

## Review

## The Emergence of Social Norms and Conventions

Robert X.D. Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> Noah D. Goodman,<sup>1,2</sup> and Robert L. Goldstone<sup>2,3,4\*</sup>

The utility of our actions frequently depends upon the beliefs and behavior of other agents. Thankfully, through experience, we learn norms and conventions that provide stable expectations for navigating our social world. Here, we review several distinct influences on their content and distribution. At the level of individuals locally interacting in dyads, success depends on rapidly adapting pre-existing norms to the local context. Hence, norms are shaped by complex cognitive processes involved in learning and social reasoning. At the population level, norms are influenced by intergenerational transmission and the structure of the social network. As human social connectivity continues to increase, understanding and predicting how these levels and time scales interact to produce new norms will be crucial for improving communities.

## Navigating a Web of Social Expectations

Even a casual observer of humanity will be struck by the similarity of behavior displayed by individuals within a community, and the surprising variation across different communities. Where people come from, or where they currently spend their time, influences the language they speak, the clothes they wear, the food they eat, the currency they spend, and countless other routine behaviors: whether they eat hamburgers with their fingers (as in the USA) or knife and fork (as in Norway); eat rice with chopsticks (Japan) or their right hand (Malaysia); dip French fries in ketchup (Canada) or mayonnaise (Belgium); arrive to dinners on time (Germany) or fashionably late (Brazil); and sit in the back (England) or front (Australia) of a taxi cab during a solo trip. This influence extends beyond the ubiquitous social interactions of everyday life to decisions with potentially life-altering consequences: whether to challenge an adversary in a duel [1], reciprocate gang-related violence [2], donate one's organs [3], drink or smoke cigarettes [4], wear a helmet while riding a bicycle [5], or even to report sexual harassment, have a child, or allow a clitoridectomy or circumcision to be performed on one's child.

While some correlated behaviors may simply be chalked up to shared habits (e.g., we all brush our teeth each morning), what distinguishes a broad class of norms is the way agents mentally represent them. Key distinctions have been proposed between several related constructs to organize this complexity, and the precise relationships among conventional, descriptive, and prescriptive norms remain under debate (Box 1). Yet norms of all stripes share a common foundation. In each case, the behavior and beliefs of one agent depend in more or less complex ways on the often unspoken expectations and beliefs of other agents. Where these expectations come from, how they are represented in individual minds, and how they are sustained or shift in different populations over different time scales, are core questions for cognitive science, with broad ramifications for an increasingly interconnected society.

## Highlights

Much of our social world is governed by norms, which can have life or death consequences for the people who hold them. The behavior and beliefs of one agent depend in more or less complex ways on the often unspoken expectations held about other agents.

Social norms depend on multilevel, interactive processes that include internal cognitive processes within an individual as well as constraints on the communicative channels that connect people.

Norms can be both the consequence and facilitator of social interactions.

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# Emergence Of Norms

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