

Chapter 4

Motivation and Emotion

Part 2 Parts of Personality

Chapter 4 Motivation and Emotion

Chapter 5 Interior Selves; Interior Worlds

Chapter 6 Intelligences and Mental Skills

Chapter 7 The Conscious Self

Guided by theory, and using research tools such as psychological measurement and experimental design, psychologists have gradually sorted out and begun to understand the specific parts of personality. This chapter begins our exploration of the parts of personality with a look at an individual's motives and emotions. Motives help direct our behavior — they guide us toward some aims and away from others. Emotions interact with motives, amplifying or subduing them. Emotions also tell us about our relationships with others and how to achieve our aims in a social context. These parts of personality will be examined in this chapter.

Previewing the Chapter's Central Questions

- **How Are Motives Expressed?**

Motives aren't just something a person feels internally — they have real life impact on the choices a person makes. For example, a person who values achievement will behave differently from someone who values power."

- **What Are Motives and How Can They Be Measured?**

Motives, goals, and plans, propel personality to do the things it does. To find out which motives, goals, and plans are most fundamental, psychologists have employed psychological tests to understand and organize peoples' personal directions.

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- **What are Happy People Like?**

If people vary in how emotional they are, then what are the characteristics of, say, the very happiest people?

What Are Motives?

Motives, Instincts, and Needs

What possible motive could a person have for climbing Mount Everest? On March 10th, 1996, Jon Krakauer, a reporter for Outside magazine, was riding aboard a Russian-built helicopter with other members of an expedition that would climb Mount Everest, the tallest mountain in the world. The men and women had all paid steep fees to be guided to the top by an experienced mountaineer — \$65,000 a head. At the start of the expedition, Krakauer had wondered about his fellow climbers: Who were they? Could he have confidence in them? His life would depend upon these expedition members during the climb (Krakauer, 1998, pp. 37-38). A number of mountaineering teams ascended the peak on the same day as Krakauer's team. An unexpected storm, along with other mishaps, took the lives of a number of people. Although Krakauer survived, many of those he climbed with did not, including the leader of the expedition.

Motivation: A field that studies the psychological reasons that people behave the way they do.

In appreciating such a heroic and dangerous endeavor, we might ask, "Why were they there? Why did Krakauer and his fellow climbers spend two months away from their homes and families and strain themselves to the breaking point in order to climb the mountain?" This is a consideration of **motivation**. Most generally speaking, motivation is the study of why people do the things they do.

"Because it is there" was the famous reason George Leigh Mallory gave for climbing Mount Everest. Mallory had become irritated by the repeated questioning of a reporter when he provided the response. Was Everest's "there-ness" the real reason that Mallory, and many others later, such as Krakauer, would risk their lives to climb it? Were there other aspects of their personalities that entered into the equation as well?

CS-F

Case Study

CS-T

Jon Krakauer and the Uneasy Fulfillment of a Boyhood Dream

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On Krakauer was a reporter for Outside magazine who accompanied an ill-fated climbing expedition to the top of Mount Everest (see text). He writes that when Outside offered him the assignment, he said yes with no hesitation, adding that “—boyhood dreams die hard, and good sense be damned.” (Krakauer, 1996, p. 28). Many people who attempt the peak die along the way, and Krakauer and several members of his expedition were caught in an unexpected storm during the ascent; some of them died and others were severely injured. Krakauer was physically spared, but deeply influenced by the events on the mountain.

Although he had decided to go on the assignment immediately, he experienced misgivings even as he left. Krakauer’s wife had herself been a climber but had injured herself and had learned to make hard calculations about the inherent risks of climbing. She felt her husband’s trip to Everest would be “stupid and pointless,” and feared he would not return. Krakauer had, in fact, given up climbing temporarily when they got married. Yet, he noted, “I’d failed to appreciate the grip climbing had on my soul—or the purpose it lent to my otherwise rudderless life. I didn’t anticipate the void that would loom in its absence,” and within a year he had taken it back up. His wife had begun to accept that she

could not control this need of his, but the Everest trip was a terrible strain on their relationship. Why did he climb? To fill a void? But what does that mean?

Childhood

As a child, Krakauer lived in Oregon. He explains how he idolized Willi Unsoeld, a mountain climber who lived in the same town, and whose son he played with. When Krakauer was nine, Unsoeld completed an especially challenging climb of Mt. Everest with his partner Tom Hornbein a few months before the ascent, Krakauer had climbed his first mountain.

While his friends idolized astronauts and great baseball and football players, he wrote, “my own heroes were Hornbein and Unsoeld.” (Krakauer, 1998, p. 22).

Elsewhere in his account, Krakauer writes that he disobeyed his better judgment: “There were many reasons not to go, but attempting to climb Everest is an intrinsically irrational act — a triumph of desire over sensibility—. The plain truth is that I knew better but went to Everest anyway. And in doing so I was a party to the death of good people, which is something that is apt to remain on my conscience for a very long time.” Such is the power of the motives psychologists attempt to understand.

The ascent is unquestionably dangerous; Mallory died while climbing it on June 8th, 1924, as have one in four climbers since (Krakauer, 1998, p. 18, p. 28).

C

Instincts, Motives and Goals

Those who study motivation often distinguish between basic motives or needs, and specific goals that are learned or acquired from the social environment. Among basic motives and needs are a variety of biologically-based desires including hunger, thirst, varieties of sexual behavior, and tendencies toward different sorts of social behavior as well. These basic motivations are often innate although they can be modified through learning. In contrast, more specific goals might be to learn Spanish, or

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Instinct: A biologically pre-programmed fixed set of behaviors that, when triggered, is meant to accomplish a particular goal under certain circumstances.

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EXT

to read the next Harry Potter book. This chapter’s emphasis will be on the more basic motives that serve as the foundation for a person’s more specific, learned, goals and strivings.

Originally, a given human motive was viewed as arising from an **instinct** (William James, 1890). By instinct is meant a biologically-based urge which can be satisfied by a specific action. At the beginning of the 20th Century, for example, William James saw expressions of sympathy, modesty, sociability, and love all as involving innate qualities. When Freud tackled motives he began by tracing them from their biological origins in the brain to their psychological manifestations. For Freud, instincts were:

...a borderland concept between the mental and the physical, being...the mental representative of the stimuli emanating from within the organism and penetrating to the mind (Freud, 1915/1963a, p. 87).

