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Social cues influence perception of others' pain

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Running Head: SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON PAIN OBSERVATION

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36

37 **Significance statement:** The present study shows that even arbitrary opinions of
38 other raters **influence** the perception of others' pain. This finding adds **new insight**
39 to the growing evidence of social and cultural biases in pain estimation.

40

41

Abstract

42

43 **Background:** Accurately perceiving other people's pain is important in both daily
44 life and healthcare settings. However, judging other's pain is inherently difficult and
45 can be biased by various social and cultural factors. Here, we examined whether
46 perception of others' pain and pain management recommendations are socially
47 influenced by seeing the opinions of other raters.

48 **Methods:** In Experiment 1 (N=50), participants rated pictures depicting injured
49 hands or feet of pre-selected high, medium, and low intensities. Each picture was
50 preceded by cues indicating ratings of 10 previous participants. Cues were
51 randomized to indicate low (Social_{LOW}) or high (Social_{HIGH}) pain judgments and
52 were not predictive of actual normative pain intensity. In Experiment 2 (N=209),
53 participants viewed facial video clips of patients with chronic shoulder pain making
54 painful movements. They estimated patients' pain intensity and provided pain
55 management recommendations.

56 **Results:** Experiment 1 revealed that perceivers' pain estimates were significantly
57 and substantially higher for stimuli following Social_{HIGH} than Social_{LOW} cues
58 (Cohen's $d = 1.26$, $p < .001$), and paralleled by increased skin conductance
59 responses. Experiment 2 replicated the effect of social cues on pain judgments (d
60 $= 0.58$, $p < .001$). However, social cues did not influence post-study pain
61 management recommendations, potentially due to memory limitations.

62 **Conclusions:** Together, these studies reveal that judgments of others' pain are
63 robustly modulated by information about others' opinions. Future research could

64 test the prevalence and strength of such effects in clinical settings.

65

66 *Key words: social influence; social norms; pain management recommendation;*

67 *empathy; vicarious pain;*

68

69

Introduction

70 Accurate perception of others' pain and empathy for their suffering are
71 essential for social interaction and altruistic behaviors in daily life (Toi & Batson,
72 1982; Zaki, 2014). Accurate perception is especially important in medical settings,
73 where it may impact pain diagnosis and treatment strategies (Kappesser, &
74 Williams, 2010; Schäfer et al., 2016). Inaccuracies may lead to both
75 undertreatment and overtreatment of pain. Like the general public, healthcare
76 providers often look for correspondence between pain self-reports and other
77 indicators—including facial expressions and behavior—to infer how much pain a
78 person is experiencing and what kind of response is warranted. There is a danger
79 of discounting pain when these other indicators do not match self-reports, or when
80 pain self-reports and behavior are wrongly attributed to **assumed** personality
81 **features** (e.g., **'attention-seeking'**) rather than to pain experience.

82 Such misattributions may underlie multiple forms of bias in judgment of others'
83 pain. For instance, women's pain is often systematically underestimated by both
84 healthcare providers (Schäfer et al., 2016; Wandner et al., 2014) and the general
85 public, likely because women are perceived as more expressive and willing to
86 report pain, leading to discounting of pain behaviors (e.g., facial expressions) and
87 self-report (Schäfer et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2021). In Schäfer et al., clinicians
88 and medical students discounted women's pain relative to men's and judged them
89 as more likely to be exaggerating. In Zhang et al., community participants
90 systematically under-estimated women's pain relative to men's in two independent
91 studies, using an ecologically relevant set of real patient videos with normed facial

92 expression and 'ground truth' self-reports (from the UNBC-McMaster Shoulder
93 Pain Expression dataset (Lucey et al. 2011)). Across two studies, men were more
94 likely to be prescribed medication, and women more likely to be prescribed
95 psychotherapy. Similar biases have been reported regarding race (Hollingshead
96 et al., 2015), age (Wandner et al., 2014), and perceivers' medical experience
97 (Dirupo et al., 2021).

