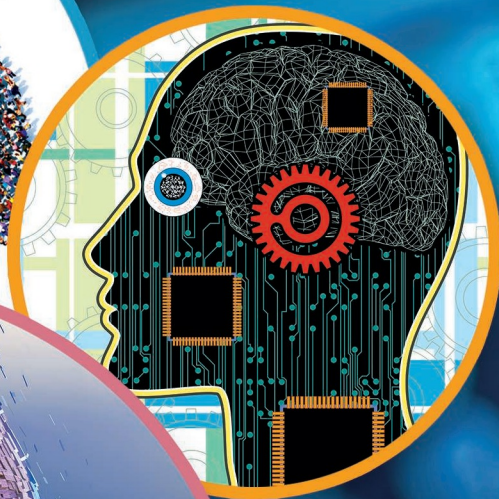




SIXTH EDITION

Personality Psychology

DOMAINS OF KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT HUMAN NATURE



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Personality Psychology

Sixth Edition

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OF
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NATURE





PERSONALITY PSYCHOLOGY: DOMAINS OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HUMAN NATURE,
SIXTH EDITION

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Dedication

To Tommy and Ana.

RL

To my father Arnold H. Buss.

DB

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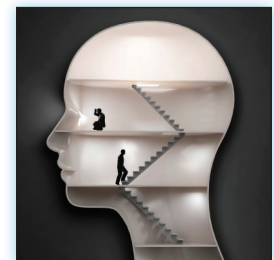
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About the Authors

Randy J. Larsen received his PhD in Personality Psychology from the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana in 1984. In 1992, he was awarded the Distinguished Scientific Achievement Award for Early Career Contributions to Personality Psychology from the American Psychological Association, and in 1987 he received a Research Scientist Development Award from the National Institute of Mental Health. He has been an associate editor at the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* and the *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, and has been on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Research in Personality*, *Review of General Psychology*, and the *Journal of Personality*. He has published over 100 scientific articles in personality psychology and is on the Institute of Scientific Information's list of the top 25 most cited scientists in his discipline. His books include *The Science of Subjective Well-Being* and *Taking Sides in Personality Psychology*. Randy Larsen has served on several Scientific Review Groups for the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Research Council. He is a Fellow in the Association for Psychological Science and the American Psychological Association. His research on personality has been supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Aging, the McDonnell Foundation for Cognitive Neuroscience, and the Solon Summerfield Foundation. In 2000 he was elected president of the Midwestern Psychological Association. He has served on the faculty at Purdue University and the University of Michigan. Currently Randy Larsen is the William R. Stuckenberg Professor of Human Values and Moral Development at Washington University in St. Louis, where he teaches Personality Psychology and other courses. He lives in St. Louis with his wife and two children.



David M. Buss received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley. He served on the faculties of Harvard University and the University of Michigan before accepting a professorship at the University of Texas at Austin, where he currently teaches. Buss received the American Psychological Association (APA) Distinguished Scientific Award for Early Career Contribution to Personality Psychology, the APA G. Stanley Hall Award, and the APA Distinguished Scientist Lecturer Award. Books by David Buss include *The Evolution of Desire: Strategies of Human Mating* (Revised Edition) (Basic Books, 2016),



which has been translated into 10 languages; *Evolutionary Psychology: The New Science of the Mind* (5th ed.) (Allyn & Bacon, 2015), which was presented with the Robert W. Hamilton Book Award; *The Dangerous Passion: Why Jealousy Is as Necessary as Love and Sex* (Free Press, 2000), which has been translated into 13 languages; and two editions of *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology* (Wiley, 2005, 2016). Buss has authored more than 300 scientific publications and has also written articles for *The New York Times* and the *Times Higher Education Supplement*. He appears in the ISI List of Most Highly Cited Psychologists Worldwide, has been cited as one of the most eminent psychologists of the modern era, and has been cited as one of the 30 most influential living psychologists. The American Psychological Society (APS) awarded David Buss the Mentor Award for Lifetime Achievement in 2017. He lectures widely throughout the United States and abroad and has extensive cross-cultural research collaborations. David Buss greatly enjoys teaching, and had the honor of winning the President's Teaching Excellence Award at the University of Texas.

Preface

We have devoted our lives to the study of personality and believe this field is one of the most exciting in all of psychology. Thus we were enormously gratified to see the volume of e-mails, letters, and comments from satisfied consumers of our first, second, third, and fourth editions. At the same time, preparing the sixth edition proved to be a humbling experience. The cascade of exciting publications in the field of personality is formidable, requiring not merely updating but also the addition of major sections of new material. Moreover, in important ways our first edition proved prescient.