For Freud, human behavior was largely directed by a sexual or life instinct. In the infant, this sexual instinct involved nearly any bodily pleasure; touching, eating, even defecating were all considered part of the sex, or pleasure, drive. Any impulse to join others was part of this broadly defined instinct, including many feelings of friendship and love. Freud even viewed curiosity as beginning with the sexual instinct because sexuality encourages people to explore their personal physical sensations on their own and with other people. Toward the end of his career, Freud (1937/1964) defined a second class of human urges stemming from a group of instincts related to aggression and death.

The term, “**motive**,” is often used interchangeably with the terms “needs,” “urges,” and “desires”. Whichever term is preferred, a motive directs us toward certain aims or goals that will satisfy it (Winter, John, Stewart, Klohnen, & Duncan, 1998). A motive such as thirst can be satisfied in a simple fashion by drinking some water, or in a more elaborate manner by sipping an espresso Italia. Different motives emerge from different areas of the brain, activate different plans, and work in different ways.

Take the comparison between hunger and sex, for example. Hunger arises from a combination of neurophysiological processes, such as the detection of sugar in the bloodstream, and fat molecules in the blood, and also from environmental stimuli such as the presence of a good-smelling, attractive meal. Hunger aims to help a person maintain his or her energy level (Mook, 1996, pp. 72-73). When a person is prevented from eating, he or she fantasizes about food more frequently (Keys et al., 1950).

Sex with another person, on the other hand, does not serve to maintain any particular aspect of the individual’s physiology. It bears no immediate relation to sugar or fats in the blood, or the maintenance of any other known chemical (Mook, 1996, p. 111). In addition, sex is socially complex. Eating alone is possible; sex takes two. Sexuality and sexual desire are regulated by their own set of hormones: particularly testosterone in men and estrogen in women. Adults with fewer sexual encounters fantasizes about sex less frequently than do those with more sexual experience (Knafo & Jaffe, 1984). These examples serve to make the point that each motive is individually complex and each one may vary dramatically from another.

Quote

A man always has two reasons for the things he does — a good one and the real one.

J. P. Morgan (Frank, 2001, p. 528).

CS EXT

Quote *Picture of a Thematic Apperception about here*



B **Projective Testing and the Projective Hypothesis**

Thematic (or Projective) Test: A test that uses ambiguous stimuli as its items. The test taker must respond to each item by completing a sentence, or telling a story, or otherwise supplying a response.

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT): A projective test developed by Henry Murray and Christiana Morgan consisting of pictures. The respondent must tell a story to a given pictures which has a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The key element that defines a **thematic test** (or **projective test**), is the presence of an ambiguous stimulus to which an individual responds (Frank, 1939). The hope is that by examining the overall themes of a person’s responses, their motives and other qualities may be understood (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1992).

The **Thematic Apperception Test (TAT;** Murray, 1938; Morgan, 1995) is a projective test that is often employed to measure motives. It consists of a number of sketches and drawings, mostly of people alone or in interaction with one another. Probably the best known card shows a boy who is gazing into space, sitting at a desk on which rests a violin. The examiner presents a card of the TAT to the participant and says, “Tell me a story about this picture. Tell me how it began, what is going on now, and what will happen in the end?” The test-taker then composes a story in response to the instructions and the card. The respondent weaves together elements of the picture into a story as the examiner dutifully records what the respondent says.

The content of the test-taker’s stories are then evaluated according to the themes and ideas the individual has expressed; note that the test-taker answers nothing directly about him or herself. Yet the themes are hypothesized to reveal important concerns, or even preoccupations, of the individual. For example, a person who describes the boy with the violin as dreaming of a concert at Carnegie Hall might be judged to have a need to achieve.

Types of Motives

What Motives Are Found with Projective Measures?

Many of the needs measured by the TAT can be loosely divided into three broad groups: Those reflecting the needs for achievement, for power, and for affiliation. The needs are often abbreviated as n achievement, n power, and n affiliation. The

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TABLE 4.1 A Presentation of Murray’s Needs*
(Quoted from the text with some summarization, from Murray, 1938, pp. 80-83)

I. Needs having to do with inanimate objects	
<i>n Acquisition</i>	To gain possessions and property. To grasp snatch or steal things...
<i>n Conservance</i>	To collect, repair, clean and preserve things...
<i>n Order</i>	To arrange, organize, put away objects...
<i>n Retention</i>	To retain possession of things, to refuse to give or lend...To be frugal, economical...
II. Actions which express ambition, will-to-power, accomplishment and prestige	
<i>n Superiority</i>	This was divided into the two following needs: The will to power over things, people, and ideas achievement (n achievement), and the effort to gain approval and status (n recognition). The two subsidiary needs are defined as:
<i>n Achievement</i>	To overcome obstacles, exercise power, do something difficult well and quickly.
<i>n Recognition</i>	To excite praise and commendation. To demand respect.
IV. Needs Concerned with Human Power	
<i>n Dominance</i>	To influence or control others. To persuade, prohibit, dictate. To lead and direct.
<i>n Deference</i>	To admire and willingly follow a superior allied other.
<i>n Similance</i>	To empathize. To imitate or emulate. To identify with others.
<i>n Autonomy</i>	To resist influence or coercion. To defy an authority or seek freedom. To strive for independence.
<i>n Contrariance</i>	To act different from others. To be unique. To hold unconventional views...
*Note: Murray preceded each of his needs with an “n” to indicate he was measuring the need as expressed in personality — not as a self-report).	

TB

“n” refers to the fact that the need is assessed as a theme on the TAT or similar instrument, rather than depending upon self-judgments. The three broad groups of needs can be viewed as a somewhat loose confederation of more specific needs. For example, n achievement includes a need to meet standards of excellence which is specifically called the n for achievement, as well as a need to be superior to others, known as n superiority, and the need to develop an independent perspective on the world, known as n autonomy. Similarly, n affiliation includes such other needs as the need to play, the need to seek aid and protection, known as n succorance, and the need to seek others who can care for oneself, known as n nurturance. Murray’s specific needs are shown in Table 4-1. One benefit of the three broad motives rather than the more specific ones is that it is easier to develop a scoring systems that accurately identifies each of the three needs, rather than trying to code for 20-plus needs.

Self-Report of Motives

Standard Self-Judgment

Motive or Need: Basic motives and urges involve a mostly innate part of personality that directs the individual toward a specific source of satisfaction.

