

CONTINGENCY MANAGEMENT AND SELF-CONTROL TECHNIQUES ON THE REDUCTION OF STEALING BEHAVIOUR AMONG MIDDLE BASIC PUPILS IN ABIA STATE

By

IKAA VERONICA EZINNE (POST-GRADUATE STUDENT)

AND

REV. SR. DR. OGAZIE, CELESTINA ADAKU

Department of Psychology and Counselling, Michael Okpara University of Agriculture
Umudike, Abia State.

Abstract

The study examined Contingency Management and Self-Control Techniques on the reduction of stealing behaviour among Primary School Pupils In Abia State. The study adopted quasi-experimental research design. Four research questions and four null hypotheses guided the study. The study population comprised 1,640 primary school pupils identified in Aba education Zone as having problem of stealing behaviour. The sample size of was 30 primary 5 school pupils that emits stealing behaviour. Stealing Behaviour Questionnaire (SBQ) was used to collect data for the study. The instrument was developed by the researchers on a 4-points scale of Always (A), Sometimes(S), Often (O) and Never(N) with weights of 4,3,2,and 1 respectively. The instrument was validated by three experts, two in the field of study and one from measurement and Evaluation, all from Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike. Person Product Moment Correlation Coefficient statistical tool was employed to test the stability and internal consistency of the instrument which yielded the value of 0.82. Data were collected in three stages namely: the pre-treatment, treatment, post-test and follow-up stages. Collected data were analyzed using mean and standard deviation to answer the research questions. ANCOVA was used to test the null hypotheses at 0.5 level of significance. Results of the study revealed that contingency management and self-control techniques reduced stealing behaviour among the primary school pupils . It also showed that the combination of CMT and SCT techniques proved more effective in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils. Based on the findings conclusion was drawn that counsellors should apply the tested techniques in the treatment of stealing behaviour and other anti-social behaviours. Based on the findings of the study, recommendations made that the counsellor should develop good parenting in various homes by given their children moral upbringing and checking what they go out and come in with.

KEY WORDS: Contingency management technique, self-control,, intellectual property theft

Introduction

Stealing behaviour is one of the maladaptive behaviours that can be easily emitted from the childhood. Anyamene, Nokolo, and Onyeukpere (2021) defined stealing as the urge for taking people's property and belongings without their consent. Furthermore, Schmalleger, (2020) define stealing as the physical removal of an object that is capable of being stolen without the consent of the owner and with the intention of depriving the owner of it permanently. Okocha and Igboanugo (2018) noted that over twenty years now, great attention has been geared towards stealing act in schools. Most times, parents and care givers underrate the act of seeing their children taken what does not belong to them. Some will request that the owner should allow the child have access to the item because that is how other children behave. By so doing, the little child may graduate from stealing small, small items that does not belong to them such as: pen, pencil, exercise books, crayon, lunch bag, cloths, bobo drinks, sweets, biscuits to bigger stealing behaviour such as: defrauding people of their property, covering stealing act by killings, local and high way armed robbery, use pen and power to steal and all other various forms of stealing act. Jerry, and Hans (2025) identified various types of stealing to include: Larceny, robbery, burglary, embezzlement, identity theft, shoplifting, intellectual property theft, among others.

According to Elisa (2024), the followings are the causes of stealing behaviour in a child:

