Personality as a situation:

A target-centered perspective on social situations

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In D. C. Funder, J. F. Rauthmann & R. Sherman (Eds.) (in press), The Oxford handbook of psychological situations. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

This final draft version may be different from the printed version.

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Author note

I am grateful to John F. Rauthmann for his comments on an earlier draft.

## Abstract

This chapter I focuses on three key issues of the psychology of situations in the special case where a situation is defined by the personality of a (potential) interaction partner. First, any taxonomy of personality can be considered as a taxonomy of situations. This recognition provides a special twist to lexically derived personality taxonomies as they mainly originate from perceptions of others' personality and, thus, from perceptions of situations. Second, in this special case statistical personality x situation interactions become personality x personality interactions which are discussed from the perspective of the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) and the Social Relations Model (SRM). Third, dynamical personalityenvironment transactions become personality-personality transactions which are discussed from a developmental perspective. Implications for the psychology of situations are highlighted and a new model for personality x situation interactions is proposed, the Actor-Situation Interdependence Model (ASIM).

## Keywords

personality x situation interaction, personality x personality interaction, personality x environment transaction, personality x personality transaction, Lewin's formula, Actor-Partner Interdependence Model, Social Relations Model, Actor-Situation Interdependence Model

#### Situations

In a broad sense, a *psychological situation S of an individual* can be defined as all *external* current conditions *causally connected* to the individual, either by influencing the individual's information processing and/or behavior, or by being influenced by the individual's behavior. "Current" means that past or future external conditions are not situations (although they may be remembered or imagined), and "external" implies that perceived, remembered, or imagined external conditions are not situations; they are cognitive *representations* that are internal to the individual. Thus, beta press (Murray, 1938), psychological environments (Barker, 1987), perceived situations (Magnusson, 1981), or construed situations (Ross & Nisbett, 1991) are not considered situations here, and the definition is more precise than definitions that are silent about differences between "objective" and "subjective" situations such as the one used by Mischel and Shoda (1999). The advantage of this realistic approach to the definition of a situation is that it makes it possible to study how different individuals may perceive and mentally represent the same situation differently depending on their personality and current psychological state (see Funder, 2006; Reis, 2008).

The causal link to the individual makes sure that only psychologically relevant external conditions are considered, and the inclusion of individuals' effects on situations (which is missed in some definitions of psychological situations) implies that the causality between situation and individual may run both ways, from situation to individual and *vice versa*. Such bidirectional influences were already assumed by Lewin (1946) who pointed out that P (the current psychological *state* of an individual) and E (the *current* environment of this individual) not only jointly influence the individual's current behavior B, thus B = f(P, E), but are also mutually dependent, thus P = f(E) and E = f(P).

#### **Situations versus Environments**

Lewin (1936, 1943, 1946) used E instead of S to denote a current situation, and he used P to denote the current internal *state* of an individual, *not* the individual's personality (physical traits and *recurrent* psychological states and behaviors of the individual). Lewin (1936, 1943) used S to denote the life space of an individual that consists of both P and E, thus B = f(S). However, today's personality and social psychologists often refer to Lewin when they use the formula B = f(P, S) for stating that behavior is a function of personality and the current situation (e.g., Bond, 2013; Funder, 2008). Although this statement makes sense, it uses P in a much more restrictive way which introduces a major deviation from Lewin's full-blown interactionism because personality cannot change as a function of the current situation but personality and special states and social carrent situation (extreme exceptions granted such as traumatic events).

However, personality may change as a function of repeated long-term *situational exposure*, and therefore it is useful to clearly distinguish between the current situation s of an individual and the individual's environment E in terms of such exposure. Whereas behavior b and situation s can change on a short-term time scale, from second to second, minute to minute, or day to day, personality and environment change on a long-term time scale, from month to month or year to year. Unfortunately, this usage of E in developmental psychology (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and the similar usage in behavior genetics in terms of the exposure of the genome to environments (e.g., Plomin, DeFries, & Loehlin, 1977) are clearly different from Lewin's usage of E.

The bottom line is that reference to Lewin has to be made carefully because it quickly

creates confusion if the terms P, E, and S are not clearly defined. Here, I use b when I refer to the current behavior or internal state of an individual, s when I refer to the current situation of an individual, P when I refer to the personality of an individual, and to E when I refer to the environment in terms of the repeated, long-term exposure to situations. Thus, lower-case letters indicate transient characteristics whereas capital letters indicate stable characteristics.