Not all psychologists use projective methods to study motives; some prefer a more direct approach. These psychologists have developed tests of motivation that employ **self-judgment** (or **self-report**) items. Self-judgment items directly ask people questions about themselves. Such psychologists are willing to overlook possible concerns over a person’s concealment of undesirable motives, or lack of self-knowledge about their motives.

Disciplinary Crossroads

Jon Krakauer and the Uneasy Fulfillment of a Boyhood Dream

The idea that one’s personality can be revealed through how one interprets ambiguous material was around well before projective tests. Sigmund Freud noted that Shakespeare had used the technique in the *Merchant of Venice* (Shakespeare, c. 1598/1936). In Freud’s essay on, “The Theme of the Three Caskets,” he analyzed the passage in question from a psychodynamic perspective (Freud, 1913/1989). The passage concerns Portia, a rich heiress whose father sets up a test to choose a suitor for her. To win Portia’s hand in marriage, each suitor must choose from among three caskets: gold, silver, and lead. Each of the caskets contains an inscription on its back. These read:

GOLD: ‘Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire.’
 SILVER: ‘Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves.’
 LEAD: ‘Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath’

These inscriptions are ambiguous, like the items on a projective test, in that each admits of more than one meaning. In the play, the caskets and their inscriptions serve collectively as something like a projective test so the audience can

learn about the character of each of Portia’s suitors. Those suitors are the Princes of Arragon and Morocco, and the fair Bassanio.

The Prince of Morocco

The Prince of Morocco reads each inscription, ponders it, and then concludes his consideration in this way:

...Isn’t lead that contains her? ‘Twere damnation
 To think so base a thought: it were too gross
 To rib her cerecloth in the obscure grave.
 Or shall I think in silver she’s immured,
 Being ten times undervalued to tried gold?
 O sinful thought! Never so rich a gem
 Was set in worse then gold. They have in England
 A coin that bears the figure of an angel
 Stamped in gold, but that’s insculp’d upon;
 But here an angel in a golden bed
 Here do I choose, and thrive I as I may!

And so he chooses the gold casket, but his reaction (“O hell!”) alerts the audience with admirable directness that he made the wrong choice. (Shakespeare c. 1598/1936, Act II, Scene VII).

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The Prince of Arragon

The Prince of Arragon, had earlier rejected gold as appealing to the “fool multitude.” He prefers a more considered choice. His reaction to the inscription on the silver casket is as follows:

“Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves:
 And well said too; for who shall go about to cozen fortune, and be honourable
 Without the stampe of merit? Let none presume
 To wear an undeserved dignity.
 O, that estates, degrees and offices
 Were not derived corruptly, and that clear honour
 Were purchased by the merit of the wearer!
 (Shakespeare, c. 1598/1936, Act II, Scene ix)

Arragon opens the silver casket and is silent. Portia remarks in an aside, “Too long a pause for that which you find there,” foreshadowing that he has not found her portrait.

The Fair Bassanio

It had been Bassanio who rejected appearances – gold and silver – and dared to choose lead:

So may the outward shows be least themselves:
 The world is still deceived with ornament...
 Therefore, thou gaudy gold,

Hard food for Midas, I will none of thee;
 Nor none of thee, thou pale and common drudge
 ‘Tween man and man: but thou, thou meagre lead,
 Which rather threatenest than dost promise aught,
 Thy paleness moves more than eloquence;
 And here choose I: joy be the consequence!...

Bassanio opens the casket and discovers he has won his ‘Fair Portia’s’ hand in marriage. How would you describe the qualities of each of the three suitor’s characters? What features of Bassanio’s personality do you think attracted Portia to him? One issue with projective tests is that responses to them may be interpreted differently by different observers. Freud was intrigued by Shakespeare’s choice of the lead casket to hold the prize. Arguing from an examination of the myths upon which Shakespeare based this drama-within-a-drama, Freud suggested that lead represents a fusion of both love and death. Only the person who could fully appreciate his own mortality and the glory of love within his allotted time of life would be courageous enough to choose lead. Bassanio’s capacity to recognize both the threat and promise embodied in the lead casket revealed that he was such an individual.

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For example, the self-report based Motivation Analysis Test includes items such as, “I want to lie in bed in the mornings and have a very easy time in life,” and “I want to enjoy fine foods, fine drinks, candies, and delicacies,” to which people agree or disagree (Cattell, Horn, & Butcher, 1962). Jackson’s (1974) Personality Research Form (PRF) includes questions for each of 20 needs identified by Murray. Jackson’s test has been subjected to a number of factor analyses.

The results of one such factor analysis are shown in Table 4-2 (after Lei & Skinner, 1982). There, the 21 test scales from the Personality Research Form, each one reflecting a specific Murray need, are listed down the left-hand side. The obtained factors – identified with roman numerals of I through V, as is customary – are listed across the top of Table 4.2. The numbers in the center of the table, called

factor loadings, show the relation between the original scales of the Personality Research Form and the factors to which they relate.

**Modified Self-Judgment (Self-Report):
The Case of Forced Choice Responding**

The willingness of a person to endorse a test item has to do in part with the **social desirability** of the test item. Social desirability concerns the value society places on a particular way of thinking or feeling. Edwards Personal Preference Inventory items were developed to measure 15 of the Murray needs. Edwards hoped to overcome a tendency to select only socially desirable alternatives by carefully constructing items that forced a choice between alternatives of near-equal social desirability.

An example:

Which would you prefer:

- (a) "To watch a sexy movie" or
- (b) "To watch a violent movie."

The 225-item scale was employed in a great deal of research and correlates well with other tests intended to measure similar needs (Edwards & Abbott, 1973; Edwards, Abbott, & Klockars, 1972). The forced choice method does have some drawbacks, however, are listed across the top of Table 4.2. The numbers in the center of the table, called For example, to equalize the social desirability of items measuring the need for aggression and the need for autonomy, the aggressive-need item might be edited so that it is relatively mild whereas the autonomy item would be edited so that it is strong enough to be undesirable.

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Connecting Window *Recalling Facts about Factor Analysis*

Recall that factors are combinations of variables — test items, in this case. The numbers in the table, called factor loadings, indicate the correlation between the original test items and the obtained factors. For more, see Chapter 2, "Dealing with Many Variables."

How are Motives Expressed?

