

# **RESEARCH IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR**

*An Annual Series of Analytical Essays and  
Critical Reviews*

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**VOLUME 15 • 1993**

*Greenwich, Connecticut*

**JAI PRESS INC.**

*London, England*

# A GOAL HIERARCHY MODEL OF PERSONALITY, MOTIVATION, AND LEADERSHIP

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## ABSTRACT

Relatively little work has integrated personality and work motivation. This may be due to the fact that researchers tend to think about each topic quite differently. Personality, for example, is often conceptualized in terms of traits, which tend to emphasize the stable aspects of human functioning. Motivation theories, on the other hand, use such constructs as goals, which focus primarily on the dynamic processes that underlie behavior. These differences in orientation have made integration difficult. To eliminate this problem, the present paper conceptualizes personality as a hierarchy of goals. At the top of the hierarchy are abstract direction orientations, such as a tendency to approach positive stimuli. In order to enact their abstract standards, people formulate more concrete goals such as values, self-identities, and personal projects. Finally, at the base of the hierarchy individuals set specific performance goals. These concrete standards ultimately serve to attain important values and to achieve desired self-identities. These performance goals are the most concrete, in that they refer to specific behaviors. Personality is thus seen as a hierarchy of goals. Consequently, the present model integrates personality and work motivation by placing both within the same hierarchical goal structure. In order to demonstrate the utility of this conceptualization, the Goal Hierarchy model is applied to work relevant emotions and leadership. In each case, literature relevant to the model is reviewed.

Research in Organizational Behavior, Volume 15, pages 267-322.

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ISBN: 1-55938-522-7

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to propose an integrative theory of personality and work motivation. At first glance, this might not appear to be a particularly difficult undertaking. After all, in recent years the organizational sciences have seen an upsurge of interest in personality variables (Weiss & Adler, 1984). It has been shown, for example, that personality traits can be used to predict job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Hough, Eaton, DUnI).ette, Kamp, & McCloy, 1990), leader effectiveness (House, 1988; Lord, De Vader, & Alliger, 1986), employee reliability (Hogan & Hogan, 1989), and work attitudes (Arvey, Carter, & Buerkley, 1991; Cropanzano, James, & Konovsky, 1991). Unfortunately, however, there has been relatively little recent work relating personality to theories of work motivation (Kanfer, 1991). Although some useful research exists, it often examines traits individually and does not embed personality in a broad model of motivational functioning (cf. Locke & Latham, 1990a). We will argue that while traits do predict work behavior, limitations of this approach have impeded integrations of personality and motivation.

**In** fact, multiple perspectives on personality exist. For example, Kendrick, Montello, and McFarlane (1985) argue that there are three general approaches to explaining personality: learning, cognitive, and biological. As these authors note, these perspectives do not necessarily contradict each other. **In** fact, all are necessary to give a full account of behavior. Researchers limit themselves not by emphasizing one point of view (this happens simply due to the complex nature of the topic), but by doing so to the exclusion of all others. Furthermore, none of these approaches precludes or even weakens a trait perspective. Rather, each approach complements the trait model by offering a description of the underlying processes that may cause traits to exist.

Some general concerns about trait approaches to personality were raised by Pervin (1985). We shall deal with two here. First, Pervin (1985) noted that traits generally attempt to offer a description of personality, while not fully explaining it. Knowing, for example, that an individual has a particular trait gives one an account of the patterns of behaviors that are likely to occur in certain situations, but does not necessarily explain the psychological and physiological processes that underlie those patterns.

Second, Pervin (1985) argues that traits have a static flavor. Cantor (1990) has echoed Pervin's (1985) concern by arguing that traits focus on the characteristics that people "have." While useful, this approach is limited in that it places less emphasis on what people actually "do." That is, organizational research would be well served by a personality perspective that emphasized the manner in which people grow and adapt to their environment. Cantor's (1990) "doing" is a major concern of motivation theory and is the focus of this paper. The two limitations described by Pervin (1985) mean that the trait approach, at least in its present form, does not provide a good model of work motivation.

### What is Motivation?

Motivation is a multifaceted construct and has been defined in different ways by different people. However, as Mitchell (1987) indicates, most definitions of motivation include at least three things: energy, direction, and persistence. Mitchell notes that persistence has received less research than the other two, and can be subsumed under direction. Hence, we shall not examine it further.

Energy or activation level can usefully be studied as a stable personality trait (e.g., Gardner & Cummings, 1988), but motivation theories typically give greater emphasis to the changes in arousal levels that occur over time or across situations. **In** addition, motivation theories are explicitly concerned with the cognitive (and other) processes that produce these temporal and situational changes. Motivation models complement the trait approach in that they delineate the specific types of cognitions that may partially underlie individual differences in activity level.

Although cognition is certainly important in regulating activity level, both trait and motivational theories agree that the energy comes from the individual's affective response. For example, a person can be lethargic, anxious, or enthusiastic. These are emotionally charged responses that have implications for how an individual will approach a task. Consequently, a model of motivation that does not include a place for affect will necessarily be incomplete.

A second thing that motivation implies is that behavior has some direction. Such direction could be represented as a goal or standard that the individual is trying to attain. **In** any case, direction implies some level of organization. One must organize his or her activity to attain some outcome. Since direction implies some standard, Pervin (1983, 1989) has suggested that goals can be used as a general organizing principle. A cluster of behaviors is meaningful to the extent that it is organized in order to achieve some goal.

**In** fact, goal setting theory has become the leading model of work motivation (Locke & Latham, 1990a). Few would question that it offers a useful account of behavioral energy and direction. There is substantial empirical evidence supporting goal setting theory, and other motivational frameworks may be subsumed under this framework (Kanfer, 1991). However, as Pervin (1983, 1989) notes, goals also seem capable of providing a model of human personality. **If** motivational and personality theories were based on the same construct (i.e., goals), then they would be more likely to compliment each other. Our intention, therefore, is to outline a unified, goal-based model of personality and motivation. This model will emphasize processes that account for both consistency and change in behavior. Although various authors have maintained that such a hierarchical, goal-based framework describes personality (e.g., Emmons, 1989; Little, 1987a; Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960; Vallacher & Wegner, 1985), no single work to date has attempted to integrate both

personality and work motivation into such a model. We will do so and attempt to demonstrate its potential validity for organizational research and application.

## GOALS, PERSONALITY, AND WORK MOTIVATION

For many years both philosophers and social scientists have been impressed with the goal directed nature of human action (Pervin, 1983; Silver, 1985). To maintain that behavior is goal directed is to say that it is motivated by a cognitive representation of some outcome. Purposeful or intentional behavior is a type of goal directed behavior that includes the realization that certain patterns of behaviors are likely to produce certain outcomes (Gallistel, 1985; Locke & Latham, 1990a; Pervin, 1983). An individual, for example, might be moved to hard work by the image of high pay. The same worker might also be moved by the image of punishment for poor performance (cf. Arvey & Ivancevich, 1980). Motivation then, can spring from an outcome to be approached or an outcome to be avoided.

### Goals as the Basis of Personality

While there is good evidence that goals direct and energize behavior, recent research has been focused on understanding how goals work. Control theory is one useful way of conceptualizing goals (Klein, 1989; Lord & Hanges, 1987). The general assumption of control theory is that behavior is guided by internal standards or referents. Any discrepancy between a behavior and an active standard is noted, and corrective action is taken (for discussions, see Hyland, 1989; Carver & Scheier, 1981; Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960). In effect, the referent standard serves as a type of goal that the individual desires to approach (Lord & Hanges, 1987).

A less widely researched aspect of control theory (for a noteworthy exception, see Champion & Lord, 1982) is that the model is explicitly hierarchical. Complex tasks are represented as a network of specific subtasks. A person pursues a general goal by setting a series of interrelated subgoals (i.e., behavioral standards). Srull and Wyer (1986) provide the example of "going to the theatre." To accomplish this broad goal, an individual may set two subgoals of "arranging for tickets" and "get[ting] to theatre on time." These subgoals may, in turn, be divided further.

For our purposes, however, one need not stop at discrete ends like attending a play. One can conceptualize all of life's aspirations as shaped by a hierarchy of goals at progressively higher levels of abstraction. High in this hierarchy are relatively abstract values and self-identities-topics traditionally addressed by social and personality psychologists. At the bottom of the hierarchy are

the more specific task goals often studied in the organizational sciences. This is an important point. There are goal based models of personality and also goal based models of work motivation. However, personality theorists have traditionally focused on abstract goal states (e.g., needs), while motivational theorists have tended to examine concrete work goals (e.g., complete 20 widgets an hour). Both types of models are consistent, however, since an individual's concrete goals can help her achieve her abstract ones. To illustrate this point, consider the example of an individual who places a high value on learning. To attain this value, this person may take on the self-identity of a professor. To enact this identity, she may then take on two projects: teaching and research. Finally, successful teaching and research, in turn, will require more specific task goals.

Personality, therefore, can be conceptualized as an interrelated series of goals. Or, to state the matter more explicitly, personality is the system goals that the person seeks to accomplish. Extending this analysis, one can see the subtleties involved in predicting and understanding complex human behaviors. For one thing, two people could have identical values (i.e., higher-level standards) but enact them very differently. One person who values learning may devote her life to academics, another may simply read in her spare time. Conversely, two individuals could have different values, but enact them using the same lower-level standards. For example, a person could become a professor either to fulfill a value of learning or a value for achievement. Which pair of individuals is more alike? Those with the same values or those with same action plans? A researcher interested in personality would probably argue that value congruence is necessary for "true" similarity. A motivational theorist (or at least someone interested in vocational choice), would probably find more similarity in the second pair of individuals.

Further, a single individual can have multiple identities (e.g., professor and parent) and many action plans to service each. Therefore, the proposed hierarchy is not a simple inverted tree with a few goals on top and many more neatly tied at the bottom. If the full "hierarchy" were actually drawn it would probably look more like a lattice, with many complex connections (Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). Because this arrangement is so complicated, only certain portions of the hierarchy will be salient at a given time. The action plans are most likely to guide activity, and therefore individuals will behave differently as they focus on different parts of their hierarchy. Later, we will examine this in more detail. For now, we should note that the basic notion of the hierarchy is maintained despite the complexities. An example of such a hierarchy is presented in Figure 1.

A personality-based approach to motivation needs to explain how the entire hierarchy operates to influence behavior. For practical reasons, however, researchers have typically focused on only one or two levels of the full hierarchy. In the present paper, we will attempt to integrate research on the different levels

