

THE CAMBRIDGE HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

*Edited by Gordon Sammut, Eleni Andreouli,
George Gaskell and Jaan Valsiner*



The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations

A social representations approach offers an empirical utility for addressing myriad social concerns such as social order, ecological sustainability, national identity, racism, religious communities, the public understanding of science, health and social marketing. The core aspects of social representations theory have been debated over many years and some still remain widely misunderstood. This handbook provides an overview of these core aspects and brings together theoretical strands and developments in the theory, some of which have become pillars in the social sciences in their own right. Academics and students in the social sciences working with concepts and methods such as social identity, discursive psychology, positioning theory, semiotics, attitudes, risk perception and social values will find this an invaluable resource.

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Preface

This handbook aims to take stock and to look forward at key theoretical, methodological and applied desiderata of the theory of social representations. It is designed to appeal to psychologists and social theorists, as well as scholars and students working in cognate disciplines including cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, political science, philosophy, communication studies and linguistics whose interests focus on the ordinary knowledge in the life-world.

In 1968 Gordon Allport wrote:

the modern social psychologist is haunted by the question: How can the individual be both a cause and a consequence of society. How can his nature depend indisputably upon the prior existence of cultural designs and upon his role in a pre-determined social structure, while at the same time he is clearly a unique person, both selecting and rejecting influences from his cultural surroundings, and in turn creating new cultural forms for the guidance of future generations? (Allport, 1968, p. 8)

Towards the end of ‘The historical background of modern social psychology’, Allport sets out the challenge for social psychology: the burning issues of war and peace, education, population control and effective democracy, are all in need of assistance. But he suggests that such assistance is unlikely to come from ‘small gem-like researches, however exquisite their perfection’. Will, he asks, the current preoccupation with methods and miniature models lead to theory and application? He goes on: ‘integrative theories are not easy to come by: like all behavioural science social psychology rests ultimately upon broad meta-theories concerning the nature of man and the nature of society’. Allport contrasts the ‘high level conceptualisations’ of the likes of Machiavelli, Bentham and Comte with the contemporary non-theoretical orientation of the empiricists. He hoped that the tide might turn (Allport, 1968, p. 69).

The turning of the tide is evidenced in this handbook, which brings together forty authors whose research is inspired by the theory of social representations. This theory traces its origins back to Durkheim’s notion of collective representations. Since its inception in Moscovici’s (1961/1976) writings, it has adopted a societal level of explanation to account for the fact that human behaviour, however assessed from the outside, is sensible within a cultural context that validates and legitimates such behaviour. The theory of social representations has thus served to advance the sociocultural agenda by highlighting how human behaviour is sensible within the

context of its production. Consequently, it has provided sociocultural theorists with a framework for studying and understanding sense-making processes in different sociocultural contexts.

The theory of social representations has come to stand as the foremost psychological theory for the study of common sense. Over the past fifty years it has stimulated much research that has addressed these concerns and charted its implications on varied psychological behaviour such as communication (Moscovici, 1961/1976), social cohesion (Duveen, 2008), social cognition (Augoustinos, Walker and Donaghue, 2005), identity (Moloney and Walker, 2007), dialogicality (Marková, 2003), discourse (Wagner and Hayes, 2005), and others. And while much sociocultural research draws inspiration from the theory of social representations, publications in the field remain dispersed in innumerable journals and volumes that have researched these concerns and advanced our understanding of psychological phenomena in their context of production.

The theory of social representations takes a societal or sociocultural perspective. Sociocultural characteristics have featured in the psychology agenda since the beginnings of the discipline. Indeed, Wundt's (1916) concern with 'folk psychology' balanced the remit of study for the discipline by including concerns with mental events that originate in community life alongside concerns with physiology and the biological basis of human behaviour. Wundt thus included within psychology's remit concerns with language and cognate phenomena such as customs, religion, myth and magic (Farr, 1996). The quest for understanding human behaviour in its situational and cultural contingencies is, therefore, not new. However, in recent years the discipline has witnessed a concerted effort on the part of sociocultural psychologists who have sought to emphasize the fact that environmental, social and cultural conditions constitute an invariable condition for the very existence of psychological phenomena (Valsiner and Rosa, 2007; Valsiner, 2012).

In essence, human behaviour differs widely across behavioural conditions. The fact of individual differences in behavioural outcomes is well known and has received considerable scholarly attention. In response to a similar stimulus, an individual may respond in a certain way while another individual may respond in a totally different manner due to their personal inclinations. Human behaviour, however, differs even more widely than this. It differs due to social and cultural conditions that determine how a thing is perceived (Moscovici, 1984b), what construal of that thing is brought to bear in describing and understanding that behaviour (Ross and Nisbett, 1991), and what repertoire of behavioural outcomes is plausible and legitimate as a course of action for that individual in a given society (Wagner and Hayes, 2005). In this complex determination of behaviour, social and cultural conditions characterize psychological phenomena. Sociocultural psychology has drawn our attention to the fact that social and cultural conditions give rise to particular psychological phenomena that manifest within contexts which shape their emergence as well as ontogenetic progression. Understanding human behaviour in its manifold complexity, therefore, requires more than an appreciation of individual differences. It further requires sensitivity to those

extra-individual conditions that also determine behavioural outcomes. A consequence of this added focus is that assumptions of universality and standardization across cultural conditions are challenged. Sociocultural differences require a particular and specific focus on cultural elements that give rise to intercultural differences in the manifestation of psychological phenomena.