Rather than organize our text around the traditional grand theories of personality, we devised a framework of six important domains of knowledge about personality functioning. These six domains are the *dispositional domain* (traits, trait taxonomies, and personality dispositions over time), the *biological domain* (physiology, genetics, evolution), the *intrapsychic domain* (psychodynamics, motives), the *cognitive-experiential domain* (cognition, emotion, and the self), the *social and cultural domain* (social interaction, gender, and culture), and the *adjustment domain* (stress, coping, health, and personality disorders). We believed these domains of knowledge represented the contemporary state of affairs in personality psychology, and progress in the field since publication of our first edition has continued to bear out that belief.

Our previous editions differed from other texts in the importance placed on *culture*, *gender*, and *biology*, and these areas of personality have shown substantial growth in recent years. But we have also been fascinated to witness the growth in *each* of the six major domains of personality that form the organizational core of the book.

We have always envisioned our text as a reflection of the field. Our desire has always been to capture the excitement of what the science of personality is all about. For the sixth edition, we did our best to remain true to that vision. We believe that the field of personality psychology is now entering a golden age of sorts, and we hope that the changes we've made to the fifth edition convey a discipline that is vibrant in a way it never has been before. After all, no other field is devoted to the study of all that it means to be human.

For this edition, each chapter has been streamlined through judicious trimming. This provided room for discussing new research conducted within the past three years and made the book a bit shorter and more economical. Significant additions to the sixth edition are described below.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Personality Psychology

- Minor editing, streamlining the writing a bit, and updating the language to reflect modern usage, such as referring to “gender” rather than “sex.”

Chapter 2: Personality Assessment, Measurement, and Research Design

- New discussion of Experience Sampling methods in personality, including Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter postings, as well as Smartphone and Fitbit recordings. Discusses the strengths and limitations of these new forms of data sources.
- New discussion of Social Desirability response set; finding that highly religious people tend to exaggerate their level of Agreeableness, in part because they see this trait as highly socially desirable.

Chapter 3: Traits and Trait Taxonomies

- Expanded coverage of “the dark triad,” a personality cluster marked by Psychopathy, Narcissism, and Machiavellianism.
- Expanded coverage of the correlates of major personality traits and combinations of personality traits. For example, Extraverts are less likely to save money for retirement; Introverts prefer the solitude of mountains to oceans in their leisure time. High Conscientious people are more likely to do volunteer work in retirement. Emotionally unstable people are more likely to “choke” under pressure. People high in Openness are more likely to be politically liberal. Academic dishonesty is predicted by low Conscientiousness and low Agreeableness.
- HEXACO model of personality added: Honesty-Humility (H), Emotionality (E), Extraversion (X), Agreeableness (A), Conscientiousness (C), and Openness to Experience (O). Cross-cultural work suggests that this model is more comprehensive than the Five Factor model. Fascinating correlates of the new factor, Honesty-Humility are discussed. It predicts: propensity to cooperative versus cheat in experimental games; sincere religious beliefs; offering of sincere apologies; the low end predicts tendencies to sabotage other people’s work, criminal activities, and other exploitative actions.

Chapter 4: Theoretical and Measurement Issues in Trait Psychology

- New material on person-situation interaction and personality consistency.
- New material on personality traits as density distributions of specific behaviors over time.
- New material on integrity testing in the workplace, distinguishing between overt and covert measures of integrity.
- New Exercise on job analysis for personnel selection using personality.

Chapter 5: Personality Dispositions Over Time: Stability, Coherence, and Change

- A 21-year longitudinal study of activity level in boys and girls shows moderate stability over time.
- Another Finish study shows adult personality stability of the five factor model.
- Increase in emotional stability (decrease in Neuroticism) with increasing age found in Germany and Japan.
- Reciprocal or bi-directional links between Neuroticism and stressful life events; high Neuroticism predicts who will experience stressful life events, but reciprocally, those who experience a lot of stressful life events show an increase in Neuroticism with age.
- Women who choose not to have children show lower femininity scores than those who choose to have children.
- Large meta-analysis of the predictive power of Grit to forecast education success and achievement; shows that Grit heavily overlaps with Conscientiousness, but the perseverance component of Grit (but not the passion for goals component) does show some incremental predictive power.
- Several study show that moving into adult roles—getting into a serious romantic relationship, transitioning to parenthood, and investing a lot in work—cause an increase in the personality trait of Conscientiousness.

Chapter 6: Genetics and Personality

- Summaries of recent large-scale meta-analyses of the heritability of personality.
- New findings on the heritability of political attitudes (conservative to liberal) in five different countries.

- Expanding the section on the role of genetics in marriage outcomes, such as relationship satisfaction, to include the role of genetics in well-being and life satisfaction.
- Addition of studies of gene x environment interaction; for example, a study of the link between early puberty and depressive symptoms occurred only in higher socioeconomic groups, but not among lower socioeconomic groups. Also included an interesting study showing that personality is expressed differently in happy versus unhappy marriages.
- One meta-analysis found that children showing antisocial behavior, a moderately heritable trait, tend to elicit harsh discipline from parents who attempt to curb their behavior.
- Discussion of a promising method known as genome-wide association studies (GWAS), which can rapidly examine the entire genome for links with personality, may yield faster scientific advances.

