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JUST BE YOURSELF: ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF
PERSONALITY TRAIT EXPRESSION AT WORK

A Dissertation in
Psychology

by

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ABSTRACT

To gain a better understanding of personality-performance relationships, researchers have been encouraged to consider how and when personality traits are expressed in the workplace, including the contextual factors that enhance or suppress behavioral expression of personality. The current paper applied emotion regulation theory to personality traits to propose the concept of personality trait regulation, including the processes of personality trait expression, personality trait suppression, and personality trait faking. In a series of two studies, personality trait expression was found to be an important predictor of a variety of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. More specifically, Study 1 examined whether situational cues at two levels (task and social) influenced personality expression. The act of expressing one’s inner personality was found to negatively predict stress and positively predict satisfaction, motivation, and performance. Furthermore, “faking” a personality trait was found to be a stressful and unsatisfying experience for participants. Study 2 utilized field data from three diverse jobs to provide limited support for the hypothesis that having the opportunity to express one’s personality on the job is positively related to performance. Personality trait regulation is a promising area of study for Industrial-Organizational (I-O) psychologists, and a number of directions for future research are proposed.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

Personality research has a long, if somewhat controversial, history in Industrial-Organizational (I-O) psychology, and the relationship between personality and job performance is one of the most frequently studied relationships in the field. Because a plethora of research exists on the personality-performance relationship, researchers have been encouraged to stop looking at if personality is related to job performance, and instead work to clarify our understanding of personality in the workplace by examining when, how and why personality predicts work-related outcomes (Barrick, Mount & Judge 2001; Kanfer, Ackerman, Murtha, & Goff, 1995). Furthermore, if personality research is to continue adding value to the field of I/O psychology, it will be necessary to move beyond simple examinations of personality-outcome relationships to more complex research paradigms (Murphy, 1996). Recently, it has been suggested that “personality-based selection systems are likely to benefit by greater attention to the psychological processes by which traits are expressed in job performance,” (Tett & Burnett, 2003; p. 513). Trait expression represents a clear gap in the literature, as virtually no research has been conducted on factors that influence personality expression or the consequences of such personal expression. The current study aims to fill this gap by adopting a trait-based interactionist perspective to examine the construct of personality trait expression, including antecedents, consequences, and moderators that influence when individuals will express their personality and how they respond to such expression.
Although early research painted a very dismal picture of personality-performance relationships (e.g., Guion & Gottier, 1965), an abundance of more recent research has demonstrated a consistent relationship between personality and performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Barrick et al., 2001; Hogan & Holland, 2003; Tett, Jackson, & Rothstein, 1991). Many of the issues that concerned personality researchers in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the influence of faking on personality scores (Hogan, 2005), began to be addressed in the 1990s. In particular, at least three advancements in the 1990s were cause for increased optimism regarding personality measurement (Murphy & Dzieweczynski, 2005): 1) the acceptance of the Five-Factor Model (i.e., the Big Five) as a taxonomy of personality, 2) a number of meta-analyses which showed a consistent link between personality and performance, and 3) advances in personality measurement with scales that measure the Big Five, such as the NEO-PI. The development of the Big Five (Fiske, 1949; Norman, 1963), in particular, is thought to be one of the most important catalysts in advancing personality research over the past few decades. However, it is important to note that the Five Factor model (and trait theories in general) have not been without critics (e.g., Block, 1995; Epstein, 1994; Eysenck, 1992; McAdams, 1992; Pervin, 1994), who assert that the Big Five represent “a psychology of the stranger” and that trait theories ignore intraindividual processes. Nevertheless, the Five Factor model has been largely accepted by the I-O community and has been heavily researched.

Recent research, including numerous meta-analyses, has portrayed a relatively positive picture of the relationship between the Big 5 personality traits and performance. Although consistent, the relationship that has emerged between personality and performance is more modest than many would expect. For example, Barrick & Mount
(1991) conducted a meta-analysis and concluded that conscientiousness was the only trait that predicted performance across situations, and even that had a raw correlation of only .12 (which was brought up to .22 after several corrections). At about the same time, Tett, Jackson, and Rothstein (1991) published a meta-analysis that examined the research context (i.e., whether the study was confirmatory or exploratory) as a moderator in the personality-performance relationship. Results revealed that the raw correlations between personality and performance were much lower when a study was conducted in an exploratory manner (and thus had no theoretical reason to link particular personality traits to jobs) than when the study was confirmatory in nature and was testing theoretically justified hypotheses (r = .08 vs. r = .20, respectively). Finally, Barrick et al. (2001) recently performed a second-order meta-analysis, finding that both conscientiousness and emotional stability are stable predictors of performance across jobs. Despite findings that certain traits may be universally important for performance, the actual correlations remain disappointingly low. For example, the highest observed correlation in this study was r = .12 (for conscientiousness). Although the correlations between personality and performance are smaller than some would hope for or expect, personality remains an important predictor of job performance not only because it has exhibited consistent relations with job performance, but also because it does not result in adverse impact when used as a predictor (Hogan, 2005).

Because the main effects of personality and performance are well established, “the time has come to turn our attention to how these main effects operate and what aspects of the situation may enhance or suppress expression of these effects,” (Judge & Kristof-Brown, 2004, p. 88). However, it is important to understand that furthering
personality research beyond a simple understanding of personality – outcome relationships necessitates a more complex research paradigm than has been employed thus far (Murphy, 1996). For example, because it is unlikely that a general factor underlies personality as it does with cognitive ability, personality research will often involve multivariate analyses that are less parsimonious than research in the domain of cognitive ability. Additionally, although performance outcomes are the clear dependant variable of choice with regard to cognitive ability research, the possible dependent variables in personality research are much more diverse (and indeed much research has shown that personality has stronger relationships with outcomes like contextual performance than with task performance; Schmitt, Cortina, Ingerick & Wiechman, 2003). Finally, it has been argued that researchers will need to move from simple to more complex models to better understand how personality operates in the workplace due to the fact that personality often exhibits nonlinear relationships that are context-specific. According to Tett and Burnett (2003), this “evidence for situational specificity of personality-job performance relations calls for better understanding of how personality is expressed as valued work behavior,” (p. 500).

Tett & Burnett (2003) recently asserted a trait-based interactionist model of job performance which captures some of the complexities and situational specificity of the personality – performance relationship. At the core of this model is the principle of trait activation, which states that a situation provides cues on how to act and that personality traits will be expressed to the extent that they are called for by trait-relevant cues in the environment (Tett & Guterman, 2000). Trait-relevant cues can occur at three different levels: task, social, and organizational. At the task level, daily responsibilities and duties
affect the degree to which a certain personality trait is called for in a job. This reflects, for example, what might be captured in a personality-oriented job analysis (e.g., the NEO Job Profiler; Costa, McCrae & Kay, 1995). Trait-relevant cues may also originate from a social level; these cues include demands or expectations of coworkers, supervisors, customers, or anybody else that an employee may interact with while at work. Finally, at the organizational level, climate and culture will influence which trait-relevant cues are present, and subsequent expression of personality at an individual level.

An important assertion of the trait interactionist model is that expression of one’s innate personality traits is associated with rewards at both an extrinsic and intrinsic level (Tett & Burnett, 2003). At an extrinsic level, expression of personality may be rewarding when the situation values those traits and reinforcement is given for expression of such traits. At an intrinsic level, situations are thought to be personally satisfying when there is opportunity for personal trait expression. This idea has roots in the fields of clinical and personality psychology, in which personality traits have a long history of being conceptualized as internal needs or drives. Murray (1938) was one of the first personality theorists to describe personality as a need, defining it as “an organic potentiality or readiness to respond in a certain way under given conditions,” (p. 61). According to Murray, need fulfillment is associated with the experience of pleasure, while failure to fulfill such needs can lead to unrest, uneasiness, and dissatisfaction. Similar to Murray’s conceptualization of personality as needs, Allport (1951) characterized personality as a drive which creates tension that motivates an individual to behave in a certain manner (i.e., to act out the drive). Thus, individuals are driven to express their personality, and they experience pleasant affect and are satisfied to the extent that they are able to do so
(Allport, 1951; Cote & Moskowitz, 1998; Moskowitz & Cote, 1995; Wiggins & Trapnell, 1996). Similarly, failure to express personality is thought to be related to a variety of negative outcomes including displeasure, lack of fulfillment, and anxiety (Cote & Moskowitz; Moskowitz & Cote; Wiggins & Trapnell). Because of this, Tett and Burnett proposed that individuals will tend to be more satisfied with tasks, people and organizations that allow them to express their personalities. Conversely, it is likely than an individual will feel stressed and anxious in the presence of tasks or people where they must suppress or “fake” a personality trait.

**Expressive Regulation of Personality Traits**

The last two decades have witnessed a surge of interest in understanding how employees manage and regulate their emotional expressions at work (e.g., Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1997). *Emotion regulation* is defined as “the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions” (Gross, 1998a, p. 275); the term *emotional labor* refers to this process when it occurs within a paid context (Hochchild). Although an individual cannot regulate which personality traits and predispositions they have innately, it is likely that expression of those personality traits is regulated to some extent while at work (and, more generally, in the world at large). Although individuals can and do match themselves to the requirements of different jobs (e.g. the attraction-selection-attrition process; Schneider, 1987), an employee cannot choose or predict every situation that will arise on the job. Furthermore, over time nearly
every job (and the social and organizational context in which it is embedded) will demand the expression of multiple, and conflicting, personality traits. Because of this, situations will undoubtedly arise in one’s working environment in which an individual must express a personality trait that is discordant from his/her inner personality. For example, an introverted researcher (drawn to the independent nature of this work), will at times need to behave at least somewhat extravertedly in order to present his or her work at conferences and network with other researchers (i.e., personality “faking” in response to a task demand). And even highly agreeable individuals may need to confront a boss, peer or customer and behave in a way that is counter to their nature (i.e., personality faking in response to a social demand). Similarly, highly conscientious individuals may at times have to neglect their methodical and detail-oriented ways in response to time pressure or other constraints (i.e., personality “suppression”). In sum, a host of task, social, and organizational demands may require employees to either express a personality trait that is not natural for them (faking), or to suppress the expression of an innate personality trait.

Ekman and Friesen (1969, 1975) developed a taxonomy of six mechanisms by which individuals manage the expression of emotion. First, individuals may express the emotion they are feeling without any inhibition. Second, an individual may deamplify the expression of an emotion, or display the emotion but with less intensity than it is actually felt. Alternatively, an individual could amplify the emotion they are feeling by expressing it with greater intensity than it is actually felt. Fourth, one could neutralize emotional expression by expressing nothing. Fifth, individuals might qualify their expression by expressing the emotion they are feeling, but with a smile or explanation that qualifies the
expression. Finally, one could *mask* his or her true feeling, for example by smiling when in fact they are angry.

More recent literature focusing on emotion regulation in a work context specifically has tended to focus on four regulatory strategies (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). First, an individual could manipulate how they actually feel (for example, by reinterpreting the situation) in order to naturally express the desired emotion. This process is called “deep acting” in the emotion labor literature (Hochschild, 1983). Another strategy one may employ is to *enhance* the expression of what one is already feeling to some extent; this is similar to the construct of amplification (Ekman and Friesen, 1975). A third strategy is to simply *fake* expression of the desired emotion. Finally, individuals may need to *suppress* a felt emotion in order to bring their expression in line with norms or expectations of the organization. Expressive suppression refers to the conscious inhibition of expressive behavior (Gross, 1998b).

The first of the four regulatory strategies discussed (i.e., deep acting) is not particularly relevant to the idea of regulating personality expression, as an individual cannot easily manipulate what personality traits they have (personality traits are impressively stable over time, particularly in adults over the age of 30; Costa & McCrae, 1997; Schuerger, Tait, & Tavernelli, 1982). The remaining three regulatory strategies, however, can be applied to the regulation of personality expression. The following paragraphs will discuss several ways in which individuals may engage in *personality trait regulation*, or the process by which an individual consciously or subconsciously manipulates the behavioral expression of his or her personality to meet the demands of the environment.
Before discussing the ways in which individuals may regulate their personality expression, it is important to consider the idea of expression without regulation. Ekman and Friesen’s (1975) notion of expression applies to personality regulation, and is indeed the focal construct of interest for this paper. Personality trait expression is defined here as the behavioral enactment and expression of inner personality traits with little or no inhibition. Although individuals are driven to express their inner personality and will tend to do so when situational cues are relatively weak (Allport, 1951; Murray, 1938), contextual demands may require an individual to suppress the expression of his or her personality or even to act in a manner that is counter to natural predispositions (i.e., faking). Personality trait faking occurs when an individual behaves in a manner that is inconsistent with his/her inner disposition. Personality trait suppression, on the other hand, is defined as the inhibition of behavior consistent with inner personality traits. Finally, personality trait amplification could occur when an individual behaves in a way that exaggerates the extent to which they have a certain personality trait.

Given that the mechanisms of personality trait regulation proposed above have never been studied, it is appropriate to first examine the most basic construct of personality trait expression. That is, it must first be demonstrated that personality trait expression is in fact a meaningful construct that is conceptually and empirically distinct from personality traits themselves. Accordingly, the current study will explore antecedents and consequence of personality trait expression. This paper will also provide a preliminary examination of the construct of personality trait faking; this construct was studied because faking is likely easier to induce than the more subtle processes of suppression or amplification. Once it has been successfully demonstrated that personality
trait expression is a distinct construct with predictive utility, future researchers can then delve into the finer constructs of personality trait suppression and amplification; possible directions for research in this area are discussed in the future research section below.

**Personality Trait Expression**

The potential motivating force of personality expression has been more or less neglected by the field of I/O psychology. Because personality trait expression has been given very little empirical attention and only modest theoretical attention, the current paper will draw on literature from related concepts to better understand the trait expression process. Specifically, literature on the topics of dissonance, person-environment fit, vocational choice, and self-expression will be examined to develop hypotheses regarding the consequences of personality trait expression.

The dissonance literature, in particular, is applicable to the idea of personality expression. While Festinger (1957) originally conceptualized dissonance as the arousal and discomfort that results from two inconsistent cognitions, more recent conceptualizations of dissonance include inconsistencies between beliefs, attitudes, or personality and corresponding behaviors (Palsane, 2005). In addition, it has been argued that Festinger’s original conceptualization of dissonance fails to take into account the importance of self-concept. Specifically, Aronson (1968) argued that “at the very heart of dissonance theory, where it makes its strongest predictions, we are not dealing with just any two cognitions; rather, we are usually dealing with the self-concept and cognitions about some behavior. If dissonance exists, it is because the individual’s behavior is
inconsistent with his self-concept” (p. 23). This conceptualization of dissonance is particularly pertinent to personality expression: to the extent that personality is a part of the self-concept, one should experience dissonance when behavior is inconsistent with inner personality.