This handbook brings together various theoretical strands and developments that have emerged from the theory of social representations, some of which have become pillars in social psychology in their own right and have stimulated further inquiry in their turn. It also extends the social scientific agenda beyond that of the theory of social representations and into equally relevant concepts and domains of inquiry such as social identity, discursive psychology, positioning theory, semiotics and others.

The chapters provide an overview of the core aspects of the theory that have been debated over the years, some of which remain widely misunderstood, and provide an up-to-date account of developments such that further productive inquiry can be stimulated. Finally, the handbook will serve as an invaluable tool in the teaching of the theory of social representations. The theory has gained popularity over the years and routinely features in both undergraduate and postgraduate social psychology curricula in many countries. This handbook matches theoretical aspirations with real-world empirical concerns of interest to those of a sociocultural persuasion.

The handbook is divided into four parts. The first part, 'Foundations', deals with foundational issues and with the core concepts and debates within social representations theory. The second part, 'Conceptual developments', elaborates further notions and concepts that have become part of the social representations approach to sociocultural psychology. The third part, 'New directions', reviews some of the major social psychological theories that have furthered the theory of social representations and advanced the sociocultural agenda. The final part, 'Applications', presents empirical studies that have been undertaken in diverse fields and which demonstrate the breadth of application and the utility of a social representations approach.

GORDON SAMMUT, ELENI ANDREOULI,
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PART I

Foundations

The first part of this handbook addresses a number of foundational concerns that can be traced back to the origins of social representations theory in Moscovici's (1961/1976) study *La Psychanalyse, son image et son public*. Since its inception, social representations theory has contended with a number of conceptual and empirical issues that have drawn the interest and criticism of scholars in equal measure. The lack of conceptual clarity has enabled both a theoretical and an empirical eclecticism to arise over the years, and arguably this has enabled the theory to thrive and to address myriad social and psychological issues in its later developments. Fifty years later, this handbook revisits these foundational concerns in order to take stock of the contributions that have shaped the theory's development and to elucidate the characteristic contribution that social representations theory has made to social and cultural psychology in the understanding and explanation of social and psychological phenomena.

The five chapters of this opening part of the book disambiguate certain notions that have proven thorny over the years, such as the scope of action in social representations and the theory's relevance in the study and explanation of human behaviour. They also address the merits and concerns of theorizing and conceptualizing 'representations' and the 'social'. In doing so, they are intended to help the reader to understand what analytical and explanatory levels the theory is suited to address, and to identify the sort of phenomena that the theory has served to investigate. Finally, this part of the book aims to provide the reader with a blueprint for further developments and applications. It presents a wide-ranging discussion of empirical methods in order to provide social representations scholars and researchers with the required toolkit for an enquiry into social affairs and human conduct.

3 Social representations and societal psychology

Claudia Abreu Lopes and George Gaskell

The ambition of societal psychology is the study of social phenomena and cultural forces that both shape, and in turn are shaped by, people's outlooks and actions. As we will outline in this chapter, the theory of social representations can play a foundational role in societal psychology and, at the same time, the theory itself can be enriched by taking a societal perspective.

Social representations are a socio-evolutionary development of the concept of collective or common consciousness, defined by Durkheim (1894) as the beliefs, norms and values common to all members of a society that constitute the basis of social integration. In arguing that these social facts are *sui generis*, exercising a coercive power above and beyond the minds of individuals, Durkheim outlined a project for sociology that excluded reference to psychological constructs.

For Moscovici (1973) the static nature of collective representations was not adequate to address the flux of conditions in modern societies confronted by scientific, political and social change and also by a plurality of social groups and the plethora of beliefs and value positions. He proposed that social representations are systems of values, ideas and practices which give order and meaning to the material and social world, with which members of a community exchange views, and make sense of their world and their individual and group history. As such social representations are like Eco's contractual realism; 'faced with a reality of sorts, a community engages in discussion until it finds a negotiated ("contractual") solution' (Eco, 2000).

This definition positions the phenomenon of social representations, in terms of origins and functions, at both the individual and group level. The inclusion of the interplay between micro and macro levels is a consistent theme in developments and elaborations of the theory. For example Duveen's (2001) microgenetic process of social gender identity formation (see also Moscovici *et al.*, 2013); Jovchelovitch's (2007) notion of social representations operating in a space between the individual and society, and the public sphere; and Bauer and Gaskell's (1999) Toblerone model of social representations combining actors in natural groups with a common project and objects of representation. In these and in many other studies we see attempts to combine levels of analysis in theoretical speculation and empirical research. However, there is a lack of clarity as to the role of social representations in the evolving relations between the macro and micro levels. Before characterizing social

representations in a macro–micro analytic framework, a clarification concerning the micro level is required.