Chapter 7: Physiological Approaches to Personality

- New material on imaging brain structure and brain connectivity in relation to personality, featuring a new Closer Look at the Human Connectome Project.
- New material on dopamine function and its connection to the trait of extraversion.
- New material on morningness–eveningness in relationships.
- Updated summary of frontal brain asymmetry research.

Chapter 8: Evolutionary Perspectives on Personality

- Additional discussion of the emotion of DISGUST, as part of the behavioral immune system; evidence is reviewed that supports the hypothesis that this emotion serves an important disease-avoidance function, such as avoiding contaminated food and even infected people. Added is a new “Closer Look” on the emotion of Disgust.
- Discussion of new studies showing the adaptations for “the need to belong” emerge quite early in life; discusses research on the effects of social ostracism on children’s anxiety and attempts to imitate in order to be re-included in the in-group.
- Importances of kinship: study found that people are willing to endure more physical pain—maintaining a painfully awkward physical position for as long as possible—as a function of closeness of kinship or genetic relatedness.
- More on kinship: people write their wills to leave their cash and other assets to close genetic relatives more than to distant ones.
- Gender differences in jealousy: new research shows that the gender differences emerge robustly in cultures that are highly sexually egalitarian such as Sweden and Norway, as well is in traditional cultures such as the Himba of Namibia.
- Gender differences in mate preferences: these psychological gender differences are large, roughly the same magnitude as gender differences in height and upper body muscle strength. Biological sex (male or female) can be predicted with 92% accuracy solely from knowing a person’s mate preferences.
- Consenting to sex with strangers: Importantly, the gender differences in consenting to sex with strangers have been robustly replicated in other countries, including France, Germany, and Denmark.
- Expanded review of research and theory on condition-dependent personality (reactive heritability) as a function of body strength and physical attractiveness.

Chapter 9: Psychoanalytic Approaches to Personality

- New material on unconscious decision-making and deliberation outside of awareness.
- Summary of new research on repressive coping style, including its benefits and underlying brain mechanisms.
- New research on ego depletion and its connection to Freud's idea of psychic energy.

Chapter 10: Psychoanalytic Approaches: Contemporary Issues

- New material on life stories and identity.
- New research on early attachment experiences and adult romantic functioning, plus recent extensions of attachment theory.
- New research establishing that attachment styles are best conceptualized and measured as dimensions rather than categories.

Chapter 11: Motives and Personality

- New research on validity of the TAT for assessing motives.
- Expanded definition of the need for power.
- New material on the role of hormones in human motivation.
- New discussion of recent declines in empathy, asking whether Internet use is creating an empathy deficit in young people whose primary mode of interaction is online.

Chapter 12: Cognitive Topics in Personality

- New material on field dependence/independence in relation to modern digital technology developments (e.g., digital mapping, virtual reality) and occupations that require perceptual focus in stimulating environments (e.g., air traffic controllers, bomb disposal technicians).
- New material on locus of control in situations where technology may control a portion of our lives, e.g., autonomous vehicles.
- New material on the application of explanatory style to groups (sports teams, business organizations).

Chapter 13: Emotion and Personality

- New discussion of income inequality in relation to studies of the influence of wealth on happiness.
- New research on pro-social spending and happiness.
- Expanded coverage of brain imaging studies of trait anxiety/neuroticism and trait anger.

Chapter 14: Approaches to the Self

- New material on problematic internet use and shyness/social anxiety, with a general discussion of online versus offline social interaction.
- Expanded coverage of research on implicit self-esteem.
- New research on self-esteem variability.

Chapter 15: Personality and Social Interaction

- Extraverts choose to spend more time in social situations, whereas highly conscientious people select more work-related activities—choices that continue from adolescence through young adulthood (Wrzus, 2016). Agreeable people choose to spend more time looking at photos and media depicting positive images; disagreeable people expose themselves to more negative photos and media images (Bresin & Robinson, 2014).