98 In these studies, participants likely use perceived gender, race, age, and
99 trustworthiness to establish prior beliefs (stereotypes) that serve as additional
100 sources of evidence in making judgments when evidence is ambiguous or not
101 completely trusted. However, the complex and multifaceted nature of such biases
102 leave open the questions of whether judgments of others' pain (1) are inherently
103 malleable or, rather, are stable reflections of experience and culture, and (2)
104 always reflect misattributions. To explore the degree to which perceptions of others'
105 pain are influenced by immediate social context, we studied whether judgments of
106 patients' pain from facial expressions and movements could be influenced by
107 elementary social cues about other observers' pain judgments, which are devoid
108 of prior cultural associations.

109 Social context comes in many forms, but one of the most powerful is
110 knowledge of others' opinions. Information about others' judgments can induce
111 both public conformity (Asch, 1956) and influences on private judgments (Craig &
112 Prkachin, 1978; Platow et al., 2007; Koban & Wager, 2016; Willroth et al., 2017;
113 for reviews, see Koban et al., 2017). Powerful influences on many areas of human
114 experience and decision-making have been reported, including effects on

115 aesthetic preferences (Berns et al., 2010; Campbell-Meiklejohn et al., 2010;
116 Klucharev et al., 2009; Mason et al., 2009; Zaki et al., 2011), visual perception
117 (Berns et al., 2005; Dirupo et al., 2021), prosocial behaviors (Nook et al., 2016),
118 responses to affective stimuli (Willroth et al., 2017) and reported pain experience
119 (Yoshida et al., 2013; Koban & Wager, 2016; Bajcar, et al. 2023). Individuals in
120 these studies adjusted their estimation to keep consistent with perceived group
121 norms, with moderate to large effect sizes (e.g., Koban & Wager, 2016). It can be
122 challenging to disentangle effects on private experience from those on meta-
123 cognitive evaluations or public communication, but at least in some cases the types
124 of social cues we use here can influence autonomic responses (e.g., skin
125 conductance) and brain responses to painful events (Koban & Wager, 2016;
126 Koban et al., 2019).

127 In two experimental studies, we examined how social influence could bias
128 participants' pain estimation (Experiments 1 and 2), autonomic responses to others'
129 pain (Experiment 1), and pain management recommendations (Experiment 2). To
130 test the effects in different experimental settings, Experiment 1 was conducted in
131 laboratory participants and used well-established standard stimulus materials for
132 empathic pain (Jackson et al., 2006). Experiment 2 investigated social information
133 effects in online participants judging naturalistic videos of actual patients with
134 chronic shoulder pain, the UNBC-McMaster dataset (Lucey et al., 2011). Tests
135 with real patient videos may be informative because pain facial expressions are
136 often non-stereotypical in patients with chronic pain (Vachon-Preseu et al.,
137 2016). In both studies, high-pain and low-pain social cues were randomly assigned

138 to videos, and were thus unrelated to actual pain intensity or expression. This
139 design allowed us to assess the direct, causal effect of social cues on perceived
140 pain.

141

142

Experiment 1

143 Method

144 Participants

145 Fifty healthy volunteers, recruited in the CU Boulder community and
146 Boulder-Denver metro area, participated in the experiment (29 female, mean age =
147 22.3, age range 18-53 years old). The sample size was determined prior to the
148 start of the study. All participants were screened for a history of psychiatric or
149 neurologic problems and were free of pain conditions. The study was approved by
150 the Institutional Review Board at the University of Colorado Boulder and conducted
151 in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki of 1975, as revised in 1983.
152 Participants provided written informed consent and were paid for their time.

153 Materials and Procedures

154 **Target stimuli.** Participants' judged the painfulness of a set of 72 pictures
155 taken from the database of Jackson et al. (2006), which depicted injuries or
156 potential injuries to hands or feet (see Figure 1). These were stratified into three
157 levels of pain intensity based on prior work, with 24 pictures in each category.