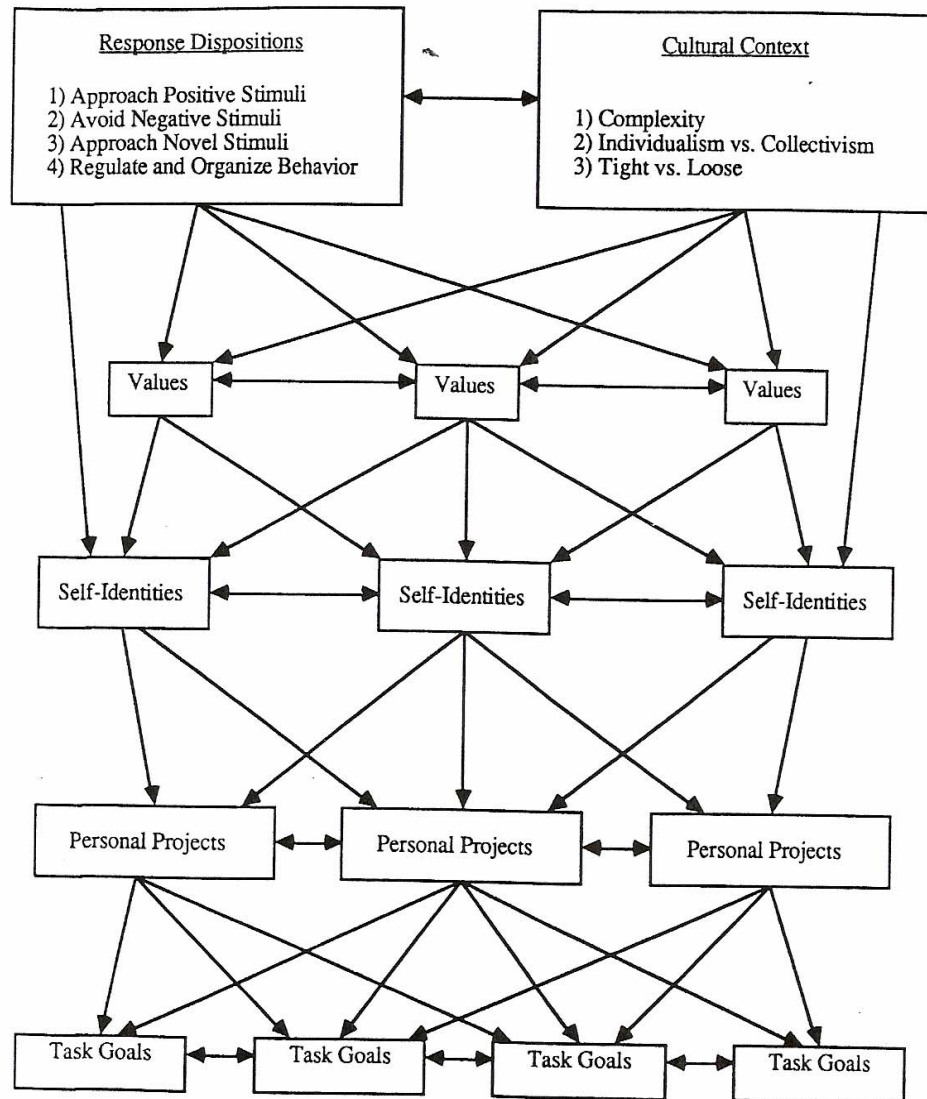


Figure 1. The Goal Hierarchy Model of Personality

into a complete goal-based framework. Thus, our theory of personality will be built out of goals. These goals will be arranged in a hierarchy ranging from abstract directional orientations, through values, and ultimately down to concrete task goals. Since goals are the fundamental building blocks, our theory will, therefore, be consistent with the leading model of work motivation, namely goal setting theory. In the presentation that follows, we will begin by describing concrete work goals. Thus, the initial focus is more on motivation and less on personality. However, we will then turn to more abstract goals, at which point the focus will be more on personality.

### Goal Setting

The evidence relating goal setting to task performance is quite consistent. As several reviews have demonstrated, goals that are difficult and specific are likely to increase performance (Locke & Latham, 1990a, 1990b; Locke, Shaw, Saari, & Latham, 1981). We can best illustrate the importance of goal setting by going through the steps an individual faces when he or she begins to work on a task.

#### *Deciding to Pursue a Goal*

In the workplace, individuals are often faced with a wide variety of competing tasks. They then need to organize their time and energy, focusing on some tasks, while ignoring others. One way to regulate behavior is through goal setting. Various reviews have indicated that individuals are more likely to set (Bandura, 1986) and become committed to (Hollenbeck & Klein, 1987) difficult goals if they believe that they have a high likelihood of success. When self-efficacy is properly measured (for a discussion of this issue, see Garland, 1984), people appear to set higher goals when they have more faith in their ability to accomplish them (Hollenbeck & Brief, 1987). Further, this relationship remains significant even after controlling for actual ability (Ajzen & Madden, 1986; Locke, Fredrick, Lee, & Bobko, 1984).

Another important factor affecting individuals' choice of goals is what Hollenbeck and Klein call the "attractiveness of goal attainment" (p. 215) or what Locke and Latham (1990a) refer to as "valence" (p. 121). As with expectancy, individuals are more likely to set demanding goals when there is some valued reward associated with goal attainment (Riedel, Nebeker, & Cooper, 1988). For example, Locke and Shaw (1984) found that individuals who received money for high performance set more difficult goals.

It should come as no surprise that individuals are more likely to set goals when doing so could help them obtain important outcomes. However, this observation begs the more general question of why a given outcome is seen as important. It is here that the hierarchical nature of personality becomes



important. Various researchers have argued that performance goals are important to the extent that they serve a larger objective or value (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1981; Locke & Latham, 1990a; Powers, 1973). An individual who values achievement, for example, would be more likely to set performance goals that allow her to do well at work. Put another way, as Markus and Wurf (1987) have noted, and as Figure I indicates, performance goals partially result from an individual's values. We will elaborate more on this later. For now it should serve to note that specific goals are linked to more general ones.

Once a goal is chosen and accepted, various physiological and psychological changes begin to occur. The individual's autonomic nervous system is aroused in preparation for the challenge ahead (Wright & Brehm, 1989). This anticipatory arousal is manifested in increased heart rate and blood pressure (Wright, 1984; Wright, Contrada, & Patane, 1986). The magnitude of this increase is higher for demanding tasks than for less demanding ones (Wright, Shaw, & Jones, 1990). Individuals also begin to place a higher value on successful performance (Brehm, Wright, Solomon, Silka, & Greenberg, 1983; Garland, 1985). Similarly, a goal can cause an increase in self-efficacy for the task (Garland, 1985; Meyer & Gellatly, 1988). Clearly, the process of goal setting is intimately tied to the constructs of outcome importance (or valence) and self-efficacy. To state the matter more generally, goals serve as mental reference points around which physical and cognitive activity are organized.

### *Goals and Task Performance*

As indicated in the brief overview presented above, when a person strives to reach a goal she is continually comparing her behavior to the actual state of affairs. A negative discrepancy tends to draw attention. Corrective action is then taken (Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960; Powers, 1973). Because of this process, individuals actively monitor their environments for performance feedback (Larsen, 1989). This feedback typically works best when it is specific (Ashford & Cummings, 1983) and constructive (Baron, 1992). Similarly, goals are most effective when they are specific (Bandura, 1986; Locke, Shaw, Saari, & Latham, 1981) and when feedback about progress toward achieving them is provided (Locke & Latham, 1990a).

Even when faced with a negative discrepancy, individuals do not necessarily experience negative emotion. So long as an individual believes that success will be forthcoming some time in the future, he or she experiences little negative affect (Carver & Scheier, 1990; Hsee & Abelson, 1991). In fact, Wortman and Brehm (1975) review evidence indicating that when faced with the initial possibility of failure, individuals actually exert more effort. It is only when continued evidence of failure occurs that performance levels fall off. General evidence for this model has been obtained by Pittman and Pittman (1979, 1980).

Nevertheless, there are times when negative emotion or reduced effort does occur in response to negative feedback. If the goal is important, then the fear of failure can be quite stressful—even before the actual failure takes place. Similarly, if people perceive that goal demands exceed their ability, then a variety of negative emotions are likely. For example, when individuals who lack coping efficacy are forced to confront a threatening stimuli, they show signs of depressed immune functioning (Wiedenfeld, O'Leary, Bandura, Brown, Levine, & Raska, 1990) and the activation of endogenous opioids (Bandura, Cioffi, Taylor, & Brouillard, 1988). Such a perception can lead to an amotivational state where an individual exerts less effort on behalf of the organization (Jackson, Schwab, & Schuler, 1986).

### *Affective Consequences of Goal-Based Task Outcomes*

An individual's response to his past performance is based on the importance of the task. **In** general, people show more emotion when the task is important (Carver & Scheier, 1982, 1990). As Locke and Latham (1990a) note, when a goal is important people are happier when they succeed and more upset when they fail. When the goal is unimportant people's emotions are much more muted.

When individuals are successful at a task, they are said to administer self-reinforcement (Bandura, 1982a, 1989 Wood & Bandura, 1989). They feel good about themselves and their performance. That is, performance feeds back to internalized self-concepts and modifies the emotions associated with them. Successful performance also leads to higher self-efficacy for the goal-directed task (Bandura, 1982b). **In** fact, according to Bandura (1986), a positive personal experience is among the best ways to build efficacy. Put into organizational terms, this indicates that success breeds satisfaction and higher self-efficacy, which in turn breeds more success. Locke and Latham (1990b) refer to this as the "high performance cycle." These authors state that success at goal attainment produces confidence and confidence makes goal success more likely.

Past performance is, therefore, an important antecedent of future performance and satisfaction. This is true for both success and failure. Failure can also set up a self-perpetuating cycle. As we noted earlier, at the first signs of failure, individuals are likely to increase their efforts. If success is still not forthcoming, effort decreases (Wortman & Brehm, 1975), self-efficacy drops (Bandura, 1986), and individuals experience a negative mood state (Pittman & Pittman, 1979). Furthermore, this lack of confidence can generalize to tasks that were unrelated to the one where the original failure occurred (Pittman & Pittman, 1980). That is, performance can even decrease when the individual is placed in a new situation (Mikulincer, 1988; Mikulincer & Nizer, 1988). Here we see evidence for a "low performance cycle" where a series of failures can lead to subsequent dissatisfaction and disruption of future performance.

### Goals and Planning

Goal setting is a generally effective means of raising performance. However, meta-analytic work has shown that goal setting is more effective for simple tasks than for complex ones (Wood, Mento, & Locke, 1987). One reason for this somewhat inconsistent finding may be that complex tasks require more planning. Goal setting often works because it leads to increased plan formulation (Earley & Perry, 1987; Earley, Wojnarowski, & Presr,-1987; Huber, 1985). Clearly the more complicated the task, the more difficult it will be to formulate an effective plan.

According to Miller et al. (1960), a plan is a hierarchical arrangement of increasingly specific goals. When one is trying to accomplish a goal on a large or complex task, it is often helpful to simplify things by dividing them into a series of related subtasks, and setting a subgoal for each (Srull & Wyer, 1986). Higher level goals specify the standards of success for subgoals. An example of such a plan structure is shown in Figure 2. In the case we take the example of a supervisor who desires to complete a periodic performance evaluation. The overall job requires two task goals: gather information and hold an appraisal feedback meeting. Each of these requires other, more specific subtasks.

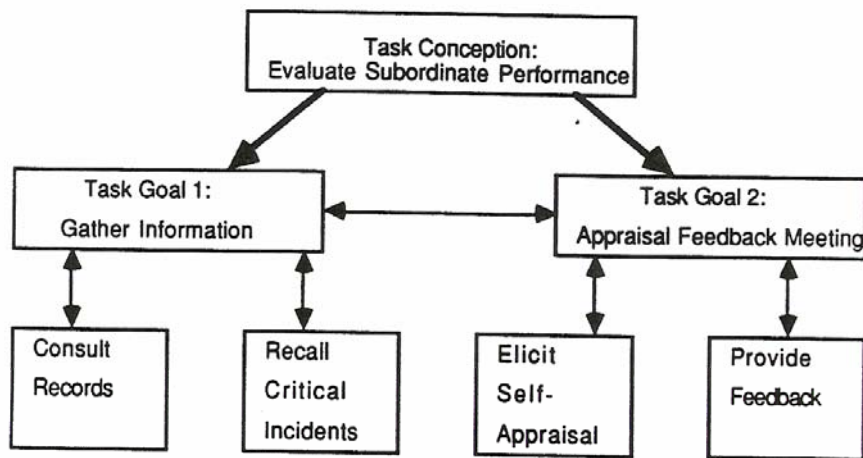


Figure 2. A Model of Plan Structure

Early goal-setting research did not test for this type of goal structure. To remedy this problem, Campion and Lord (1982) conducted a goal setting study on a group of college students. Participants were told to set an overall class goal and specific goals for each test. The authors found that individuals readily set goals at each level. **In** addition, individuals tended to adjust their lower level goals, in order to achieve their higher level class goal. Similar results were obtained by Cropanzano, Citera, and Howes (1992). They further found that when faced with negative feedback individuals were biased as to what part of the plan they adjusted. Support for a hierarchical model was found in that goals close to the point of failure were more likely to be adjusted.

### From Task Goals to Personality

As we have seen, goals are the principle means we use to direct and organize our behavior. Consequently, the proposed model will use goals as the basic building blocks of personality. The research reviewed thus far, however, was conducted primarily on specific task goals and usually in laboratory settings. While very useful, it is limited since personality is a general construct that has implications for behavior in a person's natural environment. Consequently, we must now turn our attention to field research examining more abstract goals. The studies reviewed in the next section may seem far removed from laboratory research on specific task goals. **In** many respects they are. However, each of the models to be considered will include a performance standard and also a set of accompanying task related cognitions. **In** each case, these cognitions can produce positive or negative emotion.

