

ARONOFF, JOEL, RABIN, A.I., AND ZUCKER, ROBERT A.,
EDS. *The Emergence of Personality*. New York: Springer
Publishing Company, 1987. xiv + 257 pp. \$32.95.

This volume collects the papers delivered at the Henry A. Murray Lectures in Personality, the third such symposium, held at Michigan State University in 1985. The very question of personality arises in the first place from the observation of individual differences, so it is natural that a great deal of attention in personality research is given over to measuring the traits, motives, and other attributes that comprise the structure of personality, and the dynamic relations between them that account for what people experience, think, and do. At the same time, as the editors note, this emphasis on individuality has sometimes led personality researchers and theorists to ignore what people have in common—the general structures and processes out of which human individuality emerges. It was not always thus: Freud was less interested in individual differences than in our animal heritage and in the socialization experiences that unite all men and women who share a culture. Still, the developmental question—the ontogeny and phylogeny of personality—tends to be obscured in the modern focus on the validity of particular individual-difference constructs. The task set for the symposium participants was to analyze the ways in which personality emerges and is maintained across significant periods of life. This volume collects their responses.

For Arnold Buss, the starting point is the fact that we are primates, most closely related to the chimpanzee. In a fascinating review of the literature on personality in apes and old-world monkeys, Buss concludes that most mammalian species, primate and nonprimate, show individual differences in activity level, emotionality, and gender differences in reproductive behavior, dominance, and aggression. But there are some mammals—chimpanzees and dogs, for example—who are highly social, and in these species we see the emergence of sociability, relationship affects, and dominance hierarchies. Primates more than nonprimates show curiosity and a tendency to manipulate objects and communicate through facial expressions, imitation, single births, and prolonged juvenescence. Buss argues that such commonalities speak to the biological basis of temperament, as evidenced in emotionality, activity, and sociability. Furthermore, some distinctively human traits, *e.g.*, machiavelianism, authoritarianism, need for achievement, may have differentiated from primate traits.

Sandra Scarr, herself a distinguished scholar of the genetics of personality, attempts to avoid the "crazy Cartesian dualism" (p. 49) that pits nature against nurture. Although a substantial minority of the total variance in personality is heritable, most of the systematic variance in personality is due to individual experiences—life events that are not shared with others in one's family, neighborhood, or class. Scarr argues that we need to trace the interaction between these experiences and the particular genetic endowment of the individual. Drawing on the work of Robert Plomin, another student of the genetics of personality, she proposes three different models for that interaction, each of which leads to a systematic program of research.

Robert Hogan, originally trained in sociological role theory, argues that personality theory must be based on evo-

lutionary theory. The contradiction is more apparent than real, because from his point of view the primary gift of evolution is that humans live in groups organized in terms of status hierarchies. From this perspective, the popular five-factor structure of personality—the "blind date" questions of friendliness, agreeableness, conscientiousness, craziness, and smartness (or, perhaps, openness)—makes perfect biological sense: these are the things we need to be in order to make our way in the world, these are the things we need to know in order to get along with others, and these are ways in which we tend to present ourselves. Personality development comes in taking a stance on these dimensions and learning to play out the corresponding social roles.

Hogan's chapter marks the book's departure from an emphasis on biological foundations of personality development. Sylvan Tomkins offers an overview of script theory—but really more than an overview, since his seminal contributions to the script concept have often been overlooked—with an emphasis on the growth and magnification of the scenes and scripts of early childhood. The remaining chapters depart from the theme of personality development itself. Jerome Singer, best known for his studies of daydreaming and other fantasies, discusses the relationships between people's private experiences and their public action. Here is the emergence of personality in another sense: out of unconscious processes and into the stream of conscious thought. Gary Schwartz finds in systems theory hope for the unification of psychology and physics.

These are all excellent contributions, and so the book is more rewarding than many anthologies. Taken together, they comprise a useful introduction to recent thinking about the biological basis of personality. But with all due respect to our shared primate heritage and to our genetic and cultural endowment, it is a fact that our enormous intelligence, including a capacity for language, sharply divides the dullest human from the smartest chimpanzee. More than anything else, intelligence and language are distinctly human traits. They form the basis for culture and science and permit us to transcend to a considerable degree our biological endowment. Of all the authors represented here, only Buss, Singer, and Tomkins really grapple with cognitive aspects of personality, and only Buss treats cognition within a developmental framework. Perhaps a subsequent volume in the series will undertake to explore the implications for personality of human intelligence and language. For now, though, we can be grateful to the editors and their authors for a very stimulating and thoughtful exploration of how the ways in which we differ arise out of the things we share in common.

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