Person-environment (P-E) fit is another construct that is highly relevant to the concept of personality expression. Person-environment fit is defined as the compatibility that exists between individuals and their environment when they have characteristics that match well (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005); this construct is often broken down into components such as person-job fit, person-group fit, and person-organization fit. Interestingly, these three different ‘levels’ of fit directly correspond with the three levels of personality cues discussed by Tett and Burnett (2003): person-job fit should be related to task cues; person-group fit to social cues; and person-organization fit to organizational cues. No research to date has integrated these two distinct but highly related literatures, and the following paragraphs will provide a framework for understanding how fit might be related to personality trait activation and expression.

Most research has conceptualized fit in one of three ways: work environment congruence (e.g., needs-supplies fit), values congruence, or personality congruence (Westerman & Cyr, 2004). The majority of studies examining personality congruence have done so from a supplementary perspective; that is, by comparing an individual’s personality to the modal personality type in the work environment (e.g., Assouline & Meir, 1987). However, if one views personality as an internal need as discussed above, the needs-supplies perspective, which asserts that fit occurs when an environment satisfies an individual’s needs or preferences, appears to be most relevant to the concept
of personality expression. The current analysis departs from the tradition of examining personality fit through a supplementary lens and instead proposes that personality congruence may be better examined via the needs-supplies perspective: fit occurs when the environment “supplies” characteristics (e.g., tasks, workgroups, or cultures) that allow individuals to satisfy their “need” to express their personality.

Decades of research supports the idea that person-environment fit is related to a number of positive work outcomes, including satisfaction, commitment, turnover, and task and citizenship performance (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). However, there remains disagreement regarding the best way to define, measure and operationalize fit (Edwards, 1991; Kristof, 1996). For example, a number of different methods for defining fit have been proposed, including supplementary fit, complementary fit, need-supplies relationships, and the demands-abilities perspective. Similarly, fit has been measured in just as many different ways: researchers have used numerous methods of commensurate measurement; direct measures; indirect measures; and objective indices to get at the construct of fit (Kristof, 1996). This inconsistency regarding specifically what constitutes “good fit” between individuals and their work environments has hindered P-E fit research (Bretz & Judge, 1994), and calls for a greater theoretical understanding of the P-E fit construct. The process of personality trait expression proposed in the current paper may be an important underlying psychological mechanism which causes individuals to perceive fit with their environment.

The concept of P-E fit is a cornerstone of the field of vocational psychology. Prominent theories of vocational choice, such as Holland’s theory (1966) and the Minnesota Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA; Dawis, England, & Lofquist, 1964),
assert that match between one’s personal traits and the characteristics of one’s work environment is a key determinant of work outcomes including satisfaction, performance, and turnover. Specifically, according to TWA, individuals seek out work environments that correspond with their personal traits, which then influences perceptions of work adjustment. Work adjustment is the proximal antecedent of positive outcomes such as satisfaction and tenure. Both Holland’s theory and TWA hypothesize that it is the interaction of personal and environmental characteristics that predict an employee’s perception of fit. The model proposed in the current paper suggests that the act of expressing one’s personality mediates the relationship between person-environment interactions and perceptions of fit. That is, characteristics of the person and the environment interact to either encourage or inhibit personality expression, and it is the actual act of expressing one’s inner personality that predicts fit and subsequent outcomes (satisfaction, motivation, etc.).

Finally, the general construct of self-expression is another related concept that has been examined in the workplace. Most studies to date have operationalized self-expression in a very straightforward manner by simply asking the respondents if they are given opportunities for self-expression at work (e.g., Meyer & Allen, 1988) or if the job allows them to use previous learning and do things they are interested in (Jans & McMahon, 1989). For example, one study looking at self-expression in volunteer organizations operationalized self-expression as the extent to which members were able to express their predispositions towards volunteer participation (e.g., a predisposition to “have a sense of prestige from my membership in the organization”; Bonjean, Markham, & Macken, 1994). Thus, it is clear that an examination of personality trait expression
would be distinct from these studies of self-expression in the workplace. Furthermore, it could be argued that personality trait expression involves expressing a much more fundamental part of the self than self-expression as operationalized above. That is, because personality traits represent an enduring and stable aspect of the self, expression of personality traits may be even more important or motivating than self-expression of more transient aspects of the self (such as self-expression of emotions or preferences).

Due to the limited number of studies that have explicitly examined personality trait expression, the current study will draw on the literatures of self-expression, fit and dissonance to make predictions about personality trait expression.

The current study will examine antecedents, consequences, and moderators of the influence of trait expression. More specifically, a laboratory study will be used to examine the influence of both cues and innate personality as factors that encourage trait expression, and self-monitoring will be examined as a potential moderator of the cue-expression relationship. In addition, the lab study will investigate how personality trait expression influences a variety of work-related variables, including both attitudinal outcomes (e.g., motivation, job satisfaction) and behavioral outcomes (e.g., task performance). A field sample will then be used to provide corroborating evidence that having the opportunity to express one’s personality while on the job has a positive impact on performance.
Antecedents of personality expression

Personality trait expression has received very little research attention in I/O literature. Nonetheless, it is the expression of personality, rather than simply one’s internal personality traits, that should have the largest impact on work related outcomes. That is, it is not simply the existence of personality traits within individuals that influences work outcomes, but rather those traits must be enacted into behaviors to influence work outcomes. Implicit in the idea of personality testing in I/O psychology is that individuals will behave in concordance with their inner personality (i.e., if an individual scores high on a conscientiousness test, they will behave conscientiously on the job). Although this is a fair assumption with some validity, research has demonstrated that individuals do not always behave in ways that are consistent with their inner dispositions and attitudes.

A number of researchers have called for increased attention to the situational factors that influence personality expression (e.g., Tett & Burnett, 2003; Winter & Barenbaum, 1999). Winter and Barenbaum note that “whatever the evolutionary origins, genetic basis, or physiological substrate of any aspect of personality, both its level and channel of expression will be strongly affected, in complex ways, by the multiple dimensions of social context,” (p.19). A variety of personal and situational factors can influence which personality traits are actually expressed by an individual in a given context, and examining factors that serve to encourage or constrain the expression of certain personality traits in the workplace would allow for a better understanding of how and when personality is related to work outcomes. Please see Figure 1 for a visual
depiction of the antecedents, consequences, and moderators of personality trait expression to be discussed in the following pages.

Figure 1: Overall model

At the heart of discussions of personal behavior is the person-situation debate, which has influenced the field of psychology for a number of decades (Kenrick & Funder, 1988). This debate centers around the relative importance of person factors (e.g., individual differences such as personality and ability) versus situational factors as causes of individual behavior. The idea that dispositions influence attitudes and behaviors in the workplace reaches back to Munsterberg (1913) who argued that individuals would be more or less likely to be fit for a certain type of job depending on their personalities and abilities. Nonetheless, correlations between traits and behavioral expression of those traits are rarely higher than .40 (Tett & Guterman, 2000), leaving much room for situational factors as predictors of behavior.
The notion that situational factors can have an important influence on individuals’ behavior has also been around for decades: Murray (1938) introduced the term press to refer to an object or situation that tends to evoke certain behaviors from individuals. More recently, Mischel (1977) introduced the concept of situational strength to explain how situations influence personality expression. Specifically, personality expression is thought to be more constrained in strong situations in which clear cues and reinforcement are given for appropriate behavior. Conversely, individuals are more likely to express their inner personality in weak situations which lack expectations and incentives for particular behaviors.

The person-situation debate has continued to interest scholars because of seemingly inconsistent data which show both that individual differences in behavior can be impressively consistent across situations and time, but also that even minor aspects of a situation can have a major influence on behavior (Funder, 2006). Most often an interactionist perspective is seen as the solution to this debate (Caldwell & O’Reilly, 1990). The interactionist perspective captures the idea that both individual and situational characteristics influence an individual’s behavior, and that the interaction between the two variables predicts even greater variance than either the person or situation factor alone. The most recent application of interactionist theory to organizational issues has been the trait-based interactionist model of job performance described above (Tett & Burnett, 2003). This model attempts to specify when particular personality traits will be related to behavior: innate personality traits are behaviorally expressed to the extent that cues in the environment call for that trait.
Several recent studies have tested the assumptions of trait activation theory. One such study demonstrated that correlations between traits and intent to behaviorally express that trait were highest when a situation was relevant to that trait (Tett & Guterman, 2000). For example, trait scores on sociability correlated highest with sociability intent when considering a social scenario (as compared to scenarios that cued a different trait). A number of studies have also examined trait activation in an assessment center context. Although assessment centers have proven to be valid predictors of performance, they consistently show poor construct validity: correlations between behavioral ratings within an exercise are almost always higher than correlations of the same behavioral dimension (or trait) across exercises (Bycio, Alvares, & Hahn, 1987). Recently, it has been recognized that this lack of convergence among different exercises may be due to different traits being activated in the different exercises. Because assessment centers are designed such that candidates can demonstrate a variety of work-related behaviors (Sackett & Dreher, 1982), perhaps it should not be expected that participants would display any given trait consistently across exercises because different traits are being cued in different exercises. Indeed, recent studies have demonstrated that behavioral consistency is much more apparent when restricting observations to similar situations: correlations between ratings of the same behavioral dimension across exercises with high trait-activating potential (TAP) are nearly twice as large as those correlations in low TAP exercises (Haaland & Christiansen, 2002; Lievens, Chasteen, Day, & Christiansen, 2006). Furthermore, ratings of a behavioral dimension made during a high trait activating exercise portrayed more consistent relationships with self-ratings on a personality inventory (Haaland & Christiansen, 2002).
The idea that both personal factors and situations produce behavior has more or less been accepted as a truism in the field of psychology today (Funder, 2006). The above studies suggest that differences in personality trait expression across situations can be at least partially explained by considering the trait relevance of the situation. In replication of past studies, it is hypothesized that both innate personality traits and situations (i.e., cues) will predict which personality traits are expressed in any given context. Although personality and situational cues are typically thought to interact to produce behavior, part of the purpose of the current study is to flesh out when situational cues are most likely to lead an individual to express certain personality traits (i.e., moderators of the cues – trait expression will be examined in the current study). Because of this, the influence of personality and cues on personality trait expression will be examined separately to avoid the conceptual confusion that would accompany an examination of double moderators.

_Hypothesis 1: Self-reported personality traits will positively predict expression of those personality traits (e.g., self-reported conscientiousness will positively predict expression of conscientiousness)._}

_Hypothesis 2: Cues designed to elicit a certain personality trait will positively predict expression of that personality trait (e.g., a cue designed to elicit conscientiousness will positively predict expression of conscientiousness)._
Moderators of the cue – trait expression relationship

The primary assumption underlying the idea of trait activation is that personality traits are only expressed to the extent that they are called for by relevant situational cues. It follows that not only must trait-relevant cues be in the environment, but they also must be perceived as such by the individual in order for the cue to activate the appropriate trait. This idea is similar to what Murray (1938) called the “alpha” (objective) and “beta” (subjective) components of a situation. Mischel (1977) also noted that “any given, objective stimulus condition may have a variety of effects, depending on how the individual construes and transforms it,” (p. 253). To fully understand how traits are activated in individuals, it will be necessary to examine how different individuals perceive and respond to situational cues. For example, it has been suggested that some individuals may be more sensitive to or accurate in perceiving trait-relevant cues (Tett & Guterman, 2000). Delineating the factors that influence perception of cues would help us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of personality expression and behavior predictability (Tett & Guterman). Accordingly, the current study will examine self-monitoring as one potential individual difference that influences the perception of trait relevant cues.

Self-monitoring

Individuals who are more aware of and receptive to their external environment should be more responsive to cues in the environment signaling the relevance of a certain behavior. One construct particularly relevant to this idea is that of self-monitoring. Self-
monitoring refers to the extent to which an individual observes and regulates the self when in social situations (Snyder, 1979). While high self-monitors are known as “chameleons” for their ability to modify their behavior to match the social context, low self-monitors tend to behave in ways that are true to their inner self. Furthermore, when assessing social situations, low self-monitors tend to rely on the private self to direct their actions and behaviors (Hoyle & Sowards, 1993). High self-monitors, on the other hand, tend to rely on their private self less often (Snyder & Cantor, 1980) and are instead more likely to observe and respond to environmental cues (Jones & Baumeister, 1976). Because of this, it has been suggested that “high self-monitors may be more socially constructed beings whereas low self-monitors are self-constructed,” (Bedeian & Day, 2004, p. 706). With regards to trait expression, this would seem to imply that high self-monitors will be more motivated to express traits that are consistent with the situation, whether or not that act is an expression of their actual personality. Furthermore, because high self-monitors are constantly monitoring the social situation to pick up cues on how to act, they may be more likely to notice the cue in this first place. If this is indeed true, environmental cues should have a stronger influence on personality expression for high self-monitors than for low self-monitors.

Hypothesis 3: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between situational cues and personality expression such that the relationship will be stronger for high self-monitors.
Consequences of trait expression

Although many personality theories conceive personality as a need or drive that leads to rewarding experiences when expressed, very few empirical studies have been aimed at examining if and when personal trait expression is rewarding for individuals. However, initial research has indicated that personality expression is associated with positive outcomes. In particular, Moskowitz and Cote (1995, 1998) have conducted a number of studies looking at how personality expression influences one’s affect. In one of their first studies, these authors compared the relevance of three different trait models in predicting intrapersonal affect (Moskowitz & Cote, 1995). The first model examined was a global trait model, which hypothesizes that certain personality characteristics are consistently related to feelings of positive or negative affect. For example, extraversion has exhibited consistent positive relations with positive affect, while the trait of neuroticism is associated with feelings of negative affect (Costa & McCrae, 1980). The second model examined was the situational congruence model (Diener, Larsen, & Emmons, 1984), which holds that individuals experience more pleasant affect when in situations that are congruent with their personality traits. The final model that these authors proposed and examined was the behavioral concordance model. This model states that an individual will experience more positive affect when engaging in behavior that is congruent with inner personality characteristics (when compared to someone lower on the trait) and will experience more negative affect when engaging in behavior that is discordant from his/her personality (compared to an individual behaving concordantly with inner traits). An important distinction between the behavioral concordance model
and the situational congruence model is that the behavioral concordance model looks explicitly at the occurrence of behaviors that are concordant with traits, while the situational congruence model assumes that simply being in a situation that is congruent with one’s traits is what leads to positive outcomes (whether traits are actually expressed or not).