Finally~ all of the research reviewed is similar in one other respect. Every theorist specifically posits a hierarchy of standards. At the top of the hierarchy are abstract orientations that are achieved by enacting concrete lower level goals. Put simply, the work that follows only differs in that various researchers have chosen to concentrate their attention at different levels of the hierarchy. There is a literature available for each level of abstraction, although it can only be sampled in this paper.

It is important to note that there are many useful ways to approach personality. **In** the present paper, our approach is to define personality as a hierarchy of goals. Strictly speaking, we are not maintaining that personality causes an individual to have certain goals. Rather, as considered here, *personality is an individual's idiosyncratic goal hierarchy*. Personality has to do, at least in part, with the manner in which individuals direct and organize their behavior. Goals provide this direction and organization. Hence, for the present purposes, goals and personality reduce to the same thing. **In** stating this, we wish to strongly emphasize that we are not saying that our model is the only, or even the best, approach to personality. We have already noted that multiple perspectives exist (d. Kendrick, 1989; Kendrick et al., 1986).

However, the goal hierarchy model could compliment these other approaches by offering some important insights into work motivation.

## **THE GOAL HIERARCHY MODEL OF PERSONALITY**

### The Origins of Personality: Biology, Culture, and Social Interactions

Our view is that personality (that is, the goal hierarchy) results from a dynamic interaction of innate tendencies and sociocultural experiences (cf. Martindale, 1980, 1981). **In** the discussion that follows, we will begin at the highest level of the goal hierarchy and discuss these general biological and cultural orientations which we believe are the basis of personality. Following this, we will trace the manner in which values develop out of those general orientations. Then, we will turn our attention to the various self-identities that are enacted as a means of achieving different values. Finally, we discuss personal projects, which act as mid-level standards, half-way between the abstract self-identities and the more concrete task goals. After explaining the entire model, we will then discuss two applications. First, we will apply the goal hierarchy approach to work attitudes. Next, we will consider supervision in light of this model:

### The Biological Basis of Personality and Motivation

Personality, of course, is somewhat dispositional. These dispositions influence the manner in which the individual responds to his or her environment. Further, such dispositions seem to be partially due to each person's unique biological endowment (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985). The weight of current evidence clearly indicates that a substantial part of the variance in major personality dispositions is accounted for by biological factors (Plomin, 1989, 1986).

One can think of personality as the manner in which individuals respond to stimuli in their environment. Broadly speaking, there are three kinds of stimuli that a person is likely to encounter: Things that are positive, things that are negative, and things about which the individual is uncertain. At the most basic level, individuals are motivated to approach good things and to avoid bad things (Sullivan, 1989). Also, people can be curious and, therefore, approach novel or unfamiliar stimuli. Whether approaching or avoiding, individuals need to organize and regulate their behavior. As we have already seen, this involves the setting and monitoring of goals.

These response tendencies (approach positive, avoid negative, approach novel, and self-regulate) can be conceptualized as very general goals, or, perhaps more accurately, as directional orientations. From these orientations

individuals can construct more elaborate goal structures. For example, approaching "good" things is a vague goal indeed! To achieve this end, an individual must define "good," and devise a means for reaching it. In addition, it is also clear that everyone must manifest each of these tendencies at least to some extent. It is likely that these dimensions are independent, but this is an empirical question. There is reason to believe that not everyone exhibits each response dimension to the same degree. We propose that individuals can be distinguished based on how motivated they are to approach or avoid certain kinds of stimuli and, further, how carefully they regulate and monitor their behavior. We further maintain that individuals inherit biological dispositions that play a major role in each of these response tendencies. Finally, it should be noted that in keeping with recent research on global personality dimensions (e.g., Costa & McCrae, 1988; Digman, 1990; John, 1989; McCrae, 1989), we believe that each of these response orientations is manifested as an observable personality trait or traits. Below, we review evidence pertaining to each of these response dimensions, while paying particular attention to their representation as observable personality dispositions.

*Approaching Positive Stimuli.* Relatively speaking, some individuals seem to be hyper-responsive to positive environmental cues. Gray (1987) and Davidson (1984) have characterized these individuals as approach oriented. In terms of observed personality traits, approach oriented individuals will be more impulsive (Gray, 1987) and extraverted (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989, 1991). Emotionally, individuals high on this dimension generally report positive moods (Gray, 1987), relatively higher self-esteem (Diener & Emmons, 1985), and more positive work attitudes (Cropanzano, James, & Konovsky, 1991). In their social environments, these individuals tend to be more outgoing and talkative (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985) and more heavily influenced by positive information. For example, in a series of studies, Larsen and Ketelaar (1989, 1991) found that so-called extraverts were more responsive to positive performance feedback and relatively unresponsive to negative information.

Considerable evidence exists demonstrating that genetic predispositions are one important determinant of extraversion (Loehlin, 1989; Plomin, 1989). In addition, this trait appears early in life (Plomin, 1986), and remains relatively stable after adulthood (Digman, 1990). Finally, although the specifics need not concern us here, much research has investigated the biological bases of this orientation (Davidson, 1984; Gray, 1987; Strelau & Eysenck, 1987).

*Avoiding Negative Stimuli.* Some individuals tend to respond more intensely to negative stimuli. These individuals tend to manifest a heightened concern for and awareness of negative events in their environments. Gray (1987) and Davidson (1984) have characterized these people as avoidance-oriented. In terms of their observed personality, such individuals will report higher levels

of anxiety (Davidson, 1984; Gray, 1987) and negative emotionality (Watson & Clark, 1984), and lower levels of self-esteem (Diener & Emmons, 1985). In response to either negative feedback or negative work settings, these individuals showed considerably more negative emotion (Hauenstein & Bittle, 1990; Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989, 1991). As above, behavioral genetic evidence indicates that negative emotionality is partially genetic (Loehlin, 1989; Plomin, 1989), appears in childhood Plomin (1986), and is relatively stable among adults (Digman, 1990). As above, biological theories have been proposed by Gray (1987), Eysenck and Eysenck (1985), and Davidson (1984).

*Approaching Novel Stimuli.* Our third response disposition has to do with the manner in which individuals respond to novel stimuli. Individuals high on this dimension are likely to enjoy sampling new experiences. In trait terms, such individuals would be high on "Openness to Experience" (McCrae & Costa, 1985). In their review, McCrae and Costa (1985) note that individuals high on openness are imaginative, creative, and curious. They tend to have more artistic and investigative vocational interests. They are not necessarily more intelligent, however. Similarly, Cloninger, Sigvardsson, and Bohman (1988) examine a similar trait which they label "novelty seeking." As in the present model, Cloninger and his colleagues state that novelty seeking is characterized by "exploratory appetitive behavior" (Cloninger et al., 1988, p. 495). Under certain conditions, this trait can be related to alcohol abuse.

Unlike some other traits, there is currently less direct evidence indicating that novelty seeking is inherited. However, Cloninger and his colleagues (1988) do review detailed research indicating a neuropsychological basis for this trait. Similar evidence is also presented by Kagan and Snidman (1991). These authors discuss a response style that they term "uninhibited." Kagan and Snidman note that uninhibited infants display more positive emotion in the presence of novel stimuli. In addition, they find that this trait stays fairly stable throughout early childhood. Given the existence of a stable, biologically-based response style, it seems reasonable to suppose that there must be at least some important genetic influence.

*Behavioral Regulation.* The first three dimensions are based on classes of stimuli that an individual may approach or avoid. This last dimension focuses instead on the manner in which behavior is enacted. Some individuals are more likely to set goals, to monitor them, and to stick more closely to their standards. In work settings these individuals would likely appear hard-working, organized, and planful (especially since we have defined plans as hierarchies of task goals). Depending on the nature of the goals, such a person might also appear inhibited and prudent. This closely corresponds to the personality trait of conscientiousness (Digman, 1990). In fact, as would also be expected, conscientiousness is related to need for achievement (John, 1989; Costa & McCrae, 1988) and job

performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Although the behavioral genetic evidence is not conclusive, it is certainly suggestive. To our knowledge, no one has directly examined genetic influences on the global trait of conscientiousness. However, there is evidence that the closely related dimensions of achievement and constraint are partially inherited (Tellegen, Lykken, Bouchard, Wilcox, Segal, & Rich, 1988). This supports the notion that people have an inborn tendency to regulate their behavior through the setting of goals. However, as is typical, wide individual differences exist. Hence, some individuals are prone to set and carefully monitor goals, while others are much less so.

*Conclusions and Caveats.* The evidence reviewed above is supportive of our belief that there are distinct response styles that serve as directional orientations. In addition, these response styles map well on various trait approaches to personality and seem to be partially determined by an individual's genetic endowment. Given this evidence, it seems likely that approach and avoidance tendencies help determine the types of goals that an individual will set.

Despite this evidence, however, some caveats are in order. First, having stated that response dimensions can be thought of as global personality traits is not meant to imply that these traits are nothing more than response styles. The full behavioral, cognitive, and affective components of these traits can only be determined by future research. Response styles, however, do appear to be one important element.

Second, it is clear that response styles are very, very abstract categories. As such, they offer little of the specificity necessary to make precise behavioral predictions. The problem is one of instantiation. There are many ways in which an individual can "avoid bad things." To understand behavior, one needs to know what stimuli are defined as "bad" and the specific strategies that an individual will use to avoid them. For example, a monk sworn to poverty might define money as negative. A stockbroker, on the other hand, would more likely see it as something positive. These two individuals could have the same innate disposition to avoid bad things, but their behavior would likely appear very different. The manner in which these response orientations will be manifested, therefore, depends on the lower levels of the goal hierarchy (cf. Costa & McCrae, 1988).

Finally, it is important to recognize that not all of the variance in personality traits is genetically based. In fact, for personality traits the variance due to genetics is no more than 50-60% (Loehlin, 1989; Plomin, 1989). Further, interpreting heritability coefficients is a difficult task, and may be confounded by extraneous methodological factors (Cropanzano & James, 1990). Some of these potential confounds are due to the fact that genes and environments can work together in complex ways (Plomin, DeFries, & Loehlin, 1977). Therefore, although biology is important, other influences exist. One of these is culture. We will discuss this next.



*Sociocultural Influences on Personality*

One gets the distinct impression that in the act of defining culture much of the meaning of the idea is lost. Nevertheless, some concreteness is necessary for theory building. In particular, research has shown that the sociocultural environment exerts some influence on individual personality (Ryff, 1987). Hence, while acknowledging the limitations of our approach, we shall focus on three characteristics of cultures: complexity, individualism-collectivism, and tightness-looseness. These have grown out of the work of Triandis and his colleagues (for a review, see Triandis, 1989). It will be shown that these cultural attributes contribute to the development of individual personality by helping to build the goal hierarchy.

*Complexity.* Some cultures are relatively more complex than others. Complexity refers to the number of distinct elements associated with a culture. As Triandis (1989) notes, this could include such things as linguistic elements (e.g., the number of terms for certain items), or economic elements (e.g., the number of different occupations). Cultures invest in complexity as a means of solving certain problems (Tainter, 1988). For example, in the American west an entire bureaucracy exists to regulate the scarce water supply.

According to Triandis (1989), individuals living in complex cultures have the option of joining a variety of social groups. For example, a worker in a complex industrialized nation can identify with his family, his nation, his employer, his religion, or his profession. As individuals attempt to enact these multiple identities, two things are likely to result. First, individuals in complex societies will tend to have less commitment to anyone group. Put simply, there may not be enough of the person to go around. Second, individuals living in complex cultures are also likely to have self-identities and, thus, goal hierarchies that are more complex and varied, resulting in a greater potential for both conflict and flexibility.

*Individualism-Collectivism.* All societies have a certain tension between the rights of the individual and the greater good of the collective. The manner in which this tension is resolved varies widely among cultures (Triandis et al., 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Some cultures tend to be more collectivistic, in that they put group goals above those of the individual. These societies are more likely to share resources and to stress such values as teamwork and consciousness. Individualistic cultures, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the values of individual achievement, personal independence, and creativity.

*Tightness-Looseness.* Cultures also differ in the strictness with which they enforce societal norms. Tight cultures encourage individuals to value such

things as conformity and obedience. So-called "loose" cultures are relatively more tolerant of nonconformity. They put a greater emphasis on the values of individual growth and self-expression.

