

# The Cold War of Psychology

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# Definition of Personality

## Major Elements

- Personality as traits (personality as temperament)
  - Stability over time (continuity)
  - Stability across situations (consistency)
  - Temperamental (genetic) basis
  - Focus on prediction and interactionism
- Mostly assumed in typological (FFM) research
  - Overwhelming focus of organizational psychologists

# Definition of Personality

## Major Elements

- Personality as states (personality in social context) that vary
  - Temporally
  - Contextually
    - Operate differently in different contexts
    - Only be meaningful considered in context
    - Personality is narrow, conditional, and contextualized
    - Focus on social and cognitive processes that govern behavior

# Definition of Personality

## Major Elements

- We label these two perspectives
  - Trait
    - Include biological (genetic), inventory (CPI, 16PF, GZTS), and FFM approaches
  - Social cognitive
    - Includes social cognitive/learning (SCT, CAPS, RFT), need-based (SDT) and self-concept/regulatory (attachment theory) theories
- Often researchers are one, not the other
  - Hence The Cold War

# What Is the Problem?

## Paradoxes

- Why do organizational personality psychologists tend to ignore context when what they study *is* a fundamental context?
- Why do personologists – at least those who study context – tend to ignore one of the more fundamental contexts: *work*?

# Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin

Volume 38 Number 7 July 2012

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# Problem I

## Problem with *Personality Psychology*

- Adults 22-65 spend more hours working than any other activity other than sleep
- Work major source of identity
  - “Who are you?” *surnames in many languages*
  - “What do you do?”
- Work also major source of (dis)satisfaction
- Yet, with some exceptions, personologists tend to ignore work context



# Problem II

## Problem with *Organizational Psychology*

- Organizational psychologists tend to study personality as traits
  - More contextually-bound individual differences (e.g., self-efficacy, motivation) are not considered traits at all
- So you see the paradox
  - Personality psychologists who study contexts largely ignore *work*, and organizational psychologists study traits but not personality as expressed in a social context

# Exceptions

- My main point holds true even as one acknowledges...
  - **Exceptions:** Brent Roberts' work on how work experiences shape personality development in adulthood
  - **Semantics:** Organizational psychologists do study motivations (e.g., self-efficacy, prosocial motivation), though they typically do not see these as aspects of personality

# Support for Each Perspective

- First let us briefly summarize support for these three approaches
  - Temperament perspective among personality psychologists
  - Social cognitive perspective among personality psychologists
  - Temperament perspective among organizational psychologists

# Temperament Perspective

## Support in Personality Psychology

- Turkheimer's First Law of Behavioral Genetics
  - "Everything is genetic"
- Intelligence: 60-80% heritable
- Personality: 40-60% heritable
- But nearly any broad characteristic, behavior, or life outcome is heritable

# Temperament Perspective

## Genes and Body Mass Index (BMI)

Heritability of Body Mass Index (BMI)	Shared environment		Non-shared environment		Shared genes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>Hjelmborg et al. (2008)</b> 10,556 Finn twins	7%	4%	13%	14%	<b>80%</b>	<b>82%</b>
<b>Hur (2007)</b> 888 Korean twins	0%	0%	18%	13%	<b>82%</b>	<b>87%</b>
<b>Schousbo et al. (2004)</b> 624 Danish twins	5%	8%	30%	31%	<b>65%</b>	<b>61%</b>

# Temperament Perspective

## Behavioral Genetics Study of Exercise

Sample	Environment	Unique	Genes
Australia (males)	20.6	56.6	22.9
Australia (females)	16.4	52.5	31.1
Denmark (males)	4.7	51.0	44.4
Denmark (females)	3.1	46.8	50.1
Finland (males)	6.2	38.0	55.8
Finland (females)	0.0	39.0	61.0
Netherlands (males)	2.7	29.2	68.1
Netherlands (females)	13.3	36.5	50.3
Norway (males)	31.1	35.4	33.6
Norway (females)	0.0	43.4	56.6
Sweden (males)	0.0	36.1	63.9
UK (females)	0.0	29.5	70.5
<b>MEAN</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<b>51.4</b>

# Support for Social Cognitivists

## Stability, Aggregation, and Prediction

- Mischel and Peake's (1982) argument:
  - Our ability to predict specific behaviors is not impressive
  - Our ability to predict broad classes of behavior is greater
  - Our ability to predict behavior aggregated over time is greater
  - The reason for the difference is that in the aggregates approach the situation has been factored out

	<b>Single behaviors</b>	<b>Aggregates</b>
<b>Temporal stability</b>	0.29	<b>0.65</b>
<b>Cross-situation stability</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.13</b>

# Support for Social Cognitivists

Whether you liked it or not, the first half of Mischel's famed volume did not argue that cross-situational consistency in personality functioning is low. It argued that **cross-situational consistency in personality functioning is low when one searches for consistency through the lens of global, nomothetic trait constructs.** When one tries on different lenses, things clear up.

— *Orom & Cervone (2009)*



# Support for Social Cognitivists

The field of personality has traditionally relied heavily on all-purpose measures of personal attributes in efforts to

it is unrealistic to expect personality measures cast in nonconditional generalities to shed much light on the contribution of personal factors to psychosocial functioning in different task domains under diverse circumstances across all situations.

generalities to shed much light on the contribution of personal factors to psychosocial functioning in different task domains under diverse circumstances across all situations.

-- Bandura (1999)

Thus, there are still many in the field who insist on explaining context-driven socially problematic behavior in largely individualistic, trait-based terms, no matter how much evidence has been amassed to the contrary.

Extensive research on the “fundamental attribution error” demonstrates that the more troublesome or threatening the behavior, and the more extreme the actions with which they are concerned, the more tempting it is to attribute primary responsibility to disagreeable or damaged “others” whose bad acts are thought to be the products of their flawed characters. This can occur no matter how powerful the situations, settings, and structures to which the actors have been exposed and in which they have acted.

Recognizing the causal role of broad, destructive social forces in the genesis of socially problematic behavior implicates us all at a more direct and unsettling level than the dispositionalism with which it competes. It casts whatever tacit assent we may have extended to the social contextual status quo (e.g., prisons, poverty, or wars) in a very different light. Thus, our implicit support for the policies and practices that may have given rise to the damaging social contexts in question can be seen as part of the problem—a problem we may be expected to help solve.

— Haney and Zimbardo, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 2009

# Support for Organizational Perspective

- For the most part, organizational psychologists follow the trait approach
- They assume personality is:
  - Quite stable
  - Largely genetic in origin
  - Best conceptualized by the five-factor model
  - Productively assessed using self-reports

# Focus on Prediction

## Spanning 50 Years

Source: Judge, Higgins, Thoresen,  
& Barrick (*Personnel Psychology*, 1999)

Traits (Childhood)	Intrinsic Career Success	Extrinsic Career Success
Extraversion	-.06	.18 <sup>†</sup>
Agreeableness	.13	.01
Conscientiousness	.40 <sup>*</sup>	.41 <sup>*</sup>
Emotional Stability	.22 <sup>*</sup>	.34 <sup>*</sup>
Openness	.21 <sup>*</sup>	.26 <sup>*</sup>

# Focus on Genetic Effects

Judge, Ilies, & Zhang, 2012

- We analyzed 594 Swedish twins

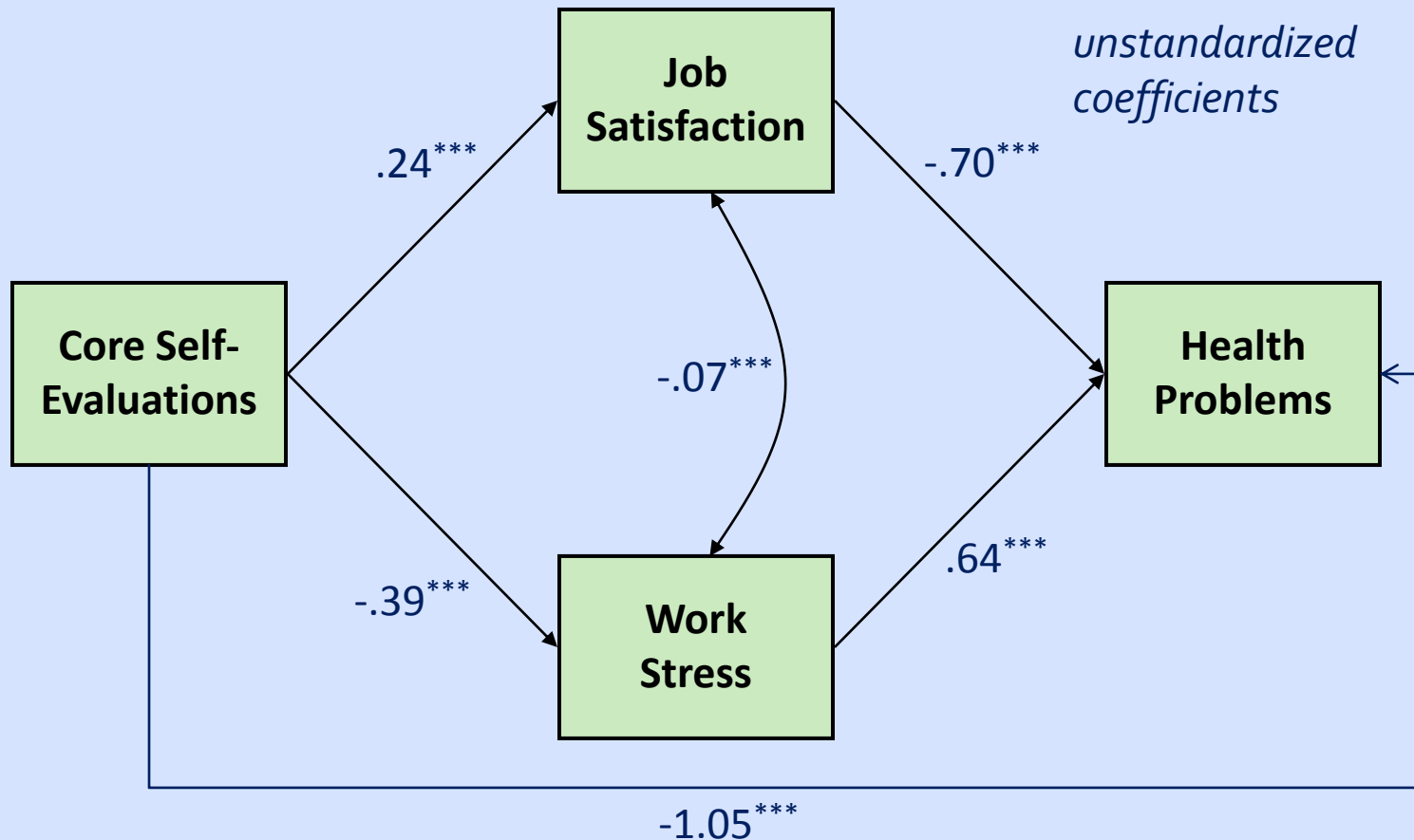
	Reared Together	Reared Apart
Identical (MZ)	134 (67 twin pairs)	94 (47 twin pairs)
Fraternal (DZ)	170 (85 twin pairs)	196 (98 twin pairs)

- Assessed core self-evaluations ( $\alpha=.76$ ), job satisfaction ( $\alpha=.84$ ), work stress ( $\alpha=.73$ ), and health problems ( $\alpha=.71$ )
- First tested standard path model

Source: Judge, Ilies, & Zhang, "Genetic Influences ... and Employee Health: A Behavioral Genetics Mediated Model," Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 2012.