Methodological individualism, attributed to Weber (1922), holds that the social scientific analysis of phenomena must be rooted in an account of the intentional states that motivate individual actors. Of particular relevance to our current concerns, methodological individualism calls for rigour in the specification of hypotheses deduced from the macro level about the consequences at the micro level.

In analytic sociology, methodological individualism accepts the stipulation of precision in the specification of macro to micro mechanisms, but as seen in the work of network analysts, the sovereign individual is replaced by the actor in a social context – for example, in a network of strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). This approach shifts the focus of attention away from the isolated individual (unqualified individualism) to the person acting in concert with others. This is the position of social representations theory, in which the individual thinks and acts in an intersubjective context, much in the same way as is elaborated by the symbolic interactionists (cf. G. H. Mead (1934)).

Consider the contrast between attitude and social representational research. In much attitude theory and research, attitude formation and change is modelled in terms of information processing. By contrast, social representations theory assumes that changes in representations – whether these are in the form of attitudes, values or identities – are the outcome of interpersonal process (formal and informal communications).

The difference between the two approaches is illustrated in a classic study by Kurt Lewin (1958) on changing food habits. In this research one condition modelled a mass-media campaign informing the isolated individual about the need to serve the family with less attractive cuts of meat and how these could be cooked; the second condition used group discussion based on an agenda along the same lines as the simulated mass-media message. The former condition led to minimal attitude and behaviour change; the latter to far more. Why? According to Lewin (1958), there are group dynamic processes that unfreeze normative positions and promote the participants to entertain other ways of thinking and of behaving. The group decision – a public commitment to change – consolidates commitment to the new behaviour, creating in effect a new normative position. It is for this reason that methodological intersubjectivism seems an appropriate term to adopt in social psychology. It reminds us to retain rigour and precision and to focus our attention at the micro level on the socially interconnected actor whose norms, values, common sense and decisions are the outcome of symbolic interaction.

A notable contribution to the debate on levels of analysis in social psychology is seen in the work of Doise (1986a), which was published at a time when social psychology was embroiled in a crisis of confidence. At stake was a heated debate over the nature of the discipline. In the 1970s the established paradigm prescribed experimental research to test hypotheses, laboratory studies with university students as subjects, and manipulations that often involved deception.

This paradigm was subject to challenge on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States there was criticism of the ‘fun and games’ theatrical approach (Ring, 1967), concerns about external validity and the possibility of generalizations from both students and the laboratory context, and evidence of biases due to experimenter effects. Orne’s (1962) essay ‘On the social psychology of the psychological experiment’ illustrated how the discipline had become almost autopoietic.

In Europe, the critique of the paradigm took on a quasi-political dimension as Tajfel, Moscovici and others made a commitment to establishing a distinctively European approach to the discipline with the establishment of a European Association of Social Psychology.

How did the experiment become such a dominant feature of social psychology? Farr’s (1996) history of the discipline describes what he terms the ‘individualisation of the social’ – the study of the individual abstracted from the social context. This emerged as social psychology and sections of sociology strove to create distinctive and mutually exclusive academic disciplines. Durkheim’s project for sociology was the identification of ‘social facts’ that would constitute the causal mechanisms of what might otherwise be considered the outcome of individual decisions, for example suicide. For Durkheim (1894), suicide was the predictable outcome of societal structures and forces. In social psychology, Allport (1954) championed methodological individualism. In this there was room for nothing beyond the mind of the sovereign individual. The group, in contrast to Lewin’s (1952) conception of group dynamics as a field of forces, was for Allport (1954) an epi-phenomenon.

Doise (1980) enters the debate with some challenging questions: Is experimentation desirable in social psychology? What are the links between social psychology, psychology and sociology? Is social psychology fundamentally reductionist; does it aim to explain social phenomena in terms of non-social factors? Doise’s (1980, 1986a) consideration of these questions led him to argue that, on the basis of the current literature, experimentation is not necessarily reductionist. He identified four levels of analysis that characterized social psychological theory and research as follows:

1. Intrapersonal: how the actor processes information in the perception of others and in attitude change – cf. Festinger’s (1957) cognitive dissonance theory and other consistency theories.
2. Interpersonal and situational: how the behaviour of the others affects the actor – cf. Sherif (1936) on norm formation.
3. Positional: how the other’s social status or group membership affects the actor – cf. Milgram (1963) on obedience to the ‘voice of science’.
4. Ideological: how belief systems, ideologies or shared values determine the actor’s outlook and choices – cf. Lerner’s (1980) Just World Hypothesis.