Lack of understanding of ownership, peer pressure, attention seeking, financial needs, lack of discipline and supervision, influence of media peer group, exposure to some of the videos that have stealing activities, family background, impulse control problem, revenge or resentment. Concurrently, Grant, Potenza, Sarin, Cavallo, and Desai (2011) outlined various reasons for stealing to include: negative peer group pressure, addiction or substance abuse, financial need, economic hardship, lack of basic needs, impulse control disorder, low self-esteem, greed, poor parental guidance, lack of understanding or consequence, low-self esteem or sense of entitlement, anger, poor moral development among others. No matter the types or causes of stealing, it has an advanced effects on the child emitting the behaviour. Stealing may have both short and long-term effects range from: rejection by parents, armed robbery, life imprisonment, thugs, juvenile deliquesces looting of public funds and property, killing to cover up stealing behaviour, school drops out among others. According to Anyamene, Nokolo, and Onyeukpere, (2021), the tendency to steal is a maladaptive behaviour that can lead to educational underachievement if not arrested earlier. Also, Ekpo (2013) observed a high rate of complains on students stealing behaviour by teachers and parents. Furthermore, Stealing behaviour may have both social, physical, educational, psychological and legal effects on the growing child.

Researchers like Phuong Minh Nguyen & Giang Nu To Truong (2021), Jack Garbus & Jordan Pollack (2023), Unachukwu & nwsu(2021), Okocha & Igboanugo (2018) have devised measures like; flogging, denial of food, punishment, shame to end stealing behaviour but the problem is still on the increase, therefore, the researchers, sought to investigate if contingency management and self-control techniques can reduce stealing behaviour among primary school pupils in Aba Education Zone of Abia State.

Contingency Management Technique (CMT) is a behaviour modification therapy propounded by B.F. Skinner. It is based on operant conditioning and has the assumption that behaviour is learned and therefore can be unlearned. The theory says that abnormal behaviour is thought to be due to defective learning. To eradicate the unwanted behaviour, the pupils were exposed to learn new behaviours by manipulating the stimuli and reinforces that control the behaviour so that the likelihood of the new behaviour may be increased. CMT uses the process of reinforcement and punishment to effect behavioural change in the client. According to Tuten (2011), CMT is a therapy used among inpatients and outpatients where positive consequences are applied to motivate behaviour change and on the other hand, negative consequences applied for undesired behaviour. Okafor (2018) also revealed that CMT is effective in the treatment of socially behaviours. Techniques used are: positive reinforcement, punishment prize incentives, behavioural contract, shaping

Another technique used is Self-Control Technique (SCT). It is the ability to manage one's actions, feelings and emotions according to Wikipedia (2015). The individual guides, directs, regulates those attributes of his behaviour that gears towards positive changes. Here, the researchers encouraged the subjects to apply those resources that can assist him to gain control of their behaviour without relying on the external help. Ajoku and Odoemelam(2021) outlined the five steps in self control to include:(1) specifying the main problem and goal setting, (2) taking of data and assessing the causes of the problem (3). commitment to change, (4) design and implementing plan and preventing relapse. According to Iro, (2023) self control is found to be effective in managing excess behaviours. Houben (2011) pointed out that self-control promotes behavioural change in a number of contexts. . In the course of treatment, the researchers employed self-control techniques such as: self-monitoring, self evaluation, orientation of change, behaviour contracts modification of the environment, role-plaing tasks and assignment to inculcate behavioural change in the stealing habit of the pupils. Njoku (2021) noted that the combination of contingency management and self-control techniques is more effective than a single therapy when treating social maladaptive behaviours.

Statement of the problem

The act of neglecting minor stealing behaviour among the school pupils have resulted in very numerous maladaptive acts such as: kidnapping, insecurity, rituals, high way-arm robbery, looting of personal and government property among others. It all starts form the childhood experiences and peer group pressure. Some of the measures used by some researchers to end stealing behaviour among children include: punishment, rejection by parents, flogging, denial of food among others. Despite these measures taken, the high rate at which children in the primary school emit stealing behaviour is on the increase. The researchers therefore, sought to investigate if contingency management and self-control techniques can reduce stealing behaviour of the primary school pupils in Aba Zone of Abia State.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to examine contingency management and self control techniques in the reduction of stealing behaviour among primary school pupils in Abia State. Specifically, the study sought to:

1. determine the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test stage.

2. examine the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with self-control management technique and the control at post-test stage
3. ascertain the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at post-test stage
4. ascertain the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at follow-up stage.

Research Questions.