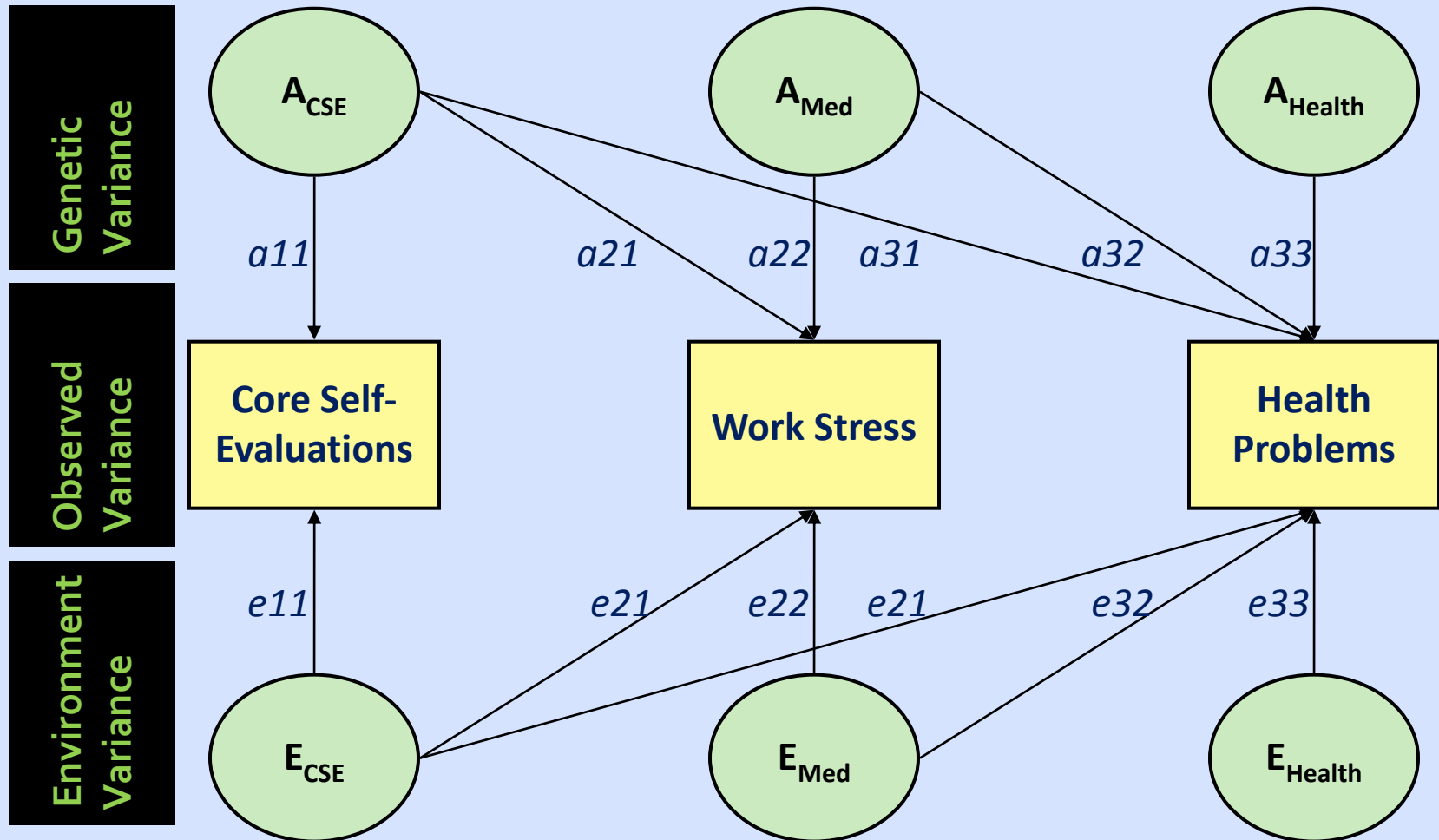
# Focus on Genetic Effects

Judge, Ilies, & Zhang, 2012



# Focus on Genetic Effects

Judge, Ilies, & Zhang, 2012



# Focus on Genetic Effects

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- **Partial correlations of constructs for Twin 1 and Twin 2 by zygosity**
  - Controlling for rearing (apart-together), amount/type of contact, age separated

	Identical (MZ)	Fraternal (DZ)
Core self-evaluations	.45**	.20
Job satisfaction	.38**	.13
Work stress	.38**	.03
Health problems	.48**	.33**



# Summary

- These studies are representative of the dominant trait perspective in organizational psychology which focuses on:
  - Stability and genetic origins of traits
  - Prediction (personality traits as independent variables predicting work criteria)
- How can we integrate these perspectives in a way that is relevant to both personality and organizational psychology?
  - One way is to study long-term change, but there is another means of studying change and context

# Personality Over Time

## Micro Temporal Effects

- Within-individual variation in experiences at work are partially responsible for within-individual variation in personality states
- What is within-individual variation in personality?
  - Fleeson (2007) defined as “a dimension with the same content and scale as a personality trait but that assesses how the person is at the moment rather than how he or she is in general” (p. 826)

# Personality Over Time

## Micro Temporal Effects

- Variation in personality across situations or over time treated as measurement error (Mischel & Shoda, 1995)
- However, consistent with the density distributions approach to personality (Fleeson, 2001; Fleeson & Jolley, 2006):
  - Experiences at work can predict deviations from central tendencies in traits
  - There are trait-relevant individual differences in responsiveness to work experiences

# Personality Over Time

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

- We have begun to study the effect of work on personality variation over very short time periods (micro temporal effects)
- Funder: Interactionism (persons, situations, and behaviors) can take other forms beyond  $P \times S$ 
  - Lewin:  $B=f(P,S)$
  - Schneider:  $S=f(P,B)$
  - Our study:  $P=f(B,S)$
  - Within-individual variation in work context will cause within-individual variation in personality

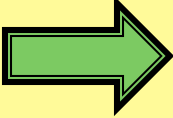
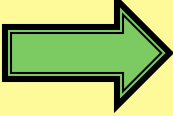
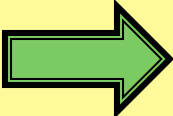
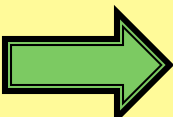
# Work Context

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

		Focus	
		Task Motivation	Social Relationship
Locus	Affective	Intrinsic Work Motivation	Interpersonal Conflict at Work
	Cognitive	Goal-Setting Motivation	Prosocial Work Behavior

# Hypotheses

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

Work Context		Personality
Prosocial behavior at work (PSB)		Conscientiousness Agreeableness Extraversion Openness
Interpersonal conflict (ICO)		Agreeableness Extraversion Neuroticism
Goal-setting motivation (GSM)		Conscientiousness
Intrinsic motivation (IMO)		Conscientiousness Openness

# Methodology

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

- An experience-sampling (ESM) design was used
  - Participants were asked to complete a survey each day that they attended work. Links to the surveys were emailed daily; surveys were available only from 3:00PM to 11:00PM
- Daily surveys contained measures of personality and the work variables
- Of the 150 individuals invited to participate in the study, 129 (86%) started the study
- Usable data were available for 122 participants (81.3%). Out of a maximum 1,220 observations for each study variable ( $122 \times 10$ ), 1,081 were provided (86.3%)

# Methodology

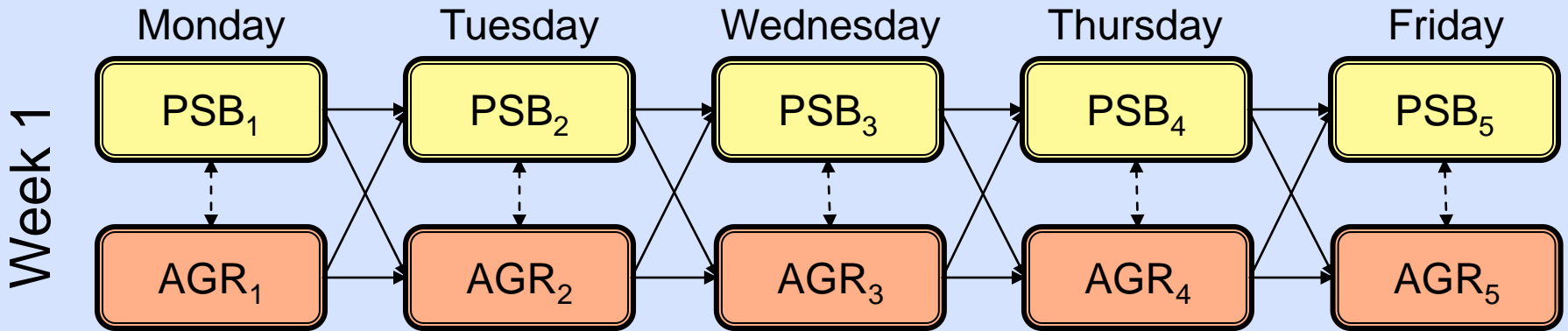
Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

- Dataset was constructed so that both personality and work variables were used to predict next day level of these variables
- Specification also included (estimated links)
  - Autoregressive effects (day-to-day)
  - Day effects (constructs assessed on common day)
- General trait factor also was created to control for trait (between person) effects
- Within-week equality constraints imposed
  - No reason to believe  $T \rightarrow W$  different from  $W \rightarrow TH$

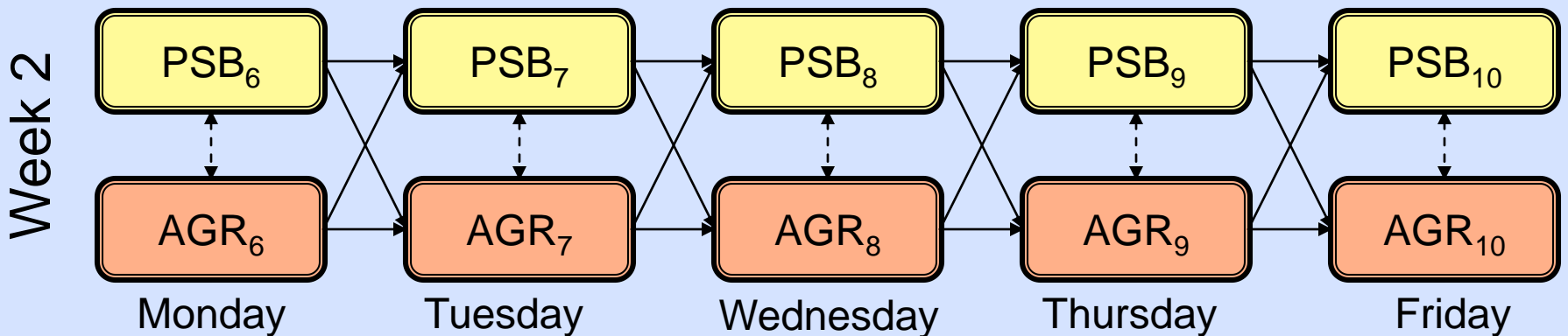


# Model Specification

## Prosocial Behavior at Work – Agreeableness



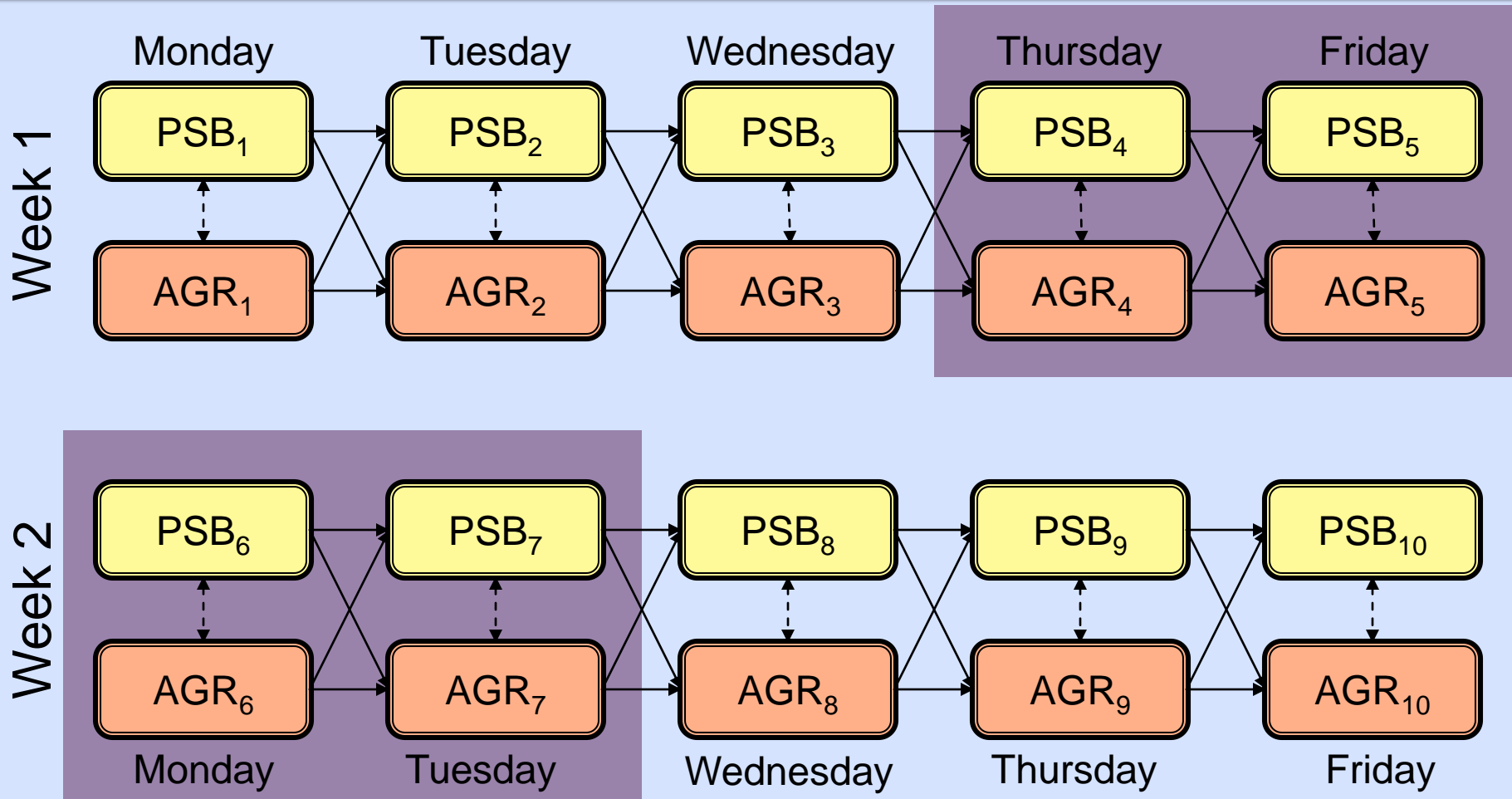
Causal effects of Prosocial Work Behavior on next-day Agreeableness



PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; AGR – Agreeableness

# Model Specification

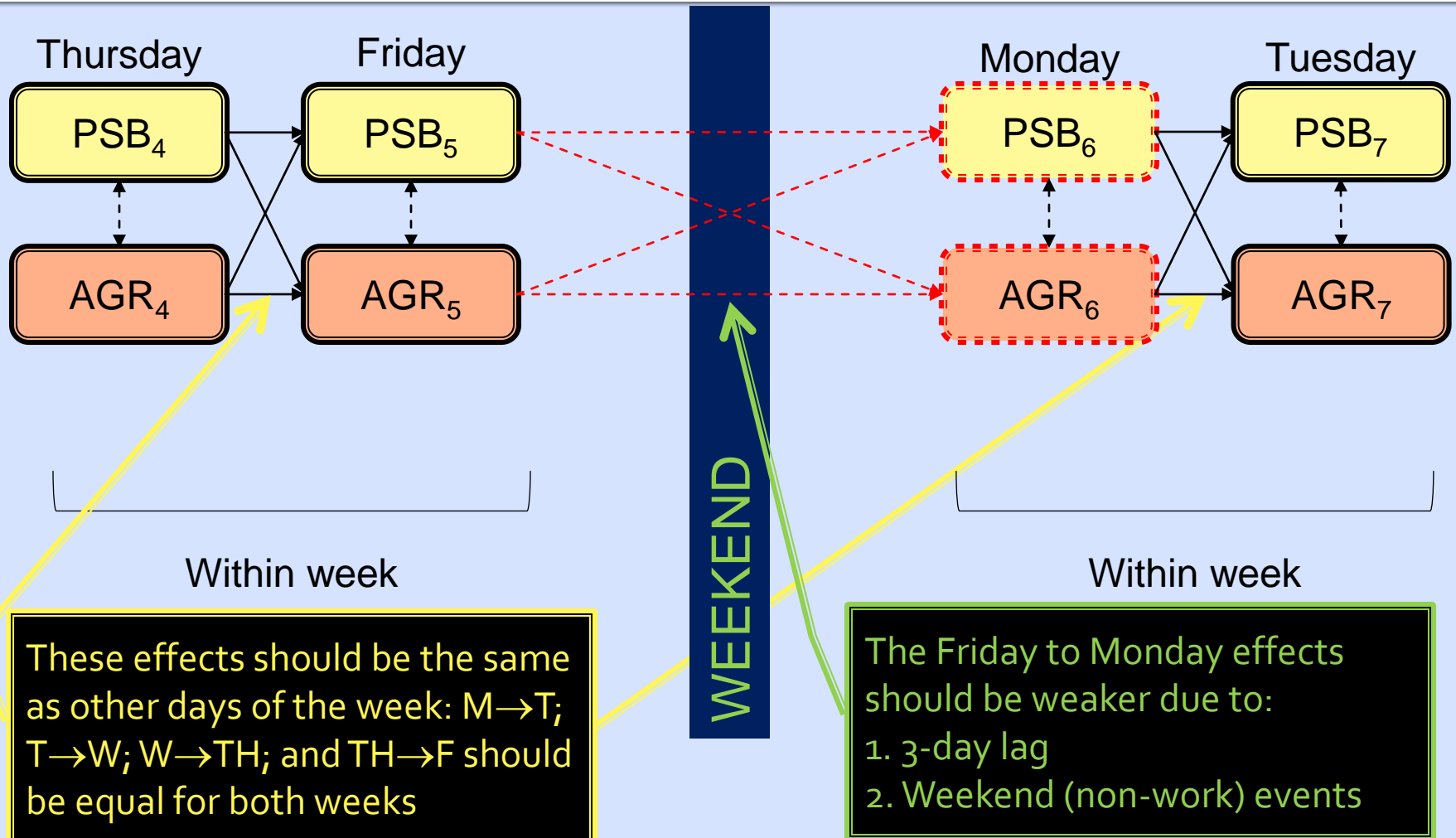
## Prosocial Behavior at Work – Agreeableness



*PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; AGR – Agreeableness*

# Model Specification

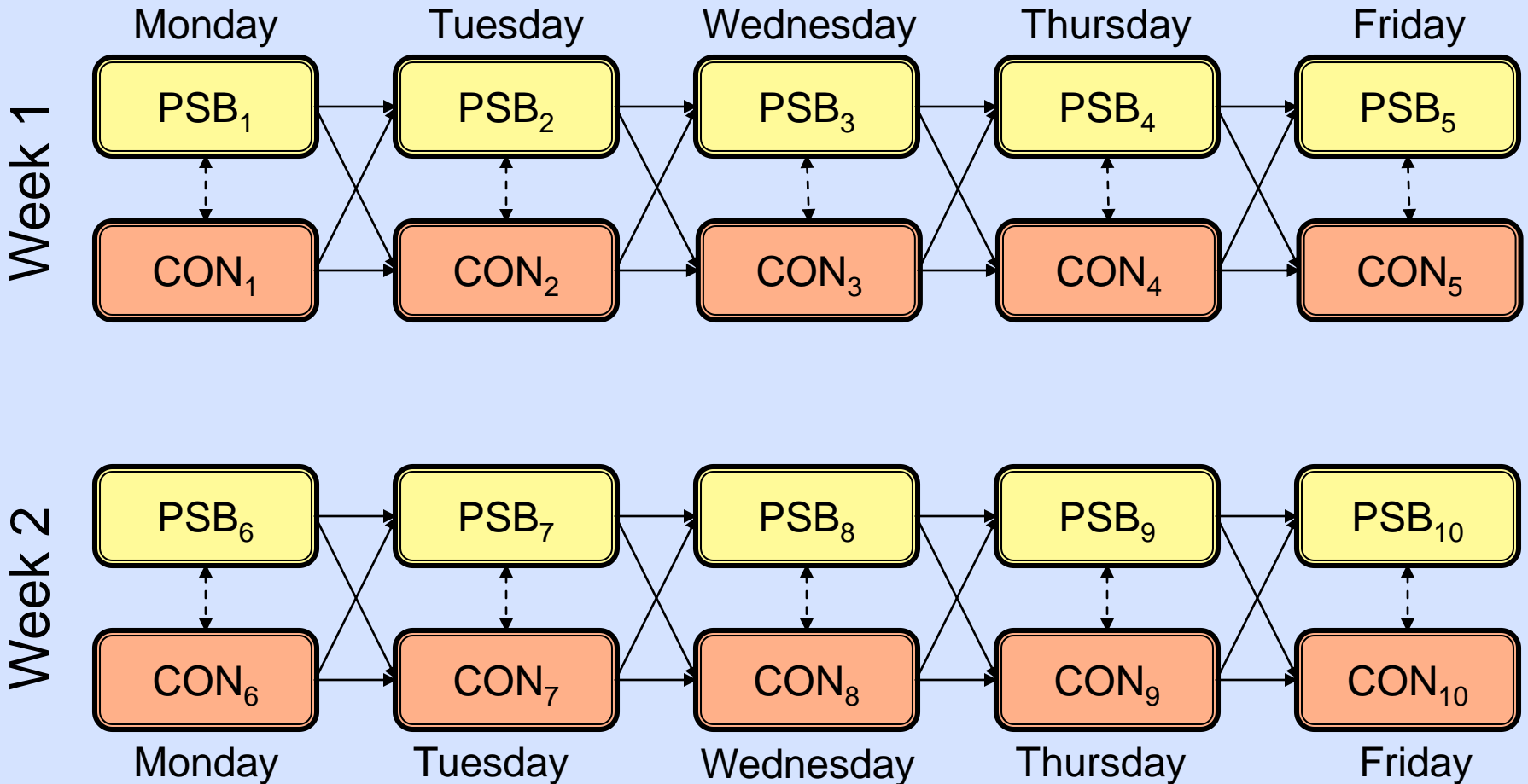
## Weekend Effects



PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; AGR – Agreeableness

# Model Specification

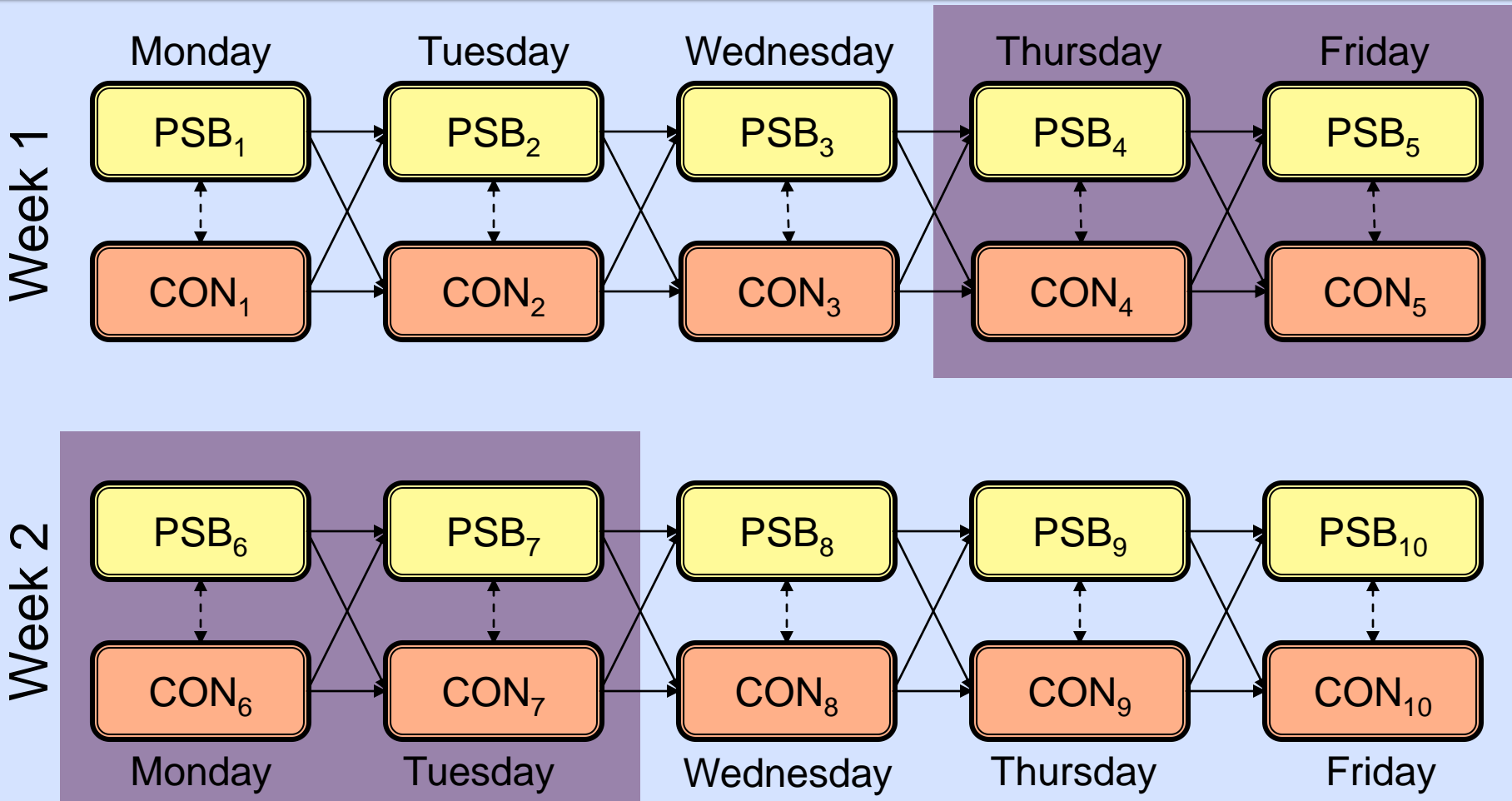
## Prosocial Behavior at Work – Conscientiousness



*PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; CON – Conscientiousness*