With these examples Doise (1986a) argues that social psychology has never been exclusively individualistic (level 1); the other levels can be found in the theorizing and research of prominent social psychologists. For him, each level is legitimate

and can make a contribution to the understanding of social psychological phenomena. However, the over-reliance on level 1 explanations restricts the scope of social psychological enquiry to the sovereign and autonomous individual without reference to group membership, social status, ethnicity, nationality and so on. At the centre of Doise's (1986a) levels of analysis is a project for social psychology that takes account of the social context in the explanation of behaviour by investigating, where appropriate, any of the four levels. He also retains a commitment to experimentation as a key means to test causal hypotheses, noting the virtues of the field experiment as outlined in Campbell and Stanley's (1963) concepts of internal and external validity.

Doise (1986a) recognized serious epistemological problems concerning the articulation between levels. As he puts it, 'some way of articulating these levels needs to be invented because social processes can only occur via processes in the individual' and 'the contributions of the individual are affected by the social structure which generates and guides individual activities' (p. 4). He went further to assert that the articulation of levels of analysis should be a topic of research in its own right (p. vii).

In a consideration of Doise's four levels of analysis and their relevance to social representations, Wagner and Hayes (2005) argue that the phenomena to be explained in social psychology, for example Lerner's 'just world hypothesis', and the level of explanation of the phenomenon are most often at the micro, the individual level. They further suggest that the level of analysis of the phenomenon to be explained is not given consideration in Doise's formulation. This leads them to distinguish between three levels of aggregation that apply to both the phenomenon and its level of explanation: intrapersonal (the subjective world), situative (transient changes in the environment) and sociocultural (enduring features of the environment).

Conceptual homogeneous explanations imply concordance of levels of complexity of the explanation (the explanans) and the phenomenon to be explained (the explanandum). Theories from psychology and social psychology lie in the intrapersonal and situative levels while sociocultural explanations call for sociological, economic and socio-anthropological theories.

When the explanans and the explanandum are situated at different levels, theoretical causes linking the two imply some form of reductionism. Micro reductive explanations use concepts of a lower level to explain higher level phenomena. By contrast, a macro-reductionist approach alludes to situative and sociocultural contexts to account for intra-individual phenomena.

Wagner and Hayes (2005) map the theory of social representations into this macro-micro theorizing. From a top-down perspective, social representations mediate the transition from macro contexts to individual mental constructs. Conceptualized as projections of sociostructural and cultural conditions shared across social groups, social representations offer an interim explanatory step to link macro and micro levels of aggregation. From a bottom-up perspective, the individual and the sociocultural levels are linked through socially embedded discursive processes that generate and transform social representations.

From both Doise (1986a) and Wagner and Hayes (2005) we may draw a rough line between the micro and the macro analysis of social phenomena. Micro analysis employs a bottom-up approach, putting individuals at the centre of social reality, whereas macro analysis relies on a top-down approach, starting from groups and societies to contextualize human action. Micro theories refer to psychological processes. For example, relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966) explains how the perceived economic situation depends on the subjective positioning in relation to others. Macro theories, in turn, rely on social forces and institutions that constrain collective behaviour. One example is anomie theory (Merton, 1938), which explains deviant behaviour based on the concordance of socially determined materialistic goals and the instrumental ways that are available to individuals to achieve these goals. When societal pressures to achieve material goals clash with limited ways to achieve them, a state of anomie arises facilitating deviant behaviour.

In this example, micro and macro theories may be intuitively combined: relative deprivation can be the motivational force that fosters deviant behaviour among individuals from anomic societies.

This type of micro–macro theory is not common in social thinking albeit sociological theories imply certain assumptions about psychological processes – usually in terms of rational choice and action (Opp, 2011).

Bridging the individual and societal levels using social mechanisms

It is an ambitious task to test hypotheses that combine psychological (micro) and sociological (macro) mechanisms integrated through adequate linkages. Within sociology, methodological individualism postulates that the ultimate unit of analysis of social phenomena is a purposive individual and as such ‘social science explanations should always include explicit references to the causes and consequences of their actions’ (Hedström and Swedberg, 1998, p. 12). Rather than reducing social science to the study of individual processes or attributing an outstanding place to psychology, methodological individualism advocates that psychological theories should not be disregarded when it comes to explaining higher order phenomena such as collective behaviour.

Contemporary analytical sociology (Hedström and Bearman, 2009) also elaborates on the idea that social facts can be better addressed through the combination of micro and macro theories linked together into a coherent framework. This is redolent of Merton’s notion of middle-range theories that explain a class of events instead of isolated social facts. The most cited example is the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1957), which explains how a false definition of a situation may cause the expected situation to be brought about. If a person expects something to happen, he/she will behave in accordance with his/her expectations, contributing to the definition of the situation and unintentionally generating the anticipated outcome. This theory has been applied to educational, organizational and economic contexts. For example,

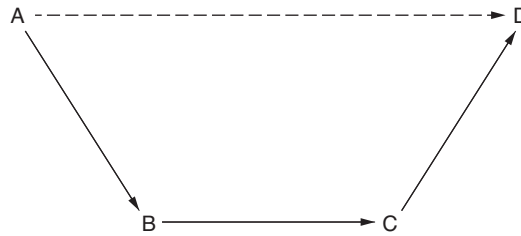


Figure 3.1 *Coleman's macro-micro model.*

economic growth of a nation may be brought about by consumers' confidence in the overall state of the economy. Higher confidence will generate more spending, effectively boosting the economy in a virtuous cycle (Katona, 1975).

