punishment produces two independent effects (see Figure 2.1): It leads the child to believe that stealing is wrong, and it reduces the likelihood that the child will steal again. But the thought “Stealing is wrong” is epiphenomenal. People refrain from stealing not because they think stealing is wrong but because they’ve been punished for stealing in the past. The advantage of this approach is parsimony. As discussed in Chapter 1, good theories are parsimonious: They explain a lot of different things with very few assumptions. Behaviorism is very parsimonious—it uses the same principles to explain the behavior of humans and other animals.

3. Types of Learning

The behaviorists distinguished two types of learning (Hilgard & Marquis, 1940).

**Classical Conditioning.** Classical conditioning refers to the acquisition of involuntary emotional reactions and behaviors. Classical conditioning was originally conceived as a passive process in which stimuli become associated with one another, either because they resemble one another or because they have appeared together frequently. Pavlov’s pioneering work with dogs provides the best example of this process. Prior to feeding his dogs, Pavlov rang a bell. Over time, the dogs began to salivate to the sound of the bell. Through processes of association, the bell had become a conditioned stimulus, capable of evoking the involuntary response of salivating (a conditioned response).

**Instrumental Conditioning.** A second mechanism of learning, called instrumental conditioning, explains the acquisition of more voluntary behaviors.