158 **Social cues.** Each target stimulus was preceded by a social cue, which
159 consisted of a rating scale (a horizontal line) with 10 vertical lines intersecting it.
160 Participants were instructed that each vertical line indicated a previous

161 participant's rating of this target stimulus. In fact, the lines were computer-
162 generated randomly based on one of two Gaussian distributions: A low-pain
163 distribution ($\text{Social}_{\text{LOW}}$: $M = 0.3$, $SD = 0.15$) and a high-pain distribution ($\text{Social}_{\text{HIGH}}$:
164 $M = 0.7$, $SD = 0.15$). For each participant, an equal number of $\text{Social}_{\text{LOW}}$ and
165 $\text{Social}_{\text{HIGH}}$ cues was assigned to each normative stimulus intensity level, to create
166 a 3 x 2 within-person factorial design (3 intensity levels x 2 social cues). The cues
167 were thus unrelated to the normative stimulus intensity and uninformative;
168 differences in pain judgments between high and low cue conditions could thus be
169 attributed to causal effects of cues. We term this effect the 'social influence' effect
170 here.

171 **Procedure.** As shown in Figure 1, each trial started with the presentation
172 of a social cue (presented for 3 s). After a jittered 2-4 s delay, a target injury
173 stimulus was presented for 5 s. After a second jittered 2.5-8.5 s delay, participants
174 were asked to rate how much pain the person was experiencing in the injury
175 depicted ("How painful was it?") on a horizontal visual analog scale which
176 remained on-screen until 4.5 s elapsed. The scale ranged from 0 to 100, with
177 anchors being "*absolutely no pain*" and "*worst pain possible*". The inter-trial interval
178 had a jittered duration of 4-10 s. The task lasted about 30 minutes. **At the end of**
179 **the experimental session, two empathy questionnaires (the Interpersonal**
180 **Reactivity Index, IRI, Davis, 1980 and Basic Empathy Scale in Adults, BES-A,**
181 **Carré et al., 2013) were administered. However, we do not report these**
182 **correlations in Study 1, as the sample size is insufficient to yield stable correlations**
183 **(Schönbrodt & Perugini, 2013).**

184 — Insert Figure 1 about here —

185 **Skin conductance.** Electrodermal activity was measured at the index and
186 middle fingers of the left hand and recorded using a BIOPAC MP150 system and
187 Acknowledge software at 500-Hz sampling rate. Electrodermal data was low pass
188 filtered offline with a cutoff of 5-Hz (61dB Butterworth), down-sampled to 50Hz,
189 segmented from 2s before to 8s after stimulus onset, corrected relative to the
190 baseline window (-2s to stimulus onset) for each trial, and averaged across all trials
191 per condition. The mean electrodermal activity between 2-8s after stimulus picture
192 onset was used for statistical analyses.

193 **Analysis**

194 Behavioral data (ratings on the visual analog scales) were analyzed using
195 a multi-level general linear model (GLM), modeling variance both on the intra-
196 individual (single trial) and group level (across participants), with planned t-
197 contrasts for within-person effects of social cue (high vs. low), normative stimulus
198 intensity (linear effects), and hand vs. foot stimuli. Physiological data (SCR
199 amplitude) focused on how stimulus intensity and social cues affected responses
200 to pain pictures. We used pairwise t-tests to compare the mean skin conductance
201 amplitude between 2-8s following stimulus onset following high vs. low social cues.
202 Directional hypotheses were specified for cue and intensity effects in both models,
203 with higher expected perceived pain and SCR for high-pain vs. low-pain cues;
204 therefore, results are reported at $p < 0.05$ one-tailed or below, though p -values
205 were substantially lower (more significant) in most cases.