The Achievement Motive and its Relation to Personality

One picture-card on the TAT shows young people watching a surgeon in an operating room. A person high in achievement motivation told the following story in reaction to it:

A group of medical students are watching their instructor perform a simple operation on a cadaver.... In the last few months they have worked and studied. The skillful hands of the surgeon perform their work. The instructor tells his class *they must be able to work with speed and cannot make many mistakes*. When the operation is over, a smile comes over the group. Soon they will be leading men and women in the field (McClelland, et al., 1992, p. 160).

Those who foster friendship gain valuable support. Even very young children will express concerns or fears in their play, and may find comfort in the caring of others. For example, in the following passage 4-year-old Naomi, who is playing with a dinosaur, comforts her 3-year-old best friend Eric, who is playing with a skeleton:

dialog

NAOMI: I'm your friend the dinosaur.

ERIC: Oh, hi dinosaur. You know, no one likes me.

NAOMI: But I like you. I'm your friend.

ERIC: But none of my other friends like me...They don't like my skeleton suit.

It's really just me. They think I'm a dumb-dumb.

NAOMI: I know what. He's a good skeleton.

ERIC: I am not a dumb-dumb and that's so.

(Asher & Rose, 1997, p. 202).

UL

By middle school, third and fifth graders can speak clearly about friendships, noting the highs, such as, "Me and Lamar makes each other laugh and we play kick soccer," and intimacy, such as, "Yesterday me and Diana talked about how our parents got a divorce and how the world is going to end," and mutual responsibility, as in, "My friend is really nice. Once my nose was bleeding about a gallon every thirty minutes and he helped me." (Parker & Asher, 1993, pp. 270-271).

The Power Motive and Personality

A man always has two reasons for the things he does — a good one and the real one.

J. P. Morgan (Frank, 2001, p. 528).

Westerners often feel uncomfortable acknowledging power motives — gaining power seems associated with controlling others and dictatorial styles. Yet it is an important motive for many people. The topic is regarded more positively and more openly discussed in many Asian cultures (Winter, 1992a, p. 301). The power motive involves direct and legitimate control over other people's behavior — that is, interpersonal power.

The power theme can be recognized when people evaluate and heighten their influence, impact, and control over others (Winter, 1992b, p. 312). For example, on TAT stories, a high-power person might tell stories in which characters directly express their power (e.g., "They plan to attack the enemy"), or try to influence, impress, or control other people (e.g., "She told him she went to Harvard."), or protect them. An example of a story with a power motive is the following response to a picture of an older man and a younger man together:

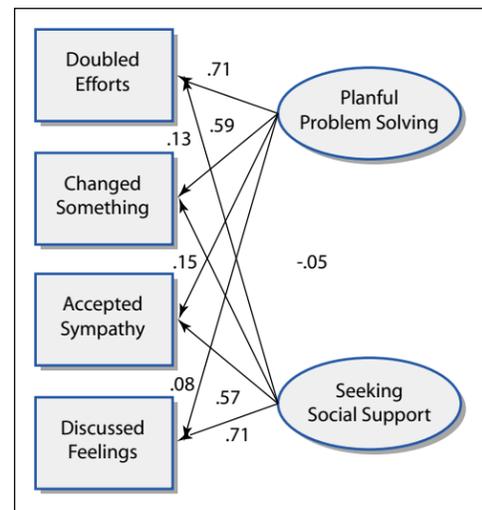
These two men are planning a break from the political party to which they both belong. The elder man is the instigator. Noticing the disapproval the young man has shown with the party policy, *he is convincing him to join with him. The elder man was pushed into the party*. At first, he thought it was a good idea. As he saw the workings of it he became more against it...*The two will start a new opposition party* (Veroff, 1992, p. 290).

Power-motivated people tend to enter professions in which they direct the behavior of other individuals and in which they can reward or punish others within the legitimate policies and procedures of organizations (Winter, 1992b). Such occupations include business executives and managers, psychologists and mental health workers, teachers, journalists, and members of the clergy. Occupations in which the use of power is arguably more indirect, such as in law, science, or medicine (where the power is over someone's body), are less likely to attract those high in n Power. . Those politicians who are higher in n Power, are distinguished by being more likely to initiate their own candidacies for office. Among presidents of the United States, those highest in power are, relative to other presidents, judged as greater figures by historians — but are also more likely to enter the country into war (Winter, 2005).

How do power-seeking individuals attain power? They seek visibility, sometimes by taking extreme positions or gambles. Student leaders high in n power may write letters with extreme opinions to campus newspapers. Other high n power students may acquire possessions that others may not be able to afford (such as big-screen TVs, cars, and nicer apartments). In addition, high n power students in general build alliances with others, particularly with those of lower status, and encourage

FIGURE 2.6**A Factor Analysis Represented in Structural Equation Modeling**

In structural equation modeling, boxes represent observed variables, and ovals represent factors (or latent variables, more generally). This provides a pictorial representation of the data in Table 10.



them to participate in the organizations in which they are trying to attain power. People high in power are not necessarily well liked, nor are they perceived as working hard or creating the best solutions for problems. In addition, such individuals may seek power to compensate for a fear of being controlled by others (Veroff, 1992).

Classifying Motives According to their Urgency

Arguments have been made that — to some degree — needs unfold in a hierarchy, according to their personal urgency (Aldefer, 1967; Murray, 1938). Maslow (1943) suggested that people begin by ensuring their physiological needs are met — that they

A man who lives, not by what he loves but what he hates, is a sick man.

— Archibald MacLeish

(cited in Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, p. 393).

have enough air to breathe, food to eat, and water to drink. Empirical studies indicate that physiological needs do come first for people (Wicker et al., 1993). According to Maslow's theory, they next seek to fulfill their safety needs by finding safe havens from violence, crime, and other threats to their physical selves. People who experience trauma are particularly focused on safety needs (Aronoff, 1967).

Third, came love and belongingness needs, which impel the individual to find others to be with and to share with. Fourth were the esteem needs; that is, a person hoped that others would respect who they are. Once these needs are all met, the individual can focus on further developing who they themselves are — a process called self actualization, and one discussed in greater length in Chapter 12 on Adult Development (see Hagerty, 1999).