- The priority placed on personality traits such as Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Emotional Stability occur regardless of sexual orientation; they are as strong among non-heterosexual men and women as they are among heterosexual men and women (Valentova et al., 2016). Low scores on these personality traits tend to be relationship “dealbreakers” (Jonason et al., 2015).
- High neuroticism in one or both members of the couple leads to relationship dissatisfaction.
- A key predictor of marital satisfaction is mate value—whether one succeeds in selecting a mate whose personality embodies qualities most people want. Those mated with high mate-value individuals tend to be happier in their relationship than those mated with lower mate value individuals (Conroy-Beam et al., 2016).
- Those high on Neuroticism also create more conflict and disagreement and their emotional upset after a fight tends to last longer (Solomon & Jackson, 2014).
- Those high on sensation seeking gravitate toward risky gambling bets and risky sexual situations (Webster & Crysel, 2012).
- Expanded discussion of evocation: An example comes from the evocation of trust and cooperativeness by those high on Honesty-Humility (Thielmann & Hilbig, 2014). Perhaps because high scorers tend to trust others, they evoke trustworthy expectations in others. Another study found that low agreeable individuals, because of their anger, jealousy, and antisocial behavior, tend to evoke high levels of relationship conflict (Lemay & Dobush, 2014). Agreeable people tend to evoke trust and cooperation in laboratory-based economic games (Zhao & Smillie, 2015).
- Married couples with highly agreeable wives tend to have more frequent sex, perhaps because they are receptive to, evoke more, sexual overtures (Meltzer & McNulty, 2016).
- Expanded discussion of personality and tactics of manipulation. For example: parents sometimes try to manipulate the mate choices of their sons and daughters, and use tactics specific to that context such as “chaperoning”; for example, sticking around when offspring is with a potential mate (Apostalou, 2014). A study of how children manipulate their parents regarding their choice of a mate revealed that highly agreeable children used the reason tactic, and also convinced their parents to trust them (Apostalou et al., 2015).
- Expanded discussion of Narcissism: Narcissists post more “selfies,” update their online profile photos more often, and spend more time on Instagram (Marshall et al., 2015; Moon et al., 2016; Sorokowski et al., 2015; Weiser, 2015). In the mating domain, they engage in manipulative game-playing and are more likely to use sexually coercive and aggressive tactics (Blinkhorn et al., 2015; Haslam & Montrose 2015).

Chapter 16: Sex, Gender, and Personality

- Major update on studies of gender differences in temperament; for example, robust effect of gender on impulsivity, with boys scoring much higher. Girls scoring higher on temperament of fearfulness, boys higher on anger.
- Major update on the facets of the five factor model of personality; specifically, discoveries of gender differences in facets of warmth and gregariousness (women higher than men), assertiveness and excitement seeking (men higher),
- Expanded discussion of gender differences in depression; although women ruminate more than men, this gender difference is small and cannot fully explain the gender difference in depression that emerges during adolescence.

- New discussion of the dimension of Empathizing—Systemizing. **Empathizing** refers to tuning in to other people’s thoughts and feelings. **Systemizing** is the drive to comprehend how things work, how systems are built, and how inputs into systems produce outputs (Baron-Cohen, 2003). Women score higher on empathizing, men higher on systemizing, which may partially explain gender differences in occupational preferences—women more than men prefer the teaching and helping professions; men more than women gravitate toward construction and engineering.
- Added discussion of sexual harassment in the workplace, a violation more likely to be inflicted on women than on men.

Chapter 17: Culture and Personality

- New studies find that Chinese individuals are somewhat less self-enhancing than Americans.
- New section on the accuracy and inaccuracy of personality stereotypes. Stereotypes about gender differences and age differences in personality traits tend to be accurate; stereotypes about national character, in contrast, tend to be inaccurate.
- New work on social class differences; those from lower socioeconomic classes tend to be more charitable and give more, despite having less.
- Update on cultural change in using internet dating sites.
- Recent cross-cultural work has confirmed the universality of some basic forms of emotional expression. One study compared non-verbal emotional vocalizations (e.g., “yuck,” “huh”) of the “basic emotions” of anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, surprise) among Namibian and Western participants. These vocal expressions were bi-directionally recognized—Namibians correctly identified the emotion that corresponded with the nonverbal vocalizations uttered by Westerners and vice-versa. These findings lend further support to the notion that some emotions are universal across cultures.

Chapter 18: Stress, Coping, Adjustment, and Health

- Introduces the concepts of “moderation” and “mediation” in personality psychology, with special reference to how personality can influence health. Other general examples of moderation and mediation are given, to highlight the value of these concepts to understanding how personality works.
- Updated research on conscientiousness, longevity, and health behavior.

Chapter 19: Disorders of Personality

- New case presentation of the dependent personality disorder.
- Updated research on dimensional model of personality disorders as an alternative the current categorical model.
- Discussion of the controversial concept of the “successful” psychopath.
- New coverage of the Triarchic model of psychopathy, which includes the components of boldness, meanness, and lack of inhibition.
- New neuroscientific research on brain activity in specific regions that appear to underlie the distinct components of psychopathy.
- New information of female psychopaths.

Chapter 20: Summary and Future Directions

- Genetics of personality turning out to be more complex than initially envisioned.
- Progress in linking the six domains of human nature to each other via research collaborations.

