“If no one turned round when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met ‘cut us dead,’ and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would ere long well up in us, from which the cruelest bodily tortures would be a relief; for these would make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy of attention at all.” (James, 1890/1950, p. 293-294).
Ostracism

• Being IGNORED and EXCLUDED
• Synonyms:
  – Shunning
  – Silent Treatment
  – Cold Shoulder
• Related concepts:
  – Rejection
  – Disrespect
  – Marginalization
  – Stigmatization

Ostracism is Pervasive

• Used by:
  – Animals - lions, wolves, primates, bees
  – Children - playgrounds, friends
  – Governments - banishment
  – Tribes - social death
  – Institutions – religious (excommunication), military (silencing), educational (time-out), prisons (solitary confinement).
  – Small Groups - relational aggression
  – Dyads - interpersonal ostracism = the silent treatment
Why Ostracize?

- It strengthens and protects the group
  - Removes burdensome members
  - Corrects deviates behaviors and recommits them to the group
- Group becomes more cohesive during ostracism
- Individuals who ostracize feel more powerful and perceive themselves to have higher levels of control over the relationship
Overview of Talk

- Explain paradigms
- Evidence of reflexive reactions
- Evidence of reflective reactions
  - When pro-social?
  - When aggressive?

Ball Tossing Paradigm
Cyberball Paradigm

Response to Cyberball Ostracism
Ostracism Destabilizes the Individual

- Threatens fundamental needs:
  - Belonging
  - Self-esteem
  - Control
  - Recognition/meaningful Existence
- Aroused negative emotions
  - Sadness
  - Anger

Theory of Ostracism

- Ostracism signals danger
  - Ostracism in animals, tribal humans = death
  - \( \therefore \) Adaptive to detect ostracism quickly, less costly to make false alarm errors
    - \( \therefore \) Detect first; ask questions later
- Ostracism is, therefore, reflexively detected as PAIN
  - The detection of pain motivates attention and cognitive appraisal
- After reflection, individual tries to fortify thwarted need(s)
  - Fortifying belonging/self-esteem leads to social susceptibility
  - Fortifying control/existence leads to anti-social reactions
Stage 1: Reflexive

- The reflexive reaction to ostracism is distress and pain, *regardless* of:
  - The target’s personality,
  - The target’s attributions, or
  - The social/situational context

- So far, no individual differences or situational factors moderate this response. So far….
Amount of Ostracism / Self-Esteem

Ostracized by Humans or Computer?
Ostracized by Despised Outgroup?

When Inclusion Costs, Ostracism Still Hurts
Relational Devaluation?

Detected as Pain

A

B

Anterior Cingulate
\( x = -8 \)

Right Ventral Prefrontal
\( y = 28 \)
After fMRI Interviews - BBC

**Personality / Individual Differences**

- As yet, our studies have found that reflexive reactions to ostracism show little evidence for moderation.
  - Loneliness
  - Extraversion/Introversion
  - Collectivism/Individualism
  - Self-esteem
  - Narcissism
  - Social phobia
  - Rejection sensitivity
  - Need for belonging
  - Attachment style
When Do Individual Differences and Social Factors Play a Role?

- In **coping** with the pain (reflective stage).
- After the initial pain, the speed of coping, and the coping path will be influenced by
  - *individual differences*
  - *situational factors*

Social Anxiety Moderates Reflective Responses

- Normals and highly socially anxious individuals played Cyberball, either included or ostracized.
- Need levels measured immediately and 45-minutes later.
- Normals returned to high need levels after 45-min.
- Socially anxious participants did not bounce back to normal levels, even 45-min later.

Zadro, Boland, & Richardson, (2006, JESP).
Social Anxiety and Self-Regulation Following Ostracism

- Social anxiety implies an inevitable lack of social efficacy. Reactance turns to helplessness and the inability to exert self-control
  - Resisting the temptation to eat unhealthy food (Study 1), or
  - Willingness to drink unpalatable healthy drink (Study 2).