# Model Specification

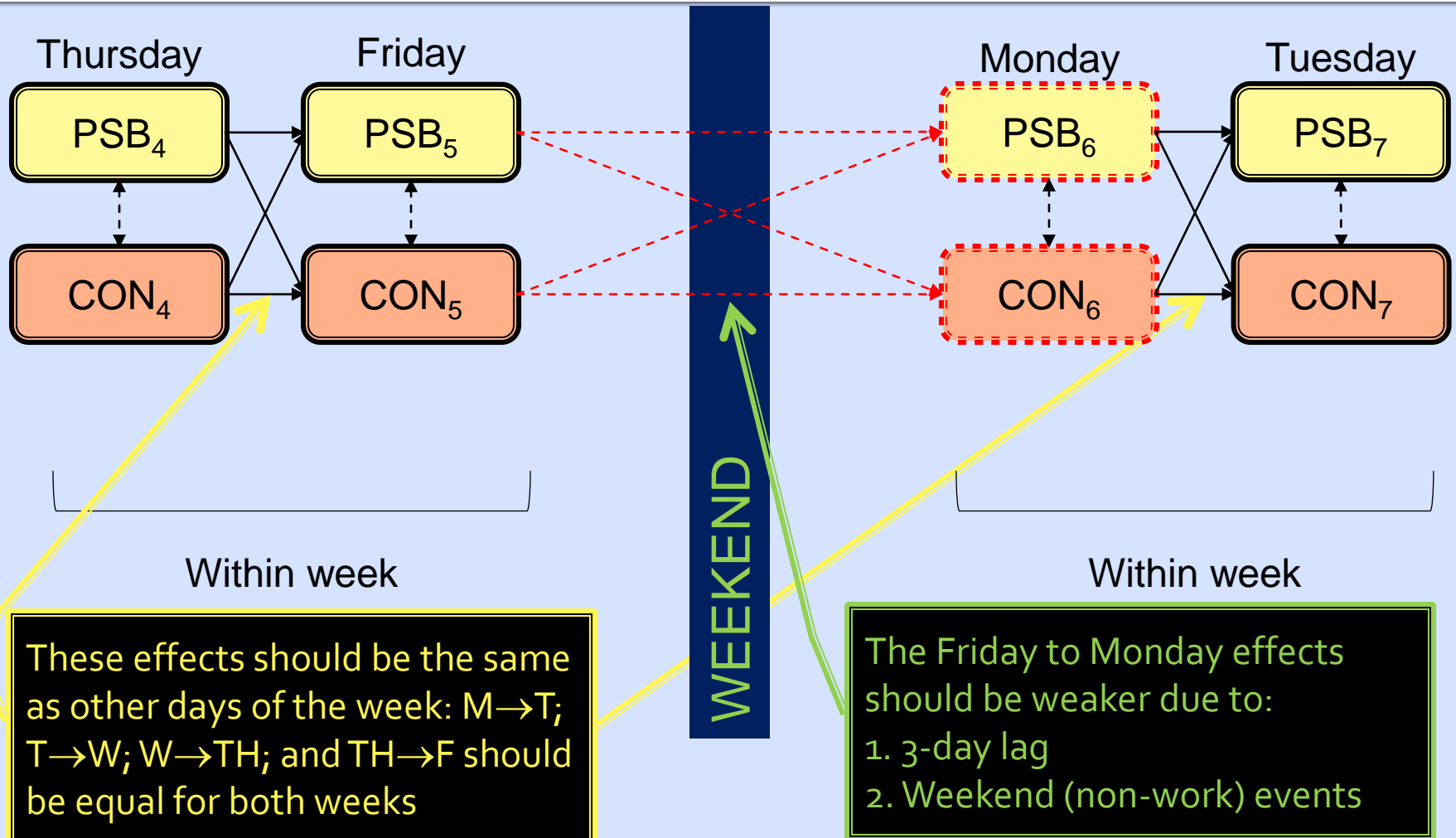
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*PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; CON – Conscientiousness*

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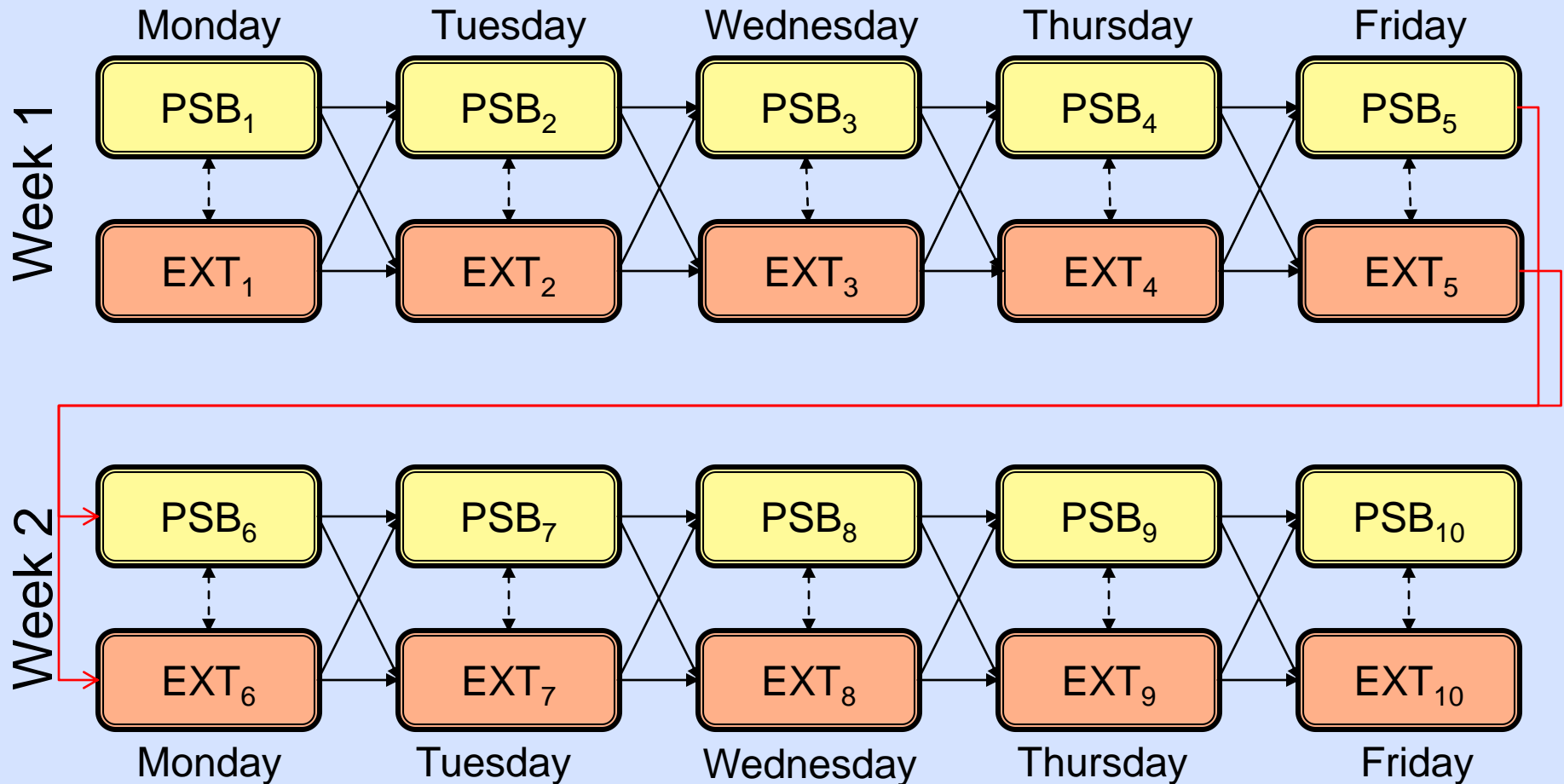
## Weekend Effects



PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; CON – Conscientiousness

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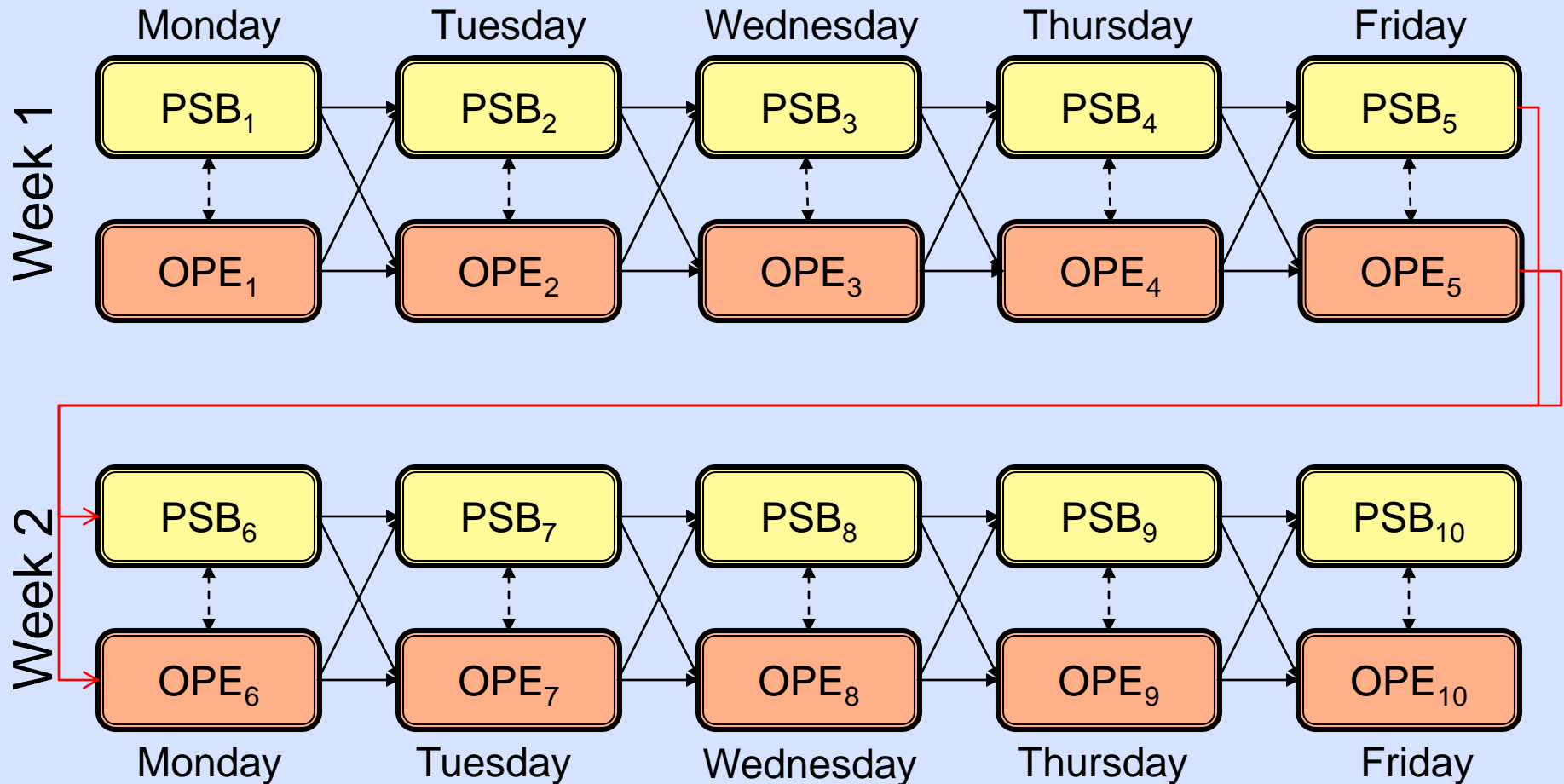
## Prosocial Behavior at Work – Extraversion



*PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; EXT – Extraversion*

# Model Specification

## Prosocial Behavior at Work – Openness

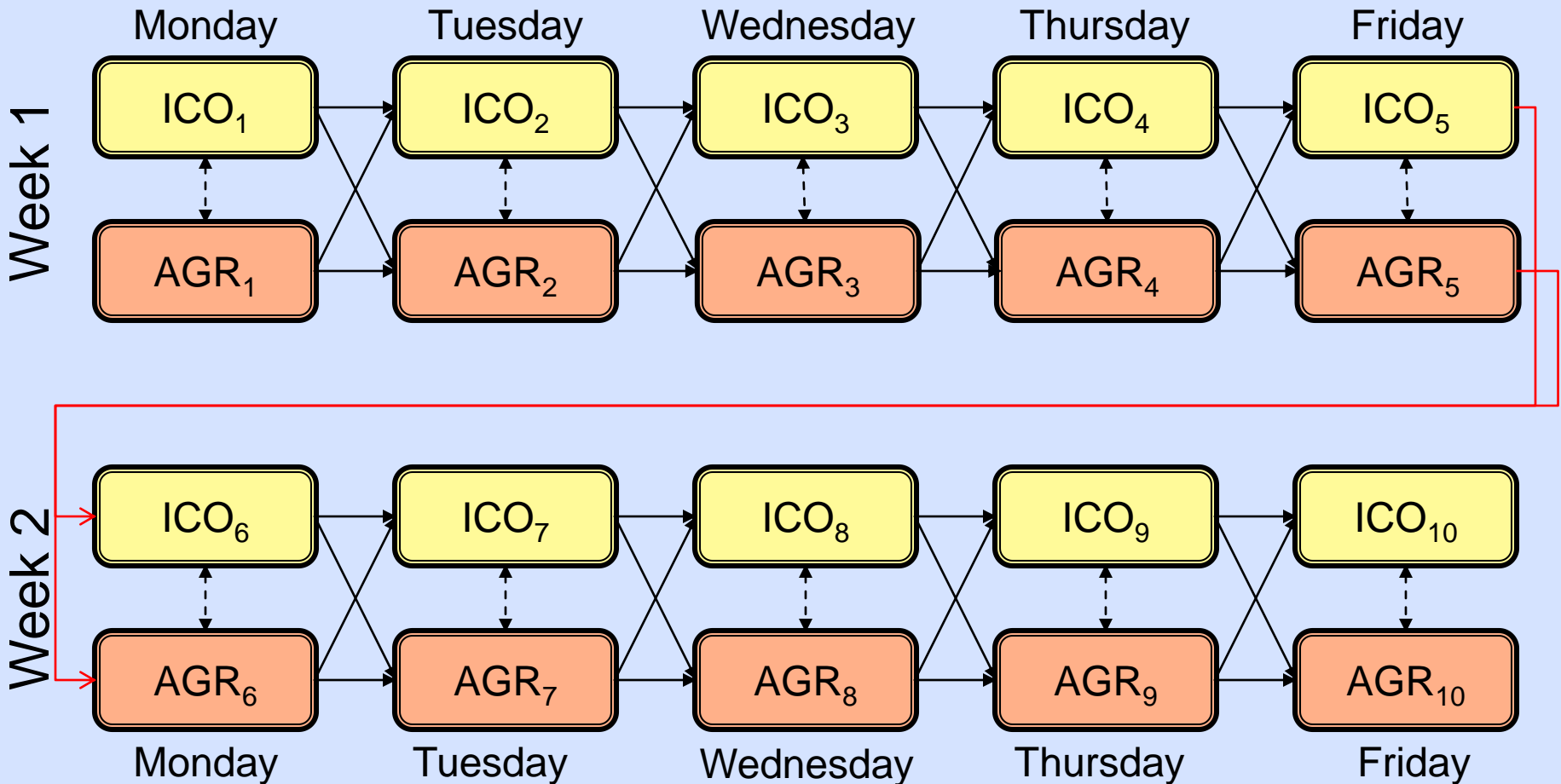


*PSB – Prosocial Behavior at Work; OPE – Openness*



# Model Specification

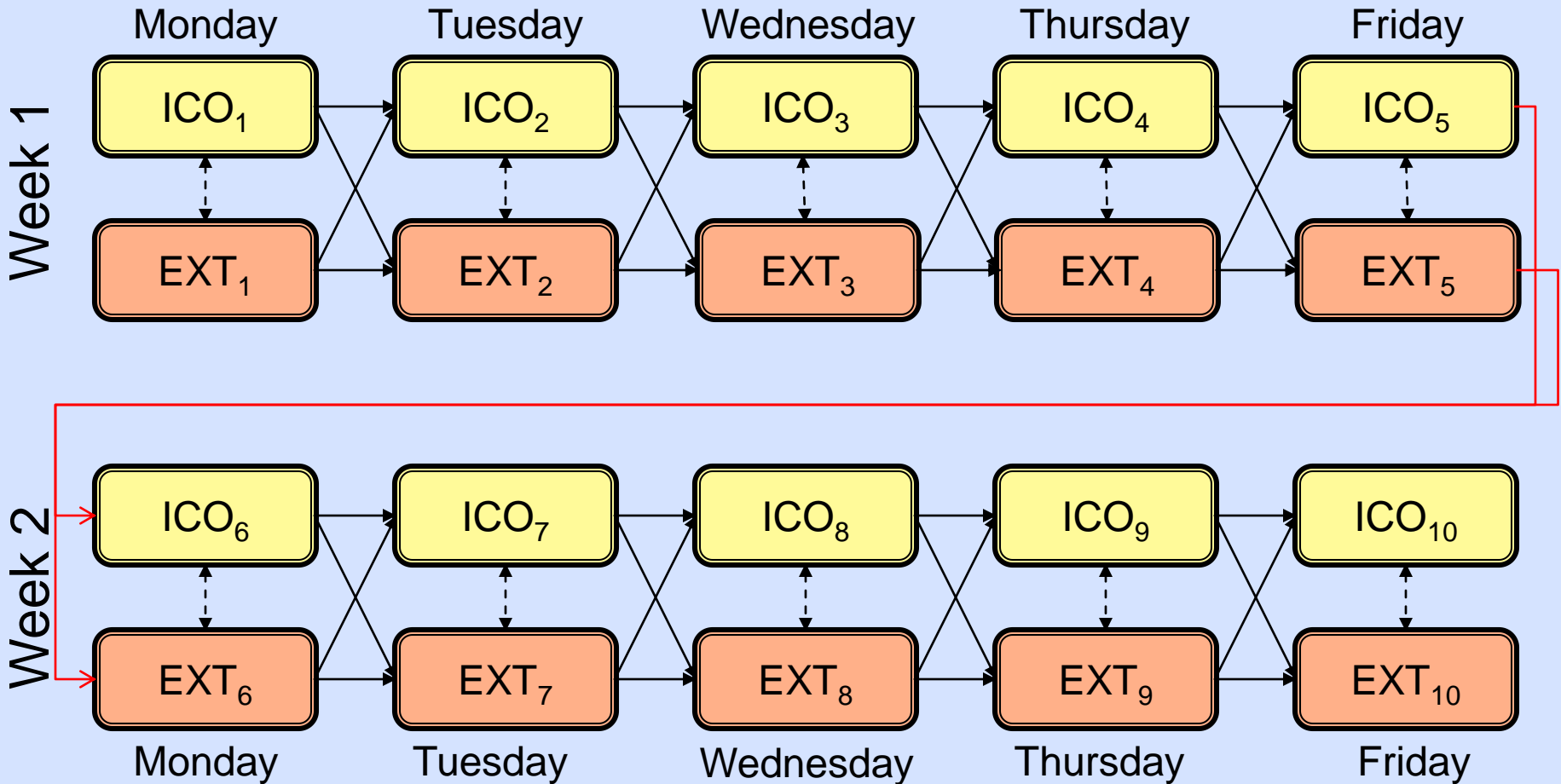
## Conflict at Work – Agreeableness



ICO – Interpersonal Conflict at Work; AGR – Agreeableness

# Model Specification

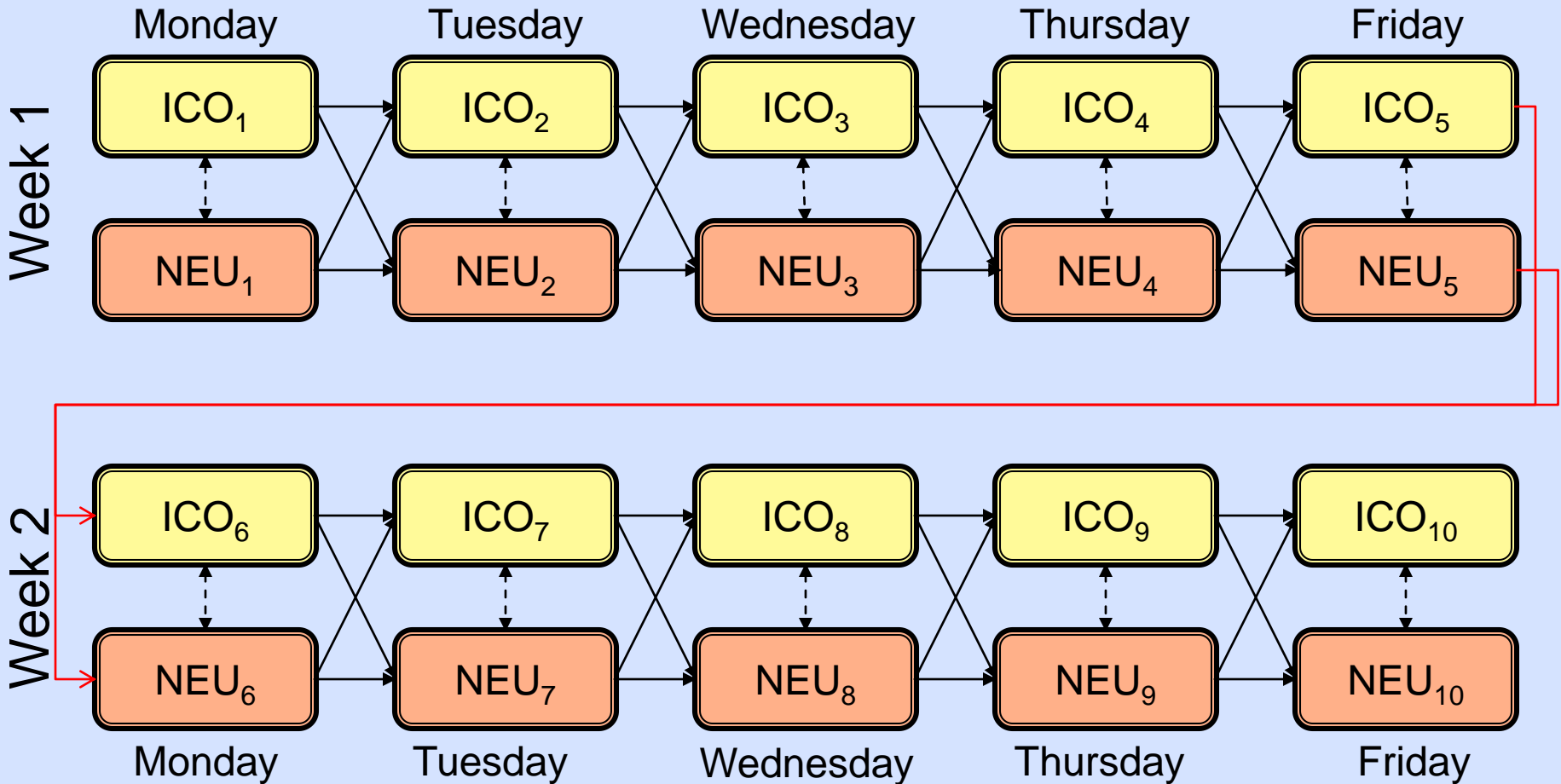
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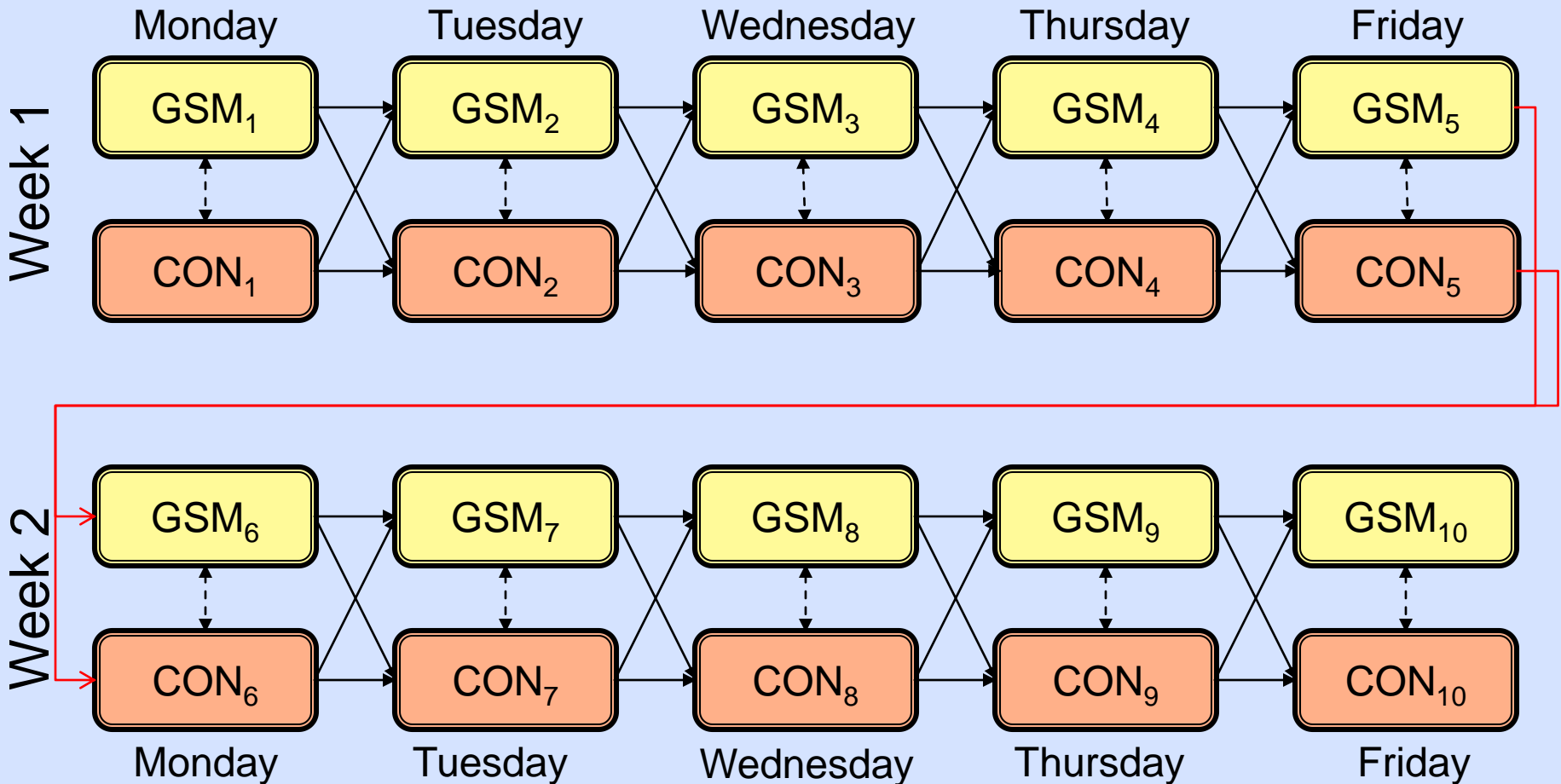
## Conflict at Work – Neuroticism