The following research questions guided the study.

1. What is the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test stage?
2. What is the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with self-control management technique and the control at post-test stage?
3. What is the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at post-test stage?
4. what is the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at follow-up period?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance.

- H₀₁. There is no significant mean score difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test stage.
- H₀₂. There is no significant mean score difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with self-control management technique and the control at post-test stage.
- H₀₃. There is no significant mean score difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques and the control at post-test stage.
- H₀₄. There is no significant mean score different rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques and the control at follow-up stage

Methodology

The study adopted pre-test, post-test, control group quasi-experimental research design. It was carried out in Aba Education Zone of Abia State. Four search questions and four null hypotheses guided the study. The population of the study comprised all the 1,640 primary school

pupils in Aba education Zone. The sample size is 30 subjects drawn through multi-stage sampling technique from four, out of ten Local Government Areas in Aba. In the first stage, purposive techniques was used to draw Aba Education zone from the three education zones in Abia State, Secondly, simple sampling technique was used to draw four LGAs out of ten LGAs in Aba Education zones, Thirdly, simple random sampling without replacement was used to select twelve public primary schools out of 31 primary schools and finally, 30 subjects that emits stealing behaviour out of 310 pupils were randomly selected. 25- items questionnaire named: Stealing Behaviour Questionnaire (SBQ) was used to collect data for the study. The instrument was developed by the researchers with 4-points of Always (A), Sometimes(S), Often (O) and Never(N) with weights of 4,3,2,and 1 respectively. The instrument was validated by three experts, two in the field of study and one from measurement and Evaluation, all from Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike. The internal consistency reliability indices of the instrument was 0.82 using Cronbach Alpha statistical method.

Before the treatment stage, pre-test on SBQ was administered on the sampled subjects with the assistance of the form teachers of various classes used which served as the baseline data. Afterwards, the experimental groups started two weeks after the baseline stage. The experimental groups were treated using CMT and SCT and the combination of CMT and SCT, respectively. The treatment has 8 sections and lasted for 6 weeks. At each treatment package, the researchers presents stealing behaviour and its causes, effects on the pupils. They now introduced the technique, its importance, and the skills to apply in order to reduce stealing behaviour among the pupils. The following techniques were used for contingency management technique: positive and negative reinforcement and punishment. For self-control: the following ere used: self monitoring, self-evaluation, self reinforcement and role-play among others. The combination of CMT and SCT also, the researchers combined all the single skills together during the treatment. The control group didn't receive treatment rather, they were engaged with some teachings on examination preparations and how to improve their academic performances. At the end of the treatments, the researchers motivated the pupils, and encouraged them to continue with those skills used and prayed for them to resist bad behaviours and always do the right things and here, all the sessions were successfully terminated. The post-test was carried out after two weeks of termination while the follow-up stage was done after one month of treatment in order to find out if the stealing behaviour change in the pupils was retained after the treatments. Collected data were analyzed using mean and standard deviation to answer the research questions while ANCOVA was used to test the hypotheses at 0.5 level of significance.

Results

Research Question 1:What is the reduction mean score on stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test period?

Table 1: Pre-test and Post-test mean and standard deviation scores of subjects treated with contingency management technique and the control group at post-test period.

Groups	Number of pupils	Types of Test				Mean Reduction.
		Pre-test		Post test		
		\bar{x}	S.D	\bar{x}	S.D	
Contingency Management	10	55.03	18.94	28.53	12.67	26.50
Control	10	55.13	18.93	53.63	18.94	25.00
Mean diff -						1.50
0.10						

Result in Table 1 indicated that subjects treated with CMT and control at pre-test had mean scores of 55.03 and 55.13 with standard derivations of 18.93 and 18.94 respectively and mean difference of -0.10 indicating that both the experimental group and control group were at the same level of stealing behaviour before treatment. However, at post-test stage, they had mean scores of 28.53 and 53.63 with standard deviations of 12.67 and 18.94 respectively. The high score revealed that CMT therapy has positive effect in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils.

