The indirect nature of social motives: the relation of social approach and avoidance motives with likeability via extraversion and agreeableness

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Abstract: The current study tested assumptions derived from the whole-trait theory (Fleeson, 2012), which proposes a connection between personality and motivation. We hypothesized that individual differences in social approach and avoidance motives are associated with personality as observed by others. In addition, we expected that observed personality links social approach and avoidance motives to interpersonal outcomes. The sample was composed of 83 young adults (25.3% males, Mage = 21.66 years) who had recently moved into a shared apartment. Roommates (N = 83; 50.6% males, Mage = 22.83 years) evaluated the newcomers on Extraversion, Agreeableness, and likeability. Approach motives had an indirect positive effect on likeability through other-reported Extraversion and Agreeableness. Although avoidance motives had some negative effects on likeability mediated through low Extraversion, they were positively associated with Agreeableness. These results demonstrate the complexity of social approach and avoidance motives. Moreover, they highlight the importance of motivational factors for observed personality.

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The Indirect Nature of Social Motives: The Relation of Social Approach and Avoidance Motives with Likeability Via Extraversion and Agreeableness

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Objective: The current study tested assumptions derived from the whole-trait theory (Fleeson, 2012) that proposes a connection between personality and motivation. We hypothesized that individual differences in social approach and avoidance motives are associated with personality as observed by others. In addition, we expected that observed personality links social approach and avoidance motives to interpersonal outcomes.

Method: The sample was comprised of $N = 83$ young adults (25.3% males, $M_{age} = 21.66$ years) who had recently moved into a shared apartment. Roommates ($N = 83$, 50.6% males, age $M_{age} = 22.83$ years) evaluated the newcomers on extraversion, agreeableness, and likeability.

Results: Approach motives had an indirect positive effect on likeability through other-reported extraversion and agreeableness. Although avoidance motives had some negative effects on likeability mediated through low extraversion, they were positively associated with agreeableness.

Conclusions: These results demonstrate the complexity of social approach and avoidance motives. Moreover, they highlight the importance of motivational factors for observed personality.

Keywords: social approach and avoidance motives, person perception, extraversion and agreeableness
The Indirect Nature of Social Motives: The Relation of Social Approach and Avoidance Motives with Likeability Via Extraversion and Agreeableness

Recently, McCabe and Fleeson (2012) provided a new theoretical conception of and empirical evidence for the relationship between personality and motivation. Based on the whole-trait theory (Fleeson, 2012), McCabe and Fleeson argued that personality has a functional role in facilitating goals. According to the whole-trait theory, people do not act in trait-relevant ways “just because that is who they are” (McCabe & Fleeson, 2012, p. 2) but because the behavior serves their goals. McCabe and Fleeson demonstrated that variations in self-reported personality (e.g., extraversion) can be explained for the most part by self-reported goals (e.g., trying to make new friends).

The current research builds on the proposed connection between motivation and personality and expands it by (a) using other-report for personality, and (b) investigating interpersonal outcomes (such as likeability) of the observed personality. We hypothesize that individual differences in social approach and avoidance motives are associated with different personality as observed by others. In addition, we expect that observed personality links social approach and avoidance motives to interpersonal outcomes.

Social approach motives are defined as the dispositional motivation to approach positive social outcomes such as making new friends; social avoidance motives are defined as the dispositional motivation to avoid negative social outcomes such as being rejected (e.g., Gable & Berkman, 2008). We hypothesize that social approach motives are positively associated with observed extraversion. This should be the case because extraverted behavior facilitates building social relationships (Wolff & Kim, 2012), the core of social approach motives. In contrast, social avoidance motives should be negatively associated with observed extraversion because being extraverted does not only facilitate shaping social environment but also bears the risk of rejection. Avoidance of rejection is at the core of social avoidance
motives. We further hypothesize that both social approach and avoidance motives are positively associated with observed agreeableness. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that both social approach and avoidance motives are expressions of the need to belong (Nikitin & Freund, 2008). Agreeableness-related behaviors, in turn, should serve the need to belong. Finally, we expect that both extraversion and agreeableness are positively related to interpersonal outcomes such as likeability (e.g., van der Linden, Scholte, Cillesen, te Nijenhuis, & Segers, 2010).