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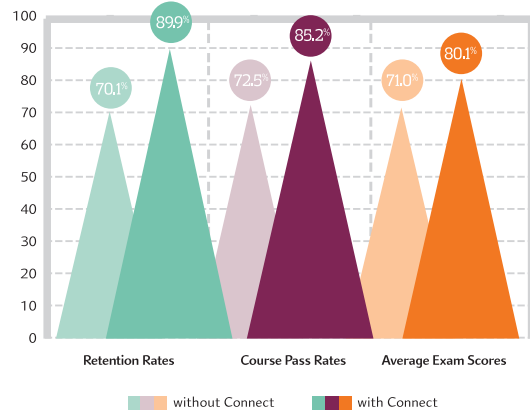
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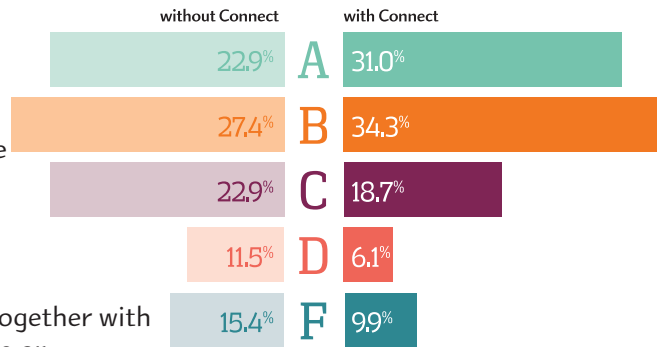
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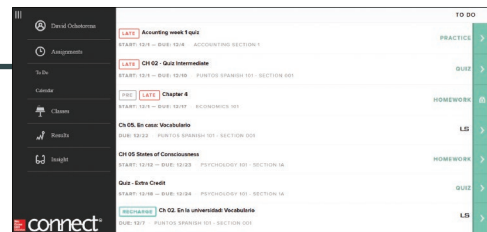
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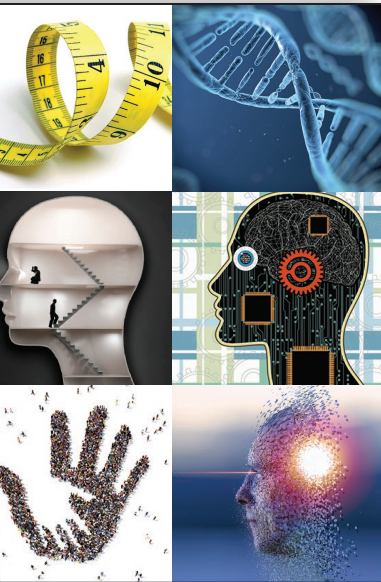


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Personality Psychology



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1

Introduction to Personality Psychology

Personality Defined

Personality Is the Set of Psychological Traits . . .
And Mechanisms . . .
Within the Individual . . .
That Are Organized and Relatively Enduring . . .
And That Influence . . .
His or Her Interactions with . . .
And Adaptations to . . .
The Environment

Three Levels of Personality Analysis

Human Nature
Individual and Group Differences
Individual Uniqueness

A Fissure in the Field

Grand Theories of Personality
Contemporary Research in Personality

Six Domains of Knowledge About Human Nature

Dispositional Domain
Biological Domain
Intrapsychic Domain
Cognitive-Experiential Domain
Social and Cultural Domain
Adjustment Domain

The Role of Personality Theory

Standards for Evaluating Personality Theories

Is There a Grand Ultimate and True Theory of Personality?

KEY TERMS

INTRODUCTION



Those who carry humor to excess are thought to be vulgar buffoons, striving after humor at all costs, not caring about pain to the object of their fun; . . . while those who can neither make a joke themselves nor put up with those who do are thought to be boorish and unpolished. But those who joke in a tasteful way are called ready-witted and tactful . . . and it is the mark of a tactful person to say and listen to such things as befit a good and well-bred person.

Each person is, in certain respects, like all other persons, like some other persons, and like no other person.

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Aristotle, in *The Nicomachean Ethics*, expressed these wise observations on the subject of humor and the ways in which people do or do not express it. In this quote, we see Aristotle behaving much as a personality psychologist. Aristotle is analyzing the characteristics of persons who have an appropriate sense of humor and providing some details about what features are associated with a sense of humor. Aristotle adds to this description by comparing people who are extreme, having either too much or too little sense of humor. In his book on ethics, Aristotle analyzed many personality characteristics, including truthfulness, courage, intelligence, self-indulgence, anger proneness, and friendliness.

We might conclude that Aristotle was an amateur personality psychologist. But aren't we all amateur personality psychologists to some extent? Aren't we all curious about the characteristics people possess, including our own? Don't we all use personality characteristics in describing people? And haven't we all used personality terms to explain behavior, either our own or others'?

When we say that our friend goes to a lot of parties because she is outgoing, we are using personality to explain her behavior. When we refer to another friend as conscientious and reliable, we are describing features of his personality. When we characterize ourselves as thoughtful, intelligent, and ambitious, we are describing features of our personalities.

Features of personality make people different from one another, and these features usually take the form of adjectives, such as John is lazy, Mary is optimistic, and Fred is anxious. *Adjectives that can be used to describe characteristics of people are called **trait-descriptive adjectives**.* There are nearly 20,000 such trait-descriptive adjectives in the English language. This astonishing fact alone tells us that, in everyday life, there are compelling reasons for trying to understand and describe those we interact with, as well as ourselves.