206

207

Results

208 Behavioral results

209 As shown in Figure 2a, perceived pain ratings increased significantly with
210 normative stimulus intensity level (low < medium < high), linear contrast
211 $t(49) = 16.27, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 2.32$, indicating that perceivers discriminated
212 the pre-normed intensity levels, in line with previous studies (Jackson et al., 2006;
213 Krishnan et al., 2016). Confirming our main hypothesis, pain ratings were also
214 strongly affected by the preceding social information, with Social_{HIGH} trials leading
215 to significantly higher pain ratings than Social_{LOW} trials, $t(49) = 8.83, p < .001$,
216 Cohen's $d = 1.26$. Stimuli depicting hands versus feet were not rated differently
217 from each other ($p = .26$).

218

— Insert Figure 2 about here —

219

220 Skin conductance results

221 Skin conductance responses were higher for high compared to low intensity
222 images, $t(49) = 1.93, p = .029$, Cohen's $d = 0.27$. In line with our prediction, SCR
223 were also significantly higher for pain stimuli preceded by high (Social_{HIGH})
224 compared to low (Social_{LOW}) social ratings, $t(49) = 2.58, p = .006$, Cohen's
225 $d = 0.37$ (Figure 2b). This indicates that social ratings do not only impact self-
226 reported pain **judgments**, but also physiological responses to observed pain.

227

228

Experiment 2

229

Methods

230 In Experiment 2, participants were presented with social cues (as in
231 Experiment 1) before each of a series of brief video clips depicting natural pain
232 facial expressions evoked by shoulder movement in chronic shoulder pain patients.
233 This allowed us to test whether we could replicate the social influence effects
234 observed in Experiment 1 with more naturalistic pain stimuli (videos of pain
235 patients) and in a larger participant sample, and to test whether social influence
236 might also impact subsequent treatment recommendations.

237 ***Participants***

238 210 participants took part in the online survey. One of them was excluded
239 because of very low ratings (>3 STD below the mean), leaving a sample of 209
240 participants (114 females, 93 males, 2 non-binary/other, mean age=34.8 years,
241 age range 19-70 years). The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board
242 at the University of Colorado Boulder and in accordance with the Helsinki
243 Declaration of 1975, as revised in 1983. All participants provided online informed
244 consent, accessed the survey on the Qualtrics software (Qualtrics, Provo, UT.
245 <http://www.qualtrics.com>), and were paid for their time via Amazon mTurk.

246 ***Materials and Procedures***

247 **Stimuli.** 36 distinct social cues (18 each for Social_{HIGH} and Social_{LOW}) were
248 generated in same way as in Experiment 1, except that vertical lines were replaced
249 with gray circles to match the look of the visual analog scales on Qualtrics (see
250 Figure 3). The target stimulus set included 36 video clips (3 each for 6 male targets
251 and 6 female targets) selected from the UNBC-McMaster Shoulder Pain
252 Expression Archive Database (Lucey et al., 2011). The videos were captured when

253 shoulder pain patients were performing range-of-motion tests. The database
254 includes patients' self-reported pain in response to each movement on a 0-10 scale
255 and ratings from a professional observer ranging from 0-5. Three video clips were
256 chosen for each target, corresponding roughly to low, medium, and high intensity
257 based on the combination of patients' self-reported pain and observer ratings.
258 Video clips were edited to 6 s duration to focus on the dynamic changes from
259 neutral expressions before the shoulder movement to pain expressions during and
260 immediately after the shoulder movement.

261 Stimuli were tested in two sets. Assignment of social cues to patient videos
262 was randomized and counterbalanced across participants and between two
263 stimulus sets. That is, patient videos assigned with high social cues in stimulus
264 set 1 were assigned with low social cues in stimulus set 2. We used this approach
265 to reduce the influence of idiosyncrasies in individual patient videos while ensuring
266 independence of observations. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to
267 stimulus set 1, and the other half to stimulus set 2.