*Conclusions and Caveats.* The above analysis gives us a general idea of the ways in which culture affects the manifestation of biological dispositions. In particular, culture can affect these dispositions in at least two ways. First, a culture can change the extent to which an individual actually possesses a given disposition. For example, consider the possible travails of a person with a tendency to approach novel stimuli. He could well be considered deviant in a tight culture that emphasizes ritual and obedience. Hence, he may gradually become less likely to approach unfamiliar events or objects. On the other hand, an individual with identical biological tendencies might be celebrated and encouraged in a looser society. His tendency to approach unfamiliar objects might, therefore, become greater.

Cultures can also determine the way a given disposition will be expressed (e.g., Winter, 1988). For example, if an individual with a strong tendency to regulate and organize her behavior is reared in an individualistic culture (which emphasizes personal success), she would likely develop a high need for achievement. Conversely, a more collectivist culture may instead channel that disposition toward group goals and away from personal accomplishments. Culture, then, can both change the level of response tendencies and also channel the expression of whatever tendencies that do exist. Clearly, personality unfolds from the dynamic interaction of biology and culture. This analysis is not meant to imply that culture and biology only contribute abstract directional orientations. At times the goals contributed by biology and culture can be quite specific.

The parallels between culture and response dispositions are instructive. Both present the individual with a set of general, directional orientations. Further, in each case these orientations are often vague and need to be instantiated at lower levels of the hierarchy. Consequently, knowing these general orientations is helpful, but not sufficient, for predicting actual behavior. Perhaps the best way to view biology and culture is as distal determinants of behavior, that are enacted through more concrete cognitive plans (cf. Kendrick et al., 1985; Kendrick, 1989). In the present case, we believe that biological response dispositions and culture lead to the development of values. It is to these values that we now turn our attention.

## Values and Needs

### *Linking Values to Response Dispositions*

Thus far we have seen that biology and culture influence personality by providing directional response orientations. We have noted, however, that in

and of themselves these orientations are too general to provide a useful guide for behavior. Hence, these two influences lead to the development of values-which comprise the next level in the hierarchy (Hofstede, 1981; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Triandis, 1989). **In** fact, values are typically characterized as very abstract goals, which then influence the development of more specific goals (Pervin, 1983; Rokeach, 1973). As such, they help individuals organize their behavior. For example, a value for achievement may lead one to become a business person. Values define "Why" a person performs an activity (e.g., Cantor et al., 1986; Little, 1989). That is, the individual is motivated toward some worthwhile "ought" state.

Work linking response orientations to values is surprisingly limited, although some important research exists. We have already seen, for example, work reviewed by Triandis (1989) indicating that cultures inculcate different values. Additional evidence can be found in the cross-cultural research of Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990). **In** a series of studies that were conducted in a variety of nations, these authors show that human values typically reflect one of three domains. **In** particular, values for self-direction, achievement, and personal enjoyment fall under an individualistic orientation. Values for prosocial behavior and conformity, on the other hand, reflect a collectivist orientation. Other values, such as maturity, fall under a mixed orientation that reflects elements of both individualism and collectivism. This work is consistent with the present hierarchical model.

#### *Values, Needs, and Behavior*

Values are not the only general goals examined by theorists. A similar goal directed construct is that of "needs" (French & Kahn, 1962; Murray, 1938). The distinction between needs and values has resulted in some conceptual confusion. White (1951), for example, treats Murray's needs as values. **In** essence, White uses the two terms interchangeably. French and Kahn (1962) also stress the similarity between the two types of constructs. The similarity between values and needs is striking. For example, Steers (1983) discusses a need for autonomy that sounds very similar to a value for independence. Likewise, McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) examine the need for achievement. Once more, it also seems reasonable to consider this a value for achievement.

Rokeach (1973), however, makes a distinction between needs and values that is useful here. Needs tend to focus on the concerns of the individual and can be physiological or unconscious. Values, on the other hand, are cognitive transformations of needs. Values, therefore, include judgments of worth or "goodness." For example, some individuals have a need for abasement (Murray, 1938). It is difficult, however, to imagine someone valuing abasement. Hence, from this perspective some, but not all, needs are also values.

Furthermore, unlike needs, values do not necessarily connote individualized concerns. Values can also be based on the internalized needs of one's social group. Hence, the term "values" also refers to group-level goal states. Here, we see that although many values can be needs (in Murray's terminology) they are not necessarily so. This group versus individual emphasis is apparent when reviewing the literature. Personality psychologists, such as Murray, emphasize needs, while cross-cultural researchers, such as Triandis, discuss values. For our purposes, we have used the term "values" when we want to stress the importance of sociocultural determinants of behavior, and the term "needs" when we wish to stress the biological determinants. Nevertheless, it should be noted that for purposes of the goal hierarchy, both needs and values can serve as general goal states.

Regardless of the terminology, values and needs are related to work relevant behaviors. Here we need only consider a few general examples. In a group of airline reservations agents, Helmreich, Sawin, and Carsud (1987) found that following a brief "honeymoon" period, need for achievement was positively related to job performance. Similarly, McClelland and Boyatzis (1982) found that a pattern of three needs (i.e., those for dominance, affiliation, and achievement) was related to managerial success. Evidence that values are related to behavior also exists. Much of the work on values examines academic and political behaviors (for a review, see Rokeach, 1973).

Although these behavioral links are important, we maintain that the most important things that values do is to motivate the construction of more specific life goals. That is, values are near the top of a hierarchy, and thus, are still relatively distal to actual behavior. Some tests of this hierarchical model do exist. For example, work reviewed by Rokeach (1973) found that priming a general equality value led students to a more positive attitude toward civil rights, and, subsequently, to be more likely to join a civil rights organization. More recently, Zirkel and Cantor (1990) found that striving to establish independence led college students to formulate various personal goals. Finally, work reviewed by Emmons (1989a), demonstrates that a variety of needs are associated with specific goal structures. Once again we can see that values lead to the construction of more specific tasks. Hence, it appears that values and needs exert much of their motivational effects by causing the formation of more specific identities. It is to these identities that we now turn.

## The Structure and Functioning of the Self-Identities

### *Multiple Self-Identities*

Consistent with our hierarchical, goal-based model of personality, various theorists have noted that high level standards, in the form of values and needs, lead individuals to select self-identities (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1981, 1990;

Martindale, 1980, 1981; Scheier & Carver, 1988). These authors present considerable evidence in support of this position. These identities are formulated as specific means of attaining certain desired end states. For example, a person with a high need for dominance might devise an "executive" self-identity. She might subsequently organize her behavior in order to achieve a promotion. More specifically, however, a dominance need would be expected to lead this individual to seek this job promotion through the control of others. Consequently, specific tactics are implicated.

In this manner, each identity incorporates a relatively distinct self-image. Since people have multiple values, they likewise have multiple selves. This should be particularly true in complex societies. For example, a man could have one self-identity of himself as a business person and another of himself as a father. The former might serve a value for achievement and the latter might serve a value for love.

As with specific task goals, self-identities also contain a variety of self-relevant cognitions (Markus & Wurf, 1989; Martindale, 1981). These include such things as importance, self-efficacy, and probability of future success (Cantor et al., 1986). These cognitions serve regulatory functions. For example, an individual might select or abandon a self-identity based on his or her expected probability of future success. The literature on self-identities, therefore, is generally consistent with research on task goals, in that the unit of action includes a goal (a value) as well as similar emotions and cognitions associated with that goal. The essential difference, of course, is that values are more abstract than either low or mid-level standards (cf. Cantor et al., 1986).

#### *Activation of Self-Identities*

*Inhibition.* Although individuals have many different, seemingly incongruent, self-identities, there is a certain coherence to human behavior. This coherence is maintained by way of horizontal connections between the various identities. Many of these connections are inhibitory (Martindale, 1980, 1981). Thus, increased activation in one self-identity often tends to inhibit activity in others. That is, Martindale argues that only one identity is generally dominant at a given time, and this dominance is largely determined by situational inputs. To continue our previous example, if the "business" self-identity is activated, it may inhibit activation of the "father" self-identity. Put another way, it is difficult for an individual to switch from one role to the other.

Specific self-identities can be activated by environmental factors. For example, the tendency to define oneself as a member of a particular group can be shifted somewhat by contextual cues such as group-related symbols (James & Greenberg, 1989). Additionally, research by James and Cropanzano (1990, 1992) has shown that under certain conditions the activation of an individualistic self-identity will lead people to exert more effort toward a

personal goal, while the activation of a collectivist self-identity will lead individuals to work harder for a group goal.

Some potential implications of these ideas for organizations are clear. Selection of personnel on the basis of their self-identities and the congruence of these with organizational goals or positional demands is one possibility. Another possibility is to structure organizational environments (including managerial/leadership behavior) to activate identities that will dove-tail with organizational goals. In fact, since dispositional self-identities seem to interact with situational factors (James & Cropanzano, 1991), the two approaches are not incompatible. And while environmental activation of self-identities sounds intrusive and manipulative, it is also the case that individual psychological wellbeing can be benefitted by circumstances that allow for enactment of existing self-identities (James & Greenberg, 1989, 1992). Both the ethics and the implications of such approaches could do with additional investigation.

*Compartmentalization of Self-Identities: The Case of Ethics.* The activation of one self-identity, therefore, may actually inhibit the activation of others. This means that the standards associated with each identity are often independent. For some individuals, this can lead to a high degree of compartmentalization (Markus, 1977; Martindale, 1981; Sherman, Judd, & Park, 1989). This may have important implications for organizations. An otherwise decent and well-meaning individual could behave unethically because his moral standards are attached to an identity that is not currently active. Therefore, greater compartmentalization may make adoption of "situational ethics" more likely.

There are some obvious ways to mitigate against this problem. In particular, situational factors within organizations, such as whether members' attention is frequently drawn to ethical standards and whether this is done in a number of contexts, should moderate this effect (for instance see Isabella, 1987). Little research has been done on this particular issue or on the general question of influence of self-system structure on work behavior. Studies of these issues should be undertaken.

*Conflict Between Self-Identities.* Although much of the time two identities operate separately, there are situations where the enactment of one identity violates another. Conflict in this sense results from incompatibility between two self-identities. When one identity is met, the individual necessarily fails to meet the other. For example, the self-identity of "spouse" might conflict with "good employee." These two self-identities may express exactly opposite behavioral plans (e.g., come home in time for dinner versus stay late at work).

Van Hook and Higgins (1988) found that individuals who experienced self-identity conflict reported great discomfort and confusion. These people were characterized as indecisive, distractible, and uncertain about their identity. They were less motivated and immobilized by lack of usable action plans. It

is easy to imagine how conflict between identities may affect work behavior. Individuals with conflicting self-identities may feel they are being pulled in different directions at the same time. This would make it difficult for an individual to concentrate on the job and to set priorities.

### *Possible Selves*

Thus far we have been focusing on how aspects of the present situation or current self-identity influence motivation. However, individuals can also formulate identities reflecting what they believe they could become (Beach & Mitchell, 1987; Schlenker & Weigold, 1989). This more future oriented perspective has been suggested by Markus and her colleagues (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989). They argue that motivation is driven by a set of identities called "possible selves." Possible selves are defined as elements of personality that contain an individual's cognitive representations of him or herself approaching and realizing a particular goal. Markus argues that motivation occurs when such representations exist and are active.

Possible selves can involve both desirable outcomes to be achieved and negative outcomes to be avoided. An individual can know both the type of person he or she wants to become and also the type of person he or she wants to avoid becoming. Oyserman and Markus (1990) have argued that motivation is maximal when both positive and negative possible selves are active. **In** this case, the discrepancy maintains high arousal, while the presence of both positive and negative goals offers precise guidance. **In** a study of delinquency, for example, Oyserman and Markus (1990) found that youths with a balance of positive and negative possible selves were more likely to avoid legal trouble. Those with either predominately positive or predominately negative selves were more likely to become delinquents. It should also be noted that the work of Oyserman and Markus (1990) complements research by Van Hook and Higgins (1988). Van Hook and Higgins show if two active self-identities are incongruent, motivation will deteriorate. Oyserman and Markus (1990), on the other hand, demonstrate that when the active identities are compatible, motivation is enhanced.

