EU was the lowest amongst people who were unemployed and people unable to work as a result of health or disability (Eurofound, 2020).

The efficacy of risk communication by governments can also impact on public trust. As proposed by Berger et al. (2020, p. 1), during the pandemic, “trust begins with communication”. Effective risk communication by authorities throughout a pandemic addresses the public’s concerns and needs, so that advice is accepted and trusted (WHO, 2017). Accurate information provided by governments promotes public trust, and facilitates people and public authorities to make informed decisions to mitigate COVID-19 (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). From this perspective, trust is created when risk communication interventions are transparent, timely, clear, linked to accessible services, recognise uncertainty, address groups that have been impacted, are linked to self-efficacy, and are publicised across several platforms and channels (WHO, 2017). Importantly, who delivers the message can be as important as the message itself. During a health crisis, citizens have higher trust in information provided by health experts, than by politicians (Albertson & Kushner Gadarian, 2015). Experts may therefore have more public credibility and influence than politicians (Rutter, 2020).

Public trust in government relates to the concept of the “psychological contract,” or implicit expectations of behaviour between citizens and politicians (MacLachlan & Hand, 2013). The similar concept of the “social contract” was examined in Thomas Hobbes’ 1651 *Leviathan* (Hobbes, 2004) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *The Social Contract* in 1762 (Rousseau, 1998), dating back further as a philosophical theory to the Greek Sophists (Ritchie, 1891). To fulfil the social contract, citizens pay taxes and co-operate with laws and public policies; and to attain this support from citizens, governments are expected to operate in transparent, inclusive, and efficient ways (OECD, 2013). A violation of the social contract can quickly lead to a collapse of social cohesion (Stiglitz, 2013). Importantly, public trust in government influences compliance by citizens with public health policies, particularly during crises (Blair, Morse, & Tsai, 2017). As contended by Rothstein (2020), in the context of COVID-19, “trust is the key to fighting the pandemic.”

Social Inclusion and Human Rights

Catastrophic effects of the pandemic are being experienced by vulnerable and poor people, who are disproportionately affected, many of whom are experiencing loss of income, food insecurity, and lack of vital services (World Bank, 2020). The response to the pandemic will be ineffective unless it is inclusive of marginalised populations (Berger et al., 2020). From a human rights perspective, to effectively address any public health emergency, all people, such as persons with disabilities, LGBTI communities, and other marginalised populations, require equitable access to health services (UNCT South Africa, 2020). Specific responses of marginalised groups, who may not under normal circumstances be able to access basic necessities including healthcare (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

The pandemic may exacerbate inequities within countries. Holmes et al. (2020) have cautioned that the pandemic may worsen health inequalities in populations, especially impacting people with pre-existing mental health issues and physical disability. Similarly, the UK Centre for Economic Performance (Major & Machin, 2020) has warned that the pandemic may diminish social mobility for younger generations under 25 years of age, due to increasing economic and educational inequality; and has argued that “without policy action to counter the threat, unprecedented economic and education shocks could inflict long-term ‘scarring’ effects, damaging future life prospects for young people.”

Stigmatisation and xenophobia have also been prevalent during the pandemic. Perceived threat and fear can influence how people react to others, especially out-groups (Van Bavel et al., 2020). During emergencies such as terrorism attacks or disease outbreaks, migrants may be stigmatised for spreading a perceived “foreign” disease or virus; such stigmatization is currently being experienced by people of Asian and European descent and migrants more broadly (UN International Organisation for Migration, 2020). Stigma and hate speech are increasing due to the pandemic (UN, 2020a); and significant racism and discrimination are evident, particularly against Asian communities (Nature Editorial, 2020).

Countering stigma, there is the potential of greater social empathy that may be associated with the COVID-19 experience. According to Segal (2011, p. 266), social empathy is “the ability to more deeply understand people by perceiving or experiencing their life situations and as a result gain insight into structural inequalities and disparities”. Social empathy comprises the three elements of individual empathy, contextual understanding, and social responsibility. COVID-19 has created a population-wide experience of exclusion, rarely experienced by the general population. Ebuenyi et al. (2020) argue that COVID-19 has conferred new experiential knowledge that may help us to better understand the lives of persons with disabilities – this includes not having access to information, transport, or loved ones; a feeling of ‘being apart’, even when living in the community; and feeling more vulnerable to illness, with poorer access to health services. Such population-level experiential insights hold the possibility for a more inclusive approach to policy-making and resource allocation, as more people appreciate the experience of marginalisation.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic has unveiled the inequality, and fragility, of national policies, systems, institutions, and economies. As proposed by Turner et al. (2020), “from crisis can come great change”; exemplified by the radical transformation of the British health services during the Second World War, from a healthcare system based on ability to pay to a system of free healthcare at the point of access, which led to the establishment in 1948 of universal healthcare by the National Health Service. More equal and sustainable societies must be built in the aftermath of the

COVID-19 pandemic (UN, 2020b). This will necessitate not only renewed social contracts for more inclusive and equitable societies (Murphy, 2020), but also a much greater appreciation of how macropsychology can contribute to preparedness, coping, and recovery from viral epidemics and other population-level challenges.

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