In a comparison of these three models, Moskowitz and Cote (1995) found the strongest support for the behavioral concordance model: individuals experienced more pleasant affect when their behaviors were concordant with their self-rated traits and more unpleasant affect when their actions were discordant from their traits. For example, individuals high in agreeableness experienced more pleasant affect than low agreeable individuals when engaging in agreeable behavior, and more unpleasant affect than their low-agreeable counterparts when behaving in a quarrelsome manner (Moskowitz & Cote, 1995). This pattern of results has been shown to hold both when personality is conceptualized with circumplex models of personality (e.g., dominance and submissiveness; Moskowitz & Cote) and with the Big Five model of personality (Cote & Moskowitz, 1998). It is important to note that these results support the idea that it is the actual expression of traits, rather than simply being in a situation that is congruent with those traits, that leads to pleasant affect (i.e., support was stronger for the behavioral concordance model than the situational congruence model). This research suggests that expressing personality discordant from one’s actual personality results in negative outcomes, while positive outcomes are associated with the expression of internal personality traits.
Finally, the only study to investigate personality expression in a workplace context examined if people preferred working with others who allowed them to express their own personality (Tett & Murphy, 2002). Personality expression can be elicited by coworkers through either supplementary or complementary congruence (Muchinsky & Monahan, 1987). While supplementary congruence occurs when an individual shares similar characteristics with others in the environment, complementary congruence occurs when an individual supplies a different or complementary characteristic to the environment. Using a lab study methodology in which participants rated their preference for working with various hypothetical coworkers, these authors found that individuals prefer working with others who allow them to express their own personalities (Tett & Murphy). For example, individuals who were high in affiliation preferred to have coworkers who were also high in affiliation (supplementary fit), presumably because having high affiliative coworkers meant that the individual would have the opportunity to express their own affiliation. Similarly, dominant individuals preferred to work with non-defensive co-workers (complementary fit), likely because such coworkers make it easier for the target individual to behave dominantly. Overall, the authors of this study concluded that people prefer working with coworkers who allow them to be themselves. These findings are in line with interpersonal approaches to personality (e.g., Sullivan, 1953), which hold that compatibilities result when one person’s personality expression allows the other to express his or her personality, and that expressing personality during interactions serves to reduce anxieties (Tett & Murphy, 2002). These results also demonstrate the dynamic and complex nature of personality elicitation, and may explain why past authors have found equivocal results for the relationship between an
individual’s personality and the modal personality of his or her work group (e.g., Judge & Kristof-Brown, 2004). Researchers examining personality congruence by comparing an individual’s personality to the modal personality of the group are failing to consider the influences of complementary fit, which appears to be particularly pertinent to understanding the concept of personality fit.

The above studies provide initial evidence that expressing one’s internal personality is a positive and desirable activity for most people. Individuals prefer working with others who allow them to be themselves, and expressing one’s personality is associated with feelings of positive affect. Given the dearth of research on personality expression in a work context, as well as recent calls for a greater theoretical understanding of how personality operates in the workplace, the current study will examine a number of potential consequences of personality expression in a working context.

**Attitudinal Outcomes**

**Motivation**

Tett and Burnett (2003) point out that traditional descriptive examinations of personality, such as the many meta-analyses employed in this area, have failed to consider the motivating potential of personality traits. A central proposition of trait activation theory is that expression of one’s personality in inherently rewarding and intrinsically motivating (Tett & Burnett). As the opportunity for trait expression
increases, it is expected that motivation will increase commensurately. In addition, personality expression is thought to be even more motivating when there are also external rewards (e.g., positive performance review, raise) associated with expression.

Motivational theories can generally be grouped into one of three categories: need-motive-value, cognitive choice, and self-regulatory approaches (Kanfer, 1990). Personality expression as motivator would best be characterized as a need-motive-value approach to motivation, which emphasizes the role of personality and other stable dispositions as motivators and posits that motivation stems from internal tensions and arousal that the individual wishes to resolve. Although no studies to date have explicitly examined personality expression as a motivator, several studies have examined the motivational properties of fit more generally. For example, it has been shown that individual-environment congruence in terms of values and interests is positively related to job satisfaction and work motivation (Ton & Hansen, 2001). Similarly, some authors have suggested that job characteristics theory should be expanded to include an indicator of person-task match, such as skill utilization or self-expression (Jans & McMahon, 1989; O’Brien, 1983). More specifically, O’Brien argued that job characteristics theory is missing the concept of skill utilization, which he defined as the match between an individual’s skills and those needed to perform the job. Expanding on this idea, Jans and McMahon examined the influence of opportunities for self-expression in the workplace finding that self-expression positively predicted job involvement in both samples studied. These studies lend support to the idea that having the opportunity to express one’s personality while on the job should be intrinsically motivating. However, it is important to note that self-expression in Jans and McMahon’s study was operationalized with a 4-
item scale which asked participants to rate how much their job allowed them to use previous experience, learn new tasks, do things they are interested in, and be creative in coming up with new ideas and solutions. No studies to date have looked at actual behaviors indicating that the incumbent is expressing his or herself; rather, they focus on subjective perceptions of opportunities for self-expression. Because the correlation between objective and perceived job characteristics is modest at best (with correlations hovering around .20), there are clear limitations to examining expressive opportunity via a self-report methodology. The current study will expand upon this limited operationalization of self-expression to examine if the actual act of expressing one’s inner personality characteristics is associated with increased motivation. Specifically, it is hypothesized that trait expression will be positively related to motivation.

*Hypothesis 4: Personality expression will be positively related to motivation.*

**Job Satisfaction**

At least two lines of evidence can be used to understand the potential link between personality expression and job satisfaction. First is the literature which examines the related concept of fit and its relationship with satisfaction. Second, a body of research has recently emerged which looks at affect and affective experiences as predictors of job satisfaction (e.g., affective events theory - AET; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Because trait expression is associated with feelings of positive affect (Cote & Moskowitz, 1998;
Moskowitz & Cote, 1995) it is reasonable to predict that personality expression will influence job satisfaction.

In his theory of vocational choice, Holland (1985) argued that individuals who are in occupations that are compatible with their traits will be more satisfied and have better job performance. Indeed, a large body of literature supports the idea that when individuals fit well with their jobs and environment, they are more satisfied (Edwards, 1991; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). Specifically, individuals are thought to be more satisfied with their jobs when they are able to use their knowledge, skills and abilities to meet the demands of their work. This definition of fit is very similar to the idea of skill utilization proposed by O’Brien, who found that skill utilization had a stronger relationship with intrinsic job satisfaction than all five characteristics in the job characteristics model combined (O’Brien, 1982a; 1982b; O’Brien & Dowling, 1980). Expanding the notion of fit to include personality expression, it could be hypothesized that individuals will be more satisfied with their jobs when they are able to utilize their inherent personality traits to meet the demands of their work environment.

Another reason to expect personality expression to be related to job satisfaction is through the positive affect that personality expression creates. Job satisfaction researchers have begun to focus, both empirically and theoretically, on the importance of affective experiences as a determinant of attitudes such as job satisfaction (e.g., Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky, Warren, & de Chermont, 2003; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). In particular, affective events theory asserts that events at work lead to affective experiences, and job satisfaction is the result of one’s cumulative affective experiences at work.
Environmental features are seen as influencing job satisfaction only in that certain features make affective events more or less likely to occur.

As noted above, Moskowitz and Cote have conducted a number of studies looking at how personality expression influences one’s affect. These authors concluded that individuals experience more positive affect when engaging in behaviors congruent with their traits (Cote & Moskowitz, 1998; Moskowitz & Cote, 1995). Similarly, individuals experience more negative affect when engaging in behaviors that are discordant from their innate traits (Cote & Moskowitz; Moskowitz & Cote). Considering the central assertion of affective events theory, that job satisfaction is the result of one’s affective experiences at work, personality expression should have an influence on job satisfaction. More specifically, personality expression is associated with pleasant affective experiences, and affective experiences are thought to be direct antecedents to judgments of job satisfaction. Therefore, to the extent that individuals are able to express their personalities on the job, they should experience pleasant affect and this should positively contribute to their feelings of job satisfaction. Thus, it is hypothesized that personality expression will positively predict job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 5: Personality expression will be positively related to job satisfaction.

Stress

Stress is an adaptive response that results from any action, situation, or event that places special demands on an individual (DeFrank & Ivancevich, 1998). Organizations
have clear incentive to reduce employee stress, as stress has been associated with a variety of negative personal outcomes including increased health problems and work family conflict (Leitner & Resch, 2005; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Williams & Alliger, 1994). Furthermore, research has shown that employee stress has consistent relationships with important organizational outcomes such as job satisfaction, job performance, absenteeism, and turnover (Fuller, Stanton, Fisher, Spitzmuller, Russell, & Smith, 2003; Schaufeli & Bakker; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998).

As noted earlier, a number of personality researchers have theorized that individuals have an internal need and drive to express their inner personality predispositions; failure to express personality traits is thought to be related to feelings of anxiety (Allport, 1951, Cote & Moskowitz, 1998; Wiggins & Trapnell, 1996). Because of this, having opportunities to express one’s personality while on the job should decrease feelings of anxiety and stress. Although not much research has been conducted on the topic, it has been found that individuals experience unpleasant affect when engaging in behaviors that are discordant from their personality traits (Cote & Moskowitz, 1998; Moskowitz & Cote, 1995). Another recent study found that self-incongruent behaviors were associated with increased levels of tension and stress, which were in turn related to poorer physical and mental health (Palsane, 2005). These studies suggest that if individuals are unable to express their personalities or are required to behave in a way discordant from their inner personality (i.e., fake) on the job, they are likely to experience internal tension, unpleasant affect, and perceive their jobs as more stressful than those who are afforded the opportunity of personality expression. Thus, it is hypothesized that
there will be a negative relationship between personality trait expression and ratings of job stress.

*Hypothesis 6a: Personality expression will be negatively related to stress.*

*Hypothesis 6b: Individuals engaged in personality trait faking will report significantly more stress than individuals engaged in personality trait expression.*

**Behavioral Outcomes**

**Performance**

It has been suggested that “the total pattern of congruence between personal needs and environmental press will be more predictive of achievement, growth, and change than any single aspect of either the person or the environment,” (Pace & Stern, 1958; p. 277). To further understand the potential link between trait expression and job performance, it is helpful to look at the autonomy literature. A number of studies have demonstrated that autonomy is related to higher performance (e.g., Colarelli, Dean & Konstans, 1987; Hackman & Oldham, 1976). It has been suggested that one of the reasons that autonomy is related to job performance is because autonomous jobs allow the individual to fully utilize his/her own unique traits and talents to accomplish the work, which contributes to a sense of personal responsibility for the employee (Colarelli et al.; Hackman & Oldham, 1976). According to Hackman and Oldham, a sense of
personal responsibility is one of the critical psychological states contributing to work motivation and performance. Thus, utilizing one’s own personality traits in order to accomplish the job is likely to create feelings of ownership and responsibility over the work which should positively impact job performance.

A variety of studies in the fit domain have demonstrated that congruence between one’s personality characteristics and the general social climate leads to higher performance (Pervin, 1968). For example, Smelser (1961) found that groups were most productive when dominant individuals were assigned dominant roles and submissive individuals performed submissive roles. Another study found that students performed better when the learning environment matched their personality: highly sociable students performed better in leaderless group discussions, while less sociable students performed better in lectures (Beach, 1960). Finally, O’Reilly (1977) examined the consequences of person-job congruence in terms of expressive and instrumental personality orientations. Support was found for the congruency hypothesis in that expressive individuals (who are defined by their desire for achievement and self-actualization on the job) had lower levels of commitment, satisfaction and performance on low challenge tasks than when these individuals were in more congruent jobs that were challenging. Conversely, instrumental individuals (who desire high security and pay from the job) demonstrated lower satisfaction and commitment when in high challenge tasks compared to low challenge tasks. All of these studies provide support for the idea that people perform better when their personality fits the job environment, yet no studies to date have explicitly examined whether the process of trait expression per se is the motivational force leading to increased job performance. The current lab study will test the hypothesis that the act of
expressing one’s inner personality has a positive impact on performance. Data from a field sample will then provide corroborating evidence for this hypothesis by examining whether performance is better for job incumbents who are in a job where they have the opportunity to express their personality.

_Hypothesis 7: Personality expression will be positively related to task performance._
Chapter 2
Study 1: Laboratory Study

Method

Sample

A power analysis was conducted to determine the appropriate sample size for this study. The power analysis was based on the assumption that the moderating effect would be the smallest and most difficult effect to detect. A literature review of similar moderating relationships (e.g., self-monitoring moderating the personality – performance relationship) suggested that the effect size would likely be in the range of $R^2 = .02$ to $.13$. Assuming an $R^2 = .05$ ($d = .46$; $df = 2$), the power analysis revealed that a sample size of 189 would be needed for adequate power. Accordingly, the current study recruited one hundred ninety seven participants from a psychology subject pool ($n = 132$) and upper-level courses in psychology and labor and employment relations ($n = 65$). The participants were primarily Caucasian (80%), followed by African-American (7%), Hispanic (5%), and Asian (5%) ethnicities. The sample consisted of 58% female participants and 42% male with ages ranging from 18 to 29.

Design

Participants completed two tasks designed to cue the expression of two different personality traits (conscientiousness and extraversion). The two tasks were randomly...
ordered for each group of participants to avoid potential order effects. Additionally, half of the participants received a social cue that cued the same trait that the task was cuing.

Procedure

Participants were told they were participating in a mini assessment center in which they were to complete a series of surveys, tasks and activities that would provide a basis for judging their ability to perform well as an academic counselor or advisor. Participants completed a battery of personality measures, including measures of the Big Five personality traits and self-monitoring. They were then presented with the first task (and a social cue if in this condition; see below for cue manipulations). After each task the participant completed a variety of measures including trait expression, stress, satisfaction, and motivation during the task. The same procedure was then followed for the second task.