### *Summary and Conclusions*

An individual enters life with a set of biological dispositions. That person is then raised in a sociocultural context which adds its own mark on personality. Out of these two experiences, a person forms a set of values and needs. **In** order to reach these standards, the individual adopts a set of self-identities. For an identity to be successfully implemented, it must be active and also contain a set of sub-goals. This next step in the hierarchy has long been a conceptual weakness for goal-based approaches to personality. As we have

seen, much theory and research has gone into both general self-identities and specific task-goals. Less thinking has gone into the middle-range standards. Fortunately, much recent work has begun to remedy this deficiency.

### Mid - Level Standards: Personal Projects

The problem addressed in this section is how our abstract identities are linked to specific action plans. This is facilitated by the existence of mid-level standards. These standards are organized around important life situations, such as work or school. Individuals become involved in such domains in order to enact a self-identity. The manner in which an identity is enacted will vary, of course, depending upon the situation. For example, Cantor (1989) has found that students have mid-level standards in performance domains which include things like "doing well in class," and in interpersonal domains which, instead, include such things as "making new friends." Similarly, in her research on work goals, Roberson (1990) has identified mid-level standards that focus on specific job tasks, co-workers, and working conditions.

Mid-level standards have been studied under a variety of different names, including personal projects (Little, 1983), current concerns (Klinger, 1977), personal strivings (Emmons, 1986), and life tasks (Cantor, 1989). Although not perfectly identical (c., Emmons, 1992), these constructs are all explicitly goal-directed and situated in a hierarchy just below relatively abstract self-identities and just above more specific action plans (e.g., Cantor, Markus, Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986; Emmons, 1989b; Little, 1989; Omodei & Wearing, 1990). In the discussion that follows, we will use the term "personal projects" (Little, 1983).

The research on personal projects clearly supports the notion that they are important predictors of relevant individual outcomes. Unfortunately, with only a few exceptions (such as Roberson, 1989, 1990) this framework has not been explicitly applied to organizational behavior. Instead, much of the research uses samples of college students who were working on social and academic tasks. This is reflected in our review, below.

#### *The Nature of Personal Projects*

Personal projects are also associated with higher and lower level goals (Cantor, et al., 1986; Emmons, 1989a; Markus and Nurius, 1986). Perhaps the clearest demonstration of this hierarchy can be found in Little (1989). Little asked subjects *why* they were trying to accomplish a certain outcome. He found that individuals linked their personal projects to higher level goals. Similar evidence supports the notion of downward linkages of personal projects. For example, Little (1989) also asked individuals *how* they plan to accomplish a certain task. Individuals had no trouble in specifying steadily more specific component activities. Similarly, Cantor, Norem, Niedenthal, Langston, and



Brower (1987) report that students with academic personal projects tend to earn higher grades when they have better articulated plans. Projects influence plans and plans are related to performance. This is consistent with the work on task goals reviewed earlier (e.g., Earley & Perry, 1987; Earley et al., 1987).

### *Affective Consequences of Personal Projects*

Much work has examined the emotional outcomes associated with personal projects (e.g., Omodei & Wearing, 1990; Ruehlman, 1985; Ruehlman & Wolchik, 1988). Only a few examples need to be considered here. One study by Palys and Little (1983) found that individuals had the highest life satisfaction when their projects had short-term importance and were only moderately difficult. In still another study, Little (1987b) obtained consistent findings for a group of adolescents. Emmons (1986) found that positive emotion was associated with having important projects and having a history of past fulfillment. Negative affect, on the other hand, existed when projects were difficult and had a low probability of future success. Emmons (1986) also indicated that high life satisfaction was associated with both a history of past fulfillment and also a high probability of future success.

It is important to note that negative emotion does not necessarily lower actual performance. Cantor, Norem, Niedenthal, Langston, and Brower (1987) have examined the performance consequences of defensive pessimists. Defensive pessimists have low expectancies for success and a high level of anxiety. They typically rate performance tasks as difficult, challenging, and stressful. However, for defensive pessimism, the anxiety over failure leads to improved performance. The defensive pessimists seem to be in a psychological position similar to that of Wortman and Brehm's (1975) reactance stage. They imagine the worst possible outcomes, experience negative emotion, and use this failure image to motivate themselves. That is, defensive pessimists attempt to avoid failure. Norem (1989) reviews further evidence indicating that improving these individuals' moods actually results in lower task performance. Consequently, negative emotion may raise performance-if it is properly harnessed.

Taken together, the results of personal projects research is surprisingly consistent with the laboratory work on task goals (cf. Locke & Latham, 1990a, 1990b). For one thing, personal projects serve as general standards that guide behavior. More importantly, however, is the fact that an individual's affective reaction to his or her personal projects is determined by various cognitions. These include importance or value, past fulfillment, probability of future success, and perceived difficulty. These same cognitions show up for both specific task goals that were studied in the lab, and also for the more abstract projects that were studied in the field.

*Conflict Between Personal Projects*

Rather than simply focusing on an individual's cognitive reaction to his or her projects, Emmons (1986), Emmons and King (1988), and King and Emmons (1990) have examined the impact of striving conflict and striving ambivalence. The first case, refers to a conflict between different projects (this is similar to the research of Van Hook & Higgins, 1988). In the case of ambivalence, on the other hand, one is indicating the amount of negative emotion that could result from successfully completing an otherwise positive striving. This can be thought of as "within striving conflict" (Emmons, 1986). For example, consider the case of a research engineer who is suddenly promoted into management. Depending on the situation, such an event could have implications for a variety of other life domains. The promotion might have the positive consequences of additional money and prestige. On the other hand, there could simultaneously be the negative consequence of less interesting work. In such a circumstance, one could reasonably expect the engineer to be ambivalent about his or her new position ..

Striving conflict and ambivalence are both related to negative affectivity, depression, and neuroticism (Emmons, 1986; Emmons & King, 1988). Conflict and ambivalence also have implications for performance. Emmons and King (1988) found that when individuals experience a great deal of conflict and/ or ambivalence, they become less likely to act on their projects. Thus, incompatible responses can paralyze action and create depression, distress, and other maladaptive responses.

It is interesting to compare the work of Emmons and King (1988) to that of Oyserman and Markus (1990). Like Van Hook and Higgins (1988), Emmons and King show that projects can conflict and thereby hurt motivation. At the level of self-identities, however, Oyserman and Markus (1990) demonstrate that simultaneously activating two possible selves can increase motivation. The difference, of course, lies in the relationship between the standards. In the case examined by Emmons and King, the two projects are in opposition. In the case examined by Oyserman and Markus, however, one identity is to be approached and one avoided- they complement each other. If we assume that similar processes are working at all levels of the goal hierarchy, then future research should examine complementary personal projects and conflicting possible selves.

*Summary*

We have seen that mid-level standards are related to several outcomes. Further, researchers have presented good evidence that a hierarchy of standards does indeed exist. Personal projects are important since they serve as links between one's abstract self-image and more concrete task goals. Work on

personal projects, however, is still limited. Most of the dependent measures involve affective reactions or stress, and few of them focus on processes or outcomes directly related to work motivation and performance (the work of Cantor et al. [1987] and Emmons and King [1988] being noteworthy exceptions). While affect is relevant to the motivational process, much more research is needed to detail how personal projects influence work motivation.

We have now traced the development of the goal hierarchy from its origins in physiology and culture, to its enactment as specific task goals. The same processes and theoretical constructs have been used to build a model of motivation and personality. As such, one is part and parcel with the other. Such a broad model has implications for other aspects of organizational behavior. In the sections that follow, we consider the role of goal hierarchies in work attitudes and leadership.

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR EMOTIONS AND WORK ATTITUDES**

### **Introduction**

Various observers have commented on the conceptual similarities between attitudes and personality traits (e.g., Ajzen, 1988; Sherman & Fazio, 1983). Both attitudes and traits are stable internal response dispositions. An attitude, however, is a disposition to react to a given target (i.e., an object, a person, a belief, or an event) in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way. A trait, on the other hand, is a disposition to behave in a particular fashion across various situations. Nevertheless, the two are conceptually similar in that each reflects characteristics that are relatively stable and relatively diverse across individuals. Hence, a model of personality should also have implications for our understanding of attitudes. Indeed, recent evidence suggests that there is a dispositional aspect to job satisfaction (Cropanzano, James, & Konovsky, 1991; Czajka, 1990; Staw, Bell, & Clausen, 1986; Staw & Ross, 1985).

As we noted in the discussion of task goals, affect occurs in response to cognitive appraisals of a person's standards. While laboratory research has emphasized concrete goals (e.g., Bandura, 1986; Locke & Latham, 1990a; Wortman & Brehm, 1975), field research indicates that individuals can also appraise more abstract personal projects or work goals (Roberson, 1989, 1990). Consistent with this, many researchers have treated job satisfaction 'as a discrepancy between an actual and a desired state (e.g., Lawler, 1971, 1991; Locke, 1969, 1976; Michalos, 1986; Rice, McFarlin, & Bennett, 1989; Rice, Phillips, & McFarlin, 1990). That is, dissatisfaction is likely to result when one has an internalized standard that is not being met by his or her job. The discrepancy between wanting and having triggers emotion.

There has been considerable disagreement in the literature over which standards are involved in the discrepancy/satisfaction effect. Higgins, Simon, and Wells (1988) noted that even within one measure of job satisfaction, several standards of comparison may actually be mixed. In a review of discrepancy explanations for satisfaction, Michalos (1986) identified at least six different types of standards. In addition, recent evidence has suggested that employees may simultaneously use multiple discrepancies in forming attitudes about their jobs. Rice et al. (1990), for example, found that a combination of multiple discrepancies explained greater variance in pay satisfaction than any particular discrepancy alone.

Many of these approaches appear to use standards at different levels of abstraction. The various types of discrepancies may differ, not in kind, but in their level within the goal-hierarchy. For example, the six discrepancies identified by Michalos (1986) seem to range from low-levels (e.g., task-goal achievement) to high-levels (e.g., relative deprivation). Similarly, some researchers discuss relatively concrete outcomes, such as pay and promotion (e.g., Smith et al., 1969), while others utilize more general values, such as the need for personal growth (e.g., Locke, 1976). Thus, the hierarchical view may help resolve some of the confusion in the literature over the relationship between goal discrepancies and job satisfaction.

A related limitation is that most job satisfaction theories focus on general satisfaction and dissatisfaction. As Henne and Locke (1985) have pointed out, it is difficult to pin down the particular consequences of these global affective states. For example, individuals who are dissatisfied with their jobs are sometimes posited to exhibit lower task performance. Empirical evidence, however, has shown this association to be weak at best (Iaffaldano & Muchinsky, 1985).

Global satisfaction and dissatisfaction may encompass a wide variety of specific emotional reactions. These specific emotional states could prove to be more closely related to work behaviors. Abelson (1983), for example, noted that specific emotions contain specific behavioral orientations. Hence, they could be likely to covary with actual work activities. Understanding the specific emotional reactions, therefore, may improve predictions of behavioral tendencies. Our hierarchical view of personality may help accomplish this.

### Overview of the Goal Hierarchy Model of Emotion

Generally speaking, goals are closely tied to emotion. Loosely, perceived progress toward a goal results in positive emotion, while a lack of progress results in negative emotion. Hence, emotion results from cognitive appraisals regarding the extent to which a goal is being achieved. However, these appraisals occur in the context of a complex goal hierarchy. The outcomes of appraisals throughout the hierarchy are posited to produce a variety of

discrete affective states. Emotion, therefore, can best be examined as a consequence of each individual's unique goal structure.

Based on Lazarus (1991), we propose that there are primary and secondary appraisals. Primary appraisals evaluate the outcomes of the situation in terms of their significance and potential consequences for the individual (i.e., the stakes involved in achieving or not achieving a particular goal). Secondary appraisals concern what options are available for changing the outcomes and possible means of coping with the situation. Affect results from the interplay of these appraisals.

There are two primary appraisals: goal content and goal relevance (Lazarus, 1991).

- *Goal content* refers to the type of ego-involvement the individual has in the situation. Based on our hierarchical model of personality, we propose that goal content depends on the level in the hierarchy which is most accessible at a given point in time and its associated discrepancy. If a high-level goal is activated, then the goal content will be a self-identity or value discrepancy. If a mid-level goal is activated, then the goal content will be a personal project, work concern, or personal striving discrepancy. If a low-level goal is activated, then goal content will be a specific task goal discrepancy. -
- *Goal relevance* refers to the importance of that goal for the individual. If the goal is unimportant, then nothing is at stake and no emotional reaction will result (Locke & Latham, 1990a).