268 **Design.** This experiment was carried out on the online survey platform
269 Qualtrics. A 2 (social cue: Social_{HIGH}, Social_{LOW}) × 3 (intensity: high, medium and
270 low) within-subject design was used, as in Experiment 1. The main dependent
271 variable was participants' pain judgments. In addition, treatment recommendations
272 served as additional dependent variables. Since half of the 12 patients were
273 assigned to the Social_{HIGH}, the other half to the Social_{LOW} condition, and only one
274 video still for each patient was used for the treatment questions, the "intensity"
275 predictor was not tested for this secondary analysis of treatment recommendations.

276 **Procedure.** The online survey opened with a consent form and an
277 information sheet. Participants answered questions asking about gender,
278 professional, experience in the domain of health care and experience of pain
279 conditions. For the main task, each of the 36 trials started with the presentation of
280 a social cue (Social_{HIGH} or Social_{LOW}) for 2 s, followed by a video depicting a
281 shoulder pain patient moving their shoulder (6s). At the end of each trial,
282 participants rated the patient's pain on a horizontal visual analog scale ranging
283 from 0 to 100 (Figure 3).

284 — Insert Figure 3 about here —

285 Following the main task, participants were shown one video still for each of
286 the 12 patients, and asked to prescribe treatments, as if the participants were
287 medical doctors. Three questions were asked for each patient: 1) “If you were to
288 prescribe pain medicine, what dose would you prescribe to this patient?” (with
289 anchors at scale ends of “minimum dose” and “maximum dose”), 2) “If you were to
290 prescribe psychotherapy, how many sessions would you prescribe?” (anchored
291 from “minimum number of sessions” to “maximum number of sessions”), and 3)
292 “What do you think would help the patient more?” (forced choice between pain
293 medicine and psychotherapy). **As in Experiment 1, participants filled in the IRI and**
294 **the BES-A questionnaires at the end of the survey.** The whole survey took
295 approximately 25 minutes to complete.

296 **Analysis.** For pain estimation, the data were analyzed using a multilevel
297 GLM. Within-subject predictors were social cue (Social_{HIGH} or Social_{LOW}) and
298 patients' pain intensity (low, medium, or high). The dependent variable was

299 perceivers' estimates of the patients' pain. Additionally, perceivers' trait empathy
300 and personal experience, including health care work experience (binary, yes or no)
301 and personal pain experience (yes or no) were added in the model (effects coded
302 with 1 and -1) as moderators to examine whether these personal characteristics
303 affect the magnitude of the social influence effect.

304 We conducted additional multi-level GLMs to assess social influence on
305 pain management recommendations and hypothetical prescription (dose of
306 medicine and sessions of psychotherapy) for each patient. For the forced-choice
307 question on which treatment would be more helpful, pain medicine vs.
308 psychotherapy, we calculated the perceiver-wise proportion of the total 12 trials
309 (one trial for each patient) in which medicine/psychotherapy was prescribed to
310 patients cued with Social_{HIGH} or Social_{LOW} information. To test for social influence
311 in pain management recommendations preference, we performed paired t-tests on
312 the proportion prescribed medicine for Social_{HIGH} vs. Social_{LOW} cues. Pearson
313 correlation coefficients were calculated to examine whether participants with more
314 empathy showed larger social influence.

315

316 **Results.**

317 **Social influence on pain estimation.**

318 Consistent with the findings of Experiment 1, greater patients' pain intensity
319 led to higher pain estimations, $t(208) = 27.8$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.93$. Further
320 and in line with our main hypothesis, videos preceded by Social_{HIGH} information

321 led to significantly higher observed pain ratings than those preceded by SocialLow
322 information, $t(208) = 8.33$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.58$ (Figure 4).

323 — Insert Figure 4 about here —

324 **Social influence on pain management recommendations.**

325 Social cues did not influence post-task prescriptions (for dose of pain
326 medicine, $t(208) = -0.21$, $p = .83$; for sessions of psychotherapy, $t(208) = 0.41$,
327 $p = .68$). Paired t-tests on SocialHIGH and SocialLOW trials revealed no significant
328 preference for psychotherapy vs. medication: $t(208) = 1.59$, $p = .11$, Cohen's $d =$
329 0.11 .