Conscientiousness cue manipulation

Task Cue

Individuals who are high in conscientiousness are thought to be dependable, thorough, organized, and achievement-striving (Barrick & Mount, 1991). To elicit the expression of this trait in participants, a task requiring methodical attention to detail and achievement striving was used. Specifically, participants were given an in-basket containing a pile of student transcripts and a checklist of required courses and were
instructed to review the transcripts to ensure the student had met all requirements for graduation. Instructions were given to participants regarding how to complete the task, and participants were told to review as many transcripts as they could in a 12-minute period. The transcript inbox task was designed to elicit many facets of conscientiousness: the detail-oriented nature of the task should elicit thoroughness, while the large number of transcripts in the inbox combined with the time limit should elicit achievement striving. The idea that this type of task should cue conscientiousness is supported by literature in the field of vocational choice which suggests that conscientious individuals fit well with jobs that are conventional, highly structured, routine, and outcome- and detail-oriented (Ehrhart & Makransky, 2007; Judge & Cable, 1997).

Social Cue

The achievement striving facet of conscientiousness was further elicited through the communication of performance goals. Specifically, the current study used a confederate to communicate a performance goal both directly (i.e., by stating a goal) and indirectly (i.e., through the confederate’s own performance). The confederate muttered “I think I can get through all of these” after the experiment administrator had finished giving the instructions for this task to explicitly communicate a goal. The confederate then proceeded to review the transcripts very quickly (at the rate of about one transcript every two minutes; pilot testing revealed that this was faster than a typical participant could review the transcripts) to cue achievement striving in the participant in a less overt way.
Extraversion cue manipulation

Task Cue

A speech task was used to cue extraversion at the task level. Specifically, participants were provided with university brochures and were instructed to develop and deliver a 2-minute speech promoting the university. The vocational choice literature supports the idea that this type of task should be aligned with the interests and abilities of extraverts; research has demonstrated that extraverted individuals perceive a high degree of fit with jobs that are enterprising and social in nature (Tokar & Swanson, 1995). Participants had seven minutes to come up with talking points for their speech, and they were allowed to take notes that could be used during the speech. Participants were video taped while giving their speech so that independent coders could later rate the performance and extraversion of the participants on this task.

Social Cue

In the social cue condition, extraversion was further elicited by having the participant work with an excited, friendly, and talkative confederate to brainstorm potential talking points (speeches were still delivered individually). Again, this cue is in line with research which suggests that extraverts fit well with environments that are social and team-oriented in nature (Judge & Cable, 1997). To ensure that the participants in the social cue condition did not have an unfair informational advantage by working with the confederate, the confederates were instructed to only bring up a limited number
of topics, and these same topics were provided to the participants in the no social cue condition in a list of potential talking points.

**Measures**

**Personality**

The International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) Big Five questionnaire was used to measure personality (Goldberg, 1999). Scales used to tap the main personality traits in this study (extraversion and conscientiousness) consisted of approximately 20 items each. In the interest of keeping the survey as short as possible, the 10-item scales of the IPIP were used to tap the three Big Five that were not of primary interest in this study (agreeableness, neuroticism, openness to experience; items for all scales can be found in Appendix A). Participants responded to a variety of potentially personally descriptive statements on a seven point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. Alpha reliabilities for all five of the personality scales were acceptable (conscientiousness $\alpha = .88$; extraversion $\alpha = .91$; neuroticism $\alpha = .80$; openness $\alpha = .78$; agreeableness $\alpha = .77$).

**Self-monitoring**

Self-monitoring was assessed with the 18-item true-false version of the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986; Appendix B). The revised 18-item measure of self-monitoring was chosen because it has shown to be more reliable and have
a cleaner factor structure than the original 25-item measure (Snyder, 1974; Snyder & Gangestad). One item from the 18 item scale was dropped because of its unreliability; final alpha for the scale was .70.

**Trait expression**

To measure trait expression, items from personality measures were adapted to reflect behaviors (e.g., “I was somewhat careless during this task,” “I generated a lot of enthusiasm during the task”). This measure is consistent with past research examining the expression of personality (Moskowitz; 1994; Cote and Moskowitz; 1998). The items were responded to on a seven point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*; see Appendix C for all personality trait expression items. Reliabilities for the extraversion (α = .83 and .88 for the transcript and speech task, respectively) and conscientiousness (α = .93 and .94 for the transcript and speech task, respectively) expression measures were acceptable across both tasks.

In addition, a measure of extraversion expression on the speech task was obtained from external raters. As noted above, the speech task was video taped, and two research assistants independently viewed and rated the amount of extraversion the participant expressed during the speech (see Appendix D for specific items). The correlation between the two assistants’ ratings of the participants’ extraversion expression was .54.
Task satisfaction

Task satisfaction was measured by adapting items from a job satisfaction measure (Brayfield & Roth, 1951) to reflect task satisfaction (Appendix E). For example, the item “most days I am enthusiastic about my job” was reworded as “I was enthusiastic about this task.” The response scale for this measure is a seven point scale ranging from $1 = \text{strongly disagree}$ to $7 = \text{strongly agree}$, and the scale was reliable across both the transcript and speech task ($\alpha = .92$ and .91, respectively).

Stress

Stress was measured with a combination of items from two scales. First, five items from the tension and pressure subscale of the Intrinsic Motivation Inventory were used (Ryan, 1982). Because failure to express one’s personality is thought to create intrapersonal tension and anxiety, a tension-based stress scale was thought to be particularly appropriate for this study. One item was also taken from the Job Stress Scale (“I felt fidgety or nervous while completing this task”; Parker & Decotiis, 1983). Participants responded to all stress items (Appendix F) on a scale from $1 = \text{strongly disagree}$ to $7 = \text{strongly agree}$. Alpha reliabilities were .92 (transcript task) and .90 (speech task).

Motivation

Motivation was measured with a five item scale from the effort/importance dimension of the Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (Ryan, 1982; $\alpha = .89$ and .91 for the
transcript and speech task, respectively). This scale again employed a seven point scale ranging from $1 = \text{strongly disagree}$ to $7 = \text{strongly agree}$. Items for this scale can be found in Appendix G.

**Task performance**

Performance for the transcript task was measured as the number of transcripts reviewed, as well as the number of transcripts correctly reviewed. A measure of performance for the speech task was obtained by having two research assistants independently view and rate the speech clips (Appendix D). The speech clips were rated for overall performance as well as the amount of extraversion portrayed by the participant. The correlation between the two raters’ judgments of overall performance was .61.
Results

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to ensure that the task and social cue manipulations were effectively eliciting their corresponding trait. The pilot study included three tasks; the two tasks described in the methods section above, as well as a third proofreading task.

The current study originally attempted to elicit the conscientiousness facets of duty (proofreading task) and achievement striving (transcript review task) separately because several authors have noted the important distinction between these facets of conscientiousness (Hough, 1992; Jackson, Paunonen, Fraboni, & Goffin, 1996; Jackson, Ashton, & Tomes, 1996; Moon, 2001; Mount & Barrick, 1995).

The duty task involved participants proofreading a 3-page pamphlet which described the advising services offered by the university. The document contained 28 grammatical, punctuation, typographic, and spelling errors, and the participants were given 10 minutes to review the document for errors. In the social cue condition, duty was further cued through precise and explicit communication regarding how to proofread the document that was provided both orally and in writing. This written communication explicitly laid out what the participant should do for this task, including checking punctuation, spelling, grammar, and any other formatting rules. As will be discussed below, although the proofreading task was somewhat effective at eliciting duty, the social cue was not effective and thus this task was not used in final experiment.
The pilot study was comprised of 30 undergraduate students, 16 of which were run in the no social cue (NSC) condition and 14 of which were run in the social cue (SC) condition. For each trait, ANOVAs were run to identify the presence of a significant task effect (i.e., whether expression of the trait in question differed significantly across tasks). For the proofreading task, which was meant to elicit duty, a significant task effect was found, $F(2, 58) = 4.15, p = .02, \eta^2 = .13$. Mean duty expression was then examined across tasks and social cue conditions: duty expression was highest in the proofreading task, NSC condition ($M = 5.85$), followed by the speech task, NSC condition ($M = 5.44$), followed by the proofreading task, SC condition ($M = 5.26$). Thus, although the proofreading task was effective at eliciting duty, the social cue of precise and explicit communication was not an effective elicitor of duty, and participants actually reported expressing more duty in the NSC than SC condition.

ANOVA analysis also revealed a significant task effect for the transcript inbox task, $F(2, 58) = 3.74, p = .03, \eta^2 = .11$, which was originally designed to elicit the conscientiousness facet of achievement striving. Examination of mean achievement expression across tasks revealed that the expression was not in the predicted direction, however, with the transcript review task actually showing the lowest level of reported achievement expression ($M = 4.42$) compared to the proofreading and speech task ($M = 4.96$ and 4.89, respectively). Thus it appeared that the transcript task was not particularly effective at eliciting the facet of achievement striving. Mean levels of reported achievement expression between the SC and NSC conditions were also not in the expected direction, with participants reporting more achievement expression in the NSC than SC conditions ($M = 4.48$ and 4.36, respectively). Interestingly, examination of mean
performance levels across the SC and NSC conditions revealed a strong behavioral
difference between the two social cue conditions, indicating that participants were indeed
behaving in a more achievement-orientated manner in the social cue condition.
Specifically, participants reviewed more transcripts in the SC condition (M = 3.14) than
NSC condition (M = 1.75), and this difference was statistically significant, t (28) = 3.42,
p = .002, d = 1.25. This result implies that the social cue actually was eliciting
achievement striving in participants, despite the fact that this achievement striving was
not reflected in the expression measure.

Because of the mixed results for the tasks designed to elicit facets of
conscientiousness, it was decided to keep only one of the tasks and attempt to elicit and
examine conscientiousness more generally, rather than eliciting its separate facets.
Because the achievement striving effect found in the social cue condition of the transcript
task was particularly interesting and strong, this task was retained for the full study.
Slight changes were made to the transcript task in order to elicit more conscientiousness.
Specifically, instructions for the task were revised to say that participants’ performance
would be scored while they were completing the reaction measure for the task, and that
they would be given their scores upon completion of the reaction measure. It was thought
that this additional instruction could help to further elicit conscientiousness because
participants would behave more conscientiously if they knew their performance was
being evaluated. For example, conscientiousness expression was much higher on the
extraversion task than was anticipated, possibly because the speech task had performance
that was visible and could be evaluated by others while the other tasks did not. Finally,
general conscientiousness items were added to the expression measure in order to tap conscientiousness in general, rather than just the facets of duty and achievement striving.

Both the speech task and corresponding social cue appeared to be effective manipulations for eliciting extraversion. Specifically, there was a significant task effect for extraversion expression, $F (1.27, 36.72) = 32.44, p = .000, \eta^2 = .53$ (the Huynh-Feldt correction was used for this statistic due to violations of a sphericity assumption for this test). Examinations of means demonstrated that extraversion expression was highest in the speech task ($M = 4.48$) compared to the proofreading or transcript task ($M = 2.96$ and $2.78$, respectively). Furthermore, although extraversion expression across social cue conditions did not reach significance, $t (28) = -0.62, p = .54, d = .22$, means were in the predicted direction with participants reporting more extraversion expression in the SC than NSC condition ($M = 4.60$ and $4.35$, respectively). Thus, both the speech task and social cue (working with an extraverted confederate) were retained for the full experiment.

**Lab Study**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the variables examined in the laboratory study can be found in Table 1. The first hypothesis proposed that self-reported personality would be positively related to personality expression. Because the traits of interest for the lab study included conscientiousness and extraversion, hypotheses regarding the relationships between trait conscientiousness – conscientiousness expression and trait extraversion – extraversion expression were tested. Consistent with
previous findings, regression analyses revealed that self-reported personality was positively related to personality expression. Self-reported extraversion was positively related to extraversion expression across the two tasks ($\beta = .25, p = .00, R^2 = .06$). While extraversion was positively and significantly related to extraversion expression in the speech task (which was meant to elicit extraversion; $\beta = .26, p = .00, R^2 = .07$), this relationship only reached marginal significance for the transcript task ($\beta = .12, p = .09, R^2 = .02$). Similarly, self-reported conscientiousness was positively related to expression of this trait across the two tasks ($\beta = .28, p = .00, R^2 = .08$). This relationship remained significant when examining expression within the transcript and speech task individually ($\beta = .26, p = .00, R^2 = .07; \beta = .22, p = .002, R^2 = .05$, respectively).
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Note. T – Transcript Inbox Task; R – Recruitment Speech Task. Reliabilities listed on diagonal. * p < .05, ** p < .01
The second hypothesis proposed that task and social cues would also have a significant influence on personality expression. A repeated-measure ANOVA was run to examine the influence of task cues on subsequent personality expression across the two tasks. The extraversion-oriented task cue provided by the speech task did prove to have a significant influence on extraversion expression, $F(1, 195) = 389.95, p = .00, \eta^2 = .67$. Examination of mean extraversion expression levels across the two tasks revealed that this main effect was in the predicted direction, with greater extraversion expression occurring in the speech than transcript task ($M = 4.51$ and $2.94$, respectively). Contrary to predictions, cues provided by the transcript task did not have a significant influence on conscientiousness expression, $F(1, 195) = 1.45, p = .23, \eta^2 = .01$.

Social cues also proved to have only a limited and mixed influence on personality expression. Specifically, regression analyses demonstrated that the social cue for the speech task (working with an extraverted confederate) did not have a significant influence on extraversion expression ($\beta = .03, p = .67, R^2 = .00$). Although social cues did significantly predicted conscientiousness expression in the transcript task, this effect was not in the predicted direction, with more conscientiousness expression actually being reported in the NSC condition ($\beta = -.15, p = .03, R^2 = .02$). However, similar to the pilot results discussed above, the experiment administrators again noticed that there was a perceptible behavioral difference between participants in the SC and NSC conditions in the transcript task; participants almost always appeared to try harder and review more transcripts in the presence of a confederate who was working quickly and thoroughly (SC condition). Thus, a regression analysis was run to examine the influence of the social cue on the number of transcripts reviewed (a behavioral measure of achievement striving).
Seven outliers, in which the participant reviewed 6 or more transcripts, were removed from these analyses as this level of performance was more than three times the average and it was not feasible to actually review that number of transcripts in the time allotted. These outliers were removed only from analyses involving transcript performance as a dependent variable (inclusion versus exclusion of these outliers did not influence the significance of any of the other analyses); thus, all other statistics reported are based on the full data set. The regression analyses revealed that the conscientiousness social cue significantly predicted both the number of transcripts reviewed in total ($\beta = .19$, $p = .01$, $R^2 = .03$), as well as the number of transcripts reviewed correctly ($\beta = .19$, $p = .01$, $R^2 = .04$). Participants in the SC condition reviewed more transcripts in total ($M = 2.12$ vs. $M = 1.74$), and reviewed more transcripts correctly ($M = 1.70$ vs. $1.30$) than participants in the NSC condition, and these differences were significant, $t (188) = 2.59$, $p = .01$, $d = .37$; and $t (188) = 2.63$, $p = .01$, $d = .38$, respectively. Thus, although participants actually self-reported less conscientiousness expression in the transcript task SC condition, their behavior revealed that they were at the very least acting in a more achievement striving manner than their NSC counterparts (regression analyses failed to demonstrate an influence of social cue on self-reports of the achievement striving facet of conscientiousness; $\beta = -.13$, $p = .06$, $R^2 = .02$). Potential explanations for the seemingly contradictory results of the conscientiousness social cue are provided in the discussion section below.