The three secondary appraisals are attribution of accountability, future expectations, and coping potential (Lazarus, 1991).

- *Attribution of accountability* refers to whether or not there is a culpable agent responsible for the outcome. In other words, whether an agent can be blamed or credited with the outcome. An agent may be one's self, another person, or a group of people.
- *Future expectations* concern the beliefs an individual has about how the situation will change over time. In many respects, this is similar to the concept of goal expectancy or likelihood for success discussed above.
- *Coping potential* refers to the ways, if any, an individual can improve the situation. Coping strategies include such things as increasing effort, revising the goal, and planning a new strategy.

Finally, based on the work of Emmons (1986), it is important to recognize that goals exist in a complex structure. Achieving one goal may have implications for others. In particular, goals could be in strife. Goal strife refers to both goal conflict and ambivalence (cf. Emmons, 1986,1989; Emmons &

King, 1988). As we have seen, this can produce intense emotion. However, since goal strife was discussed earlier, it will not be mentioned further.

### Mid-Level Standards: Personal Projects and Emotions

This section considers primary and secondary appraisals in the context of personal projects. The primary appraisals involve the assessment of the meaning of mid-level discrepancies. The secondary appraisals involve the individual's assessment of ways to deal with the situation. For each appraisal, we review supporting evidence from the personal projects literature and then discuss discrete emotions and specific behavioral tendencies which may result from that appraisal.

#### *Primary Appraisals*

*Goal Content.* As noted above, mid-level standards included the personal projects that an individual wants to attain (e.g., get a raise in pay, avoid being fired, get a job with more challenge). Emotional reactions depend on a person's ability to successfully complete the personal project. As will be noted below, the individual's rate of progress toward achieving the goal is also considered during appraisal.

*Goal Relevance.* The relevance of a personal project is judged in terms of its potential to fulfill or satisfy a particular self-image or self-identity (Cantor, Markus, Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986). Relevant personal projects will be those that are more central to salient self-identities. More relevant personal projects are expected to produce more intensified emotional reactions. Empirical evidence has supported this proposition (e.g., Ruehlman and Wolchik, 1988; Zirkel and Cantor, 1990).

For example, Diener, Colvin, Pavot, and Allman (1991) directly manipulated goal valence. They found that subjects showed a greater range of affect when the outcome was important. That is, they reported being unhappier with a loss, but, also reported greater joy over winning. Similar results have been found in the job satisfaction literature. Rice, Gentile, and McFarlin (1991) found that the range of affective responses was greater for job facets that employees rated as more important than facets rated less important. Employees had stronger negative and positive reactions to important job facets than to less important ones.

Clearly, goal relevance (i.e., importance) affects the range or intensity of emotional reactions employees have toward their personal project discrepancies. This could potentially influence their work behavior. In a study by Emmons and Diener (1986), the best predictor of the amount of time individuals spent in certain situations was goal attainment weighted by

importance ( $r = .44$ ). Translated to the work situation, this may mean that goal content and goal relevance might influence employees' choices about which tasks to pursue and which ones to neglect.

### *Secondary Appraisals*

*Attributions of Accountability.* Actual success or failure is not the only cause of the emotional response. Individuals react differently to an encounter depending on the attributions they make for its outcomes. Given the same situation, two individuals could experience different emotions based upon their style of appraisal. Empirical evidence from the emotion literature suggests that internal (and external) attributions resulted in distinct emotions. Self-caused outcomes were associated with pride, shame, and guilt; whereas, other-caused outcomes were associated with anger and gratitude (Roseman et al., 1990; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985; Tesser, 1990). We will now briefly consider the formation and behavioral implications of several specific emotional states.

Anger results when an outcome is attributed to another person and the action is perceived as controllable, internally caused, and stable (Weiner, 1985; Weiner, Graham, & Chandler, 1982). Situations which lead to anger included such things as disrespect (Baron, *i?* press) and unfairness (Greenberg, 1990a). In helping situations anger leads to inaction and neglect (Schmidt & Weiner, 1988) which should lower the incidence of organizational citizenship behaviors (cf. Organ, 1988). Anger can also cause protests (cf. Henne & Locke, 1985) and theft (Greenberg, 1990b). In our view anger will not usually lower performance evaluations. Lowering actual output is risky, since the individual could be caught and placed in a worse situation. More likely, a person will retaliate in a manner that is less likely to cause personal injury. This could make the consequences of anger particularly difficult for organizations to root out.

Guilt results when individuals feel personally responsible for outcomes that violate their higher-order values (Weiner et al., 1982). This outcome must also have been controllable. For example, working mothers often report feeling guilty over neglecting housework in order to work outside the home (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). As discussed before, guilt leads to attempts to remedy the transgression (e.g., work harder). In the case of working mothers, this may boost productivity but at a great cost to the individual. Interestingly, this example further illustrates the role of personality. According to Hochschild and Machung (1989), the identity of working fathers is somewhat more removed from housework. Hence, fathers typically feel less guilt, do less housework, and experience less stress. Guilt can only occur when there is an important higher value to violate.

Shame results when an individual is personally responsible for an outcome, but the outcome is uncontrollable (Brown & Weiner, 1984). The individual is made to feel embarrassed or foolish. If the shame is severe enough, the

individual may have low expectations for performance improvements, and performance decrements can result. Baron (in press), for example, has found that criticism which produces shame lowers self-efficacy and, as a consequence, lowers performance.

Pride results when a positive outcome is attributed to the self (Weiner, Russell, & Lerman, 1979). Pride and feelings of self-competence may lead to greater commitment to a personal project, whereas lower self-competence may lead to withdrawal. This is the basis of the high performance model we have already discussed (Locke & Latham, 1990a, 1990b). Pride would be expected to raise performance levels.

Gratitude is experienced when an individual receives a positive outcome due to the intervention of a benefactor. This will be especially true when the outcome is under the control of the other person and it is intended to benefit the recipient (Weiner, 1985). Gratitude may be important in effective teamwork, cooperation, and supervisor-subordinate relations. Gratitude may lead one to reciprocate in the future. However, evidence reviewed by Berscheid and Walster (1976) indicates that reciprocity is a two-edged sword. When individuals are presented with a positive outcome and they cannot pay the individual back, they often feel uncomfortable and unhappy. Under certain circumstances, it can damage self-esteem.

The potential difficulty of attempting to predict specific behaviors with general emotions should now be apparent. Anger, guilt, and shame are all negative emotions and would likely be (negatively) associated with job satisfaction. However, when it comes to performance evaluations, we make different predictions for each: lowered performance for shame, higher for guilt, and no change for anger. If one were to simply average these three discrete emotions together, the correlation with performance would, therefore, be low. Similarly, the relationship between gratitude and performance might depend upon the situation. These unmeasured moderator variables could also lower the correlation between satisfaction and performance. Given this, our goal hierarchy model suggests that it might be useful for researchers to examine discrete emotional states.

*Future Expectations.* Individuals' expectancies for future outcomes will determine how satisfied or dissatisfied they are with a given personal project discrepancy. Emmons (1986) found a negative correlation between probability of success and negative affect. This relationship was still significant even after past fulfillment was partialled out. People who reported high levels of negative affect reported lower expectancies for the future. In terms of work goals, Roberson (1990) found that employee satisfaction was highest when the employees had a higher expectation for achieving success in the future. Expectancy was, also, found to be associated with higher goal commitment (Roberson et al., 1990). Omodei and Wearing (1990) suggested that people may



even persist at specific tasks that produce negative affect because they expect to eventually achieve a desired outcome. If employees see their present jobs as simply a means to an end, their satisfaction may be totally independent of their performance. Achievement oriented individuals may suffer through less desirable jobs for the opportunity of promotion to better ones. Research should examine the role that future expectations play in job satisfaction.

Recently, Carver and Scheier (1990) have noted that affective states change, at least in part, in response to the progress individuals make in matching their standards. Even a highly discrepant state can result in positive emotion if the rate of discrepancy reduction is high. Hsee and Abelson (1991) found that satisfaction was positively related to the rate at which the discrepancy changed (what they call "velocity"). Hsee and Abelson's results indicated that individuals focused more on the rate at which outcomes changed and less on how much they changed. This idea has yet to be incorporated into discrepancy models of job satisfaction.

*Coping Potential.* Although a detailed review of the coping literature is beyond the scope of the present paper (the reader is referred to Moos, 1986), however, some general comments can be made. According to Lazarus (1991) and Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub (1989) coping shapes emotions in at least two ways. First, coping indicates the type of action necessary to improve the situation (e.g., problem-focused coping). Second, coping strategies may lead individuals to alter their appraisals of the situation (e.g., emotion-focused coping). Coping strategies for dealing with personal project discrepancies include such things as increased effort, social support, adopting new strategies, withdrawal from the situation, and changing perceptions of the situation.

Folkman and Lazarus (1988) examined the association between coping and emotions. Their results indicated that certain types of coping were associated with improved emotional reactions, whereas, others were associated with dysfunctional emotional reactions. Consistent with our hierarchical model, planful problem solving resulted in less negative and more positive affect. In particular, planning was negatively associated with ratings of disgust/ anger and positively associated with ratings of happy/pleased and confident. In contrast, distancing (i.e., not letting the situation get to you) led to more dysfunctional emotions. Similar results were obtained by Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub (1989) and Aldwin and Revenson (1987).

Furthermore, their results indicated different patterns of relations between coping and emotion for a young and an old sample. For example, in the older sample, cognitive reappraisal (i.e., changing perception of the situation) was associated with negative emotions, whereas, it was associated with positive emotions in the young sample. This suggests that older employees may choose different methods for coping with stressful work situations than younger employees (see also, McCrae, 1982; Zautra & Wrabetz, 1991).

One widely used coping strategy is seeking social support. Palys and Little (1983) found that high life-satisfaction was associated with social support. Similarly, Ruehlman and Wolchik (1988) found a positive association between personal project support and well-being. **In** contrast, project hindrance was positively related to distress and negatively related to well-being. Hence, support can reduce the stress associated with trying to complete personal projects (see also, Cohen & Wills, 1985).

### High-Level Standards: Self-Identities and Emotions

#### *Primary Appraisals*

*Goal Content.* High-level standards focus on self-identities and values. As we have seen selves reflect stable dispositions which have a strong impact on an individual's emotional responses (Cantor, Markus, Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986; Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Schlenker, 1985). Self-identities can be either good selves (e.g., be productive, be a good parent) or bad selves (e.g., be less aggressive, be more sociable). Markus and Nurius (1986) reported that in a sample of college students the ratio of positive to negative selves was four to one. This is important, since employees are more satisfied with their jobs when a greater proportion of positive work goals is present, as opposed to negative goals (Roberson, 1989, 1990; Roberson, Korsgaard, & Diddams, 1990).

Perhaps more important than the actual number of goals, however, are the discrepancies between them. According to Higgins (1987), these discrepancies cause emotion. Although several such models exist (e.g., Beach & Mitchell, 1987, Markus & Ruvolo, 1989) perhaps the best articulated self-discrepancy has been presented by Higgins and his colleagues (Higgins, 1987; Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). The discussion presented below borrows heavily from the work of Higgins and his colleagues. However, for ease of presentation we have simplified this analysis.

Higgins (1987) proposed that an individual's emotional reactions would be related to discrepancies between his or her self-representations. There are three self domains that could be discrepant: actual, ideal, and ought. The actual self reflects the characteristics or attributes the person possesses at the present time. This refers to the current state-of-affairs. The ideal self reflects the attributes that the person would ideally like to possess. The ought self reflects the attributes that the person feels he or she should possess. Individuals compare what they are (their actual self), to what they would like to be (the ideal self) and what they feel they ought to become (their ought self). Based on these comparisons, discrete emotional reactions can result.

Discrepancies between the actual and the ideal self indicate that a person is not the kind of individual that he or she would like to be. This realization

causes a person to become dejected and frustrated, experiencing such negative emotions as shame and anger (Higgins et al., 1985). Research by Strauman and Higgins (1987) found that when a discrepancy between the actual and ideal self was made salient, individuals showed decreased behavioral and physiological responding. In short, motivation decreases.