Hypotheses One: There is no significant mean score difference in the reduction mean score of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test stage.

Table 2: Analysis of Covariance on the reduction mean score of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management technique and the control at post-test stage.

Source of Variation	Type III sum of square	df.	Mean sum of square	F.	Sig.
Correlated model	10959.803 ^a	2	5479.902	8.039	.000
Intercept	9519.316	1	9519.316	13.965	.000
Pre-test	2967.443	1	2967.443	4.353	.001
Group	9984.920	1	9984.920	14.648	.000
Error	11587.967	17	681.645		
Total	410926.000	20			
Corrected total	4101.991	19			

a. R squared = .486 (Adjusted R squared = .475,) S = Significant.

The result in Table 2 revealed that contingency management technique has a significant effect on the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour on the subjects. The calculated f-value of 14.648 is higher than the f-crit. of 1.96 with degree of freedom of 2 and 17 at 0.05 level of significance. This shows that treated subjects reduced stealing behaviour. Therefore the hypothesis of no significant difference was rejected, implying that there is significant difference in the rate of reduction of subjects treated with CMT and the control at post-test stage.

Research Question 2: What is the reduction mean score on stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with self-control technique and the control at post-test period?

Table 3: Pre-test and Post-test mean and standard deviation scores of subjects treated with self-control technique and the control group at post-test period.

Groups	Number of pupils	Types of Test				Mean Diff.
		Pre-test		Post test		
		\bar{x}	S.D	\bar{x}	S.D	
Self-Control	10	55.03	18.94	30.55	15.25	24.48
Control						23.68
	10	54.13	18.93	53.33	18.54	0.80

Result in Table 3 indicated that subjects treated with SCT and control at pre-test had mean scores of 55.03 and 54.13 with standard derivations of 18.94 and 18.93 respectively and making difference of 0.80 at pre-test, indicating that both the experimental group and control group were at the same level of stealing habits before the treatment. However, at post-test stage, they had mean scores of 30.55 and 53.33 with standard deviations of 15.25 and 18.54 respectively. The high score in the result revealed that SCT therapy has positive effect in the reduction of stealing behaviour of the pupils.

Hypotheses Two: There is no significant mean score difference in the of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with Self-Control technique and the control at post-test stage.

Table 4 : Analysis of Covariance on the reduction mean score of stealing behaviour of treated with Self-Control technique and the control at post-test stage.

Source of Variation	Type III sum of square	Df.	Mean sum of square	F.	Significance
Correlated model	14036.259 ^a	2	7018.130	10.507	.000
Intercept	8050.707	1	8050.707	12.052	.000
Pre-test	1289.849	1	1289.849	1.93	.015
SCT	2272.856	1	2272.856	3.403	.000
Error	11355.531	17	667.972		
Total	37005.202	20			
Corrected Total	25.391.790	19			

a. R Square = .553(Adjusted R Squared = .544), S= Significant

The result in Tables 4 showed that self control technique has a significant effect on the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour on the subjects. The calculated f-value of 3.403 as the cause of the treatment effect of self-control is higher than the f-cal of 1.96 with degree of freedom of 2 at 0.0 and 17 at 0.05 level of significance. This implies that pupils treated with SCT reduced their stealing behaviour as a result of the treatment received. Therefore the null hypothesis of no significant difference was rejected thus that there is significant difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of the pupils at post-test stage.

Research Question 3: What is the reduction mean score on stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at post-test stage?

Table 5: Pre-test and Post-test mean and standard deviation scores of subjects treated with contingency management and self-control technique at post-test period.