We tested these hypotheses with students who were new roommates in a shared apartment. The new roommates reported their social approach and avoidance motives. Observers were roommates in the shared apartment who provided information about the personality and likeability of the newcomer.

Social Approach and Avoidance Motives

Although both social approach and avoidance motives express the need to belong, they are associated with different social goals and behaviors. Social approach motives are likely to predispose people to adopt short-term approach goals (e.g., “I want to make a good impression on my new roommate”), whereas social avoidance motives are likely to predispose people to adopt short-term avoidance goals (such as "I don't want to make a fool of myself"; Gable, 2006). Accordingly, persons who score high on measures of social approach motives report making greater efforts to affiliate with others (Miller, Rossbach, & Munson, 1981) and having more social contacts (Gable, 2006; Nikitin, Burgermeister, & Freund, 2012) than people low on social approach motives. In contrast, persons high on social avoidance motives report stronger reactivity to negative social encounters than persons low on social avoidance motives (Gable, 2006). Consequently, people high on social avoidance motives avoid negative encounters by keeping a low profile in potentially stressful social situations (Ksionzky & Mehrabian, 1980; Nikitin & Freund, 2010, Study 2).
There is surprisingly little research on interpersonal consequences of social approach and avoidance motives. With the exception of intimate relationships (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998; Gable & Impett, 2012; Gable & Poore, 2008; Impett, Gable, & Peplau, 2005; Impett et al., 2010; Impett, Peplau, & Gable, 2005), interpersonal consequences of social approach and avoidance motives are virtually uninvestigated. As intimate relationships have very specific dynamics because partners are highly interdependent (Berscheid, 1994), results from research on intimate relationships do not necessarily generalize to other social relationships. Thus, it remains an open question if social approach and avoidance motives lead to the desired interpersonal outcomes in new and less intimate relationships.

There is some empirical research on consequences of social motives using only one source of self-report. In general, self-report studies relying on one source of information suggest that social approach motives are associated with positive social outcomes and social avoidance motives with negative social outcomes (Gable, 2006; Mehrabian, 1994; Nikitin et al., 2012; Nikitin & Freund, 2010). However, these associations are likely to be at least partly influenced by biased processing and interpretation of social information (Downey, Mougios, Ayduk, London, & Shoda, 2004; Gable & Poore, 2008; Nikitin & Freund, 2011; Strachman & Gable, 2006). Therefore, it is unclear if the outcomes of social motives are the result of biased information processing, or if other people actually perceive and react differently to persons who are high on approach or avoidance motives, respectively. In the next section, we discuss how social approach and avoidance motives might lead to interpersonal outcomes through observed personality.

**Motives and Personality**

As mentioned above, recent research has shown that personality serves motivation (e.g., behavioral manifestations of extraversion serve social goals; McCabe & Fleeson, 2012).
The whole-trait theory (Fleeson, 2012) proposes that each personality trait has an underlying motivational aspect (McCabe & Fleeson, 2012). Following this theory, we assume that social approach and avoidance motives are associated with specific personality traits. More concretely, we hypothesize that social approach and avoidance motives are reflected in extraversion and agreeableness.

There is high consensus that two of the “Big Five” personality factors, extraversion and agreeableness, are closely linked to interpersonal behavior (Cuperman & Ickes, 2009; Ashton, Lee, & Paunonen, 2002; Ashton & Lee, 2001; McCrae & Costa, 1989). Extraversion is typically inferred from a person’s general tendency to approach social situations, whereas agreeableness refers to the mode of relating to others (Costa & McCrae, 1988). Attributes related to extraversion are being gregarious, active, and assertive. Attributes related to agreeableness attributes are being trusting, cooperative, good-natured, and tolerant (e.g., Borkenau & Ostendorf, 2008).