Personal Strivings

Whatever need a person is working on, the need is addressed through **personal strivings**. Personal strivings describe the class of things that a person does to attain his or her goals (Emmons, 1985). Emmons (1985) writes:

For instance, a person with a striving to be physically attractive may have separate goals about exercising, ways of dressing, or wearing his or her hair

Personal Strivings: Basic motives and urges involve a mostly innate part of personality that directs the individual toward a specific source of satisfaction.

in a certain way. Thus, a striving may be satisfied via any one of a number of different concrete goals.

Emmons found that people can reliably report the things for which they strive (e.g., staying in shape, doing well in school). How a person strives affects how a person feels. People who set realistic goals that require great effort tend to generate positive feelings and emotions for themselves. Holding goals that are unlikely to become true, however, leads to negative feelings. A person who holds a goal such as being charitable, that causes little conflict with others, is also likely to feel greater well being. That is, specific motives interact with one's emotional status. These relations will be examined next.

What Are Emotions and Why Are They Important?**The Motivation-Emotion Connection****Correspondence between Emotions and Motivations**

Motives and emotions interrelate in at least two broad ways. The first is that certain motives appear accompanied by specific emotions. For example, we can observe that aggression is usually accompanied by anger. The second relationship is that emotions can amplify those related emotions (Murray, 1938, p. 90-91; Tomkins, 1984). If a person is aggressive and becomes angry, the anger will amplify the aggression, making its possible expression both closer to awareness, and more likely to be acted upon. Similarly if a person is affiliative, the emotion of love will likely amplify the desire and need to be near others.

Plutchik (1984) identified eight basic motives such as self-protection and reproduction, that were common to many animals and that were important to continuing the species. These motives (which he referred to as functions) can be seen in Table 4-3. Plutchik paired each function with a subjective experience — that is, an emotion. For example, the function of (self-) protection served to maintain the organism, and Plutchik believed it corresponded to fear. Destruction served to eliminate various threats, and Plutchik believed it corresponded to anger. Reproduction fostered mating and corresponded to joy, and so forth.

Insert Table 4-3: "Plutchik's Ideas of Emotional Correspondences for Eight Emotions" about here Are there really relationships between motives and emotions like those Plutchik proposed? Izard and his colleagues (1993) studied the relations between various motives (as measured by the Jackson Personality Research Form) and emotions. The list of motives was a bit different than that proposed by Plutchik, but they found results consistent with such thinking. For example, aggressive motives were highly related to anger; similarly, the motive for understanding/exploration was related to the emotion of interest. The complete emotional profiles of several motives (aggression, affiliation, and play) are shown in Table 4-4. As you can see, several of the motives are related to a number of different emotions. That is, they are defined by an emotional profile rather than by a single emotion.

Before we leave this topic, note too that emotions can depress motivation. Consider a person who is very depressed — devoid of feeling except for extreme sad-

TABLE 4.4 Four Motives and Their Emotional Profiles
(After Izard et al., 1993, Table 10, p. 856)

Emotion	Sample Needs			
	Agression	Achievement	Affiliation	Play
Interest	-.32*	.31*	.32*	.10
Joy	-.21	.17	.32*	.17
Surprise	-.07	.09	.13	.18
Sadness	.34*	.03	-.14	-.27*
Anger	.45**	-.11	-.06	-.05
Disgust	.45**	-.07	-.23	.01
Contempt	.48**	-.08	-.24	-.03
Fear	.28*	.04	-.21	-.15

* This is a table footnote

TB-FN

ness, and hostility toward the self. In Table 4-4, moderate levels of sadness, shame, and guilt reduce all motives but aggression. At extreme levels, depression acts as a global motivation dampener, reducing desires and needs until very little seems pleasurable and worth doing; such individuals feel unmotivated and even useless (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 345).

From Motives and Emotions to Cognitive Signals?

Do emotions signal meanings about a situation? Appraisal theorists study how emotions arise from specific kinds of situations. The renaissance thinker Spinoza, for example, noted such relationships as that being threatened can make a person fearful, being denied justice often makes a person angry, and being cared for and loved by another makes a person happy (DeRivera, 1977; Mayer, Salovey, Gomberg-Kaufman, & Blainey, 1991; Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001; Plutchik, 1980). These connections between situations and emotions make sense, but how general are they? Could they be universal? To better understand them, we turn to emotional expressions in the face.

Facial Manifestations

If each specific emotion arises in response to a certain kind of situation, then emotions act as a kind of signal system about situations. Could this language of emotions have evolved? One of the major indicators of emotion is facial expression. Charles Darwin argued that such facial expressions of emotion had evolved exactly as such a signal system (Darwin, 1873/1965). According to Darwin, emotional expressions — especially facial expressions — serve the purpose of representing and signaling relationships and were biologically programmed via evolution. Particular expressions that are especially important to purposes of survival, such as anger, are especially similar across species. For example, the arched back of the cat, the way it bares its teeth, and its snarl and spit, are all readily recognizable and seem comparable to the growl of the dog, and the snarl of an angry person.

Darwin argued that human facial expressions were universal, and conducted some studies on the matter, soliciting observations on the facial expressions of in-

Picture of angry dog goes about here and picture of angry cat about here.



digenous peoples from biologists and other acquaintances, from around the world. “Mr. J. Scott of the Botanic Gardens, Calcutta,” wrote Darwin:

...observed during some time, himself unseen, a very young Dhangar woman from Nagpore, the wife of one of the gardeners, nursing her baby who was at the point of death; and he distinctly saw the eyebrows raised at the inner corners, the eyelids drooping, the forehead wrinkled in the middle, the mouth slightly open, with the corners much depressed. He then came from behind a screen of plants and spoke to the poor woman, who startled, burst into a bitter flood of tears, and besought him to cure her baby [1965].

The Work of Hans Eysenck

Do emotional dimensions blend into personality dimensions? In the 1930's, Hans Eysenck became intrigued by the newly evolving techniques of developing personality measures. He wrote a scale which became known later as the Eysenck Personality Inventory, which included about 120 items similar to the following:

- (1) Do you enjoy going to parties on weekends? YES NO
- (2) Do you often worry? YES NO
- (3) Are you often happy or often sad for no obvious reason? YES NO

NL

Neuroticism-Stability: Basic motives and urges involve a mostly innate part of personality that directs the individual.

Emotionality-Stability: Basic motives and urges involve a mostly innate part of personality that directs the individual toward a specific source of satisfaction.