The third hypothesis predicted that self-monitoring would moderate the relationship between both types of cues and subsequent personality expression such that cues would have a stronger influence on personality expression for individuals higher in
self-monitoring. To test for the moderating influence of self-monitoring on the task cue – expression relationship, a repeated measure ANCOVA was run with trait expression as a within-subject factor and self-monitoring as a covariate. Results revealed that task cues interacted with self-monitoring significantly to predict extraversion expression, $F(1, 194) = 6.71$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$. A follow up independent sample t-test revealed that extraversion expression did not significantly differ between low and high self-monitors on the transcript task, $t(195) = .53$, $p = .60$, $d = .08$; however, high self-monitors had marginally more extraversion expression than low self-monitors on the speech task, $t(194) = -1.66$, $p = .10$, $d = .24$. Self-monitoring also marginally moderated the relationship between task cues and conscientiousness expression, $F(1, 194) = 3.61$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .02$. However, means were not in the expected direction; while it was predicted that high self-monitors would express more conscientiousness than low self-monitors during the task cueing this trait (i.e., the transcript task), the two groups expressed similar levels of conscientiousness on this task with low self-monitors actually expressing slightly more conscientiousness during the transcript review task. Table 2 contains statistics for mean personality expression across the two tasks for low versus high self-monitors.

Table 2: Mean personality expression for low versus high self-monitors

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<th>Personality Expression</th>
<th>Low Self-Monitors</th>
<th>High Self-Monitors</th>
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<td>Speech Task</td>
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The social cue – personality expression moderation was tested with hierarchical regression analysis in which the social cue variable (present or not) was entered in the first step, self-monitoring was entered in the second step, and the social cue x self-monitoring interaction term was entered in the third step. Although self-monitoring did predict extraversion expression after factoring out the influence of the social cues ($\beta = .18$, $p = .01$, $\Delta R^2 = .03$), self-monitoring did not significantly moderate the relationship between the extraversion social cue and subsequent extraversion expression ($\beta = .06$, $p = .80$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$); see Table 3 for hierarchical regression results). Self-monitoring also failed to significantly moderate the relationship between the conscientiousness social cue and conscientiousness expression ($\beta = .29$, $p = .21$, $\Delta R^2 = .008$). Because results of the first hypothesis revealed that the conscientiousness social cue had the strongest impact on subsequent behavior (i.e., number of transcripts reviewed), analyses were run to examine if self-monitoring moderated the relationship between social cue and number of transcripts reviewed. This analysis also failed to demonstrate self-monitoring as a significant moderator between social cues and subsequent behavior ($\beta = .08$, $p = .73$, $\Delta R^2 = .001$).
Hypotheses 4 through 7 proposed that the act of expressing one’s inner personality would be related to a variety of positive attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. These hypotheses were tested with mediation analyses in which personality expression was the mediating variable between inner personality and subsequent outcomes. The

Table 3: Hierarchical Regression Results

**Extraversion Expression (Speech)**

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<tr>
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<th>β</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
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*Note.* n = 196

**Conscientiousness Expression (Transcript task)**

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*Note.* n = 197
bootstrapping method for estimating indirect effects was used to evaluate these mediation hypotheses. The bootstrapping method for testing mediations is thought to have a number of advantages compared to the traditional Baron and Kenney (1986) mediation method, including increased statistical power and less restrictive assumptions (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). The bootstrapping method takes a large number of samples from the data set, with replacement, and calculates the size of the indirect effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable via the mediator. This method also calculates the variation between the bootstrap samples in order to construct confidence intervals around the indirect effect size estimate (Preacher & Hayes). A mediator is thought to be significant when the confidence interval does not include zero.

Hypothesis 4 proposed that personality expression would be positively related to motivation. Extraversion expression was found to significantly mediate the relationship between extraversion and motivation in the recruitment speech task (ES = .26, 99 CI = .06 to .51). Stronger support for this hypothesis was garnered from an analysis in which other-rated extraversion expression was used as the mediator: other-rated extraversion expression was also found to significantly mediate the relationship between self-rated extraversion and motivation on the speech task (ES = .13, 99 CI = .03 to .28). Extraversion expression was not found to be a significant mediator for the transcript task (ES = .09, 95 CI = -.02 to .22), although this is not surprising given that the transcript task did not allow for much if any extraversion expression (because of this the effect of extraversion expression will not be examined for the transcript task in subsequent analyses).
Conscientiousness expression was also found to significantly mediate the relationship between trait conscientiousness and motivation. Conscientiousness expression was found to be a strong mediator between trait conscientiousness and motivation in both the transcript task (ES = .31, 99 CI = .08 to .55) and speech task (ES = .31, 99 CI = .06 to .54); this large mediation effect is likely due in part to the conceptual overlap between the concepts of conscientiousness and motivation.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that personality expression would be positively related to task satisfaction. Extraversion expression significantly mediated the relationship between trait extraversion and task satisfaction in the speech task (ES = .26, 99 CI = .06 to .48). Although smaller in magnitude, this effect was still found when using others’ ratings of the participant’s extraversion expression on the task (ES = .13, 99 CI = .04 to .26). Conscientiousness expression also significantly mediated the relationship between trait conscientiousness and task satisfaction for both the transcript task (ES = .23, 99 CI = .05 to .43) and the speech task (ES = .26, 99 CI = .06 to .46).

Hypothesis 6a predicted that personality expression would be negatively related to self-reported stress. This hypothesis was supported for extraversion expression in the speech task: expression significantly mediated the relationship between trait extraversion and stress (ES = -.10, 95 CI = -.19 to -.02). However, this relationship failed to reach significance when using others’ ratings of the participant’s extraversion expression (ES = -.03, 95 CI = -.11 to .04). Conscientiousness expression significantly and negatively mediated the relationship between this trait and stress for both the transcript task (ES = -.16, 99 CI = -.34 to -.04) as well as the speech task (ES = -.12, 99 CI = -.29 to -.02).
Hypothesis 6b aimed to explicitly examine stress consequences for individuals who had to “fake” a personality trait in order to meet the demands of the task. To test this, participants were divided into two groups: introverts (those who scored between 2.5 and 4.5 on the extraversion scale; n = 53) and extraverts (those who scored between 4.5 and 6.5; n = 142). An independent sample t-test was conducted to examine mean differences in feelings of stress for these two groups on the speech task (introverts were required to express at least a minimal level of extraversion on this task, thus “faking” extraversion). Introverts reported significantly more stress (M = 4.43) on the speech task than extraverts (M = 3.85), t (193) = 2.70, p = .008, d = .43. Although not explicit hypotheses of this study, introverts also reported significantly less satisfaction, t (193) = -2.10, p = .04, d = .34, and motivation, t (193) = -2.33, p = .02, d = .37, than extraverts on the speech task.

Finally, hypothesis seven predicted that expression of one’s personality would be positively related to performance. Extraversion expression on the speech task significantly mediated the relationship between trait extraversion and performance as rated by two research assistants (ES = .07, 99 CI = .01 to .14); this mediated relationship was also significant when using others’ ratings of extraversion expression on the task (ES = .13, 99 CI = .04 to .22). Conscientiousness expression did not significantly mediate the relationship between trait conscientiousness and performance on the transcript inbox (ES = -.03, 95 CI = -.11 to .03), but this mediated relationship was significant for the speech task (ES = .06, 99 CI = .01 to .13).
Discussion of Lab Results

The above results demonstrated that both personality and cues can be important predictors of personality expression (self-reported and behavioral indicators of personality expression). Self-reports of conscientiousness were found to predict subsequent conscientiousness expression across both tasks, and self-reported extraversion also predicted expression of this trait in the speech task. Extraversion only marginally predicted extraversion expression in the transcript task, which is perhaps not surprising given that there was little to no room for extraversion expression in this task. Situational cues were also found to be a predictor of personality expression, albeit a weaker and less consistent predictor of expression than inner personality. The extraversion-oriented task cue provided by the speech task was effective at eliciting extraversion; extraversion expression on this task was nearly double what it was on the transcript task. Although the transcript inbox was meant to provide a task cue eliciting expression of conscientiousness, this was not an effective cue. Similarly, despite the fact that pilot testing revealed that the social cue of working with an excited and energetic confederate was an effective elicitor of extraversion, results from the main analyses failed to demonstrate this cue as a predictor of extraversion expression. The conscientiousness social cue of working next to a confederate who completed the task quickly and efficiently actually had the opposite effect of what was intended: participants in the social cue condition reported expressing less conscientiousness and less achievement striving than the participants in the NSC condition. Interestingly, the social cue did seem to have
a robust effect on achievement striving expression when using behavioral indicators (number of transcripts reviewed in total and correctly).

The contradictory results of the self-report and behavioral indicators of achievement striving expression point to inherent limitations in self-reports of personality expression. In particular, these results suggest that self-reports of personality expression may be influenced by social comparison: participants may have compared their own personality expression to that of the confederate when completing the self-report measure. For example, participants in the SC condition reported less achievement striving on the transcript task compared to participants in the NSC condition, despite the fact that individuals in the SC condition actually did achieve higher performance. This difference in self-reported expression may be because the SC participants implicitly compared themselves to the confederate (who reviewed many transcripts), and thus reported that they actually did not express very much achievement striving (relative to the confederate). Social comparison could also explain the lack of a difference between self-reported extraversion expression in SC versus NSC participants in the speech task. Although participants in the SC condition clearly did talk more than those in the NSC condition during the speech task (given that they worked with another individual to come up with talking points), the two groups actually reported similar levels of extraversion expression. Again, it is possible that the SC participants were comparing themselves to the confederate, who was very outgoing and talkative, and therefore rated themselves as expressing less extraversion.

Contrary to hypothesis 3, high self-monitors were not more receptive to the task and social cues in this experiment than low self-monitors. This lack of an effect for self-
monitors may be due to the fact that the cues in this study were weak and only moderately effective at eliciting their corresponding traits in the first place. Although self-monitors were marginally more responsive to the task cue of the speech task (i.e., they expressed more extraversion in response to the demands of the speech task), this effect was likely driven by the moderate correlation between self-monitoring and extraversion. That is, although it is possible that the marginal self-monitoring effect is due to self-monitors’ greatly susceptibility and response to cues in their social environment, it seems more likely that the effect was simply due to the fact that high self-monitors tend to be more extraverted. Overall, these results lend no support to the idea that high self-monitors are more responsive than low self-monitors to the task and social demands in their work environment.

The strongest and most interesting findings of the lab study involved the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of expressing one’s personality. Personality trait expression was found to mediate the influence of personality on the outcomes of motivation, satisfaction, and stress. This suggests that participants were more motivated and satisfied, and less stressed, when they were expressing their personality during a task. This effect was consistent and robust: it was found for expression of both the conscientiousness and extraversion traits, and across both the transcript and the speech tasks. More specifically, self-reports of extraversion expression during the speech task fully mediated the relationship between extraversion and reports of motivation, task satisfaction, and stress on that task. Similarly, self-reports of conscientiousness expression during both the transcript task and the speech task significantly and fully
mediated the relationship between that personality trait and self-reports of motivation, task satisfaction and stress on the respective tasks.

The strength of the mediating effect of expression may be partially attributed to common method bias: participants’ self-reported their personality, expression, and attitudinal outcomes in this study. Because both the mediating variable (expression) and outcome variables were measured in the same survey and asked the participant how they responded to the task, while the independent variable was measured at an earlier time and asked the participant who they are in general, it may not be surprising that expression would mediate the personality – outcome relationship. That is, it is reasonable to expect that participants’ report of how they acted on a task would be a stronger predictor of attitudes on that task than the more distal personality construct. However, the fact that the mediating effect of expression remained significant even when using others’ ratings of expression implies that the effect is not solely due to common method variance. Specifically, extraversion expression as coded by two independent research assistants fully mediated the relationship between self-reported extraversion and motivation, task satisfaction, and performance on the speech task.

An explicit examination of those who had to fake extraversion on the speech task revealed the negative consequences associated with self-incongruent behavior. Individuals who had to fake a personality trait to meet the demands of the task were less satisfied and motivated, and in particular, significantly more stressed than the participants who were simply expressing their personality. In future research it would be interesting to examine if the strong relationship between personality trait faking and stress is also found
when using physiological measures of stress (e.g., blood pressure, pulse rate, body temperature).

Finally, partial support was garnered for the hypothesis that personality expression influences performance. Extraversion expression, both when rated by the self and by others (two research assistants), was found to be the causal mechanism operating between trait extraversion and performance. Self-rated conscientiousness expression also significantly and fully mediated the relationship between trait conscientiousness and rated performance on the speech task, although this relationship was not significant in the transcript task. Thus, individuals who expressed more conscientiousness and extraversion on the speech task were rated as having better performance on this task. This is not surprising, given that both extraversion and conscientiousness were likely needed in order to perform the speech task well. Because these performance mediations are based on others’ ratings of performance, they provide further support that the significant mediating effect was not simply due to common method bias.
Chapter 3

Study 2: Field Study

Study 1 demonstrated that, within a laboratory setting, individuals have more positive attitudes towards and perform better on tasks in which they express their personality. In Study 2, a field sample was utilized to garner additional evidence on the hypothesis that the opportunity to express one’s personality on the job is related to performance. Specifically, if the opportunity for personality expression is related to performance, both the personality trait and requirements for that trait on the job (i.e., opportunities to express the trait) should interact in the prediction of performance.

Hypothesis 8: Personality and personality requirements will interact to predict overall performance.

Recently, a number of personality researchers have suggested that personality-performance relationships will be stronger when the predictor and criterion are theoretically aligned (Hogan & Holland, 2003; Hurtz & Donovan, 2000; Tett et al., 1991). In addition, overall performance is likely to be too multifarious to exhibit strong personality-performance relationships, and this relationship is likely to be stronger when using specific performance criteria (Burch & Anderson, 2008; Hogan & Holland, 2003). For example, Hogan and Holland have demonstrated that personality is more predictive of performance when using specific job criteria rather than a more general performance
dimension. Thus, the combination of personality and requirements should be an even stronger predictor of performance when using a specific performance facet that has been theoretically aligned with its predictor.