Groups	Number of pupils	Types of Test				Mean Diff.
		Pre-test		Post test		
		\bar{X}	S.D	\bar{X}	S.D	
CMT	10	55.03	18.94	28.53	12.67	26.50
						24.48
SCT	10	55.03	18.94			15.25
						30.55

Result in Table 5 revealed that subjects treated with combination of CMT and SCT techniques had mean scores of 55.03 at pre-tests with standard deviation of 18.94 respectively. while in the post test, they had mean scores of CMT= 28.53 and SCT= 30.55 with standard deviations of 12.67 and 15.25, respectively. This shows that CMT proved more effective than self-control in reducing stealing behaviour among the pupils.

Hypotheses Three: There is no significant mean score difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques and the control at post-test stage.

Table 6 : Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) for mean scores of primary school pupils in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour among those treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at post-test stage

Source of Variation	Type III sum of square	df.	Mean sum of square	F.	Significance
Correlated model	372774.746 ^a	2	18638.873	5.690	.009
Intercept	1634.877	1	1634.877	5.059	.003
Pre-test	155.846	1	155.846	4.815	.005
CMT and SCT	119.562	2	119.562	.370	.000
Error	5493.603	17	323.153		
Total	9333.342	20			
Corrected Total	4666.671	19			

R. Squared=.313 (Adjusted R Squared = .196) S Significant

The analysis in Tables 6 showed that the F calculated value of 0.370 has a p-value of .548. The calculated f- value of 0.370 in respect of the treatment effects in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils treated with contingency management and self-control is less than f-crit of 1.96 with degree of freedom of 2 and 17 at 0.05 level of significance. This showed that subjects exposed to CMT and SCT did not differ significantly in the reduction of stealing behaviour therefore, the null hypothesis of no significant difference was retained

Research Question 4: What are the reduction mean scores on stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at follow-up stage?

Table 7: Pre-test and Post-test mean and standard deviation scores of subjects treated with Contingency management and Self-Control techniques at follow-up stage.

Groups	Number of pupils	Type of Test				Mean Redu.
		Post-test		Follow-up		
		\bar{x}	S.D	\bar{x}	S.D	
CMT +SCT	10	28.53	12.67	19.73	17.87	8.80
Control	10	30.55	15.25	25.37	22.10	5.18
Mean diff	-					3.62
						2.02

Result in Table 7 revealed post-test mean scores of pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques to be 28.53 and 30.55 with standard deviation of 12.67 and 15.25 respectively with mean difference of 8.80. However, the follow-up mean score of subjects treated with combination of contingency management and self-control techniques were 19.73 and 25.37 with standard deviations of 17.87 and 22.10 with mean difference of 362 indicating that contingency management proved more effect then self-control in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at follow-up stage.

There is no significant mean score difference. rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of primary school pupils treated with contingency management and self-control techniques at follow-up period

Table 8 : Post-test and follow-up scores and standard deviation scores of rate of reduction of stealing behaviour of subjects treated with Contingency management and Self-Control techniques at follow-up stage.

Source of Variation	Type III sum of square	Df.	Mean sum of square	F.	Significance
Correlated model	490.248 ^a	2	245.124	.858	.000
Intercept	671.064	1	671.064	2.349	.001
Post-test	898.006	1	898.006	3.144	.000
Follow-up	118.112	2	118.122	.413	.000
Error	4856.286	17	285.664		
Total	12291.501	20			
Corrected Total	6522.796	19			

a. R Squared = .651 (Adjusted R Squared = .523) S= Sig

Result of Table 8 revealed that f cal value of .413 has a p -value of .452. The cal. value of .413 in respect of the treatment as main effect of the score difference in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils treated with CMT and SCT at follow-up is less than f-crit. of 1.96 with degree of freedom of 2 and 17 at 0.05 level of significance. This revealed that the subjects with stealing behaviour treated with CMT and SCT did not differ significantly in their reduction. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no significant mean score difference in the rate of reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at follow up was retained. Thus there was no significant mean score difference in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at follow-up stage.