Discrepancies between the actual and ought self, trigger quite different reactions. Individuals who violate prescribed duties fear the loss of esteem and possible punishment. Thus, these discrepancies are associated with agitation related emotions such as fear, apprehension, edginess, guilt, or panic (Higgins et al., 1985). Strauman and Higgins (1987) found that priming an actual/ ought discrepancy led to an increase in behavioral and physiological responding. Put simply, this discrepancy causes motivation to increase. Once again we see that the goal hierarchy model predicts the presence of discrete emotional states. These states, in turn, are likely to be associated with different behaviors.

*Goal Relevance.* We have reviewed considerable evidence that goal importance or relevance, influences emotion. This occurs for specific task goals (e.g., Locke & Latham, 1990a) and more general personal projects (e.g., Little, 1989). As a general rule, however, the importance of a goal will increase as it become more abstract. One can think of this in two different ways, both of which reduce to the same thing. First, a higher level goal typically contains multiple subgoals. Hence, failing at a higher level goal implies failure, or at least wasted effort, for a variety of lower ones. However, this analysis does not capture the subjective experience of failure. As one moves up the hierarchy, one finds standards that are more central to the manner in which one defines oneself. It is easier for a student to recover from failing a single test, than it is to recover from failing a course, than it is to recover from failing out of school. At the upper-most level, one's very identity as a student is destroyed. The same situation exists for layoffs. An individual's identity as a worker and breadwinner is taken away. A person now needs a new way to define him or herself. The amount of psychological damage would be expected to vary with the extent to which a particular self-identity was important.

Despite this analysis, importance and hierarchical level are by no means perfectly correlated. At any particular level, standards can vary in importance. Rokeach (1973), for example, has individuals rank their values in terms of importance. These rankings can vary widely between both individuals and cultures (Triandis, 1989). The importance of a low-level goal is, further; influenced by the high-level standard to which it is attached. A low-level goal that is necessary for achieving a very important self-identity, can invoke more emotions than an unimportant higher-level standard.

*Secondary Appraisals*

*Attributions of Accountability.* Since self-identities are central to the overall self-concept, people use attributions to protect and enhance their self-esteem. Two self-attributions will be discussed: the self-serving bias and self-consistency. The self-serving bias (Miller & Ross, 1975) refers to the tendency for individuals to attribute positive outcomes to the self and negative outcomes to external causes. In other words, individuals tend to take credit for success and blame failure on others. Mullen and Riordan (1988) meta-analyzed the results of several studies investigating self-serving attribution in athletes. Players had a tendency to attribute successful performance more often to ability and other internal causes.

Alternatively, self-consistency theory suggested that individuals prefer information that supports their self-identities (Swann, 1987). Empirical evidence has shown that high self-esteem subjects viewed positive feedback as more accurate, whereas, low self-esteem subjects viewed negative feedback as more accurate (Swann, Griffin, Predmore, & Gaines, 1987). Schlenker, Weigold, and Hallam (1990) found that when the stakes were highest (i.e., make a good impression, public accountability) high self-esteem subjects were most self-serving (i.e., egotistical) in their self-appraisals. Low self-esteem subjects, on the other hand, were most self-effacing in this situation. In addition, high self-esteem subjects internalized success, but not failure. High self-esteem subjects rated themselves higher following success on a task, but did not change their evaluations following failure. Low self-esteem subjects internalized failure, but not success. Self-ratings of low self-esteem subjects' decreased following failure, but remained the same following success (Schlenker et al., 1990). Thus, attributions about the self can influence individuals' reactions to achievement and failure.

*Future Expectations.* Future expectations work much the same way for identities as they do for personal projects. It is important to note, however, that research has specifically examined the influence that expectations have on high-level goals. Markus and Nurius (1986), for example, reported that possible future selves (i.e., ever considered, probable, like to be) contributed a significant amount of unique variance in subjects' ratings of esteem, negative affect, and hopelessness. In this study, the probable self-identity was the most strongly related to current negative emotions. Similarly, Schlenker and Leary (1982) found that when subjects had low expectations for preserving a self-image, they experienced high negative affect and attempted to withdraw from the situation.

*Coping Potential.* In order to cope with self-discrepancies, one could use a variety of techniques-including some of the ones we discussed for personal

projects. However, at the level of self-identities two coping strategies have received particular attention. The first of these is self-handicapping and the second is optimism.

Self-handicappers attempt to protect their self-images by setting up obstacles and sabotaging performance prior to a threatening situation (Jones & Berglas, 1978). By providing ready explanations for failure before performing, self-handicappers protect their self-images because they create plausible external attributions for failure. Self-handicapping was found to serve two functions: self-presentational and self-protection (Jones & Berglas, 1978). Furthermore, it is the threat of failure that motivates self-handicappers to put themselves at a disadvantage to begin with. Harris and Snyder (1986) found that males who were uncertain of their self-esteem used a self-handicapping strategy more often than certain males. Thus, self-handicappers try to protect their fragile self-esteem by providing readily available excuses for their lack of goal achievement.

Optimists, on the other hand, tend to maintain a positive outlook. They expect that things will go well, and they often over-estimate their ability (Norem, 1989). Nevertheless, optimism seems to be an effective means of raising performance. In particular, optimists seem to have chronically high self-efficacy which, as we have seen, often leads to better task performance. Optimists, therefore, seem to cope quite well in stressful situations (e.g., Scheier et al., 1989).

### *Summary*

Empirical evidence from the self-identity literature was consistent with our hierarchical model. It is interesting to note that by using the hierarchical view of personality certain parallels between personal projects and the self-identities become apparent. Both literatures focus on similar constructs (e.g., attributions, coping). Yet, each literature has evolved content specific explanations. By understanding the similarities between these two literatures we may be better able to predict emotional reactions. Thus, future research should apply the hierarchical model of personality to the areas of work motivation and job satisfaction.

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR SUPERVISION**

Supervision has been defined in a variety of ways. However, at the very least a supervisor needs to influence certain people to do certain things. Motivation, on the other hand, is typically conceptualized as an individual phenomenon that refers to the manner in which individuals regulate and organize their behavior. Given these definitions, research on motivation has implications for supervision since motivational theories offer recommendations for changing the direction and intensity of behavior. Put another way, one thing that a supervisor does is direct motivation.

In the goal hierarchy model, supervisors motivate by acting upon the subordinate's personality, or, more precisely, by influencing any or all of the motivational levels we have discussed. At each step in the hierarchy, the supervisor can affect employees by setting goals, raising expectations, or raising valences. Below we discuss several theories of leadership in terms of our goal hierarchy model of personality. This is not meant to be an exhaustive literature review (the reader is referred to House and Baetz, 1979; Yukl, 1989a, 1989b). Instead, we will integrate these theories into our general goal setting model. In doing so, we will also suggest directions for future research.

#### Upper Level: Charismatic and Transformational Leadership

It is very easy to suggest, as we have done, that a leader should set goals. This would seem to be advice that few would refute. However, as a practical matter the "goals" at the upper level of the hierarchy are values and needs. Often, it can be very difficult for a supervisor to "set values" for his or her subordinates. Indeed, as we have seen, many needs and values have been determined long before an individual enters an organization. Fortunately, people typically have an array of values, not all of which are active at a given time. Even more importantly, values can be activated by environmental events. While supervisors would have difficulty building a set of values from scratch, they could be expected to activate and reinforce those values that already exist (James & Greenberg, 1992).

Theories of charismatic leadership describe the manner in which this process can be enacted (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977). Although different theories exist, they all agree on at least three things. First, charismatic leaders activate the needs and values of their subordinates. Second, the process of charismatic influence is affect laden and "hot." Third, charismatic leaders provide a rationale or explanation that offers subordinates a higher meaning. Thus far, current thinking about charismatic leadership has delineated these attributes. However, our model goes a step further by providing an underlying explanation for how each occurs.

All observers agree that the charismatic leader invokes the higher order values and needs of the subordinates, making these values more salient and then linking them to specific patterns of behavior. There are no doubt many ways in which values can be accessed. One way that is familiar to politicians, is to surround oneself with important symbols. A nation's flag, for example, or patriotic music would be helpful.

Recall that we have conceptualized needs and values as higher order goals that individuals use to define their own self-identities. Hence, in invoking values, the charismatic leader is tying his or her well-being to the well-being of the subordinates. Followership becomes a means of attaining personal goals or, in this case, enacting a desired self-identity. When considered in this light,

the obedience observed by Conger and Kanungo (1987) makes perfect sense. Followership is a way of implementing a desired self-identity or, to put the matter more simply, it becomes a means of self-fulfillment.

Given our goal-based explanation, it should now be apparent that emotion is an inevitable result. We have seen that goal discrepancies produce a variety of emotions based on the nature of the comparison. We propose that charismatic leaders arouse emotion by accessing higher order needs (as we have said), but also by demonstrating a discrepancy between a desired outcome and the current, largely negative, state-of-affairs. This is consistent with the work of Conger and Kanungo (1987) who note that charismatic leadership is more likely to occur when people are disenchanted. As we have already seen, depending on the nature of this comparison, a variety of emotions can result. Unfortunately, current research offers little guidance into the nature of these discrepancies. This would seem to be an interesting topic for future work. One could envision a model of leadership that offers suggestions (or cautions) concerning how subordinates can be motivated by working on their emotions. This analysis also indicates that leaders could produce different emotional states by making salient various types of discrepancies (cf. Higgins, 1987). These emotions could, in turn, direct behavior in a variety of directions (cf. Abelson, 1983).

Values, however, are general goal states which are far removed from actual behavior. A single value could be enacted in a variety of ways. Hence, an effective supervisor needs to do more than arouse values. Charismatic leaders solve this problem by providing an understandable justification that explains the current state-of-affairs and provides action plans for bringing about the desired changes. These plans are important in that they build appropriate follower behaviors that can be used to achieve higher order goals (Bass, 1985). Indeed, many of these strategies are novel and unconventional (Yuki, 1989a).

However, in light of our theory, what is also interesting is the manner in which these explanations provide meaning. Yuki (1989a) illustrates this possibility well when he presents an anecdote about two bricklayers. According to Yuki (1989a, p. 206): "When asked what he was doing, one bricklayer replied that he was making a wall; the second bricklayer replied that he was building a cathedral." In fact, according to our model, a concrete activity (such as laying bricks) can be identified in a variety of ways (e.g., making a wall or building a cathedral). The higher identification, however, is likely to provide more meaning because it tells the individual why something is being done (Vallacher & Wegner, 1985). The charismatic leader, therefore, may offer meaning by providing an explanation that both contains action plans and that also pushes behavioral identification to a higher level in the hierarchy.

The charismatic leader, therefore, accesses important needs and values. He or she then creates emotion by pointing out the discrepancy between a desired state and the current situation. Finally, the charismatic leader devises a rationale or explanation that contains specific plans, but that also identifies

behavior at a more abstract level. This higher identification makes the behavior more meaningful. Put simply, charismatic leaders are skillful users of the goal hierarchy. In view of our model, it is no surprise that charismatic influence exists. It is, perhaps, surprising that it does not occur more often. After all, everyone has values.

The problem for charismatic leaders, however, is in the varied personalities of their subordinates. Simply put, for many individuals there may be no appropriate values to activate. A disenfranchised citizen will probably not be motivated by a patriotic drum roll. Similarly, a worker who feels exploited will likely not be aroused by reciting company slogans. Less cynically, individuals differ in their needs. While some things are important to everyone (e.g., safety, health), they are not equally important at all times. Thus, activating the needs of some people will not motivate those who lack these particular needs.

Within organizations true charismatic leadership is probably rare. This is due to the qualities of the subordinates, and not those of the leaders. Charismatic leadership is most likely to emerge when subordinates are relatively homogeneous with respect to their needs. This could occur in two situations. First, most members of a group could come from similar cultural backgrounds. Thus, their value systems would likely overlap. Second, dire situations could activate the same needs in a variety of people. For example, most Americans probably do not worry about their health. However, in times of extreme economic hardship this could become a salient need for many people. Once it is salient, it is ripe for exploitation by a charismatic leader.