Eysenck employed the newly-emerging method of factor analysis to the scale, and summarized as containing two independent factors (that is, uncorrelated factors). Eysenck called the first factor “**Neuroticism-Stability**,” or more tactfully, “**Emotionality-Stability**.” This first factor was represented at the emotionality end by a group of items representing negative emotions, mood swings, anxiety, and uncertainty (e.g., “Do you worry?” — Yes), and at its stable end by calmness, mood stability, and security. The second factor was one of Introversion-Extroversion. People high on the extroversion end of the second dimension would answer “yes” to “Do you enjoy parties?”, whereas more Introverted individuals would be likely to endorse “Do you enjoy reading?”.

Eysenck noted that you could locate a person within the dimensional space of common trait terms as reproduced in Figure 4-2. For example, a person high in emotional stability and extraversion would be located in the upper right of the two-dimensional space, and be described by such terms as “easygoing” and “talkative,” whereas an introverted, emotional individual would be located in the lower left and be described as “pessimistic” and “sober.” Stable introverts (upper left) represented “peaceful and thoughtful” individuals, whereas extroverted neurotics (lower right) were “changeable and excitable.” Eysenck was able to arrange a great number of personality trait terms in a highly organized way using the two dimensions.

Insert Research in Focus Box, “Positioning the Emotional Dimensions of Inner Space” about here

You also may be wondering about the four terms, “phlegmatic,” “sanguine,” “melancholic,” and “choleric” in the inner portion of the diagram. The ancient Greek physician, Hippocrates, had earlier classified personalities into four groups, as described in Chapter 1 (“Personality before personality”). Eysenck believed that his two dimensions created four quadrants that closely corresponded to Hippocrates’ ancient division. Thus, Eysenck’s factor analysis integrated the ancient observations of Hippocrates with modern research measurements.

By 1980, there existed a two-dimensional model of mood and a two-dimensional model of personality. A number of personality researchers were intrigued by the similarity between these two models and wondered if they might be related in some way. Costa and McCrea (1980) suggested that a person described by an Eysenckian trait could be described by a parallel tendency to experience a particular type of mood. For example, highly neurotic people might typically feel negative moods, whereas extroverts might typically feel positive moods. If correct, then the two-dimensional personality trait structure would correspond to the two-dimensional mood structure, and they could be superimposed on one another in the same diagram. This has been done here in Figure 4-4; the major personality trait dimensions (e.g., Introverted, all capitalized) and words used to describe them form the main circle. Inside are the four-fold system of antiquity (e.g., Phlegmatic). In the outer circle are the mood dimensions placed so that they correspond with the personalities most closely related to them — so, for example, relaxed moods correspond to emotional. Conceptually, they appear to correspond. Subsequent research supported Costa & McCrae’s empirical findings that there were also day-to-day relations between mood and personality. That is, for example, introverted neurotics experienced more negative affect, and stable extroverts experienced more positive affect (Gross, Sutton, & Ketelaar, 1998; De Raad & Kokkonen, 2000).

Causes of Emotional Traits

Today, biopsychologists and evolutionary psychologists have suggested the existence of two brain areas that relate to negative and positive emotional feelings. The behavioral inhibition system (BIS) has been described as a “stop, look, and listen” system to emphasize that it reduces behavior and increases attention (Gray, 1987). It helps the organism monitor surroundings, anticipate fear-provoking stimuli, and behave cautiously. This system is associated with negative emotions, particularly anxiety and sadness (Cray, 1987; Fowles, 1987; 1994).

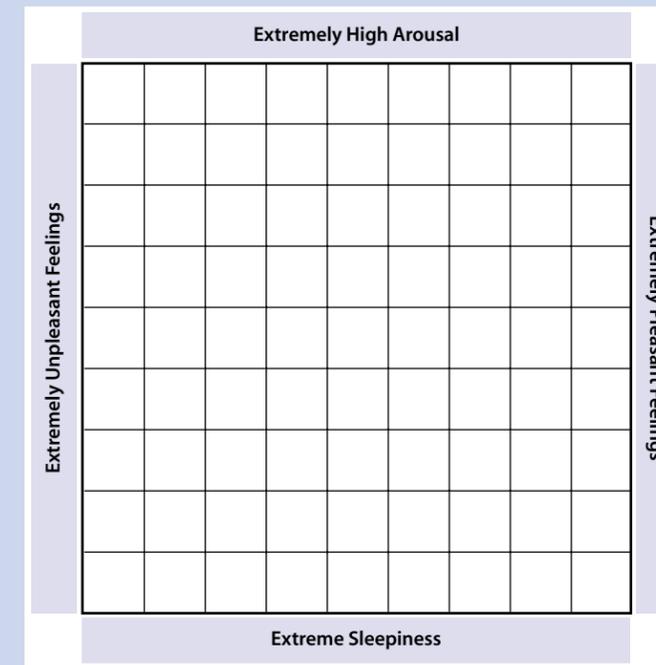
Test Yourself 4-1: What Is Your Current Mood?

When an area of personality is very well understood, as is mood, it is often possible to measure it well very quickly. The Affect Grid (Russell, Weiss, & Mendelsohn, 1987) is a tour de force of this sort of test — it is one item long. The actual instructions are long and have been abbreviated a bit here. The test is remarkably reliable and out-predicts many longer mood scales.

To take the test, you are told that each cell in the grid below represents a different sort of feeling. A check mark in the center of the 9 X 9 grid would represent a totally neutral feeling.

The vertical dimension represents arousal. The higher the arousal — and the higher the mark, the more awake, alert, or activated a person feels. The lower the arousal — and the lower the mark, the more sleepy, tired, and unactivated one would feel.

The horizontal dimension represents pleasantness and unpleasantness. The farther to the right, the more pleasant a person feels; the farther to the left, the more unpleasant.



Scoring your answer The average student tested on the affect grid puts a check in the 6th box from the left, for pleasantness, and the 5th box from the bottom, for arousal. If you were upwards and to the right of that, you felt happier and more alert than most; if you were downward and toward the left, you felt unhappier and sleepier than most. If you were upward and to the left, you felt more aggravated, agitated, or nervous than most. If you were downward and to the right, you were happier but sleepier than most.

Research in Focus

Positioning the Emotional Dimensions of Inner Space

This chapter describes how researchers arrived at a two-factor solution to describe moods. This two-factor solution can be thought of, geometrically, as a two-dimensional space. When factors are interpreted as dimensions, they can be drawn according to certain geometrical rules depending upon their inter-correlations. Recall that correlation coefficients are numbers that express relationships between variables. These coefficients vary from -1.0 (a perfect negative relationship) to +1.0 (a perfect positive relationship) with a correlation of 0 indicating no relationship.