*ICO – Interpersonal Conflict at Work; NEU – Neuroticism*

# Model Specification

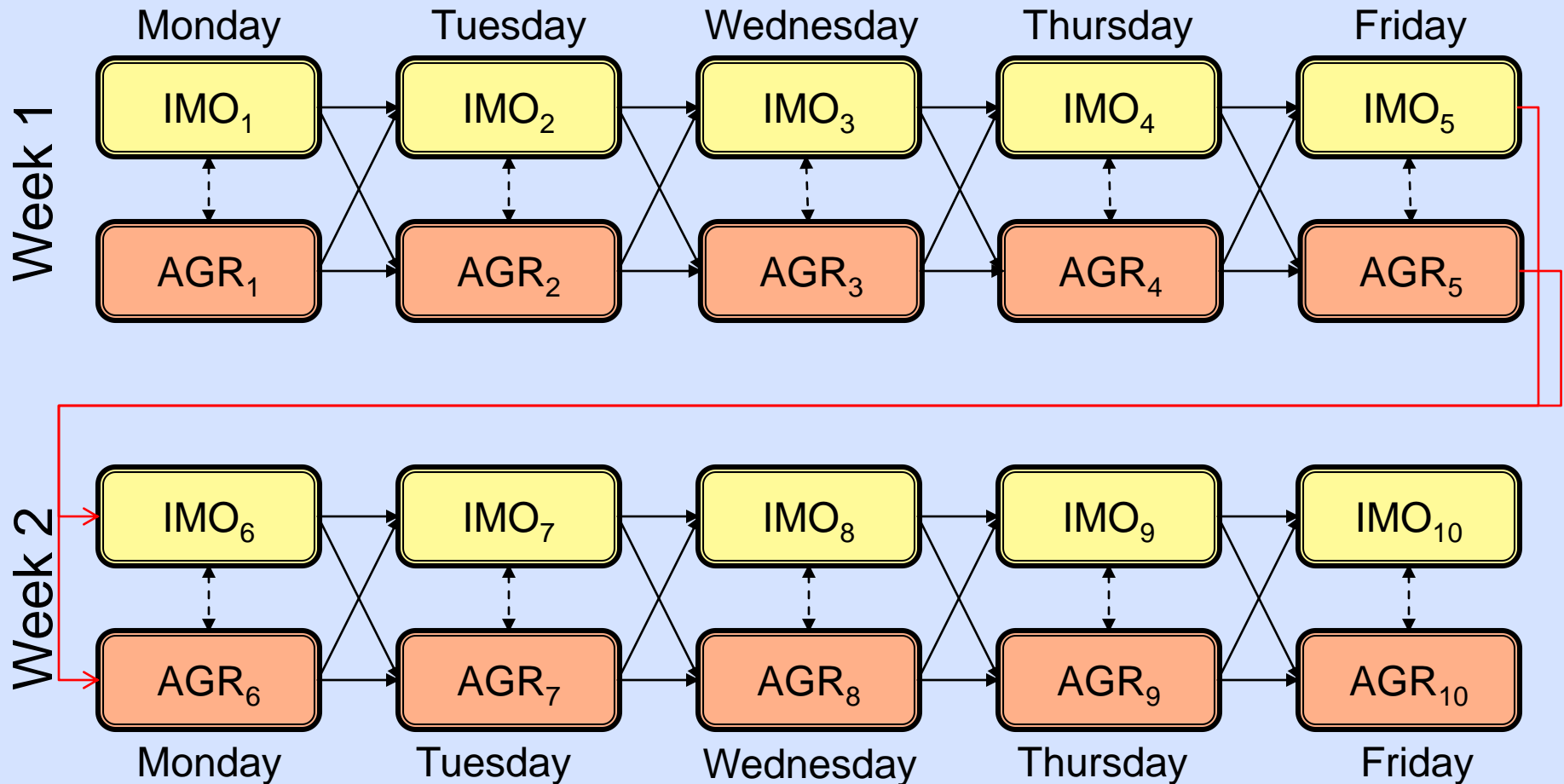
## Goal-Setting Motivation – Conscientiousness



*GSM – Goal-Setting Motivation; CON – Conscientiousness*

# Model Specification

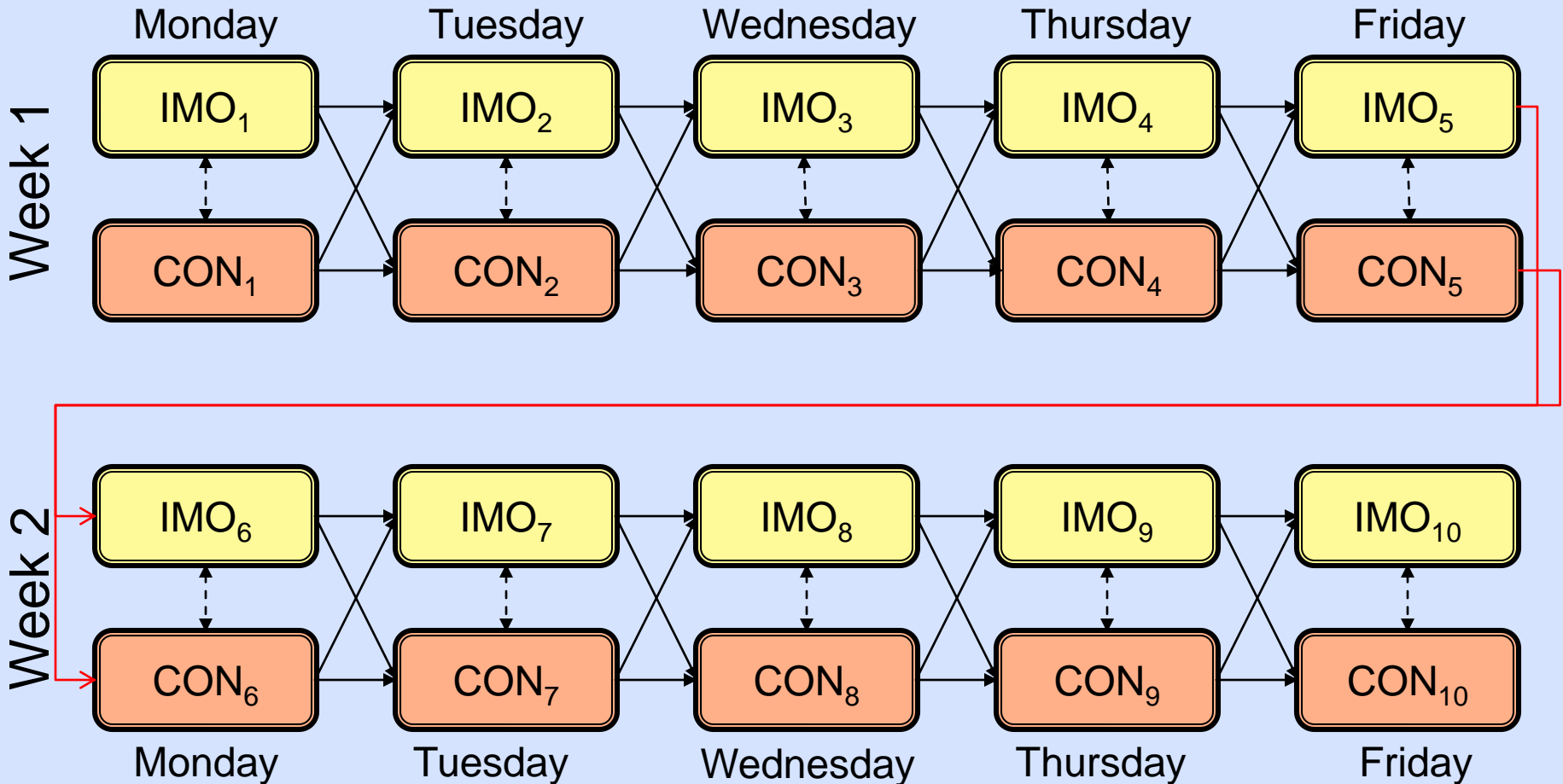
## Intrinsic Work Motivation – Agreeableness



IMO – Intrinsic Work Motivation; AGR – Agreeableness

# Model Specification

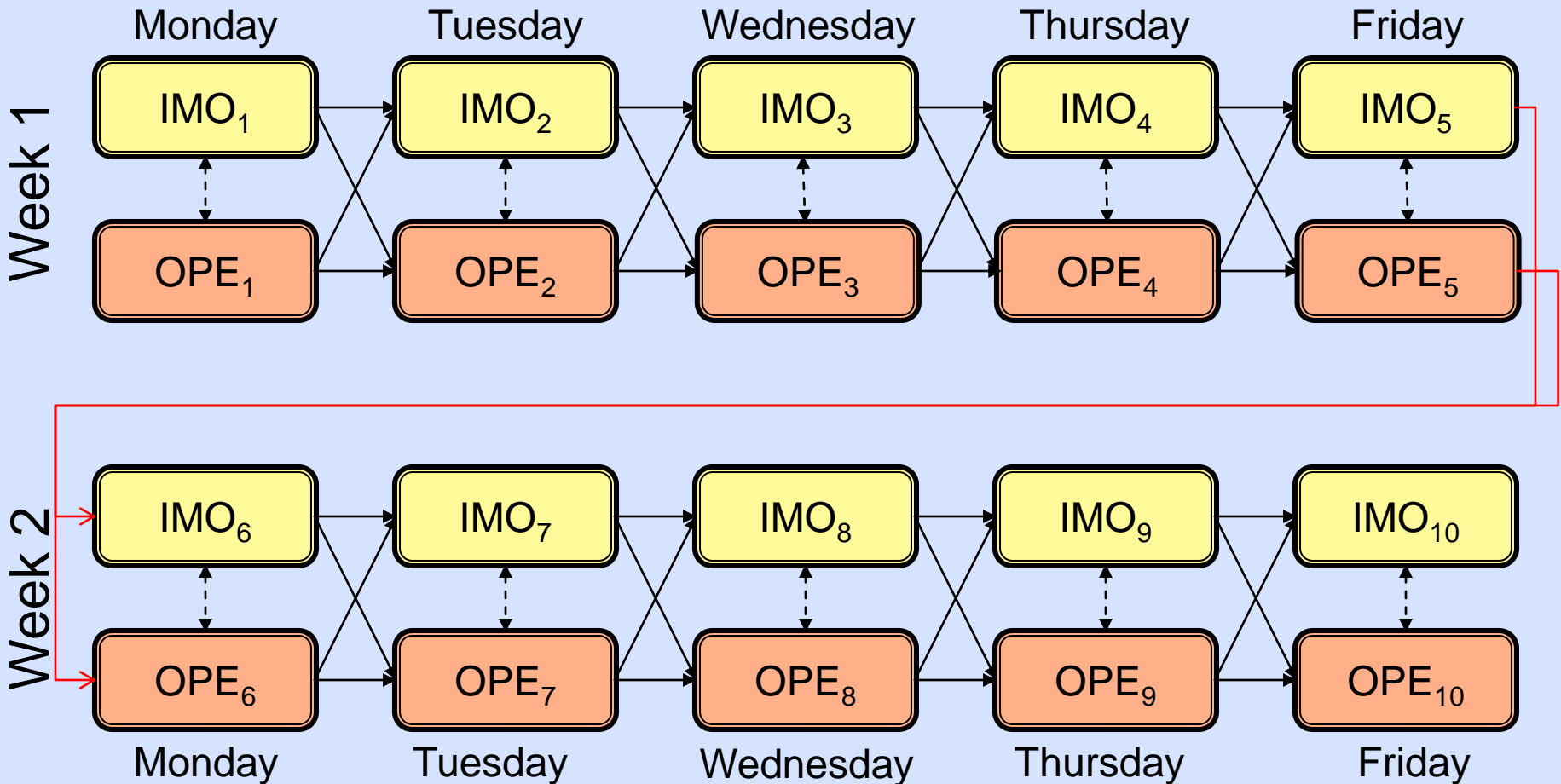
## Intrinsic Work Motivation – Conscientiousness