## **Persons as Situations**

Situations as defined here are psychological situations *for* an actor and therefore include at least one person: the actor. Often, actors are in non-social situations because no other person is present, but a major share of the daily situations that most actors face during waking time are social situations where at least one other person is present (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Reis & Wheeler, 1991). These social situations can be described by many non-social characteristics such as location in time and space, but most personality and social psychologists would agree that stable characteristics of the other persons present are key features of the situation: their identity (in the most simple sense of numerical identity), sex, age, and personality in the broadest sense (including all dispositions for behavior and internal states as well as physical traits; Asendorpf & Neyer, 2012). Thus, any such description of the persons in a situation is also a useful description of a psychological situation.

Strangely, the obvious fact that persons can be considered situations for others has not been systematically used in discussions of psychological situations, probably because of a false dichotomy between persons and situations. Although it is necessary to distinguish between an actor and the actor's (potential) targets for social interaction, theoretical concepts, psychological constructs, descriptive systems, assessment methods, and so on for actors can also be applied to targets of social interactions. For example, every taxonomy of personality may be useful also as a taxonomy of situations; the only constraint is that targets' personality characteristics can influence the internal state or behavior of *some* actors (not necessarily all actors).

In the following section, I discuss this "target-centered approach" to social situations. For simplicity, I consider only the case of one target, thus dyadic interaction. Extensions of this perspective to many targets are outside the scope of this chapter but rather obvious.

## **Target Personality as a Situation**

Whereas a target's physical traits can be directly perceived, the target's behavioral dispositions cannot be directly perceived in one situation because they refer to recurrent behavior in many situations. Nevertheless, representations of these dispositions can be *retrieved* from long-term memory in terms of knowledge about the target. This knowledge may be explicit (declarative knowledge) or implicit (tacit knowledge), and it may be acquired through personal experience in a social relationship with the target or through communication with knowledgeable informants. In addition, the target's personality can be *inferred* from the target's current behavior or from the target's behavior in a limited number of situations; in these cases, the inference is often of low but non-zero validity (see research on personality judgments at zero-acquaintance, Borkenau & Liebler, 1992), and validity increases as the number of personality-relevant situations increases (see research on thin slices of behavior: Borkenau, Mauer, Riemann, Spinath, & Angleitner, 2004).

Whatever the channel is through which information about a target's personality is received, perceptions of some physical traits and some retrieved or inferred behavioral dispositions of the target more often than not influence the actor, and therefore are causally connected to the actor. Thus the target's personality is frequently (but not always) part of the social situation of the actor, particularly in a social relationship between actor and target. In the next three sections I discuss from this target-centered perspective three issues of the psychology of situations: situational taxonomies, statistical personality x situation interactions, and dynamical personality - environment transactions.

## Personality Taxonomies as Taxonomies of Situations

According to the lexical approach to personality description, those personality traits "that are most salient and socially relevant in people's lives will eventually become encoded into their language" (John, Angleitner, & Ostendorf, 1988, p. 174). Indeed, most personality-descriptive terms describe person characteristics that are salient cues in the perception of *others'* personality (Hogan, 1996; Kenny, 1994). They also describe self-perceived personality characteristics, to be sure, but these self-perceptions do not exist in a social vacuum. At least in older children and adults, they are based on social comparison processes where one compares oneself with significant others or a reference group (Festinger, 1954; Marsh, 1987). Therefore, self-perceived personality is closely linked to the perception of others' personality.

From this perspective, lexically derived personality taxonomies can be viewed as taxonomies of perceived social situations (see Srivastava, 2010, for a more detailed discussion). To the extent that these perceptions are not only in the eyes of the beholder but reflect social reality (Funder, 1995), lexically derived personality taxonomies can be also viewed as taxonomies of social situations "out there".

#### **Statistical Personality x Personality Interactions**

What is often meant by person x situation interaction in personality psychology is a statistical interaction between the effects of one's personality and one's current situation on one's current behavior (Cronbach, 1957; Endler & Hunt, 1966; Funder, 2008). Thus, an individual's behavior b in a situation s depends non-additively on the individual's personality P and on the

situation s: b = f(P, s). In a study design where the behavior of many persons is observed in many different situations, the observed behavior depends on the main effect of a personality trait relevant both to the behavior and the situation, the situational main effect, and their statistical interaction. As many have noted, it is harder to find replicable two-way interactions than main effects in typical experimental designs where P and s are independently assigned by the experimenter, and it is even harder to find replicable interactions in naturalistic designs where P and s are often correlated which acts against statistical interactions (Wahlsten, 1990). Nevertheless, statistical interactions between P and s do exist, particularly ordinal interactions where a personality trait predicts behavior better in highly trait-relevant situations than in less trait-relevant situations (Allport, 1966; Tett & Guterman, 2000).

If the situation is defined by the personality of a target, the actor's behavior is a function of two personalities, the actor's personality P and the target's personality P': b = f(P, P'). The same applies to the target's behavior: b' = f'(P', P). If the dyads are randomly composed (e.g., two unfamiliar students in a waiting paradigm; Asendorpf, 1989), the between-partner correlations for any personality trait are expected to be zero. If the dyads entertain a social relationship (e.g., husband and wife), the between-partner correlations can be large due to selection processes (e.g., assortative mating) and the interaction history of the dyad. In both cases, the behavior of one dyad member (the actor) can be simultaneously predicted by the actor's own personality (*actor effect*) and by the personality of the interaction partner (*partner effect*). From a situation perspective, the partner effect is the effect of the situation controlled for the effect of the actor's personality, and the actor effect is the effect of the actor's personality controlled for the effect of the situation.

Because this approach applies to both members of a dyad, the effects are best analyzed

with a structural equation model for both dyad members (*Actor-Partner Interdependence Model APIM*; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). Figure 1 illustrates this case with data of couples that were observed in a discussion of a recent conflict; the observed distress of both partners in the discussion was predicted by both partners' self-rated neuroticism (Kenny et al., 2006). Women's neuroticism influenced men's distress, whereas the partner effect of men on women's distress was non-significant. From a situation perspective, women's neuroticism but not men's neuroticism had an impact on the partner.

## - Figure 1 -

The APIM can include also the statistical interaction between the effects of actor and partner,  $P \times P'$ . An example is the study by Cuperman and Ickes (2009) where the observed self-disclosure of randomly paired students in a waiting paradigm was predicted from their self-rated Big Five personality traits. Strong cross-over interactions were found for both extraversion and agreeableness, but in opposite directions. Similar extraversion but dissimilar agreeableness led to more frequent self-disclosure (see Fig. 2). From a situation perspective, similarity to the partner's extraversion but *dis*similarity to the partner's agreeableness fostered the actor's self-disclosure; the latter effect was mainly driven by agreeable partners who interacted with disagreeable actors. Studies of effects of the similarity of personality in couples (e.g., Dyrenforth, Kashy, Donnellan, & Lucas, 2010) and studies of person - person fit as a special case of person - work environment fit (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011) can be reframed as studies of statistical interactions between the effects of actors and partners within the APIM.

#### - Fig. 2 -

Designs where many actors interact with many different targets such that personality can be estimated from the observed behavior represent a special case. In a *round robin design*, all members of a group interact with each other, in a *symmetrical-block design* all members of a Group A interact with all members of a different Group B without within-group interactions (e.g., only women with men) (see Kenny et al., 2006). In these designs, *actor effects* capture the tendency to show a certain behavior across all interaction partners which can be attributed to the actor's personality; actor effects are thus based on consistent behavior across situational effect on the targets; partner effects are based on consistent situation effects across interaction partners. *Relationship effects* capture an actor's tendency to show the behavior toward a specific target after controlling for the actor's actor effect and the *target's* partner effect; if only one interaction situation is observed for each dyad, relationship effects cannot be separated from situation-specific measurement error. Consequently, actor and partner effects of an actor can be predicted by the actor's personality by definition; they capture statistical actor × target interaction effects.

Because the dyads in such designs are not independent and actors cannot interact with themselves, estimation of the actor, partner, and relationship effects is accomplished with Social Relations Model (SRM) analyses (Kenny et al., 2006; Schönbrodt, Back, & Schmukle, 2011). Because the number of different targets is limited to the size of a school class at best, the estimation of within-group actor, partner, and actor  $\times$  partner effects is often not very reliable, and the effects are group-specific. However, if the effects are aggregated across many similar groups or if the data of different groups are analyzed with multilevel analyses that respect the nested structure of the data (both actors and targets are nested in groups), the results are more reliable.

For an illustration I use data from the Berlin Speed Dating Study (Asendorpf, Penke, &

Back, 2011). A total of 190 male and 192 female singles looking for a partner were assigned to 17 groups of similar size and age. Each man interacted with each woman of his group for three minutes. The behavior considered for the present purpose is a simple choice after each of the interactions: Each man and woman marked after each interaction whether they would like to receive the e-mail address of the interaction partner (the target) for further interaction; only in the case of reciprocal choices, the required e-mail addresses were sent. The actor effect captures low choosiness: the higher the actor effect, the higher the tendency to choose a target, thus the less choosy the actor. Therefore, the actor effect is a personality effect of the actor. The partner effect captures the actor's popularity among the targets: the higher the partner effect, the higher the probability to be chosen by a target, thus the more popular. The partner effect is not a situation effect for the actor, it is another personality effect of the actor (the tendency to be chosen by targets). Instead, an actor's situation is described by the *target's* partner effect: More popular targets evoke more choices than less popular targets. Finally, relationship effects capture the tendency of an actor to choose a specific target with a higher or lower probability than expected by the actor's choosiness and the target's popularity, plus the measurement error in the interaction with the target. If they would be measured without error, they would capture a specific relationship between actor and target that developed within three minutes.

#### - Table 1 -

The data of the 2,160 dyads were analyzed within groups by SRM analyses, and subsequently with multilevel analyses because the groups strongly differed by age. Table 1 presents significant personality correlates of the actor and partner effects. From a situation perspective, the actor effects are irrelevant as they describe correlates of low choosiness. Instead, the partner effects are relevant because they describe situation effects *for the opposite sex*. For example, men's vocal attractiveness (independently assessed by having them count from 1 to 10 and having the recordings rated for the attractiveness of the voice by independent raters) significantly influenced women's choices. The more attractive his voice was, the more often the man was chosen by a woman for further interaction ( $\beta = .33$ ). Table 1 indicates that, for men, only physical cues in the speed dating situation were relevant for their choices (women's facial and vocal attractiveness and their BMI), whereas women were influenced by many more cues, including men's education, income, sociosexuality, shyness, and openness to experience.

Viewed from a Brunswikian lens model perspective (Brunswik, 1956; for an application to a SRM context, see Back, Schmukle, & Egloff, 2011), women utilized more cues or processed them more deeply for their choices than men within the three minutes of interaction. More generally, a lens model perspective seems most appropriate for detailed descriptions of social situations and of the processes that lead from social situations to inferences about targets' states and traits (see for recent applications Hirschmüller, Egloff, Nestler, & Back, 2013; Penke & Asendorpf, 2008).

#### **Dynamical Personality-Personality Transactions**

In social groups where members repeatedly interact with one another on different occasions, each other group member is an environment for an actor in terms of the partner effect of the other group member. In the special case of dyads with a social relationship based on repeated interactions, each dyad member's personality creates an environment for the other member of the dyad. Husbands are environments for wives, and wives are environments for husbands. What describes these environments is not the behavior of the other dyad member in a particular situation, but the other dyad member's stable characteristics: his or her personality. Target personality is commensurable with environments because both personality and environments refer to stable characteristics and change on the same developmental time scale.

Therefore, it is possible in this case to consider effects of a target's personality on an actor's personality, P = f(P), along with effects of the actor's personality on the target's personality, P' = f(P). Putting both effects together, along with an initial correlation between P and P' (which may or may not be different from zero), results in a type of interaction that is different from statistical personality x environment interaction: a dynamical interaction between P and P' over developmental time. Such dynamical interactions may or may not be accompanied by statistical personality x environment interactions. The empirical study of dynamical interactions requires a longitudinal design. In order to clearly distinguish statistical from dynamical interactions, some authors including myself prefer to call dynamical interactions *transactions* (Asendorpf & van Aken, 2003; Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Neyer & Asendorpf, 2001; Sameroff, 1975, 2009).

In the most general usage of the term, "transaction" refers to the cross-lagged influence of two variables over time. Within an environmental perspective, "transaction" may refer to cross-lagged influences between two different types of environmental variables or between an environmental variable and a personality variable (e.g., environmental risk and IQ: Sameroff, Seifer, Baldwin, & Baldwin, 1993; number of peers in one's social network and shyness: Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998). The influences may be truly bi-directional or only uni-directional (environmental risk influenced IQ but not *vice versa*, Sameroff et al., 1993; shyness influenced the number of peers in one's social network but not *vice versa*, Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998).

If the environment is defined by the personality of certain social network partners (e.g., their IQ or their political attitudes), taxonomies of personality can be used to describe environments by the average personality trait or personality profile of these network partners.

For example, students' social network in the second year at university is characterized by a high percentage of peers who are mainly other students (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998); therefore, they are exposed to a social environment characterized by above-average IQ, openness to new experiences, and liberal values and attitudes.

If the environment is defined by the personality of a relationship partner (the husband of a wife, the child of a father, a sibling, a co-worker), transactions describe the co-development of personality of two relationship partners. For example, concurrent correlations between children's aggressiveness and their mother's restrictive parenting style have been traditionally interpreted as parental effects on children's aggressiveness, whereas later studies have shown that the influences are bi-directional because aggressive children evoke restrictive parenting (Sheehan & Watson, 2008; Lytton, 1990). Aggressive children are influential environments for their parents (but also their peers and teachers). Wives' religiosity influences husbands' religiosity over 20 years of marriage but not *vice versa* (Caspi, Herbener, & Ozer, 1992), see Fig. 3. Religious wives are influential environments for their husbands but not *vice versa*.

#### - Fig. 3 -

An important principle of personality development is the corresponsive principle (Roberts, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2003). People tend to select, modify, and create environments that fit to their personality (environmental selection). These environments, in turn, tend to stabilize and strengthen those personality characteristics that led to environment selection in the first place (environment influence). Thus, environment selection and environment influence cooperate. For example, if people assume more leadership positions because they are more dominant, they will become even more dominant through their experience as leaders.

In the special case of personality as an environment, the corresponsive principle suggests

that people tend to stabilize and strengthen their personality traits through the selection of social network partners that fit to their personality, including romantic partners, friends, and colleagues. These network partners provide important environments for them. "Fit" may or may not mean similarity in personality. For example, both men and women prefer mates of higher IQ, educational level, and good looks as marriage partners (Kenrick, 1994; Sprecher, Sullivan, & Hatfield, 1994), but because the number of such mates is limited, couples end up with similar IQ, educational level, and physical attractiveness (between-partner correlation about .40; Little, Burt, & Perrett, 2006; Mascie-Taylor & Vandenberg, 1988).

An example for the corresponsive principle applied to close relationships is the study by Newcomb, Koenig, Flacks, and Warwick (1967) that followed the attitudes and values of female students over the next 25 years. The students acquired liberal attitudes and values during college and continued to maintain them later on, particularly because they had friends and husbands of similar attitudes and values. Another example is the stabilization and strengthening of antisocial tendencies among adolescents by choosing antisocial friends and joining antisocial cliques (Dishion, Andrews, & Crosby, 1995; Patterson & Bank, 1989).

## **Implications for a Psychology of Situations**

What does this review of personality as a situation tell us about the psychology of situations in general? First, the terms situation, person, person x situation interaction, and Lewin's equation B = f(P, E) are often used without a clear definition of terms, causing confusion. Situations are confused with situational exposure, persons with their personality, statistical interactions with dynamical interactions, and Lewin's understanding of P as a current state with personality. The clear distinction between situations and environments, between current psychological states and personality, and between statistical interactions and dynamical

interactions in this chapter might help avoiding such confusion.

Second, the recognition that persons are often and perhaps the most important situations for us, provides a new look at the problem of taxonomies of situations. Developing taxonomies for situations that can be flexibly used and broadly applied in personality and social psychology research has been called for for a long time, but apparently with only limited success (Yang, Read, & Miller, 2009; see for attempts, e.g., Cantor, Mischel, & Schwartz, 1982; ten Berge & De Raad, 1999; van Heck, 1984). Whereas many classifications focus on or exclusively concern social situations (e.g., Kelley, Holmes, Kerr, Reis, Rusbult, & van Lange, 2003), I am not aware of taxonomies of social situations that focus on the personality of interaction targets (but see for a step into this direction, Fournier, Moskowitz, & Zuroff, 2008). This is surprising because taxonomies of personality such as the Big Five (John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008) or the circumplex model of interpersonal styles (Wiggins, 1979) could be used for a taxonomy of situations based on traits of interaction targets.

Third, can we generalize APIM to models of statistical personality x situation interaction? One approach is to separate the stable part of the situation of an actor (the environmental part) - from the current state of the situation. If the environmental part is restricted to those characteristics that are currently not affected by the actor (but may be correlated with traits of the actor), the stable environmental part is comparable to personality characteristics of actors whereas the current state of the situation is comparable to internal states or behaviors of actors. The stable part may be called *situationality* and the current state simply *situation*. Thus, situationality describes constant or recurrent psychological characteristics of a situation that are defined independently of the actor, just as personality describes constant or recurrent psychological characteristics of a person that are defined independently of the actor. Consequently, at any point in time, a situation s of an actor is a function of its situationality S and the actor's personality P (see Fig. 4).

## - Fig. 4 -

Because the situation s is a function of S and P, what continuously influences the states and behaviors of the actor is not the situation s, but its situationality S. Main effects of the actor's personality and the situationality of a situation as well as the statistical interaction between personality and situationality have a constant influence on the flux and flow of the current situation and the accompanying state and behavior of the actor, and are therefore well-suited for predictive purposes. This model of personality x situation interaction may be called the Actor-Situation Interdependence Model (ASIM).

One advantage of this new look on person x situation interactions is that it makes explicit what is only implicit in traditional views of person x situation interaction, namely that correlations between personality and situations can be due to two different processes. Personality may correlate with a current situation (a) because different personalities are passively exposed to different situationalities, and/or (b) because they transform the same situationality to different situations due to their different personality. In the latter case, their personality *imprints* the situationality. The ASIM disentangles the personality-independent situational exposure from the personality-dependent current situation.

For an example, consider the situationality PSYCH 101, an introductory course to psychology as far as it is defined by location, timing, curriculum, and attending students independently of the lecturer (the actor). Different lecturers will imprint this situationality differently due to their different personality characteristics regarding knowledge, interest in teaching, didactical skills, physical attractiveness, and so on, such that at the end of the course students will evaluate PSYCH 101 differently for different lecturers. Lecturers have an influence on a course which is a function of the lecturer's personality and the situationality of the course. To my best knowledge, this distinction between constant or recurrent situational characteristics and imprinted transient characteristics due to an actor in a situation is new. It awaits further exploration in terms of definitions of situations, statistical personality x situation interactions, and dynamical personality-environment transactions.

Fourth, considering personality as an environment for others raises the question to which extent environmental characteristics studied in socialization research are due to the personality of actors. For example, the socio-economic status of a child is often defined by the aggregate of the educational level and last year's income of both parents. Educational level and last year's income are relatively stable variables characterizing both parents' personality (broadly defined). Thus, for children raised by single mothers, SES *is* a personality characteristic of the mother. This close relation between SES and parental personality is rarely recognized in socialization research. Similarly, parenting styles are relatively stable over time but less consistent across different siblings (situations), just as any personality trait. In fact, parenting styles *are* personality traits (broadly defined). Therefore, it is not surprising that they are linked with other personality traits such as the Big Five although links between parenting styles and personality (narrowly defined) are rarely considered (but see Caspi, Roberts, & Shiner, 2005; Spinath & O'Connor, 2003).

## Conclusion

The target-centered perspective of social situations offered here directs situation researchers' attention to interaction targets as main features of social situations. This perspective opens new doors for the psychology of social situations because it facilitates the transfer of concepts, statistical models, and assessment methods from the psychology of personality to the psychology of social situations. While it is obvious that the target-centered perspective is not sufficient for a complete description of social situations, it is a necessary and currently underestimated part of any serious psychology of social situations.

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## Table 1

# Significant Predictors of Speed Dating Choices by Sex (adapted from Asendorpf et al., 2011,

## Table 3).

	Choices			
	Actor effect		Partner effect	
Predictor	Men	Women	Men	Women
Facial attractiveness	17*	12	.49***	.52***
Vocal attractiveness	05	12	.33***	.19*
Body mass index	.11	.24**	13*	18*
Height	08	02	.17*	.05
Years of education	22**	02	.16*	.08
Income	13	.02	.13*	03
Sociosexuality	.03	.01	.24**	.10
Shyness	.08	.15**	15*	08
Openness	03	04	.20*	.05

*Note.* 190 men, 192 women, 17 sessions. All variables were standardized within sex. Reported are  $\beta$ s in multi-level predictions with the predictor at level 1 (individuals) and no predictor at level 2 (sessions). Predictors in boldface were retained in the final set of predictors with significant unique variance. \* p < .05 \*\* p < .01 \*\*\* p < .001. *Figure 1*. Prediction of men's and women's distress from their neuroticism (adapted from Kenny et al., 2006, Fig. 7.3).



*Figure 2.* Interaction between actor and partner effects of extraversion (Panel A) and agreeableness (Panel B) on self-disclosure in randomly paired students (adapted from Cuperman& Ickes, 2009, Figs. 1, 3).



*Figure 3*. Transaction between husband's and wife's religiosity over 20 years of marriage (adapted from Caspi et al., 1992).