Study 1: Tasty Junk Food
Study 2: Healthy Unpalatable Drink

Stage 2: Reflective

- The reflective reactions to ostracism serve to fortify the thwarted need(s).
- This is a coping stage.
  - Social situational factors, appraisals, and individual differences should matter.
- Two general coping paths:
  - One that fortifies belonging/self-esteem
  - One that fortifies control/meaningful existence
- Two general response patterns:
  - Doing things that will meet with approval; Social susceptibility
  - Impulsive actions; Anti-social provocation
Evidence of Fortifying Belonging and Self-esteem

- Ostracism increases attempts to engage in behaviors that will re-establish the individuals acceptance into the group.
- Generally, these are pro-social acts:
  - Females work harder on collective task than on coactive task (Williams & Sommer, 1997)
  - They conform more when ostracized (Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000)
  - Liking new groups (Wheaton, 2001)
  - More likely to mimic a good organizational citizen (Ouwerkerk et al, 2003)
  - More likely to engage in unconscious mimicry, especially with ingroup members (Lakin & Chartrand, 2005).
  - More socially attentive (Gardner, Pickett, & Brewer, 2000; Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004)
  - Ostracized individuals are more susceptible to compliance tactics (Carter & Williams, 2005)
  - Maner et al (in press), approval seeking
  - The vast literature on the effectiveness of 'time-out' disciplinary procedures.

But, other research finds exclusion → self-defeating, anti-social, aggressive behavior

- Makes people "stupider" (Baumeister et al, 2005)
- Invokes a state of cognitive deconstruction (Twenge, et al, 2003)
- Reduces self-regulation (Baumeister, et al, 2005)
- Causes self-defeating behavior (Oikawa, Kumagai, & Ohbuchi, 2004)
- Decreases pro-social behaviors (Tice, et al, 2002)
- Increases anti-social behaviors (Twenge, et al, 2001)
- Can lead to generalized aggression against similar group members to those who did ostracism ~ mass violence (Gaertner & Iuzzini, 2004).
Most Recent School Shooter

He wrote that he hates jocks, preppies, country music and hip–hop.

"Work sucks ... school sucks ... life sucks ... what else can I say? ... Life is a video game you've got to die sometime," he added.

"Anger and hatred simmers within me," said another caption below a picture of Gill grimacing.

He wrote that he is 6–foot–1, was born in Montreal and is of Indian heritage. He said his weakness is laziness and that he fears nothing. Responding to the question, "How do you want to die?" Gill replied "like Romeo and Juliet – or in a hail of gunfire."

A neighbor who lives across the street from Gill said he was a loner.

"There were never any friends," Louise Leykauf said. "He kept to himself."

A photo allegedly showing Kimveer Gill, 25, of Laval, near Montreal, is shown in this undated photo seen on a website called VampireFreaks.com. A police official identified Gill Thursday, Sept. 14, 2006, as the gunman who opened fire at Dawson College on Wednesday, killing one person and wounded 19 others before he was slain by police. Photo: AP

"Malloy didn't speak to them as they went by the boiler. They drew into themselves and no one could foresee how they would come out of the cloud. For there are two possible reactions to social ostracism — either a man emerges determined to be better, purer, and kindlier or he goes bad, challenges the world and does even worse things."

John Steinbeck, Cannery Row (1945)
Ostracism and Control
Deprivation Leads to Aggression

Warburton, Williams, & Cairns, JESP, 2006

Adolescent Dutch and Muslims

Adolescents always are playing Cyberball with two outgroup members.
Adolescents always are playing Cyberball with two outgroup members.

Fundamentalism

- Dutch Participants
- Muslim Participants

Inclusion: Dutch 3.5, Muslim 4.2
Ostracism: Dutch 3.0, Muslim 4.6

Ostracizing African Americans

- 300 African Americans (18-65, representative sample from the US)
- 3 (over-include, include, ostracize) X 2 (by Blacks, by Whites) X (2) (Immediate, Delayed) mixed design
Belonging

Immediate

Delayed

Ostracism → ↓ Recognition of Existence → ↑ Aggression?

"How many do I have to kill before I get some national attention?"
Conclusions

• Ostracism is painful and distressing
• Perhaps detection of ostracism is adaptive to survival, so that errors are made in favor of “over-detection.”
• There are different paths taken to cope with ostracism
• The thwarting of control is important link in ostracism→aggression chain.
• Aggression also a function of whether ostracism is by outgroup
• Perhaps need for attention or having a big impact also provokes extreme responses