Discussion of Findings

Result question One in table 1 indicated that CMT therapy has positive effect in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at post test stage. However, the corresponding hypothesis one in table 2, revealed that contingency management technique has a significant effect than the control among primary school pupils at post-test stage. The study is in line with the study of Tuten (2011), who pointed out that CMT is a therapy used among inpatients and outpatients where positive consequences are applied to motivate behaviour change and on the other hand, negative consequences applied for undesired behaviour. Also, the present study corresponded with the study of Okafor (2018) who revealed that CMT is effective in the treatment of socially behaviours. It may have been effective here because of the motivational incentives presented to the clients.

Result question Two in table 3 indicated that SCT therapy has positive effect in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at post test stage. However, the corresponding hypothesis one in table 4, self-control has a significant effect on the stealing behaviour of pupils treated with self-control than the control group. The study is in concurrent with the study of Houben (2011) who pointed out that self control promotes behaviour change in a number of contexts, providing indication of the generalized, unitary nature of self-control resources.

Result in research question Three table 5, revealed that the combination of CMT and SCT prove more effective than a single therapy in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at post-test stage. The corresponding hypothesis three in table 6 further revealed that subjects exposed to the combination of CMT and SCT did not differ significantly in the reduction of stealing behaviour. The result of the present study concurs with Iro, (2023) study on self control where the researcher found out CMT and SCT to be more effective in managing excess behaviours. Equally, Njoku's (2021) study noted that the combination of contingency management and self-control techniques was more effective than a single technique.

Result table question four in table 7 showed that contingency management proved more effect than self-control in the reduction of stealing behaviour among the pupils at follow-up stage. Also, corresponding hypothesis four in table 8 also showed no significant difference in the rate of reduction of stealing bahviour of the pupils at follow-up stage.

Conclusively, from the findings of the study, the researchers concluded that the utilization of the two techniques was more effective than a single technique though, each of the techniques proved effective.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study , the researchers recommends the followings:

1. Counsellors should apply the combinations of the two techniques in the treatment of stealing behaviour.
2. Counsellors should guide school teachers on the skills to apply in treating social misbehaviours.
3. Counsellor should also encourage parents to be part of this control from their various homes by given their children moral upbringing and checking what they go out and come in with.

References

- Adediran(2013). using contingency management and self-management in the reduction of conduct disorders of pupils. *Journal of Education in developing areas.* 19(7) 134-156.
- Ajake, U.E, Ekpo, T.E (2013). Family Socio-economic status and delinquency among senior secondary school students in Calabar South Cross Rivers State. *Nigerian American Institutional Journal of contemporaryResearch4* (3), 83-8

Anyamene, A., Nokolo, C., and Onyeukpere, L.O. (2021). effect of self management technique in reducing stealing tendency among secondary school students in Delta state Nigeria. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research(IJMR) vol.7(4) April,2021)

Elisa, C. (2024). Why kids steal and how to deal with it. age by age family education.com

Grant, J.E., Potenza, M.N., Sarin, S.K., Cavallo, S.A. Desai, R.A (2011). Stealing Among Secondary School Student; Prevalence and Clinical Correlates. Psychiatry Law. 39(1) 44-52

Iro, O.J. (2023). Self-Control programme and exposure therapy on school phobia among In-school adolescents in Aba education zone, Abia State. Unpublished Master thesis in the Dept. of Adult and Continued Education, Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike.

Jerry, N. and Hans, H. J.(2025). Encyclopedia Britannica.. Substantive Criminal Law. Retrieved January,2025.

Njoku, U.E. (2021). self-control and contingency management in the reduction of truancy behaviour among secondary school students in Abia State.

Okocha, A.I.;Igboanugo, L.N(2018) Counselling Secondary school students with stealing Tendency: A Cobnitive Behavioural Therapy Approah.Hofa African Journal of Multidisciplinary research (HAJMR). vol 1,(1) 33-41.

Tuten, A .A(2013). Seeing future success: Does imagery persective influence achievement motivation? Pers soc Psychol Bell.33,1392-405