Although a preponderance of personality research in the I/O field utilizes the Five Factor Model, the principles of Tett and Burnett’s (2003) trait interactionist model should be applicable to a range of personality models and measures. Furthermore, there may be advantages to using alternative models of personality. For example, a recent meta-analysis of personality-performance relationship using only the Hogan Personality Inventory (HPI) to operationalize personality demonstrated stronger validities than are typically found for this relationship in the literature (Hogan & Holland, 2003). The HPI consists of seven personality traits that were partially based on the Five Factor personality model including: adjustment, ambition, sociability, interpersonal sensitivity (likeability), prudence, inquisitive (intellectance), and learning approach (school success). Definitions for the seven HPI dimensions can be found in Table 4, and Figure 2 provides linkages between the Big Five and HPI personality dimensions.
Table 4: Definitions of Linked Hogan Personality Traits and O*NET Personality Requirements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hogan Personality Dimensions</th>
<th>O*NET Work Styles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjustment</strong>: the degree of self-confidence, self-esteem and composure under pressure. High scorers are confident, resilient, optimistic; low scorers are tense, irritable negative.</td>
<td><strong>Stress Tolerance</strong>: Job requires accepting criticism and dealing calmly and effectively with high stress situations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ambition</strong>: the degree to which a person seeks status, achievement, and leadership. High scorers are competitive and eager to advance; low scorers are unassertive and less interested in advancement.</td>
<td><strong>Achievement Effort</strong>: Job requires establishing and maintaining personally challenging achievement goals and exerting effort toward mastering tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociability</strong>: the degree to which a person is talkative, gregarious, and needs social interactions. High scorers are outgoing, colorful, impulsive, dislike working alone; low scorers are reserved, quiet, avoid calling attention to themselves and don't mind working alone.</td>
<td><strong>Leadership</strong>: Job requires a willingness to lead, take charge, and offer opinions and direction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal Sensitivity</strong>: social skill, tact, perceptiveness, ability to maintain relationships. High scorers are friendly, warm, popular; low scorers are independent, frank, direct.</td>
<td><strong>Social Orientation</strong>: Job requires preferring to work with others rather than alone, and being personally connected with others on the job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prudence</strong>: self-discipline, responsibility and conscientiousness. High scorers are organized, dependable, thorough; low scorers are impulsive, flexible, creative.</td>
<td><strong>Concern for others</strong>: Job requires being sensitive to others' needs and feelings and being understanding and helpful on the job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inquisitive</strong>: imagination, curiosity, vision and creative potential. High scorers are quick-witted, visionary and pay less attention to details; low scorers are practical, focused, able to concentrate for long periods.</td>
<td><strong>Cooperation</strong>: Job requires being pleasant with others on the job and displaying a good-natured, cooperative attitude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Approach</strong>: degree to which a person enjoys academic activities, staying current on business and technical matters. High scorers enjoy reading and studying; low scorers are less interested in formal education and more interested in hands-on learning.</td>
<td><strong>Attention to Detail</strong>: Job requires being careful about detail and thorough in completing work tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooperat</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dependability</strong>: Job requires being reliable, responsible, and dependable, and fulfilling obligations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Innovation</strong>: Job requires creativity and alternative thinking to develop new ideas for and answers to work-related problems.</td>
<td><strong>Analytical Thinking</strong>: Job requires analyzing information and using logic to address work-related issues and problems.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The HPI trait of adjustment refers to the amount of self-confidence and composure an individual has when under pressure. While individuals high on adjustment are thought to be confident and resilient, those low on the trait tend to be more tense and irritable. The trait of adjustment should predict performance on the adaptability facet of performance, as performing well on this facet of performance involves modifying behavior to meet changing demands of the environment, even in ambiguous and stressful situations. Thus, it is predicted that adjustment, as well as job requirements for adjustment, will interact to predict ratings on the adaptability facet of performance.

Figure 2: Links between the Big Five traits and Hogan Personality Inventory traits (figure taken from Hogan & Holland, 2003, p. 104)
Hypothesis 9: Adjustment and requirements for this trait will interact to predict adaptability performance.

Being a good communicator entails keeping others informed as well as listening in a respectful and responsive manner. It is predicted that the traits of both sociability and interpersonal sensitivity should be related to communication performance. Sociability reflects the extent to which an individual is talkative and enjoys social interaction. While individuals high on sociability are seen as outgoing, individuals low on this trait are perceived as quiet and reserved. Because highly sociable individuals enjoy talking and thrive on interacting with others, these individuals should be rated as performing better on the communication facet of performance.

In addition, another trait that appears to be theoretically aligned with the communication aspect of performance is interpersonal sensitivity (or likeability). Interpersonal sensitivity refers to the extent to which an individual has social skills and an ability to maintain relationships with others; such individuals are likely to have greater communication skills. Thus, both sociability and interpersonal sensitivity should interact with requirements for these respective traits in predicting communicative performance.

Hypothesis 10a: Sociability and requirements for this trait will interact to predict communication performance.

Hypothesis 10b: Interpersonal sensitivity and requirements for this trait will interact to predict communication performance.
Finally, interpersonal sensitivity should also be related to ratings on the trustworthy facet of performance. Because interpersonally sensitive individuals are thought to be particularly astute at forging and maintaining high-quality relationships, they should be perceived and rated as more trustworthy than their peers who are lower on this trait. Therefore, the trait of interpersonal sensitivity and requirements for it should interact to predict trustworthiness ratings.

*Hypothesis 11: Interpersonal sensitivity and requirements for this trait will interact to predict trustworthy performance.*

**Method**

**Sample**

The field data consisted of 437 job incumbents across three distinct jobs: parole officers (n = 94), financial advisors (n= 240), and truck drivers for a gas company (n = 103). A total of 80 individuals (8 parole officers and 72 financial advisors) were removed from this initial data set because they were missing either personality or performance data, which resulted in a final sample of 357 incumbents.
Measures

**Personality**

Personality was measured with the Hogan Personality Inventory (HPI; Hogan & Hogan, 1995), which consists of 206 true-false items measuring seven personality traits: adjustment, ambition, sociability, interpersonal sensitivity (likeability), prudence, inquisitive (intellectance), and learning approach (school success). The Hogan Personality Inventory is a self-report personality measure that has over 25 years of research evidence supporting its validity in predicting performance, customer service, absenteeism, and turnover.

**Performance**

Supervisory ratings of each incumbent’s overall performance were available across the three jobs. In addition, ratings were available for three performance facets across the three jobs including: communication, trustworthiness/integrity, and adaptability performance. The specific items used to tap overall performance and facets were slightly different across the three jobs; please see Table 5 for a description of specific items used in each occupation.
### Table 5: Items tapping performance across three occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance Items</th>
<th>Probation Officers</th>
<th>Truck Drivers</th>
<th>Financial Advisors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Performance</strong></td>
<td>Has difficulty performing effectively under stress or heavy work loads</td>
<td>Difficulty performing effectively under stress or heavy workload</td>
<td>Has difficulty performing effectively under stress or heavy work loads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has difficulty prioritizing and organizing work</td>
<td>Difficulty meeting personal goals &amp; objectives</td>
<td>Has difficulty meeting personal goals and objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fails to complete work in a timely manner</td>
<td>Fails to complete work accurately</td>
<td>Fails to complete work accurately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall Performance</td>
<td>Receives complaints from customers</td>
<td>Receives complaints from clients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adaptability Perf</strong></td>
<td>Adapts quickly to changes in demands or priorities</td>
<td>Adapts quickly to changes in demands or priorities</td>
<td>Modifies course of action to meet changing conditions and client requests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performs well in vague or ambiguous situations</td>
<td>Performs well in ambiguous or vague situations</td>
<td>Investigates and reviews market news on a frequent basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modifies course of action to meet changing conditions or unexpected circumstances</td>
<td>Modifies course of action to meet changing circumstances</td>
<td>Seeks out and requests training opportunities to improve own skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Completes projects without step-by-step instructions</td>
<td>Able to complete projects without step-by-step instructions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remains open to new methods and ideas</td>
<td>Remains open to new methods &amp; ideas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication Perf</strong></td>
<td>Speaks in a respectful and appropriate manner to others</td>
<td>Keeps others informed</td>
<td>Explains financial solutions in a manner that clients understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keeps others informed of important information</td>
<td>Keeps others informed</td>
<td>Serves as an expert listener when working with clients and coworkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Listens attentively; is responsive to customers, supervisors, and coworkers</td>
<td>Listens &amp; is responsive</td>
<td>Asks thoughtful and probing questions to clarify client needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asks and responds to questions to make sure that points are clear</td>
<td>Asks &amp; responds to questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doesn't interrupt or intimidate others during conversation</td>
<td>Doesn't interrupt or intimidate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trustworthy/Integrity</strong></td>
<td>Follows and upholds the department's policies and standards</td>
<td>Follows &amp; upholds policies &amp; standards</td>
<td>Upholds the organization's and securities industry's policies and standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintains confidentiality about the department, its customers, and its employees</td>
<td>Maintains confidentiality</td>
<td>Acts in the best interest of the client to ensure their financial goals are met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admits mistakes and takes accountability for own actions</td>
<td>Admits mistakes &amp; takes accountability</td>
<td>Admits mistakes and takes accountability for own actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Follows through on promises</td>
<td>Follows through on promises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gives honest answers to questions</td>
<td>Gives honest answers to questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Personality requirements**

The personality requirements of each of the three jobs were obtained from “work style” ratings in the Occupational Information Network (O*NET). O*NET provides ratings for 16 personality related work styles that may be required in a given job: self-control, stress tolerance, integrity, dependability, adaptability/flexibility, cooperation, initiative, attention to detail, concern for others, leadership, independence, achievement/effort, social orientation, analytical thinking, persistence, innovation. These styles represent a variety of personality factors, and were derived from five prominent personality taxonomies including the Five Factor Model, the Hogan Personality Inventory, the U.S. Army’s Project A, the Occupational Personality Questionnaire, and Guion’s (1992) job analysis questionnaire. One benefit of using O*NET ratings to describe the working environment is that they provide a relatively objective measure of the personality requirements for a particular job. While many past studies examining the match between person and environment have used incumbent ratings of his/her own work environment, the results of these studies are likely to be inflated by common method bias (i.e., incumbents rate both the work environment and their own traits). The current analysis will provide a more conservative and objective analysis of the influence of person-environment congruence on performance.

In order to establish links between the 16 O*NET dimensions and the 7 HPI dimensions, a linkage task was given to 10 subject matter experts (SMEs; graduate students or recent graduates from an I/O psychology program). Dimensions were
determined to be “linked” if at least 8 of 10 SMEs judged a match between the two dimensions. The results revealed the following O*NET – HPI linkages: adjustment – stress tolerance and self control; ambition – achievement effort and leadership; sociability – social orientation; interpersonal sensitivity – concern for others and cooperation; prudence – attention to detail and dependability; inquisitive – innovation; learning approach – analytical thinking. Definitions of each of these linked dimensions can be found in Table 4.

**Results**

Several dimensions of the HPI were correlated with performance (both overall performance and specific facets): likeability and adjustment were positively correlated with overall performance \( (r = .13, p = .01 \text{ and } r = .15, p = .004, \text{ respectively}) \), school success was negatively correlated with performance \( (r = .14, p = .008) \) and ambition was negatively related to communication performance \( (r = -.11, p = .05) \) across all jobs. Furthermore, personality was differentially related to performance in the three jobs. The traits of likeability, prudence, and adjustment were significant predictors of overall performance and/or specific performance facets for bus drivers, while prudence, school success and adjustment were significant predictors for financial advisors. Only the traits of ambition and sociability were significant predictors (both of communication performance) for parole agents.

Hypothesis 8 predicted that a personality trait would interact with job requirements for that trait in the prediction of performance. Hierarchical regression was
used to examine the influence of personality and personality requirements on performance outcomes. Specifically, the influence of personality requirements on performance was examined, after partialing out the influence of personality. In addition, the interaction of personality x requirements on performance was examined. Results revealed a pattern of a very strong influence of personality requirements and a significant influence of the interaction term on performance beyond the influence of personality alone. For example, adjustment requirements were found to significantly and negatively predict performance ($\beta = -0.66$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .42$) above and beyond the influence of personality ($\beta = 0.15$, $p =.004$, $R^2 = .02$); the interaction term also added significant variance to the prediction of performance ($\beta = 0.69$, $p =.05$, $\Delta R^2 = .006$) in this analysis. Results for the other five traits also followed this general pattern (see Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 for a full description of these results; the trait prudence was excluded from the analyses because requirements for this trait were stable across jobs).

Table 6: Adjustment x Requirements predicting Overall Performance (Unstandardized)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>∆R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 2</th>
<th>Adjustment</th>
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<th>.01</th>
<th>.01</th>
<th>.86</th>
<th>.42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment Requirements</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.66</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 3</th>
<th>Adjustment</th>
<th>-.11</th>
<th>.06</th>
<th>-.68</th>
<th>.06</th>
<th>.01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment Requirements</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.95</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment x Requirements</td>
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<td>.001</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. n = 357
### Table 7: Ambition x Requirements predicting Overall Performance (Unstandardized)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>∆R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>.009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>-08</td>
<td>.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambition Requirements</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>-73</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
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<td>-90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambition Requirements</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Ambition x Requirements</td>
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<td>.001</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* n = 357

### Table 8: Sociability x Requirements predicting Overall Performance (Unstandardized)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>∆R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociability</td>
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<td>.18</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Step 2</td>
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<td>.60</td>
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<td>Sociability</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>-06</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<td>Sociability Requirements</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociability</td>
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<td>.004</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociability Requirements</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>-1.01</td>
<td>.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociability x Requirements</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* n = 357
Table 9: Interpersonal Sensitivity (Likeability) x Requirements predicting Overall Performance (Unstandardized)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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*Note.* n = 357

Table 10: Inquisitive (Intellectance) x Requirements predicting Overall Performance (Unstandardized)

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*Note.* n = 357
These large and unintuitive results (i.e., with requirements negatively and strongly predicting performance) seem to have been driven by an artifact of the data. Specifically, O*NET work style ratings did not appear to be comparable across jobs: while probation officers were rated as needing a lot of nearly every personality trait, truck drivers work style ratings were uniformly low across traits (see Table 12 for a summary of work style ratings across the three jobs). Furthermore, performance ratings for the probation officers had a mean that was nearly half that of the other two occupations (M = 2.02, SD = .80; compared to M = 4.23, SD = .60 for drivers; M = 4.01, SD = .59 for financial advisors). Thus, the strong and negative effect of personality requirements on performance were likely driven by the inflated ONET ratings and depressed performance ratings for the probation officers. Subsequently, analyses were run with both the personality and performance constructs standardized within jobs. In the standardized analyses, both personality and personality requirements failed to predict overall performance across all

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Note. n = 357
traits with the exception of the personality trait school success (learning approach) negatively predicting performance ($\beta = -.16$, $p=.002$; for full results see Tables 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19). Due to the anomalous ratings for the probation officers, these incumbents were dropped from subsequent analyses involving the overall performance construct.