Micro and macro linkages are articulated through social mechanisms, defined as 'plausible hypotheses, or sets of plausible hypotheses, that could be the explanation of some social phenomena, the explanation being in terms of interactions between individuals, or individuals and some social aggregate' (Schelling, 1978, p. 32). A social mechanism is expected to be found inside a black-box when one moves beyond mere associations between variables to explanations for the observed association. In this perspective, a theory may encapsulate several social mechanisms or several theories may be summed up in one single mechanism. Research hypotheses should explicitly make reference to social mechanisms and statistical testing serves to decide between alternative mechanisms, or parts of mechanisms, providing an assessment of the underlying theory.

Social mechanisms combine explanations across different levels of analysis. Coleman (1986) proposed a macro-micro typology that conceptualizes social action through the integration of different social perspectives defined at different levels. The rationale for this model is that effects at the macro level can be explained by how macro-states at one point influence the behaviour of individual actors, and how individual actions generate new macro-states at a later point in time (Hedström and Ylikoski, 2010). Figure 3.1 depicts 'Coleman's boat' and represents three possible mechanisms.

In this figure, A refers to the normative environment (actions of others or environmental or social conditions); B refers to individual norms, beliefs, desires, opportunities or habits; C refers to individual actions; and D refers to emergent social outcomes (aggregation networks, extent of action or typical beliefs). Elements A and D are macro-level variables whereas B and C are micro-level variables. The association $A \rightarrow B$ is conceptualized only in descriptive terms and strictly speaking can only be captured by a correlation. The explanation of the association implies the formulation of the social mechanism that explains how A leads to D. The arrows between A, B, C and D describe associations between those variables that can be explained by three different partial mechanisms comprising an overall social mechanism: contextual, psychological and transformational mechanism.

Type I (macro–micro) is a contextual mechanism that explains how macro-level conditions (e.g. culture or economic forces) affect the behaviour of individuals. Situational mechanisms have been studied extensively in political and cultural psychology.

Type II (micro) is an individual mechanism that evokes beliefs, attitudes, desires and opportunities as antecedents of action. It is called an action-formation mechanism. Social and cognitive psychology occupy this niche of research.

Type III (micro–macro) describes how isolated individual actions generate collective outcomes – intended or not – and is called a transformational mechanism. Among the social sciences, the discipline most attuned to the study of transformational mechanisms is economics. In its simplest form, a transformational mechanism may refer to the direct extrapolation from the individual to the aggregate. The market is the prime example of the outcome of a transformational mechanism: the decisions and actions of millions of people (C) appear to be coordinated to create an economic system characterized by order (D). Adam Smith (1776) looked upon this system as if an invisible hand was in command of all operations. This metaphor encapsulates a transformational mechanism (or multiple transformational mechanisms). Katona's (1975) efforts to predict economic behaviour at the macro-level based on consumers' decisions constitute a remarkable example of theory seeking transformational mechanisms.

In sociology, the issue of how individual norms and preferences translate into culture may also be approached by transformational mechanisms. However, the interplay between individuals and culture tends to be studied in only one direction, emphasizing how culture influences behaviour (Adamopoulos, 2008). One possible explanation is that available conceptual models do not offer methodological guidelines for studying the interaction between individuals and culture (Vijver and Leung, 2000). By considering the different levels of phenomena covered by several theories within the social sciences and the possible integration among them, the social mechanisms approach takes a step further towards a unified and multidisciplinary approach of the social sciences.

Social mechanisms in social psychology and sociology

A notable example of theorizing in social psychology that combines macro- and micro-level analysis is Sherif and Sherif's (1956) classic contribution of realistic group conflict theory. This was further developed in Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, which brought new insights into micro-level processes. Realistic group conflict theory set out to explain the roots of intergroup conflict. At the macro level the social structure involves groups of people brought together with particular goals and aspirations.

The contextual mechanism arises from the nature of the relations between societal groups, which are characterized on a continuum from positive interdependence –

working with compatible aspirations towards common goals – to negative interdependence – in conflict for power, influence or any other scarce resource. According to Sherif (1956), intergroup attitudes – positive and negative – are a consequence of the nature of group interdependence. Two types of negative interdependence are identified. Those in which the groups are of equal status and those where one group dominates the other. These create the conditions for micro-level processes. Where the groups are of different status, the higher status group seeks to rationalize its dominant status in self-justificatory accounts of the inequality. In situations where the groups are of equal status, in each, group micro-processes cultivate over-evaluation of the in-group and derogation of the out-group. The transformational mechanism is that in-group over-evaluation and out-group derogation sets the scene and justification for intergroup conflict. To militate against intergroup conflict, Sherif and Sherif (1956) show that the imposition of superordinate goals that necessitate intergroup cooperation shifts the micro-processes towards positive group interdependence and positive intergroup attitudes.