Correlation coefficients have a second interpretation as well. When one wants to create geometric or dimensional representation of factors and variables, the correlations among them can be interpreted as the cosines of angles (e.g., Gorsuch, 1983, p. 63). So, a correlation between factors of 1.00, corresponds to a cosine of 1.0, which defines an angle of 0 degrees between them: The dimensions are identical. A correlation — and cosine — of 0.0 corresponds to an angle of 90 degrees. This is the case with the Pleasant-Unpleasant Mood factor and the Arousal-Calm Mood factor. Most factor analy-

ses are conducted to obtain independent, un-correlated factors ($r = 0.0$).

If researchers find that Pleasant-Unpleasant Mood dimension correlates with the alternative Positive-Tired Affect dimension $r = .707$, the corresponding cosine would be $.707$, which corresponds to an angle of 45 degrees. In much early work with emotions and mood, the Pleasant-Unpleasant and Arousal-Calm Mood dimensions were the dimensions of choice. These were arranged North-South, East-West, to create a diagram including specific moods. Some researchers, however, prefer the Positive-Tired, Negative-Relaxed Mood dimensions. These correlate about $.707$ with the original mood dimensions. For that reason, they can be placed in the same two-dimensional space, but rotated 45 degrees from the originals. That is, they run Northeast-Southwest and Southeast-Northwest. That is how psychologists develop the sort of diagram illustrated in Figure 4-1. The movement from the Pleasant-Unpleasant, Arousal-Calm dimensions 45 degrees to the right, to obtain the Positive-Tired and Negative-Relaxed dimensions is sometimes referred to as

By contrast, the behavioral facilitation system (BFS) encourages the organism to engage with its outside surroundings, to explore, and to investigate (Depue et al., 1984; Watson, Wiese, Vaidya, & Tellegen, 1999). It is highly associated with positive emotions such as happiness and joy, although anger may also play a part in this behavioral system. There is some evidence for hemispheric differences in these two behavioral systems as well. Davidson, Tomarken, and their colleagues have found that happy, positive people have greater neural electrical activity in their left prefrontal cortex when resting. Dissatisfied, negative people show greater electrical activity in their right prefrontal cortex when resting (Davidson & Tomarken, 1989; Tomarken & Keener, 1998).

Why are there two largely independent systems — behavioral inhibition and behavioral facilitation — rather than one? Cacioppo, Gardner, & Berntson (1999, p. 847) have suggested that two systems permit the organism to be shaped through

RIF F

RIF TX

RIF-T

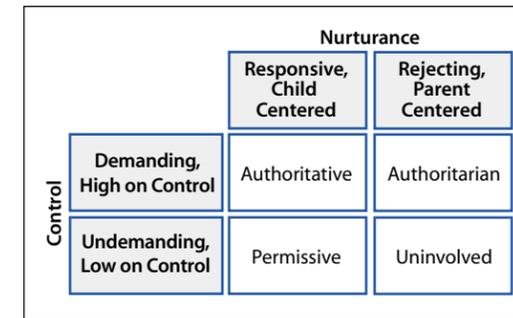
FG-N
FG-T
FG-C

FG-SN

EQ

FIGURE 11.3

Styles of Parenting
Parenting can be conceived of as varying on two dimensions: Nurturance and Control. Together these define four styles of parenting. (Source note sets italic.)



learning in more subtle ways than would be possible with one system. As a person experiences various events, the two systems learn to respond in partial independence of one another. Sometimes a person may be rewarded for inhibiting certain behaviors, sometimes for facilitating behaviors, and sometimes for both. Because there are two partially independent systems acquiring experience from the environment, more emotional configurations are possible — such as being both inhibited and facilitated at the same time (or being neither inhibited or facilitated) in reaction to a given situation.

$$-6x + 2y = 14$$

Other biological models of Introversion-Extroversion and Neuroticism-Stability exist as well. Eysenck, for example, has suggested that introverts have higher physiological responsiveness to stimuli, and a higher resting level of activation than do extroverts. For example, if you place a drop of lemon juice in the mouths of an introvert and an extrovert, introverts will salivate more intensively than extroverts will (Von Knorring, Moernstad, & Forsgren, 1986). Introverts, in essence, strive to minimize the stimulation they experience so as to keep their activation level from rising even higher than its already high set point. Extroverts, on the other hand, go out and find stimulation so as to raise their initially too-low level of excitement (Eysenck, 1967; 1990, p. 248). All such explanations are at present little more than hypotheses, and their specific nature are modified with more research (Zuckerman, 1991, p. 135-137).

Emotional reactivity is influenced by more than just one's biology, of course. People start learning emotional responses in infancy. For example, a toddler who receives a shot from a doctor may learn to associate the white coats of doctors with pain, and future doctors in white coats may elicit fear automatically as a conditioned reaction (Lewis, 2000). The child at 8 months may exhibit only relatively simple fears such as those in response to shots or loud noises. By 2 years of age, however, a child may perceive more complex social relations — and feel apprehensive, for example, upon breaking her parents' favorite lamp (Lewis, 2000). Emotional learning proceeds based on early exposure to objects and people. A child who brushes his teeth with Willard's of Vermont Toothpaste, while standing next to his mother, may connect the brand to his mother and develop a basic positive reaction to it (Parkinson & Manstead, 1992).

What Are Happy People Like?

Natural Happiness

As we have just seen, many people’s emotional styles involve soberness or negativity; only a few possess the exact traits in the exact right amount to experience happiness. What are such happy people like? From an emotions standpoint, happiness involves being low in neuroticism, somewhat high in extroversion, and having a general sense of well-being as well.

The first thing to say about happiness is that some people seem to feel it rather naturally, whereas others do not (e.g., Watson, 2002). The great 20th century psycho-diagnostician Paul Meehl (1975), wrote that some people seem to have more “happiness juice” than others. Some people, in other words, seem born happy, whereas others, according to one Wild West maxim, are born “three drinks behind” (Meehl, 1975, p.299). Meehl (1975) describes those who lacked the ability to experience pleasure as often experiencing life as a struggle:

Well, you know, I have to get up in the morning when I hear the alarm clock ring and go out and shovel the walk [Meehl worked in snowy Minnesota] and all that kind of junk, and what do I really get out of it? I mean, it strikes me that life is often pretty much a big pain in the neck – it just isn’t worth it. (Meehl, 1975, p. 300).