Notice that the adjectives describing personality refer to several very different aspects of people. Words such as *thoughtful* refer to inner qualities of mind. Words such as *charming* and *humorous* refer to the effects a person has on other people. Words such as *domineering* are relational and signify a person's position, or stance, toward others. Words such as *ambitious* refer to the intensity of desire to reach our goals. Words such as *creative* refer both to a quality of mind and to the nature of the products we produce. Words such as *deceitful* refer to the strategies a person uses to attain his or her goals. All of these features describe aspects of personality.

Exercise

Think of someone you know well—say, a friend, family member, or roommate. Consider the many characteristics that make this person unique. List the five adjectives you think best capture this person's personality. For example, if you were to describe this person to someone, what five adjectives would you use? Now, ask your target person to list the five adjectives *he or she* thinks best describe himself or herself. Compare your lists.

Personality Defined

Establishing a definition for something as complex as human personality is difficult. The authors of the first textbooks on personality—Gordon Allport (1937) and Henry Murray (1938)—struggled with the definition. The problem is how to establish a definition that is sufficiently comprehensive to include all of the aspects mentioned earlier, including inner features, social effects, qualities of the mind, qualities of the body, relations to others, and inner goals. Because of these complexities, some textbooks on personality omit a formal definition entirely. Nonetheless, the following definition captures the essential elements of personality: **Personality** is the set of *psychological traits and mechanisms within the individual that are organized and relatively enduring and that influence his or her interactions with, and adaptations to, the intrapsychic, physical, and social environments*. Let's examine the elements of this definition more closely.

Personality Is the Set of Psychological Traits . . .

Psychological traits are characteristics that describe ways in which people are different from each other. Saying that someone is *shy* is to mention one way in which he or she differs from others who are more outgoing. Traits also define ways in which people are *similar* to some others. For example, people who are shy are similar to each other in that they are anxious in social situations, particularly when there is an audience focusing attention on them.

Consider another example—the trait of talkativeness. This characteristic can be meaningfully applied to people and describes a dimension of difference among them. Typically, a talkative person is that way from day to day, from week to week, and from year to year. Certainly, even the most talkative person can have quiet moments, quiet days, or even quiet weeks. Over time, however, those with the trait of talkativeness tend to emit verbal behavior with greater frequency than those who are low on talkativeness. In this sense, traits describe the **average tendencies** of a person. On average, a high-talkative person starts more conversations than a low-talkative person.

Research on personality traits asks four kinds of questions:

- How many traits are there?
- How are the traits organized?
- What are the origins of traits?
- What are the correlations and consequences of traits?

One primary question is *how many* fundamental traits there are. Are there dozens or hundreds of traits, or merely a few? The second research question pertains to the *organization*, or structure, of traits. For example, how is talkativeness related to other traits, such as impulsivity and extraversion? A third research question concerns the *origins* of traits—where they come from and how they develop. Does heredity influence talkativeness? What sorts of cultural and child-rearing practices affect the development of traits such as talkativeness? A fourth key question pertains to the *correlations and consequences* of traits in terms of experience, behavior, and life outcomes. Do talkative persons have many friends? Do they have a more extended social network to draw upon in times of trouble? Do they annoy people who are trying to study?

The four research questions constitute the core of the research program of many personality psychologists. Psychological traits are useful for at least three reasons. First, they help *describe* people and help understand the dimensions of difference among people. Second, traits are useful because they help *explain* behavior. The reasons people act may be partly a function of their personality traits. Third, traits are useful because



People are different from each other in many ways. The science of Personality Psychology provides an understanding of the psychological ways that people differ from one another.

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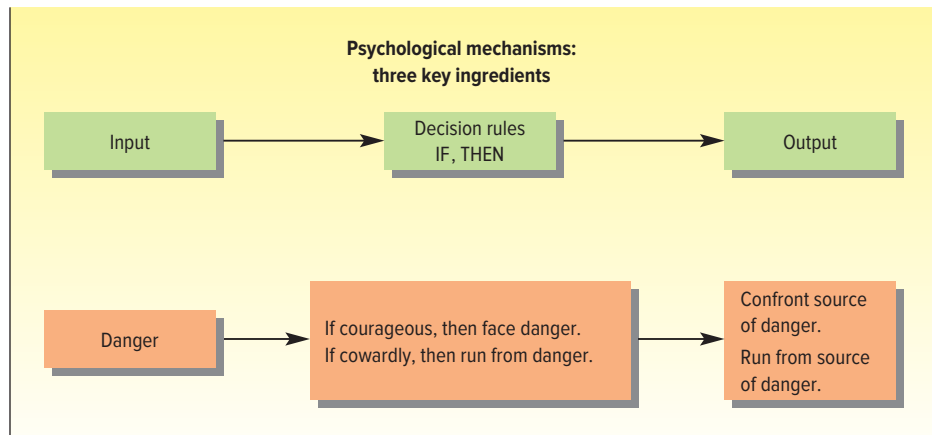