**Social Motives and Agreeableness**

Social approach and avoidance motives both should be positively associated with agreeableness given that they are both expressions of the need to belong (Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2007). Although approach and avoidance motives differ in their orientation towards positive or away from negative social outcomes, affiliation is the main concern of both motives. To satisfy the overarching need to belong, social approach and avoidance motives are both concerned to relate to others and, consequently, with agreeableness-related attributes. This assumption is supported by results of a self-report study with N = 587 students who reported their social motives and personality (Engeser & Langens, 2010). In this study, agreeableness was positively correlated with both social approach and avoidance motives. We assume that we will find the same positive association with other-reported agreeableness.
Social Motives and Extraversion

We hypothesize that social approach motives are positively associated with extraversion-related attributes. This assumption is based on the observation that social approach motives are positively correlated with self-reported active approach of others (Gable, 2006; Nikitin et al., 2012) and with taking an active part in social situations (Ksionzky & Mehrabian, 1980; Miller et al., 1981; Nikitin & Freund, 2010, Study 2).

According to Gable and colleagues (Gable, Reis, & Elliot, 2000), positive social encounters do not simply happen, they have to be actively pursued and created. Attributes such as being gregarious, active, and assertive might help persons in actively shaping social encounters and thereby should serve social approach motives.

Being extraverted might also bear some risks. People who “go out on a limb” might easily disgrace themselves, particularly if they do not possess the necessary social competencies (Fast & Chen, 2009). As persons high on social avoidance motives report lower interpersonal competences (Butler, Doherty, & Potter, 2007), they might try to keep a low profile than expose themselves. In fact, social avoidance motives correlate with self-reported behavioral inhibition in social interactions, particularly in interactions with unfamiliar persons (Ksionzky & Mehrabian, 1980; Nikitin & Freund, 2010, Study 2). Thus, we hypothesize that social avoidance motives are negatively associated with extraversion-related attributes. Supporting this assumption, Engeser and Langens (2010) found in a self-report study that extraversion was associated positively with social approach motives but negatively with social avoidance motives.

Interpersonal Outcomes of Extraversion and Agreeableness

With respect to the connection between perceived extraversion and agreeableness and interpersonal outcomes, we expect that both extraversion and agreeableness lead to positive interpersonal outcomes such as likeability. This assumption is based on findings that persons
who are extraverted and agreeable are typically more popular with social interaction partners than those who score low on these traits (Mervielde & de Fruyt, 2000; van der Linden et al., 2010). Thus, we hypothesize that social approach and avoidance motives are associated with interpersonal outcomes through perceived extraversion and agreeableness, respectively.

The Current Study

The current study investigated the link between self-reported motives, other-reported personality, and interpersonal outcomes. We assessed personality and interpersonal outcomes by other-report because, as already mentioned, self-reports of social outcomes are systematically related to differences in information processing depending on social approach and avoidance motives (Downey et al., 2004; Gable & Poore, 2008; Nikitin & Freund, 2011; Strachman & Gable, 2006). Moreover, reports by others seem to be particularly relevant when studying the social effects of approach and avoidance motives because persons’ day-to-day behavior is infused with traces of their dispositions and interaction partners make good use of these cues when making inferences about their personality and likeability (Funder, 2012; Mehl, Gosling, & Pennebaker, 2006; Vazire & Carlson, 2011). To capture such inferences, we asked roommates of students who had just moved into shared apartments to report about their personality and likeability several weeks after the move. As argued by Nikitin et al. (2012), social approach and avoidance motives are most influential in the first weeks after a social transition. Moreover, relatively close relationships that comprise multiple social interactions in various situations are usually associated with relatively more accurate inferences of personality (i.e., they show higher convergence of self- and other-rated personality) from social behavior than new social relationships (Biesanz, West, & Millevoi, 2007; Carney, Colvin, & Hall, 2007). Thus, by asking acquaintances who were already somewhat familiar but still relatively new, we aimed at assessing the impact of social
approach and avoidance motives on their roommates personality evaluations as well as relatively accurate reports.

In addition to social approach and avoidance motives, we also assessed (a) how long the newcomer and the roommate knew each other, (b) their contact frequency, and (c) their gender as predictors of personality inferences and likeability. As reported above, closeness is associated with higher convergence of self- and other-rated personality. In addition, on the basis of classical findings that proximity facilitates liking (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950), the length of the relationship might lead to more positive attitudes towards the social partner. For the same reason, we also included contact frequency as predictor of observed personality and likeability. Finally, we assumed that men and women might evaluate each other differently than members of the same sex (Zimmer-Gembeck, Waters, Kindermann, 2010).