Reading the above description from today’s perspective, incidentally, brings to mind the fact that seasonal decreases in sunlight (as might have been the case in Minnesota snow storms) can also lead to rises in negative feelings.

The happy person, by contrast, is “born three drinks ahead” (Meehl, 1975, p. 300). Such individuals are fun loving and cherish their experiences. Indeed, research indicates a fair degree of heritability of positive emotions, with estimates at about $r = .40$ for both positive and negative emotions (measured on the Neuroticism-Extroversion-Openness (NEO) scale (Jang et al., 1998).

• FACTS • AT • A • GLANCE •

What Are the World’s Most Happy and Unhappy Nations?

(From Inglehart, 1990, cited in Myers & Diener, 1995, p. 13)

People Who Say They Are Happiest Are In:	Score (from 1 to 10)	People Who Say They Are Least Happy Are In:	Score (from 1 to 10)
Denmark	8.0	Portugal	5.5
Sweden	8.0	Greece	5.8
Switzerlan	7.9	Japan	6.4
Australia	7.9	Spain	6.6
Norway	7.8	Italy	6.6

Facts at a Glance

Disciplinary Crossroads

Greenwald’s Studies of Sublimation Perception and Motivation

Inside our field, there are few researchers as careful, and with such high standards and patience as Anthony Greenwald. Through the years, Greenwald and his colleagues have examined many difficult to resolve issues in the field, employing meticulous methods, multiple studies, and persevering so as to find effects when many would have given up. One area in which Greenwald has worked is subliminal perception.

- The researchers employed a double blind method in which neither they, nor the participants, knew what recording was on a given tape.
- The tapes were, however, relabeled and these labels were counterbalanced over what the tape supposedly influenced.

In more serious laboratory studies, the existence of subliminal perception is demonstrated through examining the "direct" and "indirect" effects of a stimulus. For a subliminal effect to be demonstrated, the participant must have no

direct awareness of what they saw or heard. If asked, "What did you just hear or see?" the participant should be unable to answer. Technically, subliminal perception can be defined as perception that shows no evidence of direct effects but which yields statistically significant indirect effects:

Draine & Greenwald, 1998
Greenwald, Klinger, & Schuh, 1995;
Reingold & Merikle, 1988

Recently Draine and Greenwald (1998) developed a procedure that can be used to more reliably produce the effect. The technique examines the difference between direct and indirect effects under conditions of subliminal presentation. A variety of innovations ensures that this approach yields more consistent results than have been obtained in the past. So subliminal perception exists – but you probably wouldn’t want to go out and buy any subliminal tapes on that basis.

IF-BL

IF-UL

The best of such quizzes are breezy, fun, and informative. Lawrence (2000), a writer who raises horses, and teaches riding and aerobics, wrote the following quiz to help people think about their approach to fitness. Take it and see how you do...

FITNESS APTITUDE QUIZ

First published in *Vegetarian Times Magazine*

1. Your idea of a great workout is...
 - a. Taking the dog for a hike in the woods.
 - b. Beating your opponent in a blistering one-on-one game of tennis, racquetball, etc.
 - c. Going to the gym and not having to wait in line to use any of the equipment.
 - d. Enjoying a gentle yoga class.
 - e. Shopping at the outlet mall the day after Thanksgiving.
2. Your favorite pair of shoes are...
 - a. Hiking boots
 - b. The latest in pump, gel or air technology
 - c. Cross-trainers
 - d. Sturdy, comfortable walking shoes
 - e. Faux leopard bedroom slippers

Part 2
Parts of Personality

Chapter 4
Motivation and Emotion

Chapter 5
Interior Selves; Interior Worlds

Chapter 6
Intelligences and Mental Skills

Chapter 7
The Conscious Self

Guided by theory, and using research tools such as psychological measurement and experimental design, psychologists have gradually sorted out and begun to understand the specific parts of personality. This chapter begins our exploration of the parts of personality with a look at an individual's motives and emotions. Motives help direct our behavior — they guide us toward some aims and away from others. Emotions interact with motives, amplifying or subduing them. Emotions also tell us about our relationships with others and how to achieve our aims in a social context. These parts of personality will be examined in:

● **Chapter 4**

Motivation and Emotion

Previewing the Chapter's Central Questions

- **How Are Motives Expressed?**

Motives aren't just something a person feels internally — they have real life impact on the choices a person makes. For example, a person who values achievement will behave differently from someone who values power."

- **What Are Motives and How Can They Be Measured?**

Motives, goals, and plans, propel personality to do the things it does. To find out which motives, goals, and plans are most fundamental, psychologists have employed psychological tests to understand and organize peoples' personal directions.

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- **What are Happy People Like?**

If people vary in how emotional they are, then what are the characteristics of, say, the very happiest people?

What Are Motives?

Motives, Instincts, and Needs

What possible motive could a person have for climbing Mount Everest? On March 10th, 1996, Jon Krakauer, a reporter for Outside magazine, was riding aboard a Russian-built helicopter with other members of an expedition that would climb Mount Everest, the tallest mountain in the world. The men and women had all paid steep fees to be guided to the top by an experienced mountaineer — \$65,000 a head. At the start of the expedition, Krakauer had wondered about his fellow climbers: Who were they? Could he have confidence in them? His life would depend upon these expedition members during the climb (Krakauer, 1998, pp. 37-38). A number of mountaineering teams ascended the peak on the same day as Krakauer's team. An unexpected storm, along with other mishaps, took the lives of a number of people. Although Krakauer survived, many of those he climbed with did not, including the leader of the expedition.

Motivation: A field that studies the psychological reasons that people behave the way they do.

In appreciating such a heroic and dangerous endeavor, we might ask, "Why were they there? Why did Krakauer and his fellow climbers spend two months away from their homes and families and strain themselves to the breaking point in order to climb the mountain?" This is a consideration of **motivation**. Most generally speaking, motivation is the study of why people do the things they do.

"Because it is there" was the famous reason George Leigh Mallory gave for climbing Mount Everest. Mallory had become irritated by the repeated questioning of a reporter when he provided the response. Was Everest's "there-ness" the real reason that Mallory, and many others later, such as Krakauer, would risk their lives to climb it? Were there other aspects of their personalities that entered into the equation as well?