Tajfel (1981) and colleagues challenged the ‘realistic conflict’ hypothesis. In a series of ingenious experiments social identity theory posited and empirically demonstrated that the mere categorization of in-group and out-group, with no apparent utilitarian basis (the transformational mechanism), is sufficient to induce the syndrome of in-group over-evaluation and out-group derogation at the micro level. In social identity theory this process is the result of the drive for a positive social identity, which is acquired through group membership and favourable social comparison against other groups – so-called positive group distinctiveness. We need to believe that the group to which we belong is special and a good way of achieving this idea is to believe that one’s own group is superior to the other group on relevant attributes. But, social identity theory leaves open the question as to why in pluralistic societies some intergroup categorizations are simply irrelevant, while others lead to the micro-level generation of hostile intergroup perceptions.

In sociology, social mechanisms are illustrated by the example of Merton’s theory of anomie and social structure (Merton, 1957). This theory was formulated at three different levels of analysis: societal, positional and intra-individual. Some authors (e.g. Messner, 1988) assert that the theory comprises two distinct and apparently independent theories: the theory of social organization and the theory of deviant motivation. Each one refers to different partial mechanisms, as will be explained below.

In the theory of social organization, Merton describes a strong social structure as one in which the ‘social structure allows individuals to reach the cultural approved goals through the normative means’ (Messner, 1988, p. 37). Contrasting with a strong social structure, a strained social structure is more prone to deviant behaviour. In Coleman’s (1986) scheme (Figure 3.1), element A is the type of social structure (strong vs strained) and element D is the rate of deviant behaviour in lower classes in a given society. The theory predicts that a strained social structure is associated with a higher prevalence of deviant behaviour in lower classes. This macro-level association is formulated only in descriptive terms.

The Type I mechanism (contextual) considers that in a strained social structure, individuals in disadvantaged positions aspire for goals imposed socially (e.g. material success) that are not available by normative means (e.g. a well-paid job). As the opportunities to achieve materialistic goals are restricted by social structure, individuals who perceive that their way to material success is blocked compared to individuals in more comfortable positions feel relatively deprived. This contextual mechanism corresponds to the theory of social organization (Merton, 1957).

The Type II mechanism (psychological) explains how in strained societies individuals violate norms and engage in deviant behaviour. In societies where materialistic goals are more valued than the means that individuals use to pursue them, the 'end justifies the means' principle prevails. Individuals who feel deprived opt for non-normative means to achieve material success, such as dishonest behaviour. This mechanism corresponds to the theory of deviant motivation (Merton, 1938).

The Type III mechanism (transformational) explains how collective deviant behaviour spreads especially among the lower classes. Pressures to break social norms or rules are experienced differently across the social structure. Individuals from lower classes are more likely to feel relatively deprived due to feelings of frustration linked to perceptions of restricted opportunities for social achievement and mobility.

In this context an anomic state is installed in lower classes as social norms lose their power and deviant behaviour is more likely to occur, explaining social class dependent patterns of deviant behaviour.

The transformational mechanism in Merton's theory of anomie and social structure consists of a simplistic extrapolation from the micro level to the macro level using an additive rule: a higher motivation for deviant behaviour in individuals from anomic societies or groups is associated with higher rates of criminal behaviour in these groups or societies.

The actions of individuals in concert may generate unexpected outcomes. The collective outcomes are not always directly inferred from behavioural rules, values or motivations. In particular, if individual actions or choices are influenced by the actions or choices of other individuals, they create systems of interaction and interdependence. For example, Flache and Macy (1996) showed how strong friendship ties between friends lead to less cooperation in groups. A high drive for approval at the micro level discourages overt criticism between friends and the subsequent failure to regulate the actions of individuals when they engage in non-cooperative behaviour.

The study of aggregation patterns has been applied to traffic, marriage, job mobility, language development and markets, and all these examples warn us that it is not possible to predict the behaviour of the aggregate only by looking at individual motivations, intentions and actions.

Thomas Schelling (1971, 1978) has inspired approaches to collective behaviour that take aggregation rules into account. With his classic example of patterns of segregation in residential areas based on preferences of residents, Schelling (1971)) explains patterns of mobility of residents in areas with mixed ethnicities.

The preference for belonging to the majority ethnic group, yet with some degree of tolerance in terms of ethical diversity, explains how residents gradually leave a neighborhood of mixed ethnicities. When residents from a different ethnicity gradually join the neighbourhood, those from a different ethnicity will become less represented. At a certain tipping point, when residents of the other ethnicity outnumber residents from the same ethnicity, residents will be motivated to leave the neighbourhood, thus creating a dynamic of segregation.

An application to economic morality

Inspired by the Merton's theory of anomie and social structure (Merton, 1957), a social mechanism for consumer fraud was advanced and tested using micro and macro data from twenty-seven countries from the European Social Survey and the European Values Survey (Lopes, 2012).