**Method**

**Participants**

This study is based on a subsample of a larger project on developmental transitions in younger and older adulthood (Nikitin et al., 2012). The current analyses are based on data of university students who had recently moved out of their parental home into a shared apartment ($N = 83$, 25.3% male, age $M = 21.66$ years, $SD = 2.23$, range 18–30). Half of these participants (50.6%) reported to be in a committed relationship, 48.2% to be single, and one person to be married. We asked the newcomers to provide contact details of a roommate who was willing to complete a questionnaire about the participant. The roommates (50.6% males) were on average $M = 22.83$ years old ($SD = 3.15$, range 18–33). Half of them (51.8%) reported to be in a committed relationship, 45.8% to be single, and two persons to be married. At the time of the survey, newcomers lived in the shared apartments for $M = 52.80$ days ($SD = 59.40$) and the roommates on average more than a year ($M = 16.10$ months, $SD = 18.80$).
The gender-pairs distribution was as follows: Both males (19.3%), both females (43.4%), male roommate and female newcomer (31.3%), and female roommate and male newcomer (6%).

**Procedure**

Newcomers completed an online-questionnaire (run on http://www.surveymonkey.com), first providing informed consent, and then filling out questionnaires assessing social approach and avoidance motives. The completion of the questionnaire took up to 30 minutes and contained sociodemographic information and other questionnaires not relevant for the current manuscript. Approximately one week later (if they already lived in the shared apartment at that time) or one week after they moved into the shared apartment, newcomers sent us the email address of one of their roommates. We then contacted the roommate and sent him or her a link to the questionnaire. After providing informed consent, the roommates filled out a questionnaire about how they perceived the newcomers. This took approximately 10 to 15 minutes.

**Self-reported Social Approach and Avoidance Motives**

Social motives of the newcomer were assessed using the Affiliation Tendency and Sensitivity to Rejection Scale (Mehrabian, 1970; German version Sokolowski, 1986). The affiliation tendency subscale (25 items) measures social approach motives and the rejection sensitivity subscale (25 items) social avoidance motives. Items of the affiliation tendency scale reflect a preference for friends and attachments over independence from others, a preference for groups over individual activities, positive feelings associated with the presence of many people, and a preference for expressing affection toward people. Items of the sensitivity to rejection scale reflect a preference for behaviors or situations which minimize negative feedback from others, a preference for warm and accepting people, an inability to refuse favors, a concern about being liked, and negative feelings associated with the presence
of many people. Social approach \((M = 3.68, SD = 0.62, \text{Cronbach's } \alpha = .77)\) and avoidance motives \((M = 3.17, SD = 0.71, \text{Cronbach's } \alpha = .83)\) were negatively correlated \((r = -.30, p = .01)\).

**Other-reported Likeability**

We asked the roommate to indicate his or her impression of the newcomer using following single items: “What is your general impression of your roommate?” \((0 = \text{very negative}, 6 = \text{very positive})\), “How likeable is your roommate?” \((0 = \text{very unlikable}, 6 = \text{very likeable})\), and “How pleasant was the majority of the interactions with your roommate in the last two weeks?” \((0 = \text{very unpleasant}, 6 = \text{very pleasant})\).

Likeability was further assessed by interpersonal attraction. We used seven items built on the basis of the social-attraction subscale of the Interpersonal Attraction Scales (McCroskey & McCain, 1974, own German translation). The items were adapted to the cohabitation context: “I would like to meet my roommate also in the future,” “I could imagine to work together with my roommate on different tasks,” “I probably would not talk to my roommate if I met him/her at a party” (reversed), “I would discuss even controversial topics with my roommate,” “I would like to get to know my roommate better,” and “I enjoy the company of my roommate.” Responses were given on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

Finally, we asked the roommate if he/she would have accepted the newcomer for the shared apartment, could he/she decide again. Roommates gave their responses on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (certainly not) to 6 (certainly yes). The aggregated likeability scale \((M = 4.94, SD = 0.78)\) had a good internal consistency, Cronbach’s \(\alpha = .87\).