These circumstances, however, are probably rare. For the most part the supervisor would do better to consider the individual needs and values of each subordinate. Leaders could build on this by activating them on a case-by-case basis. The techniques of the charismatic leader could be applied at the level of the individual. This is a more laborious process, but it is the one that will likely be the most useful.

#### Middle Level: Path-Goal Theory and Management by Objectives

Unlike charismatic and transformational approaches, there are few, if any, theories that explicitly limit themselves to mid-level standards or personal projects. Nevertheless, if one examines the different leadership theories, some certainly seem applicable. One approach that seems particularly relevant is path-goal theory (for fuller reviews, see Evans, 1974; House, 1971; House & Dressler, 1974; House & Mitchell, 1974). This model is directed at the level of "work tasks." Such tasks can be defined either specifically (which would place them at a lower level in our hierarchy) or more generally. To ease our discussion we have limited our review of path-goal theory to the middle or project level.

Path-goal theory is based on the expectancy-valence model of work motivation (Kanfer, 1991; Mitchell, 1982). This theory posits that motivation



is a multiplicative function of (among other possible things) the value of the outcome, the expectancy that one can accomplish the task (which is similar to self-efficacy), and the probability that successfully completing the task will yield the desired outcome.

In light of our earlier theoretical presentation, the reader should note the similarity between our model and path-goal theory. For example, research has shown that importance (or valence) is an important characteristic of personal projects (Emmons, 1989; Roberson, 1989). Personal projects researchers, however, seem to sometimes combine performance expectancy and probability of outcome attainment into a single dimension. One noteworthy exception is the work of Little (1987b), who separately examines two dimensions called "control" and "outcome." Control indicates the individual's perceived ability to influence the project, while outcome is the probability of success. Little (1989) reviews evidence indicating that both control and outcome probability influence an individual's reaction to a personal project. Given this analysis, it seems that path-goal theory is an important model of leadership because it directs leaders to influence the attributes of personal projects.

What is most interesting in the present case, however, is not the strengths of path-goal theory but its weaknesses. The most telling problem is that pathgoal theory is closely linked to the expectancy-valence model rather than to a more recent theory of work motivation. Expectancy-valence theory has some limitations (Mitchell, 1974) and has largely been eclipsed by the goal setting approach (Kanfer, 1991).

Consequently, any problems with expectancyvalence theory are subsequently inherited by the path-goal model (Schriesheim & Kerr, 1977). Given these problems, YukI (1989a) indicates that while some evidence supports the path-goal perspective, the model is still incomplete.

As we have already indicated, goal setting and expectancy-valence theory are not contradictory. Expectancies and outcome importance, for example, are of central importance to both models. For this reason, most recent observers have expanded the goal setting framework so that it now includes the task-related cognitions essential to expectancy-valence theory (cf. Hollenbeck & Klein, 1987; Kaufer, 1991; Locke & Latham, 1990a). Hence, as with the expectancy-valence theory, the missing ingredient in the path-goal model would seem to be a conceptualization of goals. Goals would, in turn, define the expectancies and valences against an explicit standard.

Such an extension is not contradictory to path-goal theory. However, our extension would change the flavor of path-goal theory somewhat. First, all leaders would begin by helping employees set work goals (such as those discussed by Roberson, 1989, 1991). Goal setting would not be limited to achievement-oriented leaders. All styles of leadership would presumably call for some goal setting, although the types of goals might vary somewhat. Second, the content of leader behavior would depend on the content of the goals. Currently, path-goal theory states that certain leader styles raise or lower

subordinates' expectancies and valences. In our extended version the leader would assess and help choose personal projects. Then, leader behavior would be focused on that specific objective. Only when the project is known and approved, should the leader begin to manipulate motivational cognitions. This would call for leaders to refrain from global styles and to tailor their behavior to each individual's specific personal projects. For some people, direction would be necessary. For others, a supportive style would be most effective.

By incorporating personal projects into path-goal theory, the model now emphasizes leader behaviors that include mutual goal setting and leader assistance in accomplishing those goals. Interestingly, this sounds much like Management by Objectives (MBO). MBO is a widely used system for performance appraisal (DeVries, Morrison, Shullman, & Gerlach, 1986). Recent work has shown that if upper management support exists, MBO can be an effective means of raising productivity (Rodgers & Hunter, 1991). In fact, MBO contains many elements that are suggested in the present analysis. The program involves regular goal setting meetings between a supervisor and a subordinate. Implicit in MBO is the notion that these goals are hierarchical. According to Carroll and Schneier (1982), for example, the task goals should be derived from the presumably higher-level organizational goals. Similarly, the supervisor and subordinate should set specific action plans in order to accomplish these objectives.

Our model would accept each of these suggestions, but, like path-goal theory, would emphasize the task-related cognitions associated with each objective. First, to enhance performance expectancies, supervisors could set moderately difficult goals that are challenging, but that will give success experiences. These successes should build intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy, and job satisfaction. Second, action plans should be constructed as specific subgoals. More will be said on this issue in the next section. Third, our analysis would also caution individuals to be aware of the possibility of goal conflict. Conflict can create negative emotion and lower motivation (Emmons, 1989). Supervisors and subordinates, therefore, should take care to ensure that the various goals are facilitative or at least independent. Fourth, the objectives should do more than tie the work goals to those of the organization. This is certainly necessary. However, as we have seen, personal projects are meaningful to the extent that they are linked to individuals' self-system, (Cantor, Markus, Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986). Hence, to maximize motivation at least some of the objectives should be explicitly connected to the employees needs and values or, better yet, the needs and values of the person should be connected to the goals of the organization. This latter condition is similar to the state that exists for charismatic leaders, showing that supervision is best when it simultaneously impacts multiple levels.

### Low Level: Operant Approaches to Leadership

Research on both MBO and charismatic leadership has shown that in order to increase subordinate performance, supervisors must formulate specific action plans. As we have said, these plans are relatively concrete sets of behavioral sequences that are enacted in order to achieve some higher level goal. The operant approach to supervision explicitly focuses on this concrete level (Hamner, 1983). In general, the operant approach suggests that supervisors should break tasks down into small, specific behavioral units. According to Komaki, Zlotnick, and Jensen (1986) supervisors then explain their expectations regarding these units (Komaki and her colleagues refer to this as "providing antecedents"), monitor worker performance, and provide appropriate consequences. Evidence exists that leaders who perform these behaviors (and particularly monitoring) are more effective than leaders who do not (Komaki, 1986; Komaki, Desselles, & Bowman, 1989).

In general, the operant model is not inconsistent with our approach. Komaki and her colleagues emphasize both feedback (which can signal a possible performance problem) and reinforcement (which we maintain raises the valence of successful performance). It also seems reasonable to encourage supervisors to observe the behavior of their subordinates. However, the operant approach needs to be extended. In its present form, it contains no explicit formulation of goal setting and task-related cognitions (Locke, 1977). We have already seen evidence indicating that goals and worker reactions to goals are important determinants of motivation. Locke (1977) has further argued that operant based interventions are effective largely because they encourage employee goal setting. This proposition is certainly reasonable. For example, work by Larsen and Callahan (1990) suggests that monitoring works because it signals to workers which tasks are more important. Thus, monitoring seems to serve a cognitive, standard setting function.

Given this, we maintain that the operant approach can be expanded by integrating it with cognitive processing (cf. Fedor & Ferris, 1981). One could maintain the technology of operant interventions (such as breaking the task into components, monitoring, etc.), but frame this technology as a model of goal setting. This would indicate that managers should indeed construct action plans, and that these plans should contain a set of concrete, proximal goals. Such goals should lead to increased learning (Bandura & Schunk, 1981) and work motivation (Bandura & Simon, 1977). In addition these proximal goals should be moderately difficult, but not impossible. Success on challenging goals can boost self-efficacy and intrinsic motivation, thereby triggering the "high performance cycle" (Locke & Latham, 1990b). In sum, the goals need to be arranged not only to facilitate completion of the task, but also to increase the confidence and self-efficacy of the worker.

Besides adding the notion of goal setting, we would qualify operant theory in another way. Operant theory calls on the supervisor to break the task down into concrete component behaviors and to give feedback on each. This is generally consistent with the literature on organizational feedback which maintains that performance information should be concrete (e.g., Larsen, 1984). However, our hierarchical model of personality would predict that feedback can sometimes become too specific.

According to Vallacher and Wegner (1985) task experts focus on higher levels of their goal hierarchy than do nonexperts. Typically, a novice must pay careful attention to each small portion of the task. As the individual becomes more skilled, he or she stops attending to each component and focuses instead on the larger whole (Logan, 1988; Weiss, 1991). Vallacher and Wegner (1985) have found that certain types of feedback can lead people to identify their behavior at an inappropriate level. An expert could be told to attend to the task components, while a novice could be told to attend to the task as a whole unit.

When this happens, performance decrements are likely to occur. Hence, feedback should identify the action at the level that is most appropriate for the ability of the employee in question. When presenting negative feedback, this information should be relatively specific, since the individual may lack skill on the task in question. Specific feedback moves the individual to a more concrete level in the hierarchy and, hopefully, will focus the individual on the specifics of the task. Positive feedback, on the other hand, should probably be more general. If the individual knows the task well, he or she does not need the specific instructions prescribed by operant theory. Indeed, the worker may well know the task better than his or her supervisor. Specific feedback to an expert employee is likely to appear controlling and could be taken negatively. More to the point of the present analysis, however, it could also move the action identity down to an inappropriately low level in the hierarchy. This could lower task performance (Wegner & Vallacher, 1985).

### Conclusions and Some Qualifications

Our synthesis of the leadership literature has some important strengths. **In** particular, we base each of the leadership models on a common construct (i.e., goals) that allows each theory to be integrated. The leadership theories differ primarily in that they examine employee behavior at different levels of abstraction. However, they are not inconsistent. **In** fact, quite the opposite is true. The theories complement each other by focusing on a different piece of a complex puzzle. It seems likely that the most effective leader is one that can simultaneously manage employee motivation at multiple levels. For example, Bass (1985) notes that charismatic leaders do more than simply inspire emotion. They also formulate specific plans to direct behavior. Similarly, operant theory is limited in that it fails to consider the very real needs that workers bring into

the work context. A leader that simply monitors and reinforces without giving any consideration to workers' self-identities, is likely to find his subordinates grumbling over the meaninglessness of the work.

The present model presents a goal hierarchy approach to leadership from only one perspective. That is, we examine subordinate motivation and how leaders can enter into the process to raise effort or direct behavior. However, we have not offered a detailed description of the leader. **In** fact, one could also apply the hierarchical model to understand a leader's activities ..

YukI (1989a) has presented just such a model. YukI actually uses four levels of behavior. At the top are abstract categories of behavior. To borrow YukI's (1989a) example, this could include something like task-oriented behavior. At a second, middle-range level, a leader could be task-oriented by clarifying roles or by monitoring employee performance. At a still more concrete level of analysis, the leader could clarify roles by setting task goals. Finally, at the most concrete level one could examine specific supervisory behaviors. It should be noted that YukI (1989a) presents his model as an inclusive taxonomy for integrating various other typologies of leader behavior, and not as a goal-based model of personality. Nevertheless, our model complements YukI's work in that both approaches recognize the hierarchical organization of human behavior.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

**In** this paper we have argued that relatively little progress has been made in integrating personality and work motivation. This seems to have occurred because personality and motivational theories are largely incompatible. **In** particular, personality is typically conceptualized as a set of relatively static traits. Motivation, on the other hand, concerns itself with dynamic changes in behavioral direction and effort. **In** order to better understand the manner in which personality impacts motivation, we have constructed a new model of personality based on goals.

Our review of the literature indicates that there are a variety of dynamic, goal-based approaches to human personality. They differ, however, in their level of abstraction. Some are more concrete than others. Consistent with much previous research, we have integrated each of these models by arguing that goals are arranged hierarchically, with the lower level standards serving as means of attaining the higher level goals. **In** some broad sense, then, personality and motivation reduce to more or less the same thing. A person is motivated to the extent that he or she is exerting effort to bring about some end. Our model of personality says that this same individual can be characterized by the ends that he or she attempts to bring about. Personality becomes what an individual is trying to accomplish in life. Motivation and personality, therefore, are inextricably linked.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank Carol Bormann, Lloyd Jobe, John Howes, and Barry Staw for their generous contributions to the preparation of this manuscript.

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