Table 12: O*NET work style ratings across three jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O*NET work style rating</th>
<th>Probation Officers</th>
<th>Truck Driver</th>
<th>Financial Advisors</th>
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<td>Self Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stress Tolerance</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integrity</td>
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<td>77</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>Adaptability/Flexibility</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooperation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td>Initiative</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attention to Detail</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concern for Others</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>Leadership</td>
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<td>Independence</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>81</td>
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<td>Achievement/Effort</td>
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<td>Innovation</td>
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<td>Self Con/Stress Tolerance (Adjustment Composite)</td>
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<td>76</td>
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<td>Attention to Detail/Dependability (Prudence Composite)</td>
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<td>84.5</td>
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Table 13: Adjustment and requirements predicting overall performance (adjustment and performance standardized within job)

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Note. n = 357

Table 14: Ambition and requirements predicting overall performance (ambition and performance standardized within job)

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Note. n = 357
Table 15: Sociability and requirements predicting overall performance (sociability and performance standardized within job)

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*Note.* n = 357

Table 16: Interpersonal sensitivity (likeability) and requirements predicting overall performance (likeability and performance standardized within job)

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*Note.* n = 357
Table 17: Prudence and requirements predicting overall performance (prudence and performance standardized within job)

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*Note.* n = 357

Table 18: Inquisitiveness (intellectance) and requirements predicting overall performance (inquisitiveness and performance standardized within job)

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*Note.* n = 357
Results for drivers and financial advisors revealed that O*NET personality requirements were typically a stronger predictor of performance than personality itself. In general, analyses for all traits revealed a pattern in which personality did not significantly predict or marginally predicted overall performance, ONET personality requirements did significantly predict performance, and the interaction of the two was nonsignificant. For example, the trait of adjustment did not significantly predict overall performance ($\beta = - .02$, $p = .73$, $R^2 = .00$), although ONET adjustment requirements were a significant predictor after partialling out the influence of personality ($\beta = .17$, $p = .005$, $\Delta R^2 = .029$). The interaction of personality and requirements was not a significant predictor of performance for the trait of adjustment ($\beta = 1.37$, $p = .14$, $\Delta R^2 = .008$). Please see Tables 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25 for full results.

Table 19: School success (learning approach) and requirements predicting overall performance (learning approach and performance standardized within job)

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Note. $n = 357$
Table 20: Adjustment x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

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Note. n = 271

Table 21: Ambition x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

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Note. n = 271
Table 22: Sociability x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

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*Note.* n = 271

Table 23: Interpersonal sensitivity (likeability) x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

<table>
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<th>(\Delta R^2)</th>
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<td>.01</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.03</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.53</td>
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<td>.004</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* n = 271
In addition to overall performance, ratings on three performance facets were available for all three jobs. These facet ratings did not appear to have the same issues of comparability as the overall performance ratings; means and standard deviations for the

Table 24: Inquisitiveness (intellectance) x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

<table>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. n = 271

Table 25: School success (learning approach) x Requirements predicting overall performance (no probation officers; unstandardized)

<table>
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<td>-.15</td>
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<td>-.11</td>
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</table>

Note. n = 271

In addition to overall performance, ratings on three performance facets were available for all three jobs. These facet ratings did not appear to have the same issues of comparability as the overall performance ratings; means and standard deviations for the
performance facets were similar across all three jobs (see Table 26 for means and standard deviations for performance measures across jobs). In order to examine the influence of personality and personality requirements when predictor and criterion were aligned, hypothesis 9 predicted that adjustment and requirements for this trait would predict adaptability performance. Results revealed that while neither trait adjustment nor personality requirements for this trait (after factoring out personality) had an independent influence on adaptable performance \( (\beta = -.02, p = .77, R^2 = .00; \beta = -.04, p = .52, \Delta R^2 = .001, \text{respectively}) \) the interaction of personality and requirements marginally predicted adaptability performance \( (\beta = .88, p = .06, \Delta R^2 = .01) \). Hypothesis 10a and 10b predicted that sociability and interpersonal sensitivity and requirements for these traits would positively predict communication performance. Sociability and requirements did not significantly predict communication performance \( (\beta = -.09, p = .11, R^2 = .007; \beta = -.01, p = .86, \Delta R^2 = .00, \text{respectively}) \), nor did the interaction of the two \( (\beta = -.37, p = .18, \Delta R^2 = .006) \). However, the interaction of the trait interpersonal sensitivity and requirements did marginally predict performance on the communication facet of performance \( (\beta = 1.27, p = .07, \Delta R^2 = .009) \). Finally, hypothesis 11 predicted that the interaction of interpersonal sensitivity and requirements would predict performance on the trustworthy component of performance. This hypothesis was not supported: while trait interpersonal sensitivity marginally predicted trustworthy performance \( (\beta = .09, p = .09, R^2 = .008) \), requirements \( (\beta = -.07, p = .19, \Delta R^2 = .005) \) and the interaction of personality and requirements \( (\beta = .16, p = .81, \Delta R^2 = .00) \) were not significant predictors of trustworthiness ratings. These results are summarized in Table 27 Table 28 Table 29 Table 30.
Table 26: Means and Standard Deviations of performance measures across three jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Overall Performance</th>
<th>Adaptability Performance</th>
<th>Communication Performance</th>
<th>Trustworthy Performance</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
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<td>3.69</td>
<td>.71</td>
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Table 27: Adjustment x Requirements predicting Adaptability Performance (unstandardized)

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</table>

*Note.* n = 356
Table 28: Sociability x Requirements predicting Communication Performance (unstandardized)

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*Note.* n = 356

Table 29: Interpersonal Sensitivity (Likeability) x Requirements predicting Communication Performance (unstandardized)

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</table>

*Note.* n = 356
Discussion of Results

Results of the field study should be interpreted cautiously given the seeming incomparability of the O*NET personality requirement ratings used in these analyses. Overall, the results for the overall performance facet suggest that personality requirements were a strong predictor of overall performance, predicting above and beyond what little variance personality contributed. However, these results appeared to be driven by O*NET ratings that were not comparable across jobs, and these analyses raised serious doubts about the ability to use ONET work style ratings to compare different jobs (to be discussed in more detail below).

Results for specific performance facets revealed a different, and seemingly more interpretable, pattern of results. The interaction of personality and personality

Table 30: Interpersonal Sensitivity (Likeability) Personality x Requirements predicting Trustworthy Performance (unstandardized)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
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<th>ΔR²</th>
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</table>

Note. n = 356
requirements was a marginal predictor of facet performance in a number of cases. Specifically, the interaction of the trait adjustment and ONET requirements for this trait marginally predicted adaptability performance above and beyond personality and requirements alone. Similarly, the interaction of personality and requirements for interpersonal sensitivity were also a marginal predictor of communication performance. This suggests that how one’s personality fits with the requirements of the job adds variance to the prediction of performance beyond the influence of personality.

These results demonstrate the crucial importance of considering context when considering personality as a predictor of performance. While constructs such as ‘g’ may be related to performance across jobs, personality traits exhibit situational specificity and may have vastly different levels of validity depending on the specific job being considered (sometimes even being positively related to performance in one job but negatively related in another). The field results also point to the importance of aligning predictor and criterion; stronger and more meaningful results can be obtained when there is a theoretical reason to expect the predictor to be related to the criterion.
Chapter 4

General Discussion

Results of the lab study provide strong support for the idea that being able to express one’s personality while on the job is related to a plethora of positive consequences. Personality expression was positively related to motivation, satisfaction and performance, and negatively related to stress. These findings are particularly noteworthy for the trait of conscientiousness. Because past studies examining the influence of trait expression have focused only on interpersonal dimensions of behavior (e.g., extraversion, agreeableness; Cote & Moskowitz, 1998), it has been noted that future researchers should “examine behavior, whether interpersonal or not, consistent with all five-factor traits (e.g., conscientiousness)” (Cote & Moskowitz). Thus, the results for conscientiousness in this study were the first to demonstrate that the positive influences of trait expression are not restricted to traits that are expressed interpersonally.

The field study further supported the idea that having the opportunity to express one’s personality on the job (i.e., the job required one’s inner personality traits) has a positive impact on performance. In a number of cases, the interaction of personality and personality requirements interacted to predict performance above and beyond the influence of these factors individually. Despite the fact that the personality requirement data (i.e., ONET work style ratings) in the study did not provide the best basis for comparing requirements across jobs, these results offer initial evidence that both
personality and job requirements (i.e., personality-job match) should be considered in using personality traits to predict performance.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

This study demonstrated that individuals who are able to express their personality while on the job are more satisfied and motivated, less stressed, and have better performance. Thus, the process of personality expression may be one of the underlying psychological mechanisms driving perceptions of fit and the positive consequences fit is associated with. That is, individuals are likely to perceive a greater degree of fit when they are able to express their personality on the job, and thus personality trait expression may be the distal psychological process which influences the positive outcomes that fit has been shown to relate to. This finding begins to answer recent calls for a better theoretical and practical understanding of factors that influence fit perceptions (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005).

The current study was one of the first to empirically test portions of Tett and Burnett’s (2003) trait interactionist model of job performance, and to answer calls by these authors to better understand how personality is expressed as valued behavior in the workplace. From a theoretical standpoint, the study supports calls to expand personality research beyond the examination of simple personality – performance relationships (Murphy, 1996). Personality traits demonstrate situational specificity (i.e., they are valid predictors of performance for some jobs and situations but not others), suggesting a number of mediators and moderators through which personality influences performance.
and other work outcomes. This study identified personality expression as a rather important causal mechanism through which personality influences a host of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes that are relevant in the workplace.

Although this study demonstrated an important mediating influence for the construct of personality trait expression, overall effect sizes remain disappointingly low in the current study, particularly given the “ideal” conditions the laboratory setting presented for examining personality-outcome relationships. That is, the laboratory study elicited personality through both task and social cues; such a situation should provide optimal conditions for personality to manifest itself as a strong predictor of outcomes. Despite these ideal conditions, however, personality only weakly predicted outcomes including performance, satisfaction, commitment and stress. For example, extraversion predicted only a small proportion of variance in performance on the speech task ($r^2 = .03$). Even the strongest relationship, between extraversion and stress on the speech task, was only moderate in size ($r^2 = .11$). Although these small effect sizes would seem to warrant caution in using personality as a predictor in the workplace, it is also important to realize that even effects of a relatively small magnitude can have meaningful implications and practical utility in real world settings. The paragraphs below provide suggestions on how the results of this study could have implications for bolstering the predictive utility of personality in the workplace.

The results of this study suggest that both companies and employees would benefit from matching the personality of the employee to the job. As Tett and Burnett’s (2003) model implies, “matching” includes not only matching an incumbents’ personality to the demands of the task, but also to the broader social and organizational context. This
could involve, for example, ensuring individuals are placed in teams that allow them to express their personality. Such an endeavor is likely to be very complex, however, given that a combination of supplementary and complementary characteristics would need to be considered. That is, in some cases greater personality expression will be allowed when a personality trait is similar to the group’s (e.g., extraversion or affiliation), while in other cases more expression would be allowed when an incumbent’s trait is dissimilar, or complementary, to his or her peers (e.g., dominance and submissiveness; Tett & Murphy, 2002). At the organization level, fostering a culture that accepts individual differences and encourages individual expression should allow for more personality expression and the positive consequences associated with it. Generally speaking, tasks, leaders, and cultures that encourage autonomy and provide only weak cues for specific traits should create an environment in which individuals are free to express their inner personality. Results of this study suggest that this will have positive consequences for the individual (satisfaction, decreased stress) as well as the organization (greater motivation and performance).

Practically, it is crucial to conduct personality-based job analyses and consider personality-job fit during the selection process in order to maximize the predictive utility of personality constructs. The field portion of the study raises questions about using the personality information available in O*NET as a basis for understanding which personality traits are required in a given job. Although the work style ratings may be useful to indicate how important a given personality trait is for a job compared to other traits in that same job, these ratings do not appear to be very useful for comparing
personality trait requirements among different jobs. Overall, caution is advised when using the O*NET work style ratings to understand personality requirements for a job.

**Limitations**

Both the laboratory and field study had a number of weaknesses that limit the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. First, the Study 1 utilized student participants in a laboratory setting, and therefore one must use caution in generalizing the results of this study to real-world application. In addition, the cues used in the laboratory experiment were rather weak and often ineffective at eliciting the appropriate trait. More specifically, the task and social cues for the transcript task seemed to cue opposing aspects of conscientiousness: while the task itself was very detailed-oriented and likely elicited the more “dutiful” aspect of conscientiousness, the quickly-working confederate cued the “achievement striving” aspect of conscientiousness. The social cue for this task appeared to have a stronger impact on subsequent behavior (i.e., individuals in the social cue condition reviewed significantly more transcripts). However, these SC participants likely reviewed the transcripts in a less detail-oriented and conscientious manner and they indeed reported expressing less conscientiousness; because of this, the social cue actually negatively predicted self-reports of conscientiousness and achievement striving but positively predicted the behavioral indicator of achievement striving. These limitations of the cue manipulations greatly limited the ability of this study to examine the influence of cues on personality expression.
Another limitation of the laboratory study was the use of a self-report expression measure. A number of factors are likely to bias self-reports of personality expression. For example, participants may report their expression based on a comparison with others in their environment, or based on a comparison to their own behavior in other situations (the issue of social comparison is discussed in more detail in lab discussion above). Social comparison did appear to influence participants’ response to the expression measure in the current study. Although participants in the transcript task SC condition self-reported less achievement striving (e.g., “I did things efficiently during this task,” “I worked hard during this task”), their behavior and performance did in fact portray more achievement orientation. This may be because the participant compared his or her own behavior to that of the confederate who was working particularly hard and efficiently, and thus concluded that they were not in fact working very hard. This clearly demonstrates that individuals are not unbiased reporters of their own personality expression, and a host of factors are likely to influence such reports. Other options for measuring personality expression will be discussed in the future research section below.