Consumer fraud is a type of dishonest consumer behaviour involving material gains for the person who performs it and clear negative consequences for a company or the state via the acquisition, consumption and disposition of goods, services or ideas. Consumer fraud can assume two forms – active and passive – depending on whether the consumer initiated the behaviour or merely took advantage of a situation faced (Muncy and Vitell, 1992). An example of 'active fraud' is insurance fraud. An example of 'passive fraud' is keeping extra change from a shop assistant. Other examples of fraud are income tax evasion, paying cash-in-hand to circumvent taxes, falsely claiming social security benefits, bribing public officials and buying on credit with no intention of paying. Although not all dishonest practices are necessarily illegal, some cross the boundaries of legality.

The social mechanism derives from the idea that the emergence of unfair practices in the marketplace is facilitated by the transition to neoliberal markets if such transitions are not accompanied by a concomitant evolution of social institutions. This constitutes the macro-level association that can be explained using theories from the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and societal levels.

The thesis defended by Roland (2004) and Messner and Rosenfeld (2010) posits that rapid economic development promotes the disembeddedness of the market with social institutions (family, education, religious and political). This scenario leads to an overemphasis on materialistic values in society. Because sanctions for immoral behaviour are usually imposed by non-economic institutions, as non-economic institutions lose power, moral restraints to dishonest behaviour will be lifted in a new economic order. In this view, rapid economic development may be accompanied by a cornucopia of opportunities for unethical behaviour that encompass neoliberal markets (Karstedt and Farrall, 2006). An overemphasis on materialistic values coupled with opportunities to behave dishonestly triggers dishonest practices (both from business and consumers), configuring a state of market anomie (Karstedt and Farrall, 2006) characterized by distrust in the economy and in economic agents, fear of being victimized, and cynical attitudes towards the law.

A general level of perception of corruption among the public sector may also lead to changes in economic morality, in other words, the perception of the fairness of the economy works (Karstedt and Farrall, 2007). Corruption in the public sector is associated with lower judicial/legal effectiveness (Kaufman, 2004). By relaxing legal barriers, law compliance regarding fraud diminishes. Fraudulent behaviour will be more common in all sectors, and perceptions of the unfairness of the economy will be fostered in society. Thus, there is higher acceptance of fraudulent practices in countries with higher levels of corruption, because economic morality is poor and law is not effectively enforced.

Besides the rapid transition to neoliberal policies and a higher level of corruption, a high level of social inequality may also have an impact on the perception of fairness of the economy. The 'inequality trap' (Uslaner, 2008) suggests that in unequal societies individuals trust less in others and distrust generates corruption and fraud.

The common denominator of the effect of macro-level factors (disembeddedness of the market with social institutions, corruption in the public sector and social inequalities) is the syndrome of market anomie that may arise by impacting economic morality. This is an example of a Type I mechanism for consumer fraud (macro–micro). But not all individuals hold this constellation of negative feelings towards the market to the same degree, and those who feel victimized by unethical business practices are more likely to experience anomie. Market anomie sets the stage for dishonest practices by impacting individual morality and attitudes towards dishonest behaviour. A Type II mechanism (micro–micro) is needed to explain individual differences in dishonest behaviour.

Relative deprivation fuels illegitimate ways (such as dishonest/criminal behaviour) of achieving material success. Lower-class individuals are more likely to feel relatively deprived, especially in unequal societies (Merton, 1957). Social inequalities signal a strained social structure with deep boundaries between social classes. This psychological mechanism is particularly suited to societies where consumer fraud is uncommon, as it applies to behaviour of a deviant nature (Merton, 1938). Relative deprivation offers an account for the emergence of fraudulent behaviour, especially in societies where social norms dictate its deviance. The perceived legitimacy of governments and regulations is maximized in egalitarian societies and transparent and accountable governments help to hamper fraud and corruption.

In societies where consumer fraud is widespread, social norms of behaving dishonestly dictate practices in the marketplace. To explain the process of expansion of fraudulent behaviour, a critical mass mechanism (Schelling, 1978) explains that consumer fraud may be self-sustained once the number of fraudsters passes a certain tipping point. As individuals perceive that more individuals are engaging in fraud, the more the likelihood that they will also commit fraud.

Firstly, this may be explained by the power of social norms to impel individuals to adopt the behaviour of the majority, especially if this behaviour can bring material gains. Secondly as more people are engaged in fraud, so the perception of the effectiveness of the law is weaker. Thirdly, as more people engage in fraud, so the

feeling of moral obligation and the expected societal return of behaving according to the law loses its effect. This may happen only if a certain threshold for the number of people committing fraud is achieved and above which the economic and social costs of one additional fraud act is negligible. Consequently, as more people are perceived to be engaging in fraud after a certain threshold, so the more people will be pushed into fraud and the higher the perception of widespread fraud that in turn will generate even more fraud.