*IMO – Intrinsic Work Motivation; CON – Conscientiousness*

# Model Specification

## Intrinsic Work Motivation – Openness



*IMO – Intrinsic Work Motivation; OPE – Openness*

# Results

## Is There Within-Individual Variation?

	Variance decomposition	
	Between	Within
<b>Personality traits</b>		
Extraversion	49.38%	50.62%
Agreeableness	53.47%	46.53%
Conscientiousness	44.06%	55.94%
Neuroticism	53.67%	46.33%
Openness	61.97%	38.03%
<b>Average personality trait</b>	<b>52.51%</b>	<b>47.49%</b>
<b>Work variables</b>		
Interpersonal conflict at work (ICO)	42.42%	57.58%
Prosocial behavior at work (PSB)	51.90%	48.10%
Goal-setting motivation (GSM)	45.91%	54.09%
Intrinsic work motivation (IMO)	49.39%	50.61%
<b>Average work variable</b>	<b>47.41%</b>	<b>52.60%</b>

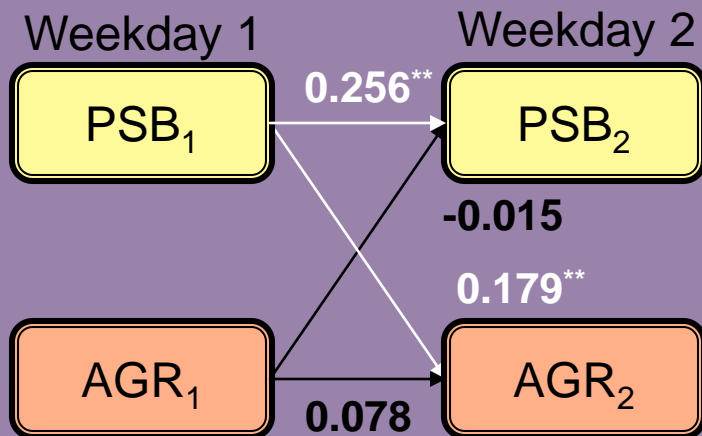


# Summary of Results

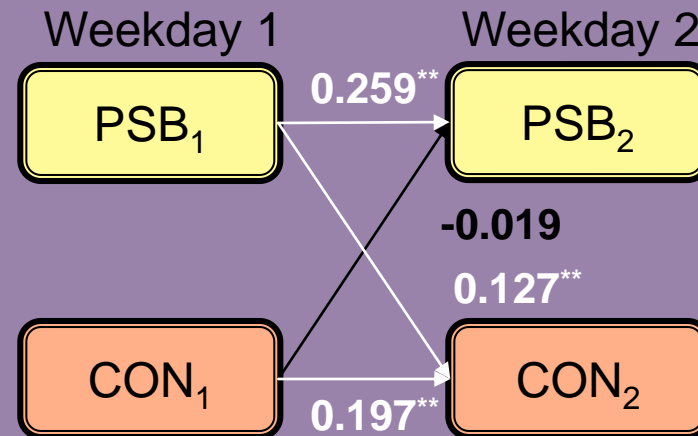
## Prosocial Behavior at Work (PSB)

Note. Coefficients are unstandardized. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

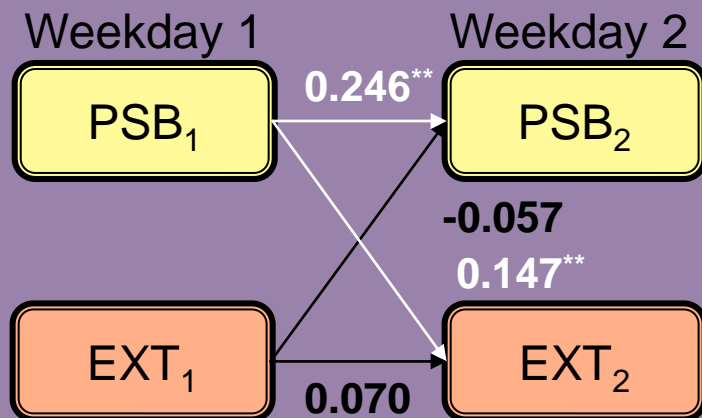
### PSB → Agreeableness



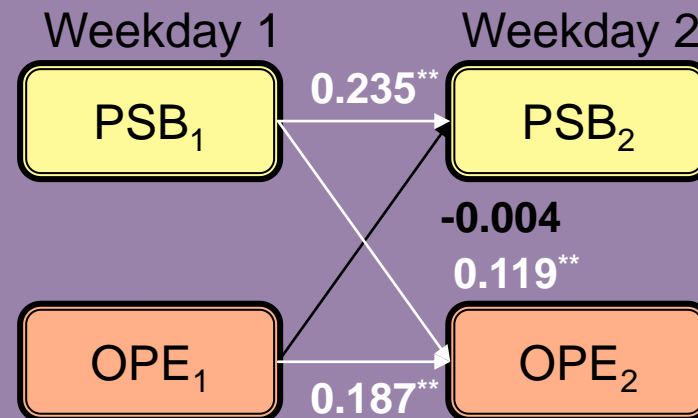
### PSB → Conscientiousness



### PSB → Extraversion



### PSB → Openness



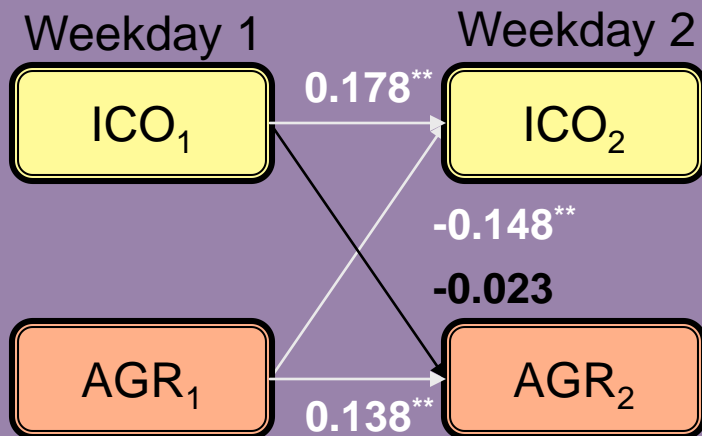
# Summary of Results

## Work Conflict (ICO)

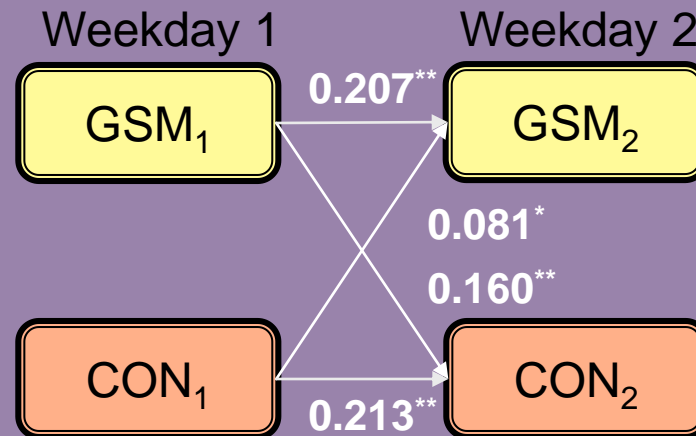
## Goal-Setting Motivation (GSM)

Note. Coefficients are unstandardized. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

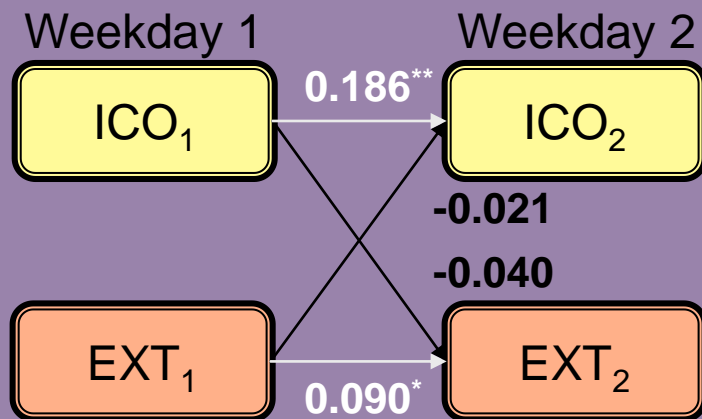
### ICO → Agreeableness



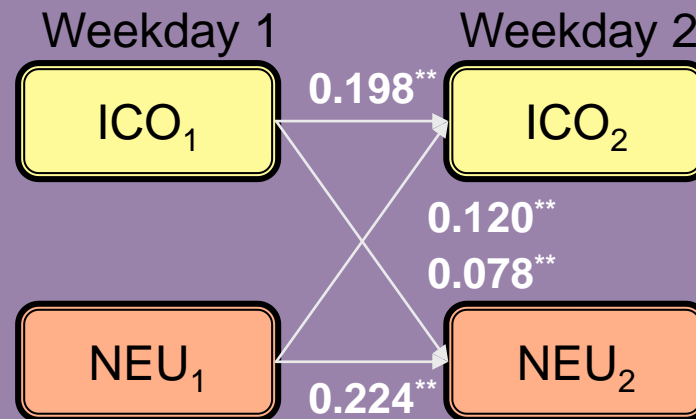
### GSM → Conscientiousness



### ICO → Extraversion



### ICO → Neuroticism

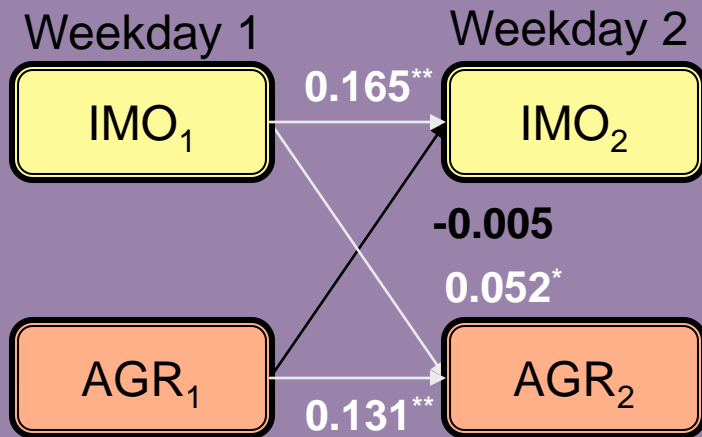


# Summary of Results

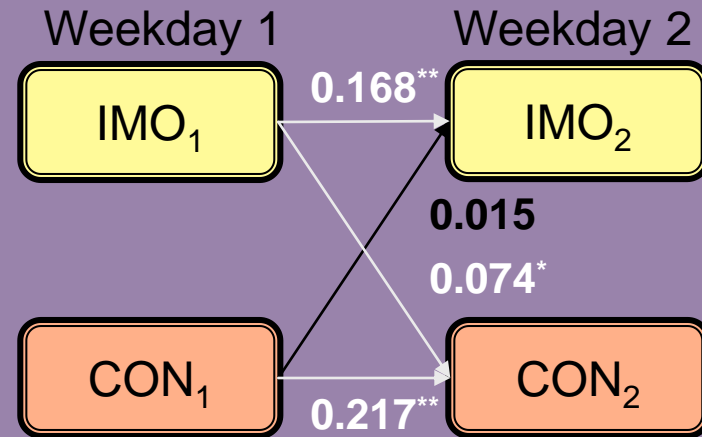
## Intrinsic Motivation (IMO)

Note. Coefficients are unstandardized. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