**Other-reported Extraversion and Agreeableness**

We used the subscales extraversion and agreeableness of the short version (Schallberger & Venetz, 1999) of the German Big-Five Inventory (Ostendorf, 1990) to assess
perceptions of the newcomer’s extraversion and agreeableness by the roommate. We asked
the roommate “How would you describe your roommate based on the following adjectives?”
Perceptions of the newcomer’s extraversion were measured by five adjectives pairs (e.g.,
“reluctant – sociable”) and an additional item “shy” (reversed) (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .88$, $M = 3.90$,
$SD = 1.27$). Perceptions of the newcomer’s agreeableness were measured by five adjective
pairs (e.g., “quarrelsome – peaceable”; $M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.86$, Cronbach’s $\alpha = .72$). Responses
were given on a Likert scale ranging from -3 to 3 and were recoded to scales ranging from 0
to 6 for the analyses.

Control Variables
Both newcomers and roommates reported their gender (-1 = male, 1 = female).
Additionally, we asked if the roommate had known the newcomer already before the move
(-1 = did not know before, 1 = knew before). Half of the roommates (51.8%) had known the
newcomer before the move. Finally, roommates indicated on a Likert scale ranging from 0
(few times a week) to 6 (several times a day) how often they have had contact to the
newcomer in the last two weeks ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.52$).

Results
Predictors of Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Likeability
We ran hierarchical regression analyses with gender of the newcomer, gender of the
roommate, their interaction, previous acquaintance, and contact frequency as control variables
in the first step, and self-reported social approach and avoidance motives in the second step as
predictors of other-reported likeability, extraversion, and agreeableness. Gender of the
newcomer, gender of the roommate, and previous acquaintance were included as dummy
variables (-1 = male, 1 = female; -1 = did not know before, 1 = knew before). Results of the
regression analyses are presented in Table 2.1
As expected, self-reported social approach motives were positively and self-reported social avoidance motives negatively related to other-reported extraversion. Both, social approach and avoidance motives were positively related to other-reported agreeableness. The newcomer’s motives did not predict his or her likeability directly.

**Mediation Analysis**

Although social approach and avoidance motives were not directly related to likeability, we tested if there was an indirect effect of social approach and avoidance motives on likeability through extraversion and agreeableness as perceived by the roommate (see Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011, for a similar suggestion). We used the macro MEDIATE (Hayes & Preacher, 2012; available on http://www.afhayes.com/spss-sas-and-mplus-macros-and-code.html) for the estimation of total, direct, and indirect effects of social approach and avoidance motives on likeability through extraversion and agreeableness. The mediation model was significant ($R^2 = .50, F[9,73] = 8.16, p < .001$), suggesting that the data are consistent with the model depicted in Figure 1. Social approach and avoidance motives were not directly associated with likeability but there was a significant indirect effect of social approach and avoidance motives on likeability through extraversion and agreeableness (extraversion: social approach motives .14, CI [.06/.24], social avoidance motives -.09, CI [-.18/-02]; agreeableness: social approach motives .07, CI [.05/.24], social avoidance motives .05, CI [.03/.02]). Social approach motives were positively and social avoidance motives were negatively associated with extraversion. In contrast, both social approach and avoidance motives were positively associated with agreeableness. Extraversion and agreeableness, in turn, were positively related to likeability.

**Discussion**

The current research tested hypotheses derived from the whole-trait theory by Fleeson (2012) that proposes a connection between personality and motivation (McCabe & Fleeson,
2012). We applied this theory to social motives. More specifically, we predicted that individual differences in social approach and avoidance motives are associated with personality as observed by others. In addition, we expected that personality links social approach and avoidance motives to interpersonal outcomes. Using relationships between roommates in a shared apartment as a testing ground for these hypotheses, we found that self-reported social approach and avoidance motives were indirectly associated with likeability through other-reported extraversion and agreeableness. Social approach motives had a positive effect on likeability through high extraversion and high agreeableness as perceived by the roommate. The association between social avoidance motives and likeability was complex in that social avoidance motives were positively associated with agreeableness but negatively associated with extraversion. It seems that people who score high on social approach motives can satisfy their need to belong by being extraverted and, at the same time, agreeable. People who score high on social avoidance motives can satisfy their need to belong by agreeable behaviors. However, their low extraversion – as perceived by others – is less beneficial for others’ affective response.