330 **Individual differences in social influence on pain estimation**

331 Individual differences in the magnitude of social influence effects were not
332 significantly correlated with trait empathy as measured with the Empathic Concern
333 subscale of the IRI ($r = .10$, $p = .08$). Perceivers with higher trait empathy showed
334 numerically larger social influence on pain estimation, but based on the small
335 estimated effect size here, larger sample sizes are needed to characterize
336 relationships between self-reported empathy and task performance-based
337 measures of observed pain.

338 Out of 209 perceivers, 41 reported work experience in healthcare settings
339 and 127 reported personal persistent pain experience. However, neither
340 perceivers' healthcare working experience, $t(208) = 0.18$, $p = .86$, nor their
341 personal experience with pain, $t(208) = 0.68$, $p = .50$, moderated the effect of
342 social cues on pain estimation.

343

344

Discussion

345 **Being attuned to** the feelings and pains of others is a prerequisite for
346 empathic responding in social interactions. **Accurately** estimating patients' pain is
347 especially important in medical settings, where it informs diagnosis and treatment
348 approaches. It is therefore important to better understand the factors that might
349 influence and bias pain perception. Our results show that abstract social cues
350 about others' pain ratings strongly modulate participants' estimates of others' pain.
351 This main finding replicated across two different experimental settings and for
352 different observed pain cues, including videos of actual patients suffering from
353 shoulder pain. Study 1 further demonstrated that high (vs. low) social ratings
354 increase autonomic (skin conductance) responses to observed pain cues,
355 suggesting a modulation of implicit physiological responses as well as explicit
356 judgments. The effect size for physiological modulation was small, however,
357 compared to the large and robust effects on judgment.

358 The finding that pain judgments are susceptible to social influence is
359 meaningful in several ways. In medical and health care settings, doctors and
360 caregivers might underestimate or overestimate patients' pain based on social
361 information (e.g., from peers, text books), which might even overrule self-reported
362 pain ratings from the patients themselves (Dirupo et al., 2021). As a potential
363 consequence, patients may receive inadequate or excessive treatment
364 (Cremeans-Smith et al., 2003), especially in combination with other pain estimation
365 biases such as those related to gender or minority status (Hoffman, et al., 2016
366 Losin et al 2020; Zhang et al., 2021; Mende-Siedlecki et al., 2021,

367 Hadjistavropoulos, et al., 2014). Together, such contextual biases may lead to
368 systematic errors in patients' pain estimations in clinical settings (Dirupo et al.,
369 2021; Kappesser et al., 2006).

370 The present findings build on a growing body of evidence for social
371 influence effects on the perception of one's own pain (e.g., Craig & Prkachin, 1978;
372 Koban & Wager, 2016; Bajcar, et al. 2023; Reicherts et al., 2013; Świder & Bąbel,
373 2013; for a review, see Schenk et al., 2017). Of note, there may be bidirectional
374 influences between judgments of self-pain and others' pain, as the perception of
375 pain facial expressions can enhance the perception of one's own pain in response
376 to noxious stimuli (i.e., pain contagion), and vice versa (Reicherts et al., 2013; see
377 also Krueger & Clement, 1994). Future studies could test whether providing low-
378 pain social cues, as employed here, result in altered perception of pain facial
379 expressions, which may further result in low pain self-reports and thus contribute
380 to socially-induced placebo effects.

