but so nearly neutral as to be susceptible to random drift (M. Kimura, *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.*, in press). And third, naturally occurring allozyme alleles of *E. coli* that are nearly neutral under some conditions of growth in chemostats can be shown to be subject to selection when the environment or genetic background is altered (D. Dykhuizen and D. L. Hartl, *Genetics* **96**, 801 [1980]). Although the selection-neutrality issue may never be resolved in its original framework to everyone's satisfaction, it may be that the original framework was at fault in being overly simple.

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Views of Personality

Personality, Cognition, and Social Interaction. Papers from a conference, Princeton, N.J., March 1979. NANCY CANTOR and JOHN F. KIHLSTROM, Eds. Erlbaum, Hillsdale, N.J., 1981. xvi, 362 pp., illus. $24.95.

Cantor and Kihlstrom have put together a set of papers that describe several reactions to traditional trait theories of personality. These reactions have in common the rejection of classic trait concepts and the acceptance of current method and theory from cognitive psychology in developing alternative formulations. The volume is an interesting sample of the creative thinking that occurs when a traditional viewpoint is dropped and novel solutions are sought for perennial questions. The volume is also exceptional in that it is well edited and the commentaries (Walter Mischel's historical introduction and Samuel Glucksberg's and Michael Posner's concluding discussions) are comprehensive, stimulating, and wise.

The study of personality has been dominated by its quest for solutions to the problem of identifying stable personal characteristics that are predictive of behavior across situations. Probably the most familiar solutions to this problem are the personological typologies that underlie many personality inventories. These typologies have much in common with commonsense or "naïve" personologies that have appeared throughout Western history (an example being Theophrastus's *Characters* from fourth century B.C. Greece). Underlying this approach to personality is the notion that there are a finite number of personality types. Once a person has been classified into the appropriate pigeonhole, his or her behavior can be predicted. As many of the authors in this volume note, the pigeonhole typologies have not been dramatically successful, and there is even doubt about the cross-situational consistency of individual behavior. However, the rejection of the traditional trait-theory approach does not remove the imperative of answering the fundamental question concerning stable personal characteristics and their relationships to behavior.

The contributors have taken a variety of directions in seeking solutions to this problem. First there are papers, by Cantor, by Higgins and King, and by Borgida, Locksley, and Brekke, that hypothesize that the stable characteristics take the form of categories of social perception. These authors assert that much of the apparent stability of personality is in the eye of the beholder. The implication is that if the perceiver's categories for personality are stable the perceivers and the objects of their perception will also exhibit some stability of behavior. Another group of papers, by Rogers, by Kuiper and Derry, by Markus and Smith, and by Locksley and Lenauer, hypothesize that the stability in an individual's behavior comes from the stability of self-perception. Thus a person's labels or categorization of himself or herself are enduring and create consistencies in the person's behavior over time and across situations. Other papers in the volume suggest a variety of other answers to the "what is stable?" question. Cohen suggests that an individual has enduring "observational goals" that control behavior. Fiske and Kinder emphasize stable individual differences in sophistication or expertise in areas of factual knowledge. Kihlstrom suggests that differences in memories of personal experience and differences in cognitive capacities account for differences in behavior. Athay and Darley emphasize individual differences in social competencies. Snyder subscribes to a fairly conventional trait theory and emphasizes the role of choice of situations in which to interact socially as a source of consistency in behavior.

The one common factor in the papers is a subscription to cognitive information-processing theories. These theories include a generally accepted set of constructs to describe attention, perception, memory, judgment, and decision processes. These constructs provide a logic that relates an individual's behavior to the underlying stable personal characteristics that each of the authors has identified as fundamental to personality. In addition, the cognitive approach includes prescriptions about methods. Throughout the volume we see recognition memory ratings, recall memory measures, and choice and judgment reaction times as the major data cited in support of theoretical hypotheses. The two discussion papers, written by prominent cognitive psychologists (Glucksberg and Posner), are cautionary notes emphasizing the dangers of casual importation of constructs and methods from laboratory cognitive psychology into the study of personality.

My personal favorites in the volume are the paper by Cohen developing the concept of observational goals, probably the most important and neglected contribution of the cognitive viewpoint; Higgins and King's paper providing empirical demonstrations of subtle effects of linguistic set; Kihlstrom's thoughtful review of memory processes and autobiographical memory contents; and Markus and Smith's paper reporting empirical demonstrations of effects of self-concept on the perceptions of other individuals.

I have suggested that the cognitive information-processing theory serves as a logic that relates the hypothesized stable personal constructs to the relatively variable manifest behavior. In this sense it functions in much the way in which psychodynamic principles functioned in traditional psychoanalytic theories of personality. There may be an important lesson from this historical analogy. As Mischel points out, the psychoanalytic theories were generatively rich and virtually unfalsifiable in academic research tests. One of the weaknesses of the proposals in the present volume is that none of them have faced serious tests of adequacy. For example, only Rogers and Kuiper and Derry address issues raised by consideration of psychopathological personality, and of course all the research programs are too young to have faced extensive practical or laboratory tests.

If I were to voice a major criticism of the volume it would be concerned with the limited range of viewpoints presented. There are many young researchers who still subscribe to more traditional trait concepts of personality and others who are exploring noncognitive alternative directions. None of these views are represented. Thus the volume does not represent central views in current personality theory but rather one energetic departure from the major traditional

viewpoint. However, the cognitive departure may warrant the exclusive attention it receives. I think the information-processing approach provides the most general, the most productive, and the most valid theory of the mind available in current psychology.

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