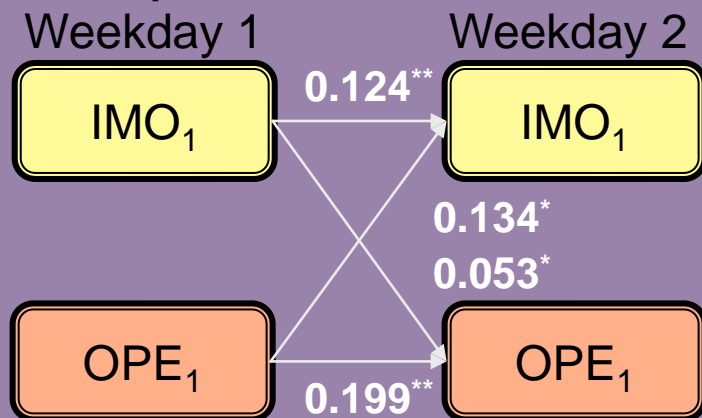
### *IMO* → Agreeableness



### *IMO* → Conscientiousness



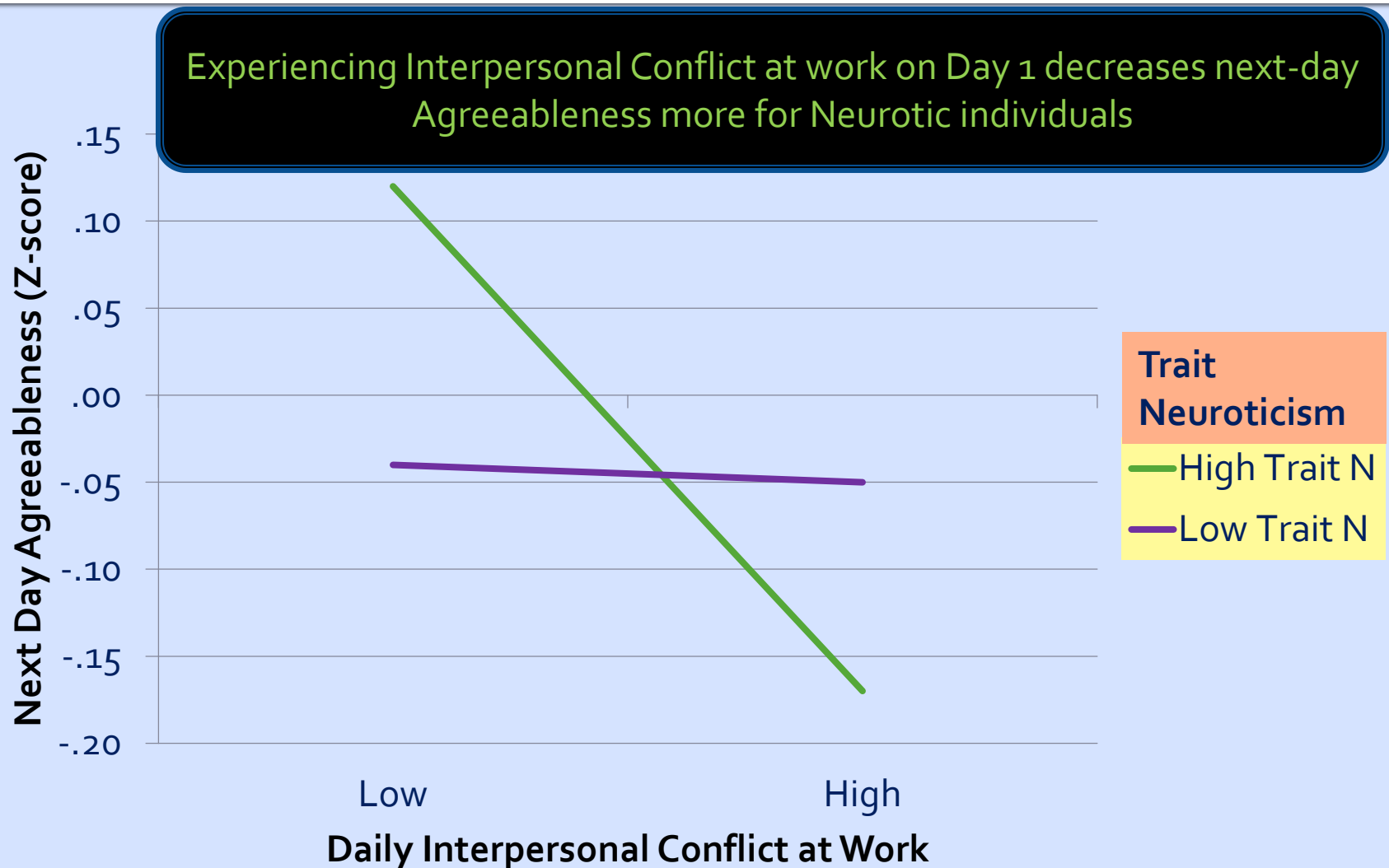
### *IMO* → Openness



As we'll see on the next slides, the degree to which work experiences predicted next-day personality states varied according to individuals' trait Neuroticism (as assessed by a significant other)

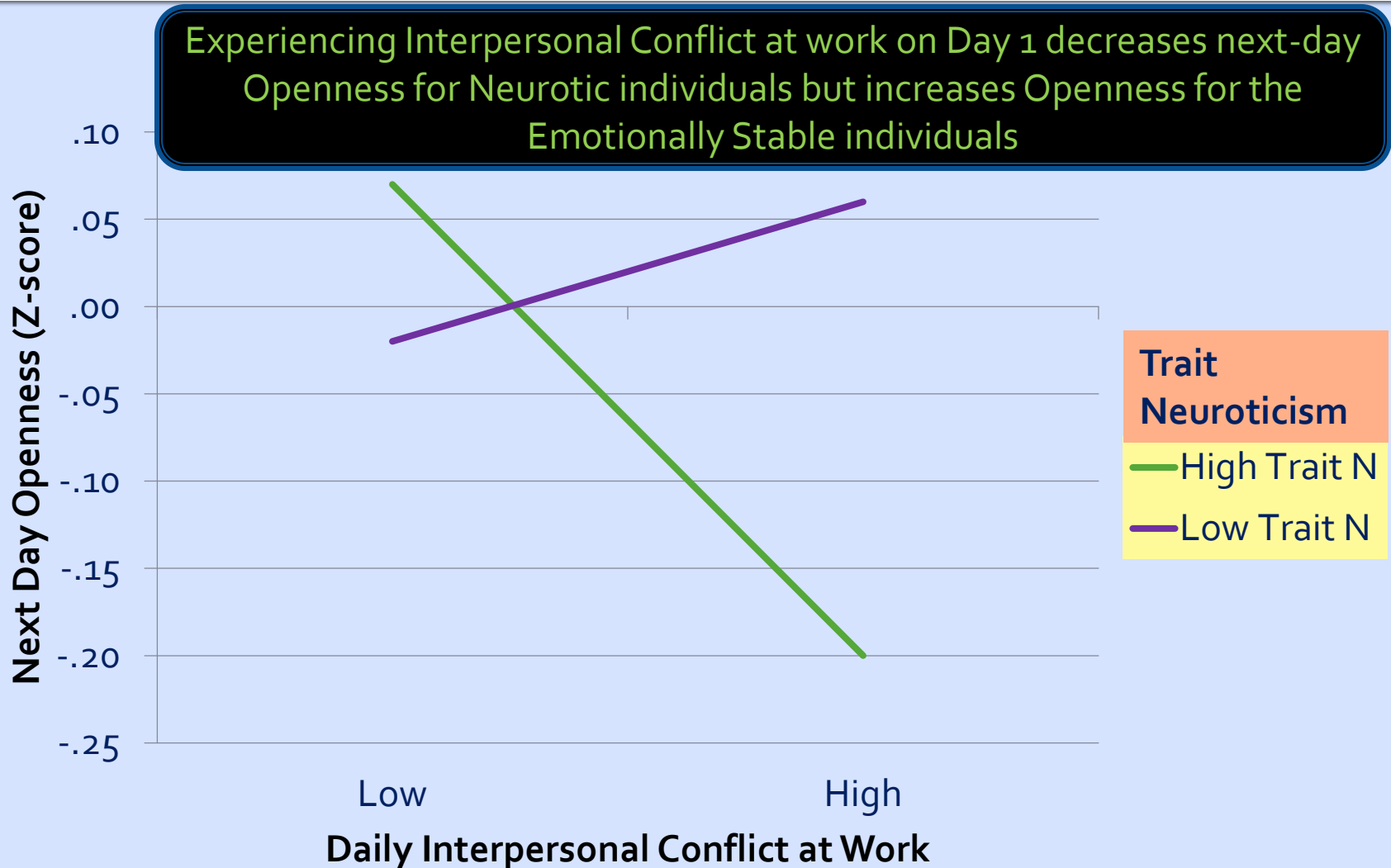
# Interactions

## Conflict → Agreeableness by Trait (Neuroticism)



# Interactions

## Conflict → Openness by Trait (Neuroticism)



# Conclusions

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

- Personality has much within-individual variation
- This is not merely transient error; it was predicted by work context
- More work  $\rightarrow$  personality (9/11) than personality  $\rightarrow$  work effects (4/11) were significant
  - In 1 case, only  $p \rightarrow w$  significant
  - In 1 case, neither  $w \rightarrow p$  nor  $p \rightarrow w$  significant
  - Remember, these are within-individual relationships
- Within-week effects much stronger than cross-week (weekend in-between) effects

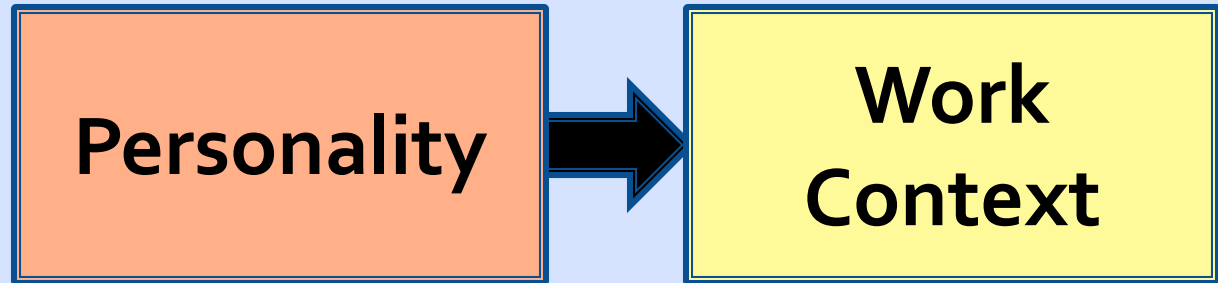
# Strengths and Limitations

Judge, Hurst, Simon, & Kelley, under review

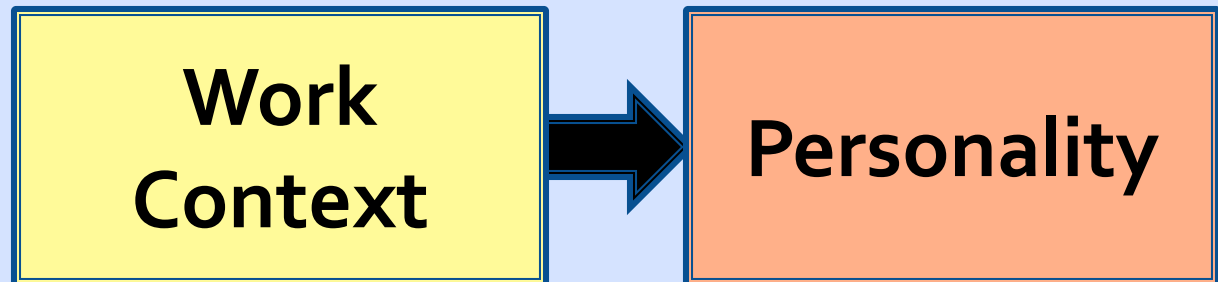
- Rigorous specification controlled for
  - Autocorrelated (day-to-day) errors
  - Within-day correlations
  - Simultaneous estimation of both directions of causality
  - Trait (between-individual personality) effects
- Results also revealed that the work → personality “state” affects depended on trait (neuroticism)
- Mediating processes remain to be seen
  - Mood a likely candidate

# Conclusions?

*Between-  
Individuals  
Longer-  
term*



*Within-  
Individuals  
Shorter-  
term*





# Questions

- Have organizational psychologists over-emphasized the traistedness of personality?
- Have personality psychologists under-emphasized work as a primary context in which personality develops and is expressed?
- What explains effects of work on personality?
  - Affect? Cognitions? Attributions?
- Do state and trait interact?
- What happens in the weekend that “washes out” within-week effects?

# Research Implications

In the classical psychometric conception of behavioral dispositions, the individual's "true score" on the behavioral dimension, relative to normative levels in each situation, should remain constant. The deviations from the true score observed in each situation are assumed to reflect measurement noise or random fluctuation. But *if :: : then :: : patterns ... directly contradict* this classic assumption, and reveal a second type of within-person consistency that needs to be assessed and explained. The two types of variability coexist as two aspects of the expressions of coherence. Each is important and informative: The need is for a theory of personality that accounts for and predicts both of them.

— Mischel, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 2004 (excerpted)

# Research Implications

- Social cognitive theory does not cede the construct of “disposition” to trait theory
- Dynamic dispositions must be distinguished from static trait dispositions
- However, isn't this a false choice?
  - Traits, when measured well, do generalize across situations and over time
  - Personality does reflect the contexts in which it operates

# Practical Implications

- **What to do**
  - **Work climate and events matter**
    - On a within-person basis, people can move from the specific (a work motivation, behavior, or event) to the general (one's general predispositions), even within a short term process
  - **Fit/adapt the person to the job**
    - Some people are more reactive to this cycle than are others
  - **Long-term implications?**
    - Is this nihilistic? Are there virtuous/viscous spirals?

# Thank You!

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Trieste, Italy – 11 July 2012**