Figure 1.1

Psychological mechanisms have three essential ingredients. Our personalities contain many such mechanisms.

they can help *predict* future behavior—for example, the sorts of careers individuals will find satisfying, who will tolerate stress better, and who is likely to get along well with others. Thus, personality is useful in *describing*, *explaining*, and *predicting* differences among individuals. All good scientific theories enable researchers to describe, explain, and predict in their domains. Just as an economic theory might be useful in describing, explaining, and predicting fluctuations in the economy, personality traits describe, explain, and predict differences among persons.

And Mechanisms . . .

Psychological mechanisms are like traits, except that the term *mechanisms* refers more to the processes of personality. For example, most psychological mechanisms involve an information-processing activity. Someone who is extraverted, for example, may look for and notice opportunities to interact with other people. That is, an extraverted person is prepared to notice and act on certain kinds of social information.

Most psychological mechanisms have three essential ingredients: *inputs*, *decision rules*, and *outputs*. A psychological mechanism may make people more sensitive to certain kinds of information from the environment (input), may make them more likely to think about specific options (decision rules), and may guide their behavior toward certain categories of action (outputs). For example, an extraverted person may look for opportunities to be with other people, may consider in each situation the possibilities for human contact and interaction, and may encourage others to interact with him or her. Our personalities contain many psychological mechanisms of this sort—information-processing procedures that have the key elements of inputs, decision rules, and outputs (see Figure 1.1).



Courage is an example of a trait that is activated only under particular circumstances. For example, Hurlburt Field Medics Continue to Save Lives in Haiti—2010.

Source: U.S. Air Force photo by Tech. Sgt. James L. Harper Jr.

This does not mean that all of our traits and psychological mechanisms are activated at all times. In fact, at any point in time, only a few are activated. Consider the trait of courageousness. This trait is activated only under particular conditions, such as when people face serious dangers and threats to their lives. Some people are more courageous than others, but we will never know which people are courageous unless and until the right situation presents itself. Look around next time you are in class: Who do you think has the trait of courageousness? You won't know until you are in a situation that provides the potential for courageous behavior.

Within the Individual . . .

Within the individual means that personality is something a person carries with him- or herself over time and from one situation to the next. Typically, we feel that we are today the same people we were last week, last month, and last year. We also feel that we will continue to have these personalities into the coming months and years. And, although our personalities are certainly influenced by our environments, and especially by the significant others in our lives, we feel that we carry with us the same personalities from situation to situation in our lives. The definition of personality stresses that the important sources of personality reside within the individual and, hence, are at least somewhat stable over time and somewhat consistent over situations.

That Are Organized and Relatively Enduring . . .

Organized means that the psychological traits and mechanisms for a given person are not simply a random collection of elements. Rather, personality is organized because the mechanisms and traits are linked to one another in a coherent fashion. Imagine the simple case of two desires—a desire for food and a desire for intimacy. If you have not eaten for a while and are experiencing hunger pangs, then your desire for food might override your desire for intimacy. On the other hand, if you have already eaten, then your desire for food may temporarily subside, allowing you to pursue intimacy. Our personalities are organized in the sense that they contain decision rules that govern which needs or motives are activated, depending on the circumstances.

Psychological traits are also relatively **enduring** over time, particularly in adulthood, and are somewhat consistent over situations. To say that someone is angry at this moment is not saying anything about a trait. A person may be angry now, but not tomorrow or may be angry in one situation, but not in others. Anger is more of a *state* than a trait. To say that someone is anger prone or generally hot tempered, however, is to describe a psychological trait. Someone who is anger prone is *frequently* angry, relative to others, and shows this proneness time and time again in many different situations (e.g., the person is argumentative at work, is hostile and aggressive while playing team sports for recreation, and quarrels a lot with family members).

There may be some occasions when this generalization about the consistency of personality from situation to situation does not hold. Some situations may be overpowering and suppress the expression of psychological traits. Persons who are generally talkative, for example, may remain quiet during a lecture, at the movies, or in an elevator—although you undoubtedly have experienced someone who could not or would not keep quiet in any of these circumstances!

The debate about whether people are consistent across situations in their lives has a long history in personality psychology. Some psychologists have argued that the evidence for consistency is weak (Mischel, 1968). For example, honesty measured in

one situation (say, cheating on a test) may not correlate with honesty measured in another situation (say, cheating on income taxes). We will explore this debate more fully later in the book. For now we will simply say that most personality psychologists maintain that although people are not perfectly consistent, there is enough consistency to warrant including this characteristic in a definition of personality.

The fact that personality includes relatively enduring psychological traits and mechanisms does not preclude change over time. Indeed, describing precisely the ways in which we change over time is one goal of personality psychologists.