In addition to self-reports of personality expression, the laboratory study also utilized self-reports for all other constructs except for performance, and thus common method bias limits the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. This issue was partially overcome in a number of the mediation hypotheses; extraversion expression and performance for both tasks were measured objectively or by external raters. Nonetheless, the fact that the main variables of the study were self-reported, and many were recorded with the same survey and response scale (e.g. expression, motivation, satisfaction, stress) undoubtedly inflated the results of the current study.
The most glaring limitation of the field analyses was the use of O*NET requirements ratings that were not comparable across jobs; this caused serious issues with the interpretability of the field data. One of the purported strengths of the O*NET system is that it utilizes cross-job descriptors that provide a common language to allow comparisons across jobs (Peterson et al., 2001). Peterson et al. note that the work style ratings should be useful for at least three practical applications: to identify candidates for a job, for use in person-job matching in vocational counseling, and for job seekers to identify appropriate occupations. Despite the fact that O*NET ratings are meant to be comparable across jobs (work style ratings were obtained using the same behaviorally-anchored scales across all jobs), these ratings were clearly not comparable across the three jobs examined in this study. This lack of comparability of personality requirements across jobs severely limits the conclusions that can be drawn from the field analysis.

Future Research

Findings of the current study raise a number of issues to be explored in future research. First, findings regarding the positive consequences of personality trait expression should be replicated in a field setting. In particular, future research could develop a survey that measures the personality-related task, social, and organizational cues within a work environment for use in a field setting. Such a measure would not only be useful in better understanding which types of cues influence personality expression, it could also be utilized as a basis for more comprehensive personality-based job analyses. However, one issue in using such a measure for personality-based job analyses would be
its rather transient results – for example, when employees turn over, the social cues for a certain trait are likely to change and thus a new analysis would need to be conducted. It would also be interesting to examine how multiple cues interact to influence expression – do they have an additive or multiplicative effect on subsequent expression? What happens when various cues in an environment cue opposing traits? Do cues at a certain level (task, social, or organizational) have a stronger impact on personality expression?

The self-report measure of personality expression in this study was wrought with limitations; future research should examine personality expression with different measures. For example, the construct of fit has been examined in a variety of ways including directly asking the individual about perceived fit, and comparing ratings of person and environment (in this latter measurement ‘environment’ is sometimes operationalized as the subjective environment as perceived by an individual or group and is sometimes operationalized using “objective” sources, such as O*NET; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Similarly, personality trait expression could be operationalized by directly asking employees how much they are able to express their personality on the job, or how much dissonance they perceive between their inner personality and the personality traits they must express. For instance, Morris and Feldman’s (1997) emotional dissonance measure contains items such as “Most of the time, the way I act and speak with patients matches how I feel anyway” (p. 263) which could be revised to “Most of the time, the way I behave at work matches my inner personality” to directly ask employees about their personality expression at work.

The current study found that personality expression was consistently related to a variety of positive outcomes. Future research should further examine who benefits from
expression and under what conditions. For example, it is likely that some individuals benefit more from personality expression than others. A number of authors have cautioned that the positive outcomes associated with self-expression may not hold across cultures (Cote & Moskowitz, 1998; Kim & Sherman, 2007; Meyer & Allen, 1988). For example, while individualists tend to place a high value on self-expression, individuals with a more collectivist orientation may not value self-expression so highly (Kim & Sherman). It has been suggested that individuals with collectivist orientations prefer to express behavior that is consistent with the group’s purpose rather than expressing inner traits (Kim & Sherman; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). Thus, it seems likely that a collectivistic individual may not exhibit the same positive consequences to personality trait expression as a more individualist person. Similarly, future research could examine how expression that is elicited at different levels influences various outcomes. Research has demonstrated that various dimensions of fit (e.g., P-J, P-G, P-O) interact to differentially influence outcomes (Kristof-Brown, Jansen, & Colbert, 2002). Does personality expression that is elicited by a task relate to different outcomes than a similar expression that is elicited by a coworker? It is possible that expression elicited at the task level will have stronger relationship with outcomes at that level (e.g., task satisfaction, P-J fit), while expression elicited by social or organizational cues would have stronger relationships with outcomes at those levels (e.g., coworker satisfaction; P-G fit or P-O fit).

The current study did not explicitly examine the possible consequences of personality suppression or amplification, and only began to explore personality faking. As a starting point to examining these processes, future researchers should examine if and
how often personality suppression and faking actually occurs. Research on emotional suppression has shown that individuals inhibit emotional expressions quite frequently - about 25% of the time (Gross, Richards, & John, 2006). How often do individuals feel the need to either suppress the expression of their personality, or behave in a way that is discordant from their inner personality? In addition, it would be interesting to examine the processes of both suppression and faking more explicitly in a laboratory setting.

Expressive suppression of emotions has been linked with a number of negative consequences, including poorer memory, degraded problems solving, and increased blood pressure and activation of the cardiovascular system (Butler, Egloff, Wilhelm, Smith, Erickson, & Gross, 2003; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Richards, 2004; Richards & Gross, 2000). Future research should examine if similar negative consequences occur when an individual is required to inhibit or fake expression of innate personality traits. For example, would an extravert have adverse reactions to suppressing his/her gregarious nature in a group meeting (say, the individual is required to be the silent note taker in the meeting)?

Finally, the field portion of the current study suggests a need to empirically investigate the utility of O*NET for various applications. Despite O*NET’s claims of using a common language that allows cross-job comparisons (Peterson et al., 2001), the current study raised questions regarding the utility of O*NET’s work styles for job comparison purposes. Are other job descriptors in O*NET (e.g., cognitive and psychomotor abilities, occupational values and interests) more comparable across jobs? O*NET is a relatively new system, and empirical research is needed to gain a better understanding of what it is and is not useful for.
Conclusion

The current study made a number of contributions to the fields of personality and I/O Psychology. It demonstrated that emotion regulation theory can be applied to the construct of personality expression: behavior may reflect true expression of one’s inner traits (personality trait expression) or expression of a trait discordant from one’s inner traits (personality trait faking). Alternatively, individuals may encounter situations in which it is not appropriate or possible to express their personality, and thus they must inhibit the expression of their innate dispositions (personality trait suppression). Using both a laboratory and a field sample, the current study demonstrated that expressing one’s personality is related to a number of positive attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. These findings suggest that the process of personality trait expression may be one of the psychological mechanisms contributing to feelings of fit. That is, the positive outcomes that are associated with perceived fit may be at least partially driven by the process of expressing one’s inner personality. The notion of personality trait expression, and personality regulation more generally, is an area ripe with possibilities for future research.
Bibliography


Appendix A

IPIP Personality Measure

Instructions: On the following pages there are phrases describing peoples’ behaviors. Please read each statement carefully, and indicate how well that statement describes you using the rating scale below. Please describe yourself as you honestly see yourself.

1. _____ I put little time and effort into my work.
2. _____ I am the life of the party.
3. _____ I keep my promises.
4. _____ I take charge.
5. _____ I know how to captivate people.
6. _____ I tell the truth.
7. _____ I am not highly motivated to succeed.
8. _____ I am skilled in handling social situations.
9. _____ I don't talk a lot.
10. _____ I go straight for the goal.
11. _____ I try to follow the rules.
12. _____ I am a very private person.
13. _____ I wait for others to lead the way.
14. _____ I often feel blue.
15. _____ I work hard.

16. _____ I keep in the background.

17. _____ I dislike myself.

18. _____ I am often down in the dumps.

19. _____ I bottle up my feelings.

20. _____ I have frequent mood swings.

21. _____ I make friends easily.

22. _____ I turn plans into actions.

23. _____ I don't like to draw attention to myself.

24. _____ I rarely get irritated.

25. _____ I do more than what's expected of me.

26. _____ I do the opposite of what is asked.

27. _____ I don’t put my mind on the task at hand.

28. _____ I find it difficult to get down to work.

29. _____ I feel comfortable with myself.

30. _____ I leave things unfinished.

31. _____ I am exacting in my work.

32. _____ I feel at ease with people.

33. _____ When I make plans, I stick to them.

34. _____ I am not easily bothered by things.

35. _____ I have little to say.

36. _____ I complete tasks successfully.

37. _____ I am very pleased with myself.
38. _____ I often feel uncomfortable around others.
39. _____ I believe in the importance of art.
40. _____ I need a push to get started.
41. _____ I panic easily.
42. _____ I feel comfortable around people.
43. _____ I have a vivid imagination.
44. _____ I accept people as they are.
45. _____ I find it difficult to approach others.
46. _____ I avoid philosophical discussions.
47. _____ I tend to vote for liberal political candidates.
48. _____ I talk to a lot of different people at parties.
49. _____ I set high standards for myself and others.
50. _____ I suspect hidden motives in others.
51. _____ I start conversations.
52. _____ I insult people.
53. _____ I break rules.
54. _____ I do not enjoy going to art museums.
55. _____ I do just enough work to get by.
56. _____ I carry conversations to a higher level.
57. _____ I tend to vote for conservative political candidates.
58. _____ I do not like art.
59. _____ I don’t see things through.
60. _____ I seldom feel blue.
61. _____ I don't mind being the center of attention.

62. _____ I have a good word for everyone.

63. _____ I do things according to plan.

64. _____ I am quiet around strangers.

65. _____ I get chores done right away.

66. _____ I have a sharp tongue.

67. _____ I enjoy hearing new ideas.

68. _____ I shirk my duties.

69. _____ I believe that others have good intentions.

70. _____ I cut others to pieces.

71. _____ I pay my bills on time.

72. _____ I respect others.

73. _____ I pay attention to details.

74. _____ I try to “get back” at others.

75. _____ I carry out my plans.

76. _____ I make people feel at ease.

77. _____ I am not interested in abstract ideas.

78. _____ I am always prepared.

79. _____ I waste my time.
Appendix B

Self-Monitoring Scale

1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people. (F)
2. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like. (F)
3. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe. (F)
4. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information. (T)
5. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others. (T)
6. I would probably make a good actor. (T)
7. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention. (F)
8. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons. (T)
9. I am not particularly good at making other people like me. (F)
10. I’m not always the person I appear to be. (T)
11. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favor. (F)
12. I have considered being an entertainer. (T)
13. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting. (F)
14. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations. (F)
15. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going. (F)
16. I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should. (F)

17. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end). (T)

18. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them. (T)
Appendix C

Personality Trait Expression Measure

1. _____ I ignored others’ comments/instructions during the task.
2. _____ I was somewhat careless during the task.
3. _____ I was full of energy during the task.
4. _____ I reflected and played with different ideas during this task.
5. _____ I was lazy during the task.
6. _____ I came up with new ideas during this task.
7. _____ I was outgoing during the task.
8. _____ I got to work on this task right away.
9. _____ I expressed joy during the task.
10. _____ I did a thorough job on this task.
11. _____ I did things efficiently during this task.
12. _____ I was disorganized during the task.
13. _____ I plunged into the task with all my heart.
14. _____ I put little time and effort into the task.
15. _____ I worked hard during this task.
16. _____ I set high standards for myself on this task.
17. _____ I took this task seriously.
18. _____ I wasted time during the task.
19. _____ I set goals and/or deadlines for myself during this task.
20. _____ I did just enough work to get by during this task.
21. _____ I talked a lot during the task.
22. _____ I paid attention to details during the task.
23. _____ I was reserved during the task.
24. _____ I generated a lot of enthusiasm during the task.
25. _____ I was assertive during the task.
26. _____ I persevered until the task was finished.
27. _____ I took charge during the task.
28. _____ I tried to lead others during the task.
29. _____ I was easily distracted during the task.
30. _____ I talked others into doing things during the task.
31. _____ I sought to influence others during the task.
32. _____ I had little to say during the task.
33. _____ I didn’t see things through in this task.
34. _____ I tried to follow the rules during the task.
35. _____ I handled the task smoothly.
36. _____ I withheld useful information during the task.
37. _____ I thought deeply about this task.
38. _____ I found it difficult to get down to work.
39. _____ I behaved cooperatively during the task.
40. _____ I anticipated the needs of others during this task.
41. _____ I was helpful during this task.
Appendix D

Other-Rated Performance and Extraversion

_____ The participant communicated university-related information during the speech.

_____ The participant conveyed information about the academic programs and opportunities available at Penn State (e.g., majors, study abroad, etc.).

_____ The participant conveyed information about the social activities available at Penn State (e.g., extracurricular clubs, sports, etc.).

_____ The participant promoted the university during the speech.

_____ The participant’s speech flowed well and was clear.

Overall, I would rate this participant’s performance on the speech as (please circle one):

1 – Awful
2 – Very Poor
3 – Poor
4 - Average
5 – Good
6 – Very Good
7 - Outstanding

_____ The participant was full of energy during the speech.

_____ The participant was outgoing during the speech.

_____ The participant generated a lot of enthusiasm during the speech.

_____ The participant sought to influence others during the speech.
Appendix E

Task Satisfaction Measure

1. The task was interesting enough to keep me from getting bored.
2. I consider this task to have been rather unpleasant.
3. I was bored with this task.
4. I definitely dislike this task.
5. I was enthusiastic about this task.
6. This task felt like it would never end.
7. I liked this task better than the average participant did.
8. This task was pretty uninteresting.
9. I found real enjoyment in this task.
Appendix F

Stress Measure

1. I did not feel nervous at all while doing this. (R)
2. I felt very tense while doing this activity.
3. I was very relaxed in doing these. (R)
4. I was anxious while working on this task.
5. I felt pressured while doing these.
6. I felt fidgety or nervous while completing this task.
Appendix G

Motivation Measure

1. I put a lot of effort into this.
2. I didn’t try very hard to do well at this activity. (R)
3. I tried very hard on this activity.
4. It was important to me to do well at this task.
5. I didn’t put much energy into this. (R)
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EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University – University Park
- Ph.D. in Industrial/Organizational Psychology December 2008
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  National Science Foundation (NSF)
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  - Developed program evaluation tools, including surveys, focus group protocols and quantitative metrics, to assess onboarding program

  Department of Homeland Security (DHS)
  - Developed competency-based qualifications for 21 occupational groups
  - Compiled and reviewed job information to draft competency assessment items
  - Conducted focus groups and collected validation data from numerous employees

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  Pennsylvania State Police (PSP), Project Leader and Member Sept 2003 – May 2006
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