These results are in line with previous findings that students who score high on social approach motives experience a social transition such as starting university positively from the very beginning (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Nikitin et al., 2012). High extraversion and agreeableness as expressions of social approach motives might help to actively shape a positive social environment and to experience the transition positively. Students who score high on social avoidance motives, in contrast, experience some initial difficulties in socializing (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Cutrona, 1982; Nikitin et al., 2012). One possible explanation for this observation is that people high on social avoidance motives initially keep a low profile because they are confronted with challenging new and unpredictable social situations that they experience as threatening. Keeping a low profile might help them not to
make mistakes but, at the same time, such inhibited behaviors might be taken as aloofness and
make it more difficult for new acquaintances to get to know – and like – them. Over time, the
agreeable behavior exhibited by people with high social avoidance motives might compensate
for their initial aloofness and might help to make friends. In other words, high agreeableness
and low extraversion might not make people appear very likeable in the beginning of getting
to know them, but it might help them to slowly make new friends over time.

Taking a functional perspective, the low extraversion associated with social avoidance
motives might serve to avoid rejection. As pointed out earlier, being extraverted involves the
risk of exposing oneself to the scrutiny of others and, thereby, of not being liked – and
rejection is exactly what people who are high on social avoidance motives fear and try to
avoid. In addition, persons high on social avoidance motives report lower interpersonal
competences (Butler et al., 2007), which might motivate them further to do very little in
social situations in order to avoid being disliked. Unfortunately, not showing yourself in
social interactions and being withdrawn might cause what socially avoidant persons try to
avoid, namely not being liked. Nevertheless, this kind of behavior might still help to avoid
overt rejections and being positively disliked. Future research needs to test this functional
hypothesis by investigating if extraverted behavior is socially counterproductive for persons
high in social avoidance motives because they lack interpersonal competencies.

The results of the current study do not support previous findings from self-report
studies that social avoidance motives are directly associated with low likeability. In the
current study, social avoidance motives and other-reported likeability were only indirectly
related. The low self-reported likeability of social avoidance motives might be at least partly
the result of biased information processing. Social avoidance motives are associated with
attention to negative social information (Nikitin & Freund, 2011) and a negative interpretation
of social information (Strachman & Gable, 2006). Not surprisingly, seeing signs of social
rejection rather than signs of social acceptance and interpreting ambiguous cues as social rejection leads to feelings of rejection. However, the picture is more complex. The current findings suggest that there are also personality traits associated with social avoidance motives that lead to not being liked, such as being low on extraversion. It seems, then, that the fear of socially avoidant people not to be liked is, to some degree, based on a fairly accurate perception of other people’s reactions— they actually do not seem to like persons low on extraversion all that much. Such perceptions might then be amplified by biased information processing associated with avoidance motives.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

This study was the first to test the consequences of self-reported social approach and avoidance motives for other-reported personality and likeability. We used reports by others because they seem to be particularly relevant when studying social effects of approach and avoidance motives (Funder, 2012; Mehl et al., 2006; Vazire & Carlson, 2011). Although we controlled for possible factors that might influence the evaluations of the roommates such as gender, previous acquaintance, or contact frequency, we cannot exclude the possibility that there might be additional factors affecting the differences in the evaluations. For example, social motives might have predicted who the participant asked for the evaluation. Asking for a favor such as the completion of a questionnaire might be difficult for participants with high social avoidance motives because the other person might reject to comply. Students high on social avoidance motives might have preferred to ask roommates who are helpful and warm which could have led to systematic biases in their social evaluations. One possibility to counteract such biases would be to ask more than one roommate for the evaluation.

In a similar vein, the unequal distribution of the participants across the different gender-pair groups might be a result of self-selection. In the current study, fewer male newcomers asked female roommates for participation than vice versa. In fact, we found some
evidence for gender-related interaction effects and therefore controlled for gender in all
analyses. However, more research is needed to investigate potential gender effects more
systematically. For example, agreeableness seems to have different impact on likeability for
men and women (e.g., Ciarrochi & Heaven, 2009).