And That Influence . . .

In the definition of personality, an emphasis on the **influential forces** of personality means that personality traits and mechanisms can have an effect on people's lives. Personality influences how we act, how we view ourselves, how we think about the world, how we interact with others, how we feel, how we select our environments (particularly our social environment), what goals and desires we pursue in life, and how we react to our circumstances. People are not passive beings merely responding to external forces. Rather, personality plays a key role in affecting how people shape their lives. It is in this sense that personality traits are forces that *influence* how we think, act, and feel.

His or Her Interactions with . . .

This feature of personality is perhaps the most difficult to describe, because the nature of **person–environment interaction** is complex. In Chapter 15, we examine interactionism in greater detail. For now, however, it is sufficient to note that interactions with situations include perceptions, selections, evocations, and manipulations. *Perceptions* refer to how we “see,” or interpret, an environment. Two people may be exposed to the same objective event, yet what they pay attention to and how they interpret the event may be very different. And this difference is a function of their personalities. For example, two people can look at an inkblot, yet one person sees two cannibals cooking a human over a fire, whereas the other perceives a smiling clown waving hello. As another example, a stranger may smile at someone on the street; one person might perceive the smile as a smirk, whereas another person might perceive the smile as a friendly gesture. It is the same smile, just as it is the same inkblot, yet how people interpret these situations can be determined by their personalities.

Selection describes the manner in which we choose situations to enter—how we choose our friends, romantic partners, hobbies, college classes, and careers. How we go about making these selections is, at least in part, a reflection of our personalities. How we use our free time is especially a reflection of our traits. One person may take up the hobby of parachute jumping, whereas another may prefer to spend time quietly listening to a podcast alone. We select from what life offers us, and these choices are partly a function of personality.

Evocations are the reactions we produce in others, often quite unintentionally. To some extent, we create the social environment that we inhabit. A child with a high activity level, for example, may evoke in parents attempts to constrain the child, even though these attempts are not intended or desired by the child. A person who is physically large may evoke feelings of intimidation in others, even if intimidation is not the goal. Our evocative interactions are also essential features of our personalities.

Manipulations are the ways in which we intentionally attempt to influence others. Someone who is anxious or frightened easily may try to influence their group to avoid

scary movies or risky activities. Someone who is highly conscientious may insist that everyone follow the rules. Or a husband who is very neat and orderly may insist that his wife pick up her things. The ways in which we attempt to manipulate the behavior, thoughts, and feelings of others are essential features of our personalities. All of these forms of interaction—perceptions, selections, evocations, and manipulations—are central to understanding the connections between the personalities of people and the environments they inhabit.

And Adaptations to . . .

An emphasis on **adaptation** conveys the notion that a central feature of personality concerns adaptive functioning—accomplishing goals, coping, adjusting, and dealing with the challenges and problems we face as we go through life. Few things are more obvious about human behavior than the fact that it is goal directed, functional, and purposeful. Even behavior that does not appear functional—such neurotic behavior as excessive worrying—may, in fact, be functional. For example, people who worry a lot often receive lots of support from others. Consequently, what appears on the surface to be maladaptive (worrying) may, in fact, have some rewarding characteristics for the person (eliciting social support). In addition, some aspects of personality processes represent deficits in normal adaptations, such as breakdowns in the ability to cope with stress, to regulate one's social behavior, or to manage one's emotions. Although psychologists' knowledge of the adaptive functions of personality traits and mechanisms is currently limited, it remains an indispensable key to understanding the nature of human personality.

The Environment

The physical **environment** often poses challenges for people. Some of these are direct threats to survival. For example, food shortages create the problem of securing adequate nutrients for survival. Extremes of temperature pose the problem of maintaining thermal homeostasis. Heights, snakes, spiders, and strangers can all pose threats to survival. Human beings, like other animals, have evolved solutions to these adaptive problems. Hunger pangs motivate us to seek food, and taste preferences guide our choices of which foods to consume. Shivering mechanisms help combat the cold, and sweat glands help fight the heat. At a psychological level, our fears of heights, snakes, spiders, and strangers—the most common human fears—help us avoid or safely interact with these environmental threats to our survival.

Our social environment also poses adaptive challenges. We may desire the prestige of a good job, but there are many other people competing for the same positions. We may desire interesting friends and mates, but there are many others competing for them. We may desire greater emotional closeness with others, but may not know how to achieve closeness. The ways in which we cope with our social environment—the challenges we encounter in our struggle for belongingness, love, and esteem—are central to an understanding of personality.

The particular aspect of the environment that is important at any moment in time is frequently determined by personality. A person who is talkative, for example, will notice more opportunities in the social environment to strike up conversations than will someone who is low on talkativeness. A person who is disagreeable will occupy a social environment where people frequently argue with him or her. A person for whom status is very important will pay attention to the relative hierarchical positions of