Relative deprivation and social conformism offer an account for the motivation of dishonest practices. Opportunity and psychological characteristics, such as human values (Schwartz, 1992), and perception of moral obligation (Beck and Ajzen, 1991) determine the extent to which motivation materializes in dishonest behaviour. If people believe that others are doing the same, then subjective obstacles for initiation behaviour such as damage of social image or fear of being caught loose power. Neutralization processes in the form of ‘everybody does it’ (Gabor, 1994) and ‘business is unfair’ legitimate and help individuals to integrate dishonest behaviour and determine its continuation.

Critical mass models (Schelling, 1971) that describe how a collective process is generated and evolves over time before and after reaching a tipping point explain a wide range of phenomena in social sciences and may bring explanatory power to the social mechanism of economic morality presented before. Adding a temporal dimension to economic morality, a micro–macro link potentially explains how isolated and deviant actions become more frequent. When a sufficient number in the population engages in fraudulent behaviour a norm emerges that impels other individuals to comply. By systematizing the models underlying collective phenomena, Schelling’s work offers an important contribution to the social mechanism approach.

The aggregation rules implicated in micro–macro explanations may be mapped on to the transformational mechanism of the ‘Coleman boat’ (the Type III mechanism in Figure 3.1). However, in social psychology, theories focussing on micro–macro links are under-represented despite their relevance to the formation of norms and group behaviour based on social influence and communication processes.

Social representations as social mechanisms

Coleman’s (1986) boat directs our attention to four related foci in the analysis of social phenomena: the macro level, the contextual mechanism, the micro level, and the transformational mechanism. In what follows we outline what these mean in practice for social representations theorists.

The macro level: societal challenges

The macro level captures the social context that motivates or inspires a specific research question. The context may be politics, health, education, the environment,

science and technology, the media or any other area of occasional significance to the everyday life of sections of the public. We do not wish to imply that such contexts are unified fields. Rather, they are likely to be a heterogeneous collection of a number of actors and institutions promoting different visions of social progress and differing means to achieve such ends.

The contextual mechanism

These contexts will at times appear to be stable and at other times to be subject to development, evolution and change, spurred by competing interest groups, new political ideologies, fashion, unexpected and disruptive external events or new discoveries in science and technology. At times of stability, the social context is akin to Thomas Kuhn's (1962) normal science; it is taken for granted without question. By contrast, in times of change the taken-for-granted is challenged; it is called into question. Think of climate change, the depletion of non-renewable sources of energy, the failure of banks, questions about the risks of immunisation and developments in the life sciences such as GM food and human embryonic stem cell research. By bringing into focus cleavages of values, such issues constitute a challenge to the taken-for-granted. In the public sphere the alternative positions are aired and debated as interested parties attempt to secure support for their position. While the wider public may be onlookers, only a few may be isolated from the controversy.

The micro level: intersubjective representations

It is at this level that we see much of the theorizing in social representations theory. The research question posed is how the public understand and make sense of the challenge to the social context. How does the novel and unfamiliar come into common sense? In social representations theory concepts such as anchoring and objectification, core and periphery, and cognitive polyphasia have been elaborated to describe and explain the process of the intersubjective transformation of the unfamiliar to the familiar. Here again, this process does not necessarily lead to homogeneity (the same representation). Different groups within the wider public generate their own understandings on the basis of their past, current or future life projects. As such, contemporary societies are characterized by a diversity of representations about the same issue or object.

The transformational mechanism

The transformational mechanism captures the ways in which the outcome of micro-level processes impinge on the macro – the social – context. Hence, if the social representation is the independent variable, then the transformational mechanism is the dependent variable. Responses to the way in which a particular challenge is understood (the social representation) might follow one of Piaget's genetic epistemological positions – assimilation or accommodation. The former constitutes

the acceptance of the ‘new’ within current practices; the latter involves changing current practices in order to deal with the challenge. A third option is resistance – personal and/or social mobilization to challenge the challenge; and a fourth is to follow the example of the ostrich with its head in the sand – ignorance is bliss.

Towards a societal psychology

In essence we are proposing an ambitious agenda and methodology for a societal psychology based upon the theory of social representations. The objective is a study of social phenomena that combines macro-level and micro-level analyses. Returning to Doise (1986a), this is not to suggest that the study of the micro level or experimentation should be abandoned. Rather, it is to suggest that we need a balance in our research efforts. Social representations theory has led to many significant developments in the understanding of the micro level. It is now timely to consider taking this a step further; using these insights to research societal phenomena. Now, it is appreciated that researchers in the field may not have the time or the resources to mount studies that cover the macro and micro levels and their linking social mechanisms. It is also appreciated that the methodology will, on occasions, call for multidisciplinary research teams bringing together social psychologists with experts in, for example, political science, sociology and anthropology.

But it has to be recognized that societal issues are multifaceted and few can be understood with a solely social psychological approach. If social psychology does not rise to this challenge, then the other social sciences will, as noted by Moscovici (1990), develop their own varieties of social psychology.

Social representations theory must go beyond the micro level to embrace the social context that gives rise to micro-level phenomena and then speculate on the transformational mechanisms that capture how the micro level contributes to changing the macro level – the social context. In other words, social representations theory needs to expand its aspirations to become a theory of social change.

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