381 Observational learning plays an especially important role in development.
382 Children's pain responses are shaped by observing parents' verbal and nonverbal
383 pain behaviors such as facial pain expressions in pain situations (for a review, see
384 Goubert et al., 2011). Similarly, children's empathic responses to others' suffering
385 could be influenced by how their parents and other role models respond to others'
386 suffering. Social influence might thus be employed as a promising tool for
387 enhancing empathy and altruistic behavior. For instance, an experimental study
388 has shown that donations to homeless shelters increased when individuals were
389 exposed to high empathy ratings or to more generous donation behaviors of others

390 (Nook et al., 2016). This effect, and other effects on social perceptions, may be
391 explained as a rational (i.e., Bayesian) inference over multiple sources of
392 information (Baker, et al., 2009; Houlihan, et al., 2023). Social cues can also guide
393 attention to relevant dimensions of sensory input (e.g., its aversiveness or
394 painfulness); thus, participants may pay more attention to affective aspects of a
395 stimulus when they expect it to be more painful.

396 Some previous studies have found positive correlations between individual
397 differences in social influence effects and trait empathy, particularly the IRI (Koban
398 & Wager, 2016). This could be potentially explained by an increased effect of social
399 context cues in those with higher empathic traits. Study 2 was designed to assess
400 these correlations with a larger sample size, providing more precise estimates of
401 the correlation strength (Schönbrodt & Perugini, 2013). These correlations were
402 weak, with a small effect size ($r = 0.10$); thus, it is unclear whether there is a
403 significant relationship. There is increasing recognition that self-report and task
404 performance-based measures often assess different constructs (Mazza, et al.,
405 2021), and we believe this is the case here: Judgments of others' pain in a task-
406 based setting has the advantage of being able to measure performance, and
407 biases including social influence, against a ground truth; but it may not be strongly
408 related to self-reported empathy.

409 In non-experimental settings, group average judgements can be remarkably
410 accurate when compared with the individual judgements—known as the wisdom
411 of the crowd effect (Surowiecki, 2004). Thus, in some situations, following others
412 can be adaptive. However, the wisdom of the crowd is a statistical phenomenon

413 based on many independent judgements. It may break down in situations in which
414 people strongly influence each other's judgment, such as online social networks.
415 As shown in the present study, merely showing others' estimation—even when
416 they are nonpredictive of the upcoming stimuli—leads to substantial changes in
417 pain reports and even in less controllable physiological responses to observed pain.
418 Similar effects may be at play when observing other people's behavior directly or
419 in the 'ratings' or 'likes' that are ubiquitous on social media. Lorenz et al. (2011)
420 showed that social influence undermined the wisdom of crowds by diminishing the
421 diversity of group and narrowing judgment distribution around a wrong value. Such
422 effects could further increase biases and estimation errors in that convergence of
423 (biased) social opinions can boost people's confidence in their estimation (Lorenz
424 et al., 2011). A potential negative consequence is that people are more likely to
425 make mistakes and less likely to detect and correct errors.

426 The present study has several limitations. Study 1 used a convenience
427 sample of mainly young and healthy participants recruited from the University of
428 Colorado Boulder community, potentially limiting its generalizability to other, more
429 diverse populations. Further, the stimuli we used in Study 1 depicted injured body
430 parts (hands or feet) without showing faces. Such de-identified pain situations may
431 seem somewhat artificial compared to real-life situations of detecting others' pain
432 and experiencing empathy. These stimuli may also enable participants to put
433 themselves in the shoes of the observed others and thus estimate the pain from
434 an egocentric view, as the pain situations could be perceived in both first and third-
435 person perspectives (Jackson et al., 2006). These limitations were not present in

436 Study 2, which demonstrated social influence effects in an older and more diverse
437 sample and using dynamic and more naturalistic stimuli depicting real patients'
438 pain and facial expressions. We also note that we did not find an effect of social
439 ratings on pain management recommendation. This may suggest that social
440 influence effects on specific judgements (e.g., pain judgments) do not necessarily
441 translate to other type of decisions (i.e., treatment decision). However, a limitation
442 in the design was that it included only a relatively small number of patients (six for
443 the Social_{HIGH}, six for the Social_{LOW} condition) and the recommendation did not
444 immediately follow the social information or the initial rating. Thus, it is possible
445 that participants may not explicitly remember the social information for each pain
446 cue (but see Bajcar et al., 2023 for temporally extended social influence effects on
447 self-reported pain). We also note that online participants may be less attentive to
448 the task than lab participants or than practitioners who judge patients' pain in
449 clinical settings, thus potentially leading to smaller and less transferable social
450 influence effects in online samples. Further studies could test other variants of this
451 task to further investigate how social influence changes pain judgements and
452 treatment decisions, in different samples of non-experts and in medical
453 professionals. Finally, we note that future studies with larger sample sizes are
454 needed to explore the role of individual differences in social influence effects.

455

456 **Conclusions**

457 Previous findings indicate important social and cultural biases when it
458 comes to reporting one's own and estimating other persons' pain. Here we show,

459 across two different studies, using two different experimental settings and different
460 types of observed pain cues, that the perception of others' pain is strongly
461 influenced by the opinions of other raters. Future studies could test how perceived
462 social norms influence pain estimation in clinical settings, and how they interact
463 with other social and cultural biases to affect pain and treatment outcomes.
464

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Figure Captions

640

641 **Figure 1. Experimental design of Experiment 1.** As shown in the upper panel,
642 each trial started with presentation of social cue—the fictive ratings of several other
643 persons, indicated as small vertical lines on a horizontal visual analog scale (VAS).
644 These social ratings could be either high (Social_{HIGH}) or low (Social_{LOW}) on average,
645 thus indicating that other people had rated the upcoming pain picture as either
646 intense or mild. Then participants saw a photograph displaying hands or feet in
647 situations that are painful or about to be painful (e.g., fingers touching a hot stove,
648 or next to a sharp knife...). The pain intensity of these pictures has been designed
649 to be either high, medium, or low. At the end of each trial, participants were asked
650 to rate the **painfulness of the situation displayed in the picture** using a VAS
651 (transformed to values from 0-100, anchors: ‘no pain at all’ to ‘worst pain possible’).
652 The lower panel shows the 2x3x2 experimental design and some example **pictures**
653 (note that stimuli were randomly assigned to the Social_{HIGH} or Social_{LOW} condition).
654

655 **Figure 2. Pain ratings and skin conductance results of Experiment 1.** (a) Pain
656 ratings showed strong effects of both intensity level and social cue. Pain estimation
657 ratings were significantly higher for pictures preceded by social ratings in the
658 Social_{HIGH} compared to the Social_{LOW} condition. Vertical bars reflect standard
659 errors of the mean (SEM). (b) Individual social influence effects (individual beta
660 estimates for the contrast [Social_{HIGH} > Social_{LOW}] are shown in a violin plot (each
661 dot shows the beta estimate for one participant). (c-d). Skin conductance

662 responses (mean response 2-8s after stimulus onset, corrected for the 2s pre-
663 stimulus baseline) to pain pictures showed significant effects of intensity (c, high
664 versus low intensity) and of (d) $Social_{HIGH} > Social_{LOW}$ cues. Error bands show the
665 SEM.

666

667 **Figure 3. Pain estimation task design in Experiment 2.** In each trial of an online
668 task, participants were first presented with social ratings (displayed as blue circles
669 on a VAS), that indicated either low ($Social_{LOW}$) or high ($Social_{HIGH}$) **observed** pain
670 ratings of several other people. Then participants **watched** a 6s segment of a video
671 showing a painful shoulder movement recorded in actual pain patients. The video
672 was auto-played and participants were self-paced for the subsequent pain
673 estimation, using again a visual analog scale (transformed to values between 0-
674 100, anchored at 'no pain at all' to 'worst pain possible').

675

676 **Figure 4. Pain estimates in Experiment 2.** a) Paralleling the effects in
677 Experiment 1, pain estimation ratings were significantly higher for videos preceded
678 by $Social_{HIGH}$ compared to $Social_{LOW}$ ratings. b) The violin plot shows individual
679 beta estimates for the social influence effect (each dot reflects the beta weight of
680 one study participant).

681