It remains an open question if the results of the current study can be generalized to
other social relationships. As previously discussed, social approach and avoidance motives
might have different consequences in intimate relationships than in a relationship between
roommates because partners in intimate relationships are highly interdependent. In fact, it
seems that social avoidance motives have far more negative consequences in intimate
relationships (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Downey et al., 1998; Gable & Impett, 2012; Gable
& Poore, 2008; Impett, Gable et al., 2005; Impett et al., 2010; Impett, Peplau et al., 2005)
than among roommates as suggested by the present study. It is an interesting theoretical
question which factors lead to different consequences of social approach and avoidance
motives in different kinds of social relationships.

Finally, the correlational design of the current study does not allow for causal
interpretation of the findings. Although we tested observed personality as a mediator of the
association between social motives and likeability, one could consider other causal directions
such as likeability mediating the relationship between observed personality and social
motives. Certain personality dimensions might make people more or less likeable, which then
might change their social approach and avoidance motives. We could not test this alternative
hypothesis in the current study because likeability was not directly associated with social
motives. Tests of the causal direction would require experimental or longitudinal designs.

**Conclusions**

The present findings add to the existing research on the motivation-personality link
(McCabe & Fleeson, 2012) by showing that social motives are associated with observed
personality traits. Social approach motives were associated with traits that serve to quickly build and shape social relationships. Social avoidance motives were associated with traits that minimize the risk of rejection. Both social approach and avoidance motives were associated with traits that facilitate positive social interactions. The present findings suggest that social motives have different social consequences through different observed traits.

Lacking experimental evidence, the correlational design of the current study provides only tentative support of the whole-trait theory (Fleeson, 2012). This being said, the current study provides first evidence that the whole-trait theory does not only apply to the link between personality and goals but also to the association between social motives and personality.
References


SOCIAL MOTIVES AND LIKEABILITY


Footnotes

1 Some of the control variables predicted likeability, extraversion, and agreeableness.

Likeability was predicted by the interaction of the newcomer’s and the roommate’s gender ($b = -.27, p = .03$). Male roommates evaluated female newcomers more positively than male newcomers ($b = .32, p = .01$), but female roommates did not evaluate male newcomers significantly more positively than female newcomers ($b = -.14, p = .38$). Contact frequency was a positive predictor of likeability ($b = .34, p = .001$). Newcomers’ gender further predicted extraversion with females being evaluated as more extraverted than males ($b = .28, p = .02$). Agreeableness was predicted by previous acquaintance ($b = -.25, p = .04$) and the interaction of newcomer’s and roommate’s gender ($b = -.28, p = .047$). Female roommates evaluated female newcomers as less agreeable than male newcomers ($b = -.31, p = .02$), but male roommates did not evaluate female and male newcomers differently on the agreeableness dimension ($b = .07, p = .69$). No other predictions were significant.
Table 1

*Regression Analyses Predicting Roommate’s View of the Newcomer From Newcomer’s Social Motives*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Likeability</th>
<th>Extraversion</th>
<th>Agreeableness</th>
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<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 1 (Control variables)</td>
<td>.34***</td>
<td>.15*</td>
<td>.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.19***</td>
<td>.12**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-reported approach motives</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.34**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-reported avoidance motives</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
<td>.25*</td>
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*Note.*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.*
Figure 1. Direct and indirect effects of self-reported social approach and avoidance motives on other-reported likeability. Standard errors are reported in parantheses. Direct effects of social approach and avoidance motives are reported in brackets. Controlled for gender of the newcomer ($b = .10$, $SE = .12$, $p = .40$), gender of the roommate ($b = .18$, $SE = .12$, $p = .15$), the interaction of gender of the newcomers and gender of the roommate ($b = -.26$, $SE = .12$, $p = .04$), previous acquaintance ($b = .16$, $SE = .10$, $p = .11$), and contact frequency ($b = .34$, $SE = .10$, $p = .002$